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Czech and Slovak Journal of Humanities

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The journal is intended as a dialogue between the best Czech and Slovak research and world-wide research, and as a forum where innovative approaches and trendy topics are discussed, as well as local themes and temporarily neglected research areas. *CSJH* is open to Czech, Slovak and international scholars and guarantees a fair and accurate reviewing process. In order to be accessible to an international readership, *CSJH* publishes the majority of texts in English. Regular scholarly papers are particularly welcome, as well as book or conference reviews, notices, research projects reports and other kinds of academic chronicle.

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On the cover:

Carl Robert Croll, The church in Horní Jiřetín, 1843, oil on canvas,
The Lobkowicz collection, Lobkowicz palace in Prague, detail

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Editorial

The *Czech and Slovak Journal of Arts and Humanities* presents for the second time work produced by the Department of Art History at the Philosophical Faculty of Palacký University Olomouc. Papers by Pavol Černý and Petr Čehovský attest to the department's strength of interest in medieval art, while Pavel Štěpánek and Ladislav Daniel consider topics of the early modern period, and papers by Pavel Šopák and Ivo Hlobil attempt interpretations of architectural and art works of the modern age. Articles by Roberta Cerone and Jana Michalčáková of Rome's Sapienza University, Eric Dluhosch, Professor Emeritus of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and our young colleague from Prague's Charles University, Martina Flekačová, whose paper deals with an unconventionally modern theme, give evidence of the Olomouc department's relations with major scholars from abroad as well as from other art-historical institutions in the Czech Republic.

Major support from abroad and from other Czech universities was similarly responsible to a large degree for the centre part of this issue, thereby giving it special importance. Introduced by short two texts by Marina Righetti of Sapienza University and Laurent Toulouse, the first Counsellor of the French Embassy in Prague, the papers of this centre section deal with the Baroque church in Horní Jiřetín by the Burgundy architect Jean Baptiste Mathey. Their authors are thus endeavouring to contribute to the preservation of this monument, as well as of the whole town of Horní Jiřetín, which is threatened by opencast brown coal mining in Northern Bohemia. The discipline of art history is therefore, with its quiet voice, entering the debate about this serious social and political problem. The memorandum signed by the heads of all Czech art history departments at a conference in Horní Jiřetín on 28 March 2014, also expresses an opinion on this topic, thereby addressing the elite of today's Czech political scene. Papers about the church in Horní Jiřetín and about its architect have been written for us by Petr Macek, Richard Biegel, Pavla Priknerová, Jakub Bachtík, and Jaroslav Horáček of the Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague; Marek Pučálík of the Catholic Theological Faculty of the same university; Martin Mádl of the Institute of Art History at the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic in Prague; and the author of this editorial. Unfortunately, Vladimír Hašek, a pioneer of non-invasive archaeological research using radar technique, who together with Jan Tomešek and my Olomouc colleague Josef Bláha, discovered beneath the floor of the Baroque church in Horní Jiřetín traces of its medieval predecessor, has not lived to see this issue of our magazine.

Rostislav Švácha, Editor

Roberta Cerone, Jana Michalčáková

Sapienza University, Rome

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Contesti cistercensi a confronto: committenza e soluzioni costruttive in Moravia e in Sicilia (secoli XII–XIII)

Comparing Cistercian Contexts:

Patronage and Architecture in Moravia and in Sicily (12th–13th centuries)

Abstract | The paper is the result of the collaboration between Roberta Cerone from Sapienza University of Rome and Jana Michalčáková from Palacký University in Olomouc, both interested in the architecture of the Cistercian order during the Middle Age. The goal of their research is to highlight possible points of connection and differentiation in the “Cistercian approach” to monastery foundation in two different areas between 12th and 13th centuries: Sicily and Moravia, where the Order arrived following two lines of filiation, respectively Clairvaux and Morimond. In both instances, in fact, monastery foundation did not originate from the direct interest of the Order, but from the needs of local aristocrats. For the abbeys in Moravia, there was nearly always a royal intention, with evident connections with the ruling house – Přemysl Otakar I and Vladislav Jindřich –, while in Sicily a similar relation can only be attested by the time of Frederick II. Moreover, in the two regions, the Cistercians arrived in different periods (after 1160 in Sicily, after 1200 in Moravia), yet the appearance of their construction principles, influenced by the Order’s regulations, is nearly contemporary (c. 1210–1230). In Sicily, the beginning of the emergence of Cistercian architecture was delayed because of the strength of local traditions and is directly linked to the reign of Frederick II. In Moravia the arrival of the Order was marked by the linear intersection of both cultural and construction principles (enriched through the knowledge and formal vocabulary brought from the original region of affiliation) with extant local traditions.

Keywords | Architecture – cistercians – Sicily – Moravia

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L'occasione da cui scaturisce il presente articolo nasce dallo scambio di idee tra le autrici che hanno avuto modo di confrontare i risultati delle proprie ricerche in ambito cistercense in due regioni europee che possiamo definire "di frontiera" rispetto al centro propulsore dell'Ordine nella Borgogna francese. A Roberta Cerone si deve dunque la delineazione del quadro di committenza e delle caratteristiche architettoniche delle fondazioni in Sicilia fino alla fine dell'età sveva (paragrafo 1), mentre a Jana Michalčáková l'excursus sulla diffusione morava dell'Ordine (paragrafo 2).

Presentare studi comparativi non è mai facile e paragonare due regioni così distanti tra di loro, come la Moravia – il Margravio moravo – e la Sicilia – all'epoca parte del Regno di Sicilia – può porre a questo tipo di indagine non pochi limiti. Ma quando si tratta di uno studio sull'Ordine cistercense, che più di ogni altro rimaneva legato alle proprie consuetudini costruttive anche quando si andava a instaurare in ambiti geopolitici del tutto differenti, si giunge a parallelismi inaspettati.

Ma soffermiamoci *in primis* sulle differenze.

La prima distinzione tra le due regioni trattate è senz'altro rappresentata dalla data d'arrivo dell'Ordine. Ci troviamo di fronte a un distacco temporale di quasi settant'anni: la Sicilia entra nel campo d'azione già di Bernardo di Clairvaux che è alla ricerca di una risoluzione dello scisma pontificio, anche se per le prime fondazioni bisognerà aspettare l'epoca di Guglielmo II; la Moravia, invece, entra in contatto con l'Ordine cistercense solo agli inizi del secolo XIII, con l'insediamento del vescovo di Olomouc Roberto, personaggio di origini inglesi, già monaco cistercense dell'abbazia di Nepomuk in Boemia. Alla sua volontà si deve la prima fondazione morava, da lui stesso voluta nella sua diocesi nel 1205, anno in cui la diffusione dell'Ordine in Sicilia ha già superato l'apice.

Il secondo punto di differenza deriva dal fatto che la Sicilia è interessata fondamentalmente dalla linea di filiazione di Clairvaux, prevalente anche nel resto della Penisola italiana, mentre la Moravia è sempre stata, per motivi geopolitici, di appannaggio esclusivo delle figlie di Morimond.

Al di là delle differenze, il confronto tra questi due casi di studio ha comunque evidenziato come in entrambe le aree non si registri il tipico *modus operandi* cistercense. Sia i Sicilia, sia in Moravia, ci troviamo di fronte a un'espansione non direttamente programmata dall'Ordine, ma a fondazioni di carattere privato, per gran parte su iniziativa dell'aristocrazia locale. In Moravia, tuttavia, si registra una partecipazione più attiva della casa regnante, visti gli stretti legami tra i maggiori committenti dei cenobi e la Corona boema, mentre in Sicilia prima di Federico II, se si eccettuano le richieste di Ruggero II a Bernardo, i sovrani non sembrano mai partecipare direttamente alla creazione di nuovi monasteri.

In Sicilia, d'altronde, le soluzioni architettoniche tipicamente cistercensi non vengono recepite a livello locale, mentre diventano finalmente percepibili a partire dal 1220, dopo il ritorno di Federico II dalla Germania. Al contrario, in Moravia l'arrivo "attardato" dell'Ordine si inserisce nel contesto preesistente con tutto il peso del suo bagaglio culturale e costruttivo, arricchito dal lungo percorso compiuto.

Le considerazioni scaturite dal confronto sono comunque da ritenersi provvisorie: il parallelo tra le due regioni, infatti, potrà in un prossimo futuro arricchirsi dei nuovi dati forniti, per la regione morava, dai risultati dei recenti scavi archeologici e, nel caso della Sicilia, da ulteriori ricerche documentarie che chiariscano i contesti di committenza ancora oscuri e da indagini sulle ali residenziali dei complessi monastici ancora tutte da avviare.

1 Il caso della Sicilia in età normanno-sveva

La penetrazione dell'Ordine cistercense nel Meridione italiano avvenne con ritardo rispetto al resto della Penisola. Ad impedirne di fatto l'accesso al Regno era la contrapposizione tra il sovrano normanno Ruggero II e san Bernardo di Clairvaux, sostenitori l'uno di papa Anacleto II e l'altro di papa Innocenzo II nello scisma che dilaniava l'*orbe* cristiano (1130–1139).¹ Bisognò dunque attendere la pace di Mignano (1139), per vedere finalmente le premesse all'espansione meridionale dell'Ordine, che si devono alla volontà dello stesso Ruggero II (1130–1154).² Già immediatamente dopo la pace, infatti, il re iniziò a intessere rapporti sempre più fitti con Bernardo, richiedendogli la presenza dei Cistercensi e addirittura invitando il santo in persona a istituire un nuovo cenobio in terra normanna.³ L'identità nonché l'effettiva fondazione di questa abbazia, però, costituisce ancora un problema irrisolto e, di fatto, le prime attestazioni certe sulla presenza dell'Ordine di Cîteaux risalgono al tempo del successore Guglielmo I (1154–1166).⁴

Nel caso specifico della Sicilia i primi cenobi cistercensi rimontano agli anni '60 del secolo, con gli insediamenti di S. Angelo e di S. Cristoforo di Prizzi,⁵ fondati da Matteo Bonello, signore di Caccamo e di Prizzi e protagonista dello scenario politico del tempo.⁶ Il committente intendeva così garantire la salvezza «*pro animabus patris mei et matris meae et pro mea anima*» e, almeno nel caso di S. Cristoforo, è possibile che sia stato responsabile anche della scelta di legare la nuova fondazione al monastero calabrese di S. Stefano del Bosco,⁷ considerati i legami che lo univano ai conti di Catanzaro.⁸ Il rapporto di filiazione di S. Stefano con Fossanova, inoltre,⁹ costituisce un dato significativo, in virtù del legame dell'altra fondazione di Bonello, S. Angelo, proprio con questo cenobio¹⁰ verso cui ci doveva esser un canale privilegiato che a oggi i documenti non ci consentono di chiarire.

Proprio la relazione dei monasteri di Prizzi con Fossanova costituisce un punto nodale per la comprensione del “fenomeno cistercense” in Sicilia. E' a questo sito, infatti, oltre che a Casamari – situata nella medesima provincia di Marittima e Campagna – e alla sua figlia in Calabria – S. Maria della Sambucina – che risulta connessa la quasi totalità delle fondazioni cistercensi nell'isola, poste quindi sulla linea di Clairvaux. Il patronato di Matteo Bonello per Prizzi, inoltre, evidenzia un'altra delle peculiarità siciliane: l'espansione dei monaci bianchi in questa regione, infatti, non fu programmata dall'Ordine in maniera centralizzata e dunque, nella maggioranza

¹ Theo Kölzer, La monarchia normanno-sveva e l'ordine cistercense, in: Houbert Houben – Benedetto Vetere (a cura di), *I Cistercensi nel Mezzogiorno medievale*, Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio (Martano-Latiano-Lecce, 25–27 febbraio 1991), Galatina 1994, pp. 91–116.

² Sulla questione cfr. *ibidem*, pp. 95–96.

³ I contatti sono attestati da quattro lettere, di cui tre indirizzate da Bernardo *ad Rogerium regem Siciliae* e una *ad Amedaem Altaecumbae abbatem*, v. *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, a cura di J. Leclercq, H. M. Rochais, C. H. Talbot, 8 voll., Roma 1957–1977, vol. VIII, pp. 67–69; 424.

⁴ Vedi Kölzer (nota 1), pp. 95–96; Pietro De Leo, L'insediamento cistercense nel «Regnum Siciliae»: i primi monasteri cistercensi calabresi, in *I Cistercensi nel Mezzogiorno* (vedi nota 1), pp. 317–352, in part. pp. 320–328.

⁵ Lynn Townsend White, *Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily*, Cambridge, Mass., 1938, pp. 166–167.

⁶ Silvano Borsari, s.v. Matteo Bonello, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. XI, 1969, pp. 781–782.

⁷ White (nota 5), p. 167. Sul problema di S. Stefano del Bosco, prima certosino e poi cistercense, vedi Gianfranco Gritella, *La Certosa di S. Stefano del Bosco a Serra S. Bruno: documenti per la storia di un eremo di origine normanna*, Savigliano 1991.

⁸ Borsari (nota 6).

⁹ Il legame con Fossanova è attestato con certezza documentaria solo dal 1192, ma è ragionevole fosse antecedente a questa data, v. Leopoldus Janauschek, *Originum Cistercensium tomus I*, Vindobonae 1877, p. 124.

¹⁰ Vedi White (nota 5), p. 166.

delle fondazioni, non si seguì il normale *iter* di filiazione.¹¹ La presenza cistercense, del resto, non si legò nemmeno alla volontà della Corona, che pur concedendo benefici a molti cenobi non ne fondò mai nessuno, preferendo piuttosto incrementare la rete dei monasteri greci¹². Nella maggior parte dei casi, fu la volontà di eminenti aristocratici a determinare la fortuna dei monaci di Cîteaux, spinti da motivi devozionali a erigere nuovi monasteri da donare poi all'Ordine con una ricca dote fondiaria.¹³

Contemporaneamente a Prizzi anche a Palermo si registrano vicende di patronato analoghe, con la costruzione della SS. Trinità nel quartiere islamico della Khalsa.¹⁴ La controversa data di fondazione oscilla tra il sesto decennio e la fine del secolo, ma come responsabile dell'iniziativa i documenti indicano il salernitano Matteo d'Aiello, anche lui come Bonello membro eminente della corte normanna in qualità di consigliere di casa Altavilla.¹⁵ Dopo l'ultimazione del complesso, forse a opera di Nicola, parente di d'Aiello¹⁶ -il che sottolinea la natura devozionale/familiare della committenza- la chiesa fu sottoposta a S. Spirito, nel frattempo sorto al di fuori delle mura della città.¹⁷

La vicenda di quest'ultimo cenobio si distingue per l'iniziativa della costruzione che fu presa da Gualtiero, cosiddetto Offamillo, arcivescovo di Palermo dal 1168 al 1190 e consigliere di re Guglielmo II (1166–1189),¹⁸ con finalità diverse dalla devozione privata e in accordo con i monaci della Sambucina. L'erezione dell'abbazia infatti, protrattasi dal 1173 al 1178, si legò alla necessità di portare avanti la latinizzazione della popolazione, per gran parte di cultura greca. Se, fino ad allora, tale operazione aveva visto in campo i Benedettini di osservanza regolare e, nello specifico di Palermo, il monastero di S. Giovanni degli Eremiti, adesso la rivalità con la nascente sede episcopale di Monreale retta proprio dai monaci neri costrinse Gualtiero a rivolgersi ai Cistercensi per un ruolo finora inedito per loro in queste terre.¹⁹

Ancora nella parte occidentale dell'isola le vicende di S. Maria di Rifesì nella diocesi di Agrigento ricordano quelle dei siti appena trattati: l'abbazia è ricordata in un *privilegium* del 1170 come fondazione del nobile Ansaldo, regio castellano di Guglielmo II, ma è occupata dai Cistercensi, esuli dalla SS. Trinità di Refech in Siria, solo l'anno seguente.²⁰

A partire dall'epoca di Guglielmo I anche nella Sicilia orientale si andava configurando un'analogo quadro insediativo con modalità di patronato simili. Tralasciando la fondazione piuttosto oscura di S. Maria di Novara in Valdemone nel 1160, di cui è nota solo l'affiliazione alla

¹¹ Il meccanismo di filiazione è ben sintetizzato in E. Jamrozak, *The Cistercian Order in Medieval Europe 1090–1500*, Oxon 2013, pp. 50–51.

¹² Sotto Ruggero I addirittura il 60% dei privilegi era destinato in prevalenza alle istituzioni greche e, solo in seconda battuta, ai cenobi benedettini, vedi Kölzer (vedi nota 1), pp. 98, 114.

¹³ Riguardo le attività economiche dei monaci in Sicilia, sembra che essi si dedicassero soprattutto all'allevamento, vedi Rinaldo Comba, *Le scelte economiche dei monaci bianchi del Regno di Sicilia (XII–XIII) secolo: un modello cistercense?*, in *I Cistercensi nel Mezzogiorno* (v. nota 1), pp. 117–162.

¹⁴ Giulia Davì, Santina Grasso, *Introduzione all'architettura cistercense in Sicilia. Le chiese di S. Spirito e della SS. Trinità a Palermo, in I Cistercensi e il Lazio*, Atti delle giornate di studio dell'Istituto di Storia dell'arte dell'Università di Roma (17–21 maggio 1977), pp. 99–110.

¹⁵ Francesco Panarelli, s.v. Matteo d'Aiello, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. LXXII, 2008, pp. 212–216.

¹⁶ Vedi Janauscek (nota 9), p. 196.

¹⁷ Vedi Davì-Grasso (nota 14), pp. 105–108.

¹⁸ Fulvio Delle Donne, s.v. Gualtiero, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. LX, 2003, pp. 224–227.

¹⁹ Salvatore Fodale, *I Cistercensi nella Sicilia medievale, in I Cistercensi nel Mezzogiorno medievale* (vedi nota 1) pp. 353–371, in part. p. 354. In altre regioni europee, invece, di norma i Cistercensi svolgevano addirittura attività di cristianizzazione, v. E. Jamrozak, *Centres and peripheries*, in: Mette Birkedal Bruun (a cura di), *The Cambridge Companion to the Cistercian order*, Cambridge 2003, pp. 55–79, in part. pp. 66–68.

²⁰ Enrico Pizzoli, *S. Maria di Rifesì: una figlia dell'Oriente latino*, *Arte medievale*, 2015, in preparazione.

Sambucina,²¹ è significativo invece considerare il caso di S. Maria di Roccamadore a Tremestieri. Il sito, poco a sud di Messina, fu assegnato ai monaci di Novara dopo la fondazione nel 1193 da parte di Bartolomeo de Luci, conte di Paternò e Butera e giustiziere di Calabria, come *ex voto* al ritorno dal santuario di Rocamadour nella Dordogne francese.²²

A fronte della ricchezza dei dati documentari che testimoniano il moltiplicarsi dei cenobi cistercensi sull'isola, le evidenze materiali oggi visibili sono scarse: gli insediamenti di Prizzi sono scomparsi e quelli in Valdemone hanno subito manomissioni radicali. I monumenti superstiti, però, testimoniano il permanere di soluzioni costruttive locali, legate ai canoni dell'architettura normanna, piuttosto che la diffusione del lessico borgognone che in altre aree della Penisola italiana aveva determinato un radicale rinnovamento artistico proprio tramite l'apporto cistercense.²³ Il conservatorismo costruttivo si nota innanzitutto nelle planimetrie che, come da locale tradizione, vedono il giustapporsi di due blocchi:²⁴ il corpo contenente navate di solito scarsamente sviluppate in lunghezza (SS. Trinità) e l'ampio presbiterio spesso a impianto centralizzato (SS. Trinità e S. Spirito; S. Maria di Rifesi) con absidi in ogni caso semicircolari [fig. 1]. Tipicamente normanni sono anche l'impiego dell'arco acuto di ascendenza islamica a ripartire gli alzati, l'utilizzo di coperture lignee e il trattamento decorativo delle pareti esterne, modulate da serie di archeggiature cieche, talvolta intrecciate, e arricchite da partiti bicromi [fig. 2]. E' evidente che alla base di tale scelte vi furono il tipo di patronato e le modalità di insediamento dell'Ordine sull'isola che non consentirono l'intervento sistematico di cantieri scuola provenienti dall'abbazia-madre, come era consuetudine dell'Ordine,²⁵ bensì l'impiego esclusivo di maestranze locali.

Con la conquista sveva della Sicilia (1194) si aprì un lungo periodo di instabilità politica protrattasi fino al ritorno di Federico II (1198–1250) dalla Germania nel 1220. Le notizie sulle abbazie cistercensi si fanno ora più scarse: del cenobio femminile della Badiazza presso Messina non sono note circostanze di fondazione e linea di filiazione e la sua natura cistercense si desume dai privilegi di Costanza d'Altavilla e di Federico II;²⁶ la scomparsa S. Maria *de Arcu* a Noto è collegata alla figura di Isimbardo *de Morengia* signore di Noto nel 1212 e all'abbazia campana di S. Maria di Ferrara;²⁷ S. Nicola di Agrigento, infine, sembrerebbe fondata nel 1219 e correlata a Casamari.²⁸ All'epoca di Federico II, inoltre, è ricondotta l'incompiuta Basilica del Murgo ad Agnone Bagni, in diocesi di Siracusa, che una tarda tradizione erudita lega a un intervento diretto dell'imperatore che intendeva spostare qui i monaci di S. Maria di Roccadia, costituendo così la prima fondazione cistercense espressamente voluta dalla Corona.²⁹

Se per l'età sveva il quadro documentario si presenta lacunoso, al contrario le evidenze monumentali testimoniano con chiarezza un deciso cambiamento rispetto all'epoca normanna.³⁰ Tra

²¹ White (nota 5), p. 182.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 183. Sul committente si rimanda a Carlo Alberto Garufi, La contea di Paternò e i de Luci, *Archivio storico per la Sicilia orientale* X, 1913, pp. 160–180.

²³ Sul caso emblematico del Lazio meridionale vedi Elisa Parziale, *L'abbazia cistercense di Fossanova: le dipendenze in Marittima e l'influenza sulla produzione artistica locale tra XII e XIV secolo*, Roma 2007.

²⁴ In generale, sull'architettura siciliana di epoca normanna si veda Giuseppe Bellafigliore, *Architettura in Sicilia nelle età islamica e normanna* (827–1194), Palermo 1990.

²⁵ Sul complesso tema si rimanda, anche per la bibliografia, ad *vocem* Cistercensi, in *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, vol. IV, Roma 1993, pp. 816–871.

²⁶ Antonino Principato, *Badiazza. La chiesa di S. Maria della Scala nella Valle a Messina*, Messina 1991, pp. 8–21.

²⁷ Vedi Janauschek (nota 9), p. 216.

²⁸ Giuseppe Agnello, Una chiesa cistercense di Sicilia: S. Nicolò di Agrigento, in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Mario Salmi*, vol. I, Roma 1961, pp. 309–323.

²⁹ Jean Louis Alphonse Huillard-Bréholles, *Historia diplomatica Friderici secundi*, vol. I, Paris 1855, p. 454.

³⁰ In generale sull'architettura di quest'epoca e sulla relativa bibliografia, vedi Pio Francesco Pistilli, s. v. Sicilia, Secoli 13°–14°, in *Enciclopedia dell'arte medievale*, vol. X, Roma 1999, pp. 605–611.



▲ **Fig. 1** Palermo, SS. Trinità, seconda metà del secolo XII, abbaziale, fronte meridionale.
Foto: Autore



◀ **Fig. 2** Burgio (Agrigento), S. Maria di Rivesi, seconda metà del secolo XII, abbaziale, prospetto absidale.
Foto: Enrico Pizzoli

tutti, il caso della Badiazza ben esemplifica la fase di transizione dalla tradizione architettonica del secolo precedente. Se infatti il suo impianto richiama ancora la mole quadrangolare di S. Spirito a Palermo, l'organizzazione delle navate articolate in campate voltate su pilastri, rettangolari nella maggiore e quadrate nelle minori, richiama esplicitamente i modelli dell'Ordine [fig. 3]. Altrettanto innovativa per il contesto siculo è l'abbaziale di S. Nicola ad Agrigento, una mononave coperta da botti cinghiate su pilastri quadrati e scandita da poderose membrature architettoniche che ne articolano l'alzato quasi a riproporre i modelli delle origini dell'Ordine. La basilica del Murgio, infine, è la prima fondazione siciliana ad essere impostata con criteri modulari, con campate quadrate che presupponevano coperture a crociera, mentre le membrature murarie e la plastica del portale mostrano una precisa rispondenza con i cantieri imperiali nella Sicilia orientale e in particolare con il poco più tardo Castel Maniace a Siracusa.³¹ Il Murgio rappresenta dunque l'anello di congiunzione tra la cultura cistercense e la grande stagione dell'architettura federiciana che prende avvio proprio contestualmente alla sua erezione (1220–1230) e che dalle consuetudini costruttive di Cîteaux trae fondamento, dando vita a quel rinnovamento del linguaggio plastico e architettonico, preludio alla nascita del Gotico italiano.



Fig. 3 Messina, S. Maria della Valle detta Badiazza, inizi del secolo XIII, abbaziale, navata centrale, dettaglio delle coperture. Foto: Autore

³¹ Giuseppe Agnello, *L'architettura sveva in Sicilia*, Roma 1935, pp. 233–248; Antonio Cadei, Introduzione, in *Federico II e la Sicilia, dalla terra alla corona. Archeologia e architettura*, cat. della mostra a cura di C. A. Di Stefano e A. Cadei (Palermo 1994–1995), Palermo 1995, pp. 449–463; Salvatore Arturo Alberti, La basilica del Murgio, in *ibidem*, pp. 448–451.

2 In Europa centrale: il caso moravo

A differenza della Sicilia i primi Cistercensi arrivarono in Moravia con notevole ritardo,³² a partire dai primi anni del XIII secolo e, al contrario alla prima fondazione siciliana, sulla prima fondazione Morava a Velehrad siamo ben informati. Gli Statuti dell'Ordine,³³ infatti, affermano che nel 1204, su richiesta del vescovo olomucense, gli abati di *Evra* (Ebrach in Baviera) e *Pomo* (Nepomuk in Boemia) furono incaricati di effettuare una visita preliminare nell'area con lo scopo di fondare un nuovo monastero. I percorsi che condussero i monaci bianchi da Morimond in Moravia dovettero necessariamente essere mediati dalla Boemia, per motivi di opportunità politica – vista la natura del nuovo Margraviato moravo³⁴ – e di collocazione geografica, per la posizione intermedia della regione boema nel percorso di filiazione.³⁵ Della complessità delle relazioni politico-culturali tra Boemia e Moravia è testimone lo stesso processo di introduzione dell'Ordine nelle due regioni che seguì vie differenti. La prima fondazione boema a Sedlec³⁶ risale al 1142 e poté giovare dell'intermediazione del vescovo di Olomouc (Moravia) Enrico Zdico (1126–1150)³⁷ che era in stretti rapporti con Eugenio III (1145–1153), primo pontefice cistercense, e con lo stesso san Bernardo,³⁸ tanto da essere stato probabilmente lui a portare nel 1147 da Regensburg le missive del santo, ritrovate nel XIX secolo presso l'Archivio provinciale di Olomouc³⁹, tra cui quella che invitava Vladislao II alla partecipazione alla II crociata.⁴⁰

In questa stessa epoca stranamente non si registra un analogo tentativo a “colonizzazione cistercense” in terra morava che si realizza solo più tardi. Inoltre, a Sedlec, l'iniziativa materiale della fondazione avviene per mano di un aristocratico⁴¹ ben diverso è il caso della prima fondazione morava a Velehrad nel 1205.⁴² L'importanza strategica di quest'abbazia per l'assetto del Margraviato e di tutto il Regno è sottolineata dalla presenza dello stesso re e della regina Costanza d'Ungheria (1199–1230) alla consacrazione nel 1228.⁴³ Velehrad, d'altronde, avrebbe rivestito un ruolo fondamentale in virtù della sua collocazione lungo l'instabile confine con lo stato ungherese; le tradizionali capacità dei monaci bianchi di impiegare i più moderni sistemi agricoli e produttivi, inoltre, avrebbero facilitato l'antropizzazione di quest'area.

³² Questo ingresso tardivo è forse dovuto alle divergenze politiche di Vladislao II e la sua appartenenza al gruppo di sostenitori dell'imperatore Barbarossa. Di conseguenza un ampliamento dell'influenza dell'Ordine politicamente molto attivo nelle terre a lui legate non era proprio auspicabile, vedi Kateřina Charvátová, *Dějiny cisterciáckého řádu v Čechách 1142–1420*, I, Praha 1998, pp. 96.

³³ *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, vol. I., a cura di Jean Marie Canivez, Louvain 1933, p. 305, n. 44.

³⁴ Il nuovo Margraviato rappresentò un'evoluzione dei complessi rapporti boemo-moravi, a tutt'oggi non definitivamente chiariti, vedi Josef Žemlička, *Tertius rex Boemorum: Přemysl Otakar I., král na rozhraní epoch*, in: *Cisterciáci na Moravě: Sborník k 800. výročí příchodu cisterciáků na Moravu a počátek Velehradu*, a cura di Miloslav Pojsl, Olomouc 2006, pp. 42–52; Idem, *Čechy v době knížecí*, Praha 1997, pp. 252–253;

³⁵ Il percorso di filiazione che arrivava in Moravia è il seguente: Morimond (1115), Ebrach (1127), Langheim (1133), Plasy (1144), Velehrad (1205). Vedi Charvátová (nota 32), pp. 211–213.

³⁶ Vedi Charvátová (nota 32), pp. 139–208.

³⁷ Vedi Charvátová (nota 32), pp. 92–96.

³⁸ Jiří Hanuš et al., *Christianizace českých zemí ve středoevropské perspektivě*, Brno 2011, p. 138.

³⁹ Libuše Hrabová, *Výzvy Bernarda z Clairvaux ke druhé křížové výpravě a jejich pozdější souvislosti*, in: *Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis, Historica* 33, Olomouc 2007, s. 53–65; Hanuš (nota 38), p. 138.

⁴⁰ PL182, Epistola 458, 652–654.

⁴¹ Vedi Janauschek (nota 9), p. 78.

⁴² Vedi Janauschek (nota 9), p. 211.

⁴³ Miloslav Pojsl, *Velehrad, stavební památky bývalého cisterciáckého kláštera*, Brno 1990, p. 48.

Nel caso di Velehrad si è di fronte a una committenza diretta della casata regnante per opera del margravio Vladislao Enrico (1192–1194, 1197–1222), fratello del re boemo Ottocaro I (1198–1230), in collaborazione con il vescovo olomucense Roberto (1201–1240)⁴⁴ fervido sostenitore dell'Ordine.⁴⁵ I dati storici comunque confermano sia nel caso boemo, sia in quello moravo, che le nuove fondazioni non avvenivano per iniziativa diretta dell'Ordine, ma su richiesta esplicita della committenza locale. Chiamare i Cistercensi era infatti garanzia di sicuro prestigio e della buona riuscita dei nuovi insediamenti. Ma certamente giocarono un ruolo fondamentale gli stretti rapporti con l'Ordine di molti dei protagonisti delle nuove fondazioni.

Analoghi meccanismi regolano il sorgere delle altre abbazie cistercensi in Moravia, complessivamente sei,⁴⁶ se in questo numero includiamo anche la *Thronus regis*,⁴⁷ che vide luce solo sulla carta. Dopo Velehrad, le due successive fondazioni, Oslavany – *Vallis sanctae Mariae*⁴⁸ – e Tišnov – *Porta Coeli*⁴⁹ – rappresentano una peculiarità nell'orizzonte moravo, in quanto cenobi femminili. Di tutte le fondazioni cistercensi in Moravia, infatti, ben tre sono colonizzate da donne, un dato significativo da mettere in rapporto con il canone XIII del IV Concilio Lateranense (1215) che vietò la fondazione di nuovi ordini,⁵⁰ e con il conseguente bisogno di numerose comunità femminili di cercare un'istituzione sotto cui porsi.⁵¹ Anche Oslavany e Tišnov hanno goduto del supporto del vescovo olomucense Roberto nel periodo in cui la Moravia era diventata luogo privilegiato per il ritiro delle vedove sia dei governatori moravi, sia dei sovrani boemi. Questa tradizione ha avuto la sua continuità fino al secolo XIV, nella fondazione brunense di *Aula Sanctae Mariae*⁵² da parte della regina boema e polacca Elisa Richenza (1288–1335) nel 1323.

Il monastero di Oslavany, inoltre, costituì la prima fondazione femminile non soltanto nel Margraviato moravo, ma in tutto il Regno di Boemia. La sua istituzione risale al 1225 per volere di Heilwida,⁵³ vedova del margravio Vladislao Enrico già fondatore di Velehrad, con l'affiancamento spirituale del vescovo Roberto. La fondazione di Tišnov [fig. 4], invece, è forse la più emblematica di Moravia per le modalità di patronato. Fu Costanza, vedova del re Ottocaro I, madre del re boemo Venceslao I (1230–1253) e del margravio moravo Přemysl (1228–1239), che, impossibilitata probabilmente per motivi politici di impiantare un nuovo convento cistercense femminile a Praga, ripiegò su un vecchio progetto mai realizzato di Ottocaro I.⁵⁴ La fondazione di Vizovice (*Rosa Mariae*)⁵⁵ del 1261, infine, filiazione di Velehrad, è stata la prima fondazione privata dell'aristocrazia locale, attuata senza il supporto dei governanti.

⁴⁴ *Das Granum Catalogi praesulum Moraviae* Loserth, J. (ed.), Wien 1892, p. 37; Eva Svobodová, *Olomoucký biskup Robert a církevní řády na Moravě*, tesi di laurea magistrale Universitá Palacký di Olomouc, Olomouc 2010, pp. 1–4.

⁴⁵ Anche le successive due fondazioni morave Oslavany (1225) e Tišnov (1234), sono legate all'attività di questo vescovo. Vedi Svobodová (nota 43), pp. 10–47.

⁴⁶ Si usa questa distinzione geografica in base al lavoro di Kateřina Charvátová, che include Žďár nel novero delle fondazioni boeme. Vedi Charvátová (nota 32), p. 108.

⁴⁷ Jiří Kuthan, *Die Mittelalterliche Baukunst Der Zisterzienser in Böhmen und in Mähren*, Berlin 1982, p. 273; Charvátová (nota 32), pp. 230, 237.

⁴⁸ Vedi Kuthan (nota 47), p. 259; Charvátová (nota 32), p. 105.

⁴⁹ Vedi Kuthan (nota 47), p. 274; Charvátová (nota 32), p. 105.

⁵⁰ Antonio García y García, *Las constituciones del Concilio IV Lateranense de 1215* Innocenzo III, in «*Urbs et Orbis*». Atti del Congresso Internazionale. Roma, 9–15 settembre 1998, Roma, 2003, pp. 200–24.

⁵¹ Louis Lekai, *I Cistercensi. Ideali e realtà*, Firenze 1989, p. 525.

⁵² Vedi Kuthan (nota 47), p. 265; Charvátová (nota 32), p. 105.

⁵³ Martin Wihoda, *Vladislav Jindřich*, Brno 2007, pp. 175–181.

⁵⁴ *Codex diplomaticus nec non epistolaris regni Bohemiae*, III/1, ed. Gustav Friedrich, Praha 1942, s. 97–100.

⁵⁵ Vedi Janaschek (nota 9), p. 256.



Fig. 4 Předklášteří u Tišnova, secondo quarto del secolo XIII, abbaziale, prospetto principale. Foto: Autore

Di tutti questi cenobi, Velehrad rappresenta senz'altro il monumento più significativo dell'apporto cistercense nelle tradizioni costruttive locali, ma anche in rapporto al sito, tradizionalmente legato alle vicende altomedievali della Gran Moravia e al luogo di culto dei primi cristiani slavi.⁵⁶

La veste attuale dell'abbazia si presenta radicalmente rimaneggiata in epoche posteriori,⁵⁷ ma quel che rimane e ciò che è emerso in seguito ai sondaggi archeologici consente di ricostruire con sufficiente precisione la sua planimetria originaria, soprattutto relativamente alla sua abbaziale.⁵⁸ L'impianto di quest'ultima era a croce latina a tre navate, con le absidi orientate verso est [fig. 5], mentre sul lato sud si articolava attorno al chiostro il complesso monastico, come era consuetudine per la maggior parte degli impianti dell'Ordine. Grazie allo studio dei

⁵⁶ La conoscenza di questo luogo nel periodo di fondazione era pressoché confusa, vedi Pojzl (nota 43), pp. 12–13.

⁵⁷ Per la vicenda costruttiva dal XVII secolo in poi si rimanda a Miloslav Pojzl, *Velehrad v památkách osmi století*, Praha 1997, pp. 35–60.

⁵⁸ Vedi Pojzl (nota 43), pp. 103–142; per gli ultimi aggiornamenti: *Nové objevy na Velehradě*, ed. Miloslav Pojzl, Velehrad 2010; Zdeněk Schenk, Jan Mikulík, *Předběžné výsledky záchranného archeologického výzkumu na Velehradě*, *Slovácko*, n. 53, 2012, pp. 195–216.

segni lapidari di Miloslav Pojsl,⁵⁹ è stato possibile ripercorrere l'andamento del cantiere che si distingue per l'avvicendamento di tre gruppi distinti di costruttori che lavoravano, gli uni, all'erezione del presbiterio e del transetto, gli altri, alla navata e alla facciata occidentale (con una partecipazione al cantiere del convento sui lati sud e ovest) e, infine, gli ultimi alla parte est del complesso residenziale.



Fig. 5 Velehrad, abbaziale, anni '20 del secolo XIII, prospetto orientale. Foto: Autore

Le caratteristiche planimetriche e le modalità di progressione del cantiere sottolineano la pertinenza di questa abbazia a una tarda generazione⁶⁰ di costruttori che sempre meno si attengono alle direttive costruttive dell'Ordine.⁶¹ Tale considerazione è suffragata dall'analisi del mosaico

⁵⁹ Miloslav Pojsl, Příspěvek k problematice stavebních hutí ve 13. století na Moravě, in: *Cisterciáci na Moravě: Sborník k 800. výročí příchodu cisterciáků na Moravu a počátek Velehradu*, ed. Miloslav Pojsl, Olomouc 2006, pp. 42–52; ID. Čechy v době knížecí, Praha 1997, pp. 276–277.

⁶⁰ cfr. Hanno Hahn, *Die frühe Kirchenbaukunst der Zisterzienser*, Berlin 1957. – Matthias Untermann, *Forma ordinis, Die mittelalterliche Baukunst der Zisterzienser*, Berlin 2001.

⁶¹ Le prime direttive che regolarono le costruzioni erano contenute già nei *Capitula*, raccolti in occasione della richiesta di approvazione da parte di Callisto II nel 1119. Vedi Claudio Stercal, Milvia Fioroni (ed.), *Le origini cistercensi*, Milano 2004, pp. 49; e negli *Istituta generalis capituli apud Cistercium*, Ibidem, pp. 169; san Bernardo,

pavimentale⁶² emerso durante gli scavi e oggi conservato nel Capitolo [fig. 6]. L'ipotesi di datazione lo colloca nel secondo quarto del secolo XIII, forse entro il 1228, data della consacrazione della chiesa abbaziale; in ogni caso, la cronologia è posteriore al 1218, quando nell'Ordine viene espressamente proibito l'utilizzo della pavimentazione.⁶³ D'altronde, è generalmente riconosciuto come spesso non si tenesse conto di ciò che il Capitolo di Cîteaux emanava già da quando san Bernardo era ancora in vita, e con il passare degli anni la situazione andava progressivamente peggiorando.⁶⁴ Nel caso della Moravia, però, l'allontanamento dai canoni dell'Ordine contribuì ad aprire il contesto locale ai nuovi stimoli che provenivano dalle altre regioni europee.



Fig. 6 Velehrad, abbazia, secondo quarto del secolo XIII, dettaglio del mosaico rinvenuto. Foto: Autore

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Apologia ad Guillelmum Abbatem, in: Ferruccio Gastaldelli (a cura di), *Opere di san Bernardo*, I, Milano 1984, pp. 158–217.

⁶² I frammenti sono stati rinvenuti nelle due campagne di scavo dei primi del XX secolo. Vedi Miloslav Pojzl, *Raně středověká mozaiková dlažba na Velehradě*, in: *Cisterciáci na Moravě: Sborník k 800. výročí příchodu cisterciáků na Moravu a počátek Velehradu*, a cura di Miloslav Pojzl, Olomouc 2006, pp. 253–258.

⁶³ Vedi Lekai (nota 51), p. 321.

⁶⁴ Vedi Lekai (nota 51), p. 325.

Einige Aspekte der künstlerischen Beziehungen zwischen den böhmischen und österreichischen Ländern während des Hochmittelalters, insbesondere im Bereich der Buchmalerei

Certain Aspects of Artistic Relationships between the Czech and Austrian Lands in the High Middle Ages, Specifically with Reference to Book Illumination

Abstract | Roughly to the mid-14th century it was activity particularly in Lower Austria that influenced the Czech lands. The homiliary from the Zemský archiv in Olomouc, no. CO 258 from the 13th century, is an import from Lower Austria, while close ties to Lower Austrian cultural centres are confirmed by the 'Zackenstil' of later missals nos. CO 585 (Olomouc) and 18 (Archiv města Brna). The elements of a new Gothic style emerged in the initials of 'fleuronnée' type in the Moravian missal no. CO 141 from the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, and fully developed in the gradual no. CO 195, created in the Olomouc diocese in the 1320s but illuminated by an artist evidently trained in Lower Austria. Further ties to Lower Austria are documented by the ornament of a group of liturgical manuscripts from the second quarter of the 14th century, including gradual no. CO 2, with numerous high-quality fleuroné initials, or homiliary no. CO 12, in which we find, alongside analogies with the initials from the manuscripts for Eliška Rejčka, striking motifs of Lower Austrian origin. The immediate background of the production in this region is further documented by the imported missal no. M III 44 from the Vědecká knihovna Olomouc, created c. 1330 evidently in the Benedictine abbey in Garsten. The culmination of these Moravian-Austrian relations is presented by missal no. CO 131, created in the Olomouc diocese c. 1350. Its chief illuminator unquestionably was trained in one of the scriptoriums of Lower Austria, where he was introduced to new tendencies both from the lower Rhineland and from northern Italy. This anonymous artist prefigured a further important chapter in the development of painting in the Czech lands, exemplified by the 'Master of the Travel Breviary' of Johann von Neumarkt in the area of book illumination and Master Theodoricus in panel painting.

Keywords | Book illumination – gothic style – Lower Austria – Moravia

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Die beachtenswerte, seit der Spätantike dokumentierte, kulturelle und künstlerische Entwicklung der österreichischen Länder wirkte bekanntermaßen auch auf andere mitteleuropäische Gebiete, einschließlich der böhmischen Regionen ein. In zuletzt erwähnter Hinsicht sind diese Tatsachen in der bisherigen Literatur eher gelegentlich oder am Rande in Erinnerung gerufen worden, während Versuche ihrer systematischeren Behandlung einstweilen fehlen, vielleicht mit Ausnahme der Denkmäler aus der späteren Zeit des Barock, wo bedeutende, künstlerische Bindungen der böhmischen Länder an Österreich nicht zuletzt auch durch die staatsrechtliche Zugehörigkeit zur Habsburgermonarchie bedingt wurden. Die Beurteilung dieser Beziehungen in der Epoche des Mittelalters zwischen den zwei benachbarten Ländern, die sich sowohl durch unterschiedliche Intensität und Frequenz, als auch durch die Form ihrer Rezeption auszeichneten, erlaubt hier vorläufig drei bedeutende Etappen zu unterscheiden. Diese werden freilich durch bestimmte Unterschiede gekennzeichnet, nicht nur in der Kategorie der Architektur und der figürlichen Künste, besonders der Bildhauerei und der Malerei, sondern auch in den einzelnen Phasen der erwähnten Prozesses. Der erste dieser Zeitabschnitte, der das Früh- und Hochmittelalter umfasst – hinsichtlich der erhaltenen Denkmäler aus böhmischen Regionen konkreter vom 12. bis zur Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts – wird durch eine Übernahme verschiedener Anregungen seitens der böhmischen Länder aus dem Gebiet Österreichs charakterisiert. Ein umgekehrtes Verhältnis kann man in der folgenden Etappe von der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts ungefähr bis zum zweiten Viertel des 15. Jahrhunderts konstatieren, als Künstler aus österreichischen Ländern sich oftmals von bedeutenden Werken böhmischer Provenienz, beziehungsweise von den Werkstätte in Prag inspirieren ließen, das unter Karl IV. Metropole des Reichs mit den einschlägigen Attributen eines bedeutenden Kulturzentrums wurde und von dem Einflüsse in alle Richtungen ausstrahlten. Das betrifft vor allem das Hofmilieu Wiens, wo außerdem auch Luxushandschriften bedeutend Anwendung fanden. Schließlich lässt sich der dritte Zeitraum etwa von der Mitte des 15. bis zum Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts festlegen, als die Kunst der österreichischen Länder eine weitere Phase ihrer Blüte erlebte, während die Produktion der böhmischen Regionen eine gewisse Stagnation der vorangegangenen Periode der Hussitenkriege überwand. Überdies war die künstlerische Entwicklung beider Gebiete damals mehr oder weniger ausgeprägt und durch eine allgemeine, beziehungsweise mitteleuropäisch gültige Orientierung an den neuen, vor allem in den Niederlanden formulierten Tendenzen gekennzeichnet, während die gegenseitigen Kontakte zwischen den österreichischen und böhmischen Ländern in dieser Sphäre sich eher durch gelegentlichen Charakter auszeichneten.¹

Die erwähnte führende Stellung der künstlerischen Entwicklung der österreichischen Gebiete, besonders in den Kategorien der figürlichen Künste im Rahmen Mitteleuropas – einschließlich der böhmischen Länder – ergibt sich auch aus der beachtenswerten kreativen und eigentümlichen Adaption von Anregungen, die aus den höchst entwickeltsten Zentren der damaligen Zeit geschöpft wurden, besonders aus Westeuropa, wie das Maasgebiet und Nordfrankreich und weiter aus dem Süden waren, namentlich aus Norditalien und Byzanz. Die künstlerischen Errungenschaften der erwähnten Gebiete wirkten auf Österreich nicht nur vermittelt, sondern in relativ häufigen Fällen auch direkt ein, dank vieler Ausländer, in einigen Fällen sogar durch herausragende und in ihren Individualitäten eindeutig belegten oder sogar identifizierbaren

¹ Den Beziehungen zwischen den böhmischen und österreichischen Ländern im Mittelalter war eine internationale Konferenz gewidmet, deren Teilnehmer sich jedoch mit der hier vorgelegten Problematik nur am Rande beschäftigt haben: *Kontakte und Konflikte: Böhmen, Mähren und Österreich: Aspekte eines Jahrtausends gemeinsamer Geschichte. Referate des Symposium „Verbindendes und Trennendes an der Grenze“ vom 24. bis 27. Oktober 1992 in Zwettl* (hrsg. Thomas Winkelbauer), Waidhofen an der Thaya 1993, und weiter *Česko-rakouské vztahy ve 13. století: Sborník příspěvků ze symposia konaného 26–27. září 1996 ve Znojme* (hrsg. Marie Bláhová – Ivan Hlaváček), Praha 1998.

Künstlern.² Demgegenüber war das Vordringen von Elementen neuer künstlerischer Tendenzen im Bereich des figürlichen Schaffens sowohl aus Westeuropa wie auch aus dem Süden in die böhmischen Länder von Anfang an auf die vermittelnde Rolle der deutschen Gebiete wie Franken, Sachsen und nicht zuletzt desgleichen Österreichs angewiesen.

Die vorgelegten Überlegungen konzentrieren sich nichtsdestoweniger auf die Untersuchung einiger Aspekte, welche die wechselseitigen Kontakte der beiden erwähnten und geographisch einander benachbarten mitteleuropäischen Regionen während der ersten der erwähnten Epochen, beziehungsweise vor allem im Zeitraum der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts und weiter im Bereich des malerischen Schaffens, besonders der Buchillumination, betreffen. Diese Begrenzung ist sowohl durch die größere Anzahl erhaltener Denkmäler der Buchmalerei aus beiden Regionen als auch durch die Möglichkeit bedingt, mit ausreichender Anschaulichkeit den höchst bemerkenswerten Prozess der Rezeption und lokalen Transformation des neuen, gotischen Stil zu untersuchen. Architekturdenkmäler, wo die neuen Stilformen schon weit früher Anwendung fanden, genauso wie Werke der Bildhauerei bleiben her ausser Acht, nicht nur hinsichtlich der Notwendigkeit, einen angemessenen Umfang der vorliegenden Studie zu wahren, sondern auch aus Gründen von etwas unterschiedlichen, beziehungsweise spezifischen methodologischen Aspekten, die das Forschung der Objekte der beiden zuletzt genannten Kategorie erfordert.

Die oben ins Gedächtnis gerufene künstlerische Entwicklung in den österreichischen Ländern des Hochmittelalters weist Zeichen einer älteren, bis in die Spätantike zurückreichenden Tradition aus, welche auch dank der relativ zahlreichen Werke erkennbar sind, die von einer weit intensiveren und in vieler Hinsicht auch qualitativ herausragenden Produktion der zugehörigen Zentren zeugen. Es geht also um Tatsachen, die diesen Länder eine bedeutende, wenn nicht in einigen Entwicklungsphasen eine dominante Stellung im Rahmen Mitteleuropas, einschließlich der böhmischen Regionen, sicherten. Beim Beurteilen der Statistik der sonst nicht sehr zahlreichen Denkmäler der Buch- und Wandmalerei in den böhmischen Ländern des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts, die einzelne Werke unterschiedlicher Qualität umfasst, wird ihre völlig isolierte Stellung deutlich, wenn sich zwischen ihnen kaum überzeugend irgendwelche gegenseitigen Verbindungen oder eine Entwicklungskontinuität finden lassen. Es überrascht deswegen nicht, dass diese Werke mehr Vorlagen tributpflichtig waren, die aus den höher entwickelten auswärtigen Gebieten schöpften, vor allem aus den an das westliche Grenzgebiet Böhmens anstoßenden, nächsten deutschen Ländern und Zentren wie Salzburg oder die Werkstätten der sog. „bayerischen Malerschule“, aber weiter auch aus südlicher Richtung, wo die fernerer italienischen Gebiete und zu einem gewissen Grade auch Byzanz Inspiration boten, wenn auch gewöhnlicherweise indirekt und vermittelt. In dieser Hinsicht ist es hier möglich, schon unter den Schöpfungen der romanischen Malerei des 11. und 12. Jahrhunderts eine gewisse Differenzierung zwischen der eigentlichen Region Böhmens einerseits und Mähren andererseits zu beobachten. Die heute erhaltenen Werke, die damals in Böhmen entstanden sind beziehungsweise für Böhmen bestimmt waren, zeigen nämlich überwiegend die Bindungen an Bayern.³ Demgegenüber neigen

² Als erster der bedeutenden, aus fremden Kunstwerkstätten nach Österreich gekommenen Künstlerpersönlichkeiten kann man den Goldschmied Nikolaus von Verdun nennen, der am Ende der romanischen Epoche im Bereich des heutigen Belgien und in Köln wirkte und 1181 für das Augustinerkloster Klosterneuburg eine umfangreiche Reihe von Emaildarstellungen vollendete, die später in der Gestalt eines Flügelaltars montiert wurden. (Dazu neuerlich und zusammenfassend Hermann Fillitz, in: *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich. Früh- und Hochmittelalter* [hrsg. Hermann Fillitz], München–New York 1998, Nr. 281, S. 575–577).

³ In erster Linie geht es um Illuminationen des sog. Vyšehrad Codex, Prag, Národní knihovna ČR, XIV A 13, der in einer bislang nicht überzeugend identifizierten Werkstatt in Bayern anlässlich der Königskrönung von Vratislav I. im Jahre 1085 zusammen mit weiteren drei liturgischen Handschriften entstanden ist: mit dem St. Veit-Evangelistar, Prag, Archiv Pražského hradu, fond Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, Cim. 3, mit

die damaligen Werke romanischer Malerei in Mähren – wie es scheint – zu den österreichischen Zentren, sowohl in der Anzahl wie auch in der Intensität der Rezeption dieser Anregungen.⁴ Am anschaulichsten zeugen davon die umfangreichen Wandmalereien in der Katharinenkapelle in Znaim (Znojmo), deren Schöpfer zweifellos im Gebiet der heutigen Steiermark geschult waren.⁵

Zu einer ausgeprägten Bereicherung des Spektrums fremder Einflüsse, aus denen die Maler in den böhmischen Ländern schöpften, kam es während des 13. Jahrhunderts, das auch allgemein einen Zeitraum der Intensivierung der kulturellen und künstlerischen Tätigkeit in allen schöpferischen Kategorien darstellte. Unter den erhaltenen Denkmälern dominiert hier die Architektur, während die figürlichen Künste in einer markanten Minderzahl vertreten sind. Ihre Werke dokumentieren das Auftreten neuer Entwicklungstendenzen, deren Beurteilung durch den komplizierten Verlauf erschwert wird, und wenn noch überdies, ähnlich wie in den vorangegangenen Phasen – immerzu nur sehr schwierig unter den ansonsten isolierten Werken ein gewisser Entwicklungszusammenhang unterschieden werden kann.⁶ Es geht also um eine Zeit der Suche und Übernahme fremder Anregungen, die vor allem wiederum aus den geographisch nächsten mitteleuropäischen Ländern einschließlich Österreichs geschöpft wurden. Im Rahmen der erhaltenen Denkmäler der bildenden Kunst aus den böhmischen Ländern des 13. Jahrhunderts nimmt der Zeitraum des dritten Viertels einen besonderen Platz ein, der sich mit der Regierung des Königs Přemysl Ottokar II. deckt, der auch Herrscher von einigen Babenberger Ländern in Österreich wurde, von denen sich viele durch die Aktivität bedeutender Kultur- und

dem Gnesener Evangelistar, Gnesen (Gniezdno), Biblioteka kapitula, Ms 1a und mit dem Krakauer Evangeliar, Krakau (Kraków), Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie, Cod. 1207 IV (Anežka Merhautová-Pavel Spunar, *Kodex Vyšehradský. Korunovační evangelistář prvního českého krále*, Praha 2006). Zu den etwas älteren illuminierten, ebenfalls in Bayern entstandenen Handschriften und ursprünglich gleichfalls für Herzog Vratislav II. bestimmt, gehört gleichfalls auch die St.-Veits-Apokalypse, Prag, Archiv Pražského hradu, fond Metropolitní knihovna u sv. Víta, A 60/3 und das aus demselben Skriptorium stammende sog. Evangeliář Zábřdovický, Olmütz (Olomouc), Vědecká knihovna, M II 74 (Pavol Černý, *Evangeliář Zábřdovický a Svatovítská apokalypsa*, Praha 2004). Ins Salzkammergut verweist unter den bekannteren Handschriften die bescheidene Skizze im Exemplar Flores Sancti Bernardi, in Olmützer Zemský archiv Olomouc, CO 174, das nach der Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts in Prag entstanden ist (Pavol Černý, in: *Cesta ke Zlaté bule Sicilské* (Ausstellungskatalog), Ostravské muzeum [hrsg. Kateřina Barcuchová-Zbyněk Moravec], Ostrava 2012, Nr. 58, S. 182–183). Diese Problematik berührt unter einem breiteren Gesichtswinkel auch die ältere Studie von Erich Bachmann, Böhmen und die Bayerische Kunst, in: *Böhmen und Bayern: Vorträge der Arbeitstagung des Collegium Carolinum in Cham. Veröffentlichungen des Collegium Carolinum. Historisch-philologische Reihe*, Bd. 1, München 1958, S. 77–108.

⁴ Eine vorübergehende Ausnahme ist in dieser Hinsicht die Tätigkeit der im Rheinland geschulten Illuminatoren Hildebert und Everwin, von woher sie während des zweiten Viertels des 12. Jahrhunderts in das Skriptorium des Bischofs Heinrich Zdík in Olmütz kamen. Von ihnen stammt der Schmuck zweier der bedeutendsten Handschriften dieses Skriptoriums und zwar im Horologium, Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, Theol. Ms. A 144 und S. Augustinus, De Civitate Dei, Prag, Archiv Pražského hradu, fond Knihovna Metropolitní kapituly u sv. Víta, A 21/1. Dazu rezent: Pavol Černý, in: *Jindřich Zdík (1126–1150): Olomoucký biskup uprostřed Evropy* (Ausstellungskatalog) (hrsg. Jana Hrbáčová), Muzeum umění Olomouc-Arcidiecézní muzeum Olomouc, Olomouc 2009, Nr. 53, S. 107–116; Nr. 56, S. 118–125.

⁵ Dazu zuletzt die umfangreiche und synthetisch konzipierte Publikation von Lubomír Jan Konečný, *Románská rotunda ve Znojme*, Brno 2005, wo der Autor die Znaimer Wandmalereien in die Zeit um 1100 datiert und ihre morphologische Verbundenheit mit der Werkstatt in Zwiefalten (Schwaben) erblickt. Diese Ansichten sind jedoch im Lichte neuerer Arbeiten kaum annehmbar, wie aus ihren Vergleich mit den um 1164 entstandenen Wandmalereien in der Johanneskapelle in Pürgg (Steiermark) folgt (Elga Lanc, *Die mittelalterliche Wandmalereien in der Steiermark*, Wien 2002, Textband, S. 357–376, Tafelband Abb. 451–484).

⁶ In diesem Sinne äußerte sich skeptisch Katharina Hranitzky, Österreichische und böhmische Buchmalerei in der zweiten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts, in: *Kontakte und Konflikte* (zit. in Anm. 1), S. 65–66. – Einige weitere Aspekte dieser Problematik werden auch reflektiert im Sammelband *Umění 13. století v českých zemích: Příspěvky z vědeckého zasedání* (2.–14. 12. 1981, Praha), (hrsg. Josef Krása-Klement Benda-Jaroslava Lencová), Praha 1983.

Kunstzentren auszeichneten. Für eine gewisse formale und konzeptionelle Unausgeglichenheit der mit dem Namen dieses Herrschers verbundenen Denkmäler aus den erwähnten Gebieten ist bezeichnend, dass es vor allem profane Objekte sind, namentlich eine ganze Reihe neu gegründeter und befestigter Städte, ebenso wie Burgen, während Werke der kirchlichen Kunst in markanter Minderzahl dokumentiert und überdies wiederum durchgehend in der Kategorie der Architektur vertreten sind.⁷ Demgegenüber erscheint die figürliche Kunst – mit Ausnahme des bekannten, aber nichtsdestoweniger singulären Falles des heute in Regensburg aufbewahrten Ottokarkreuzes (Přemyslidenkreuzes) – bloß in der Kategorie der Herrschersiegel. Eine gewisse utilitaristische Veranlagung dieses „*eisernen und goldenen Königs*“ könnte gleichfalls die bezeichnende Absenz von malerischen Werken in seiner Umgebung erklären, vor allem von Luxushandschriften, die in anderen Kulturgebieten in erster Linie Träger des Phänomens der „Hofkultur“ sind, von der im Falle des přemyslidischen Herrschers wiederholt – wenn auch nicht allzu überzeugend – einige tschechische Forscher sprechen.⁸

Wenn erhaltene, mit der Persönlichkeit dieses Přemysliden verbundene Werke der bildenden Künste des angenommenen Aussagegewerts entbehren, sofern es um die Beziehung der böhmischen zu den österreichischen Länder geht,⁹ sind dies auf der anderen Seite auf die Initiative von geistlichen Würdenträger entstandene, beziehungsweise für kirchliche Institutionen in den böhmischen Regionen bestimmte Denkmäler, die das erwähnte Phänomen weit optimaler und überzeugender zu verfolgen erlauben. Es ist sicher kein Zufall, dass diese Belege sich überwiegend auf das monastische Milieu beziehen und dass sie vor allem in den südlichen Regionen der böhmischen Länder erscheinen, die geographische am nächsten zu den österreichischen Nachbarn gelegen sind. Stellvertretend kann man hier an zwei bedeutende Zisterzienserklöster in Südböhmen erinnern, namentlich an das 1259 von den Rosenbergnern gegründete Hohenfurt (Vyšší Brod), dessen erste Ordensbrüder aus dem österreichischen Wilhering kamen und die etwas spätere Stiftung desselben Ordens auf Initiative des Königs Přemysl Ottokar II., Goldenkron (Zlatá Koruna), im Jahre 1263, deren Anfang mit Mönchen wiederum aus dem österreichischen Heiligenkreuz verbunden ist.¹⁰ Im Falle der erstgenannten Zisterziensergemeinschaft ist

⁷ Zu diesem Phänomen äußerte sich vor ein paar Jahren besonders Jiří Kuthan in einer ganzen Reihe seiner Publikationen. Im gegebenen Kontext sei von ihnen hier erwähnt: König Přemysl Otakar II. als Gründer, Bauherr und Auftraggeber von Kunstwerken, *Umění XXVII*, 1979, S. 465–487, und weiter *Umění na dvoře Přemysla Otakara II. v rámci středoevropských kulturních okruhů 13. století*, in: *Česko-rakouské vztahy* (zit. in Anm. 1), S. 191–196.

⁸ Die Einwände, besonders gegen die Auffassung des Begriff „Hofkunst“, lassen sich hinsichtlich des Umfangs und der Komplexität dieser Problematik hier nicht reflektieren, der zuletzt auch eine internationale Tagung *Civic Artists and Court Artists (1300–1600)* in Paris, Centre André Chastel (19.–21.6.2014) gewidmet wurde. Es sei hier nur an die kaum annehmbare These von Jiří Kuthan erinnert, nach der die „Hofkunst“ Přemysl Ottokars II. „*ein anspruchsvolles und komplexes Ganze darstellt (...) wie es im Rahmen von ganz Mitteleuropa nicht viel an reifen Analogien hatte*“, und wobei der Autor in diesem Rahmen zum Beispiel völlig das Phänomen der ungarischen Arpaden-Dynastie vergisst und weiter die Bedeutung des přemysliden Herrschers sogar mit der des französischen Königs Ludwig IX. und seiner „Hofkunst“ vergleicht (Jiří Kuthan 1998 [zit. in vorangegangener Anm.], S. 194 und 196).

⁹ In diesem Zusammenhang kann man an die Fragmente der in den siebziger Jahren des 13. Jahrhunderts entstandenen Wandmalereien in der sog. Gozzoburg in Krems erinnern, wo im dortigen Wappensaal an der Westwand das Wappen der Markgrafschaft Mähren erscheint und an der Nordwand das Wappen des Olmützer Bistums, übrigens bislang seine älteste, bekannte Darstellung. Gozzo, der Bauherr dieses Stadtpalais, war städtischer Richter in Krems und gehörte zu den bedeutendsten und einflussreichsten Anhängern von König Přemysl Ottokar II. Dazu: Helga Schönfellner-Lechner, Günther Buchinger, *Der Wappensaal der domus Gozzonis in Krems, Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege*, LXII 2008, S. 603–617.

¹⁰ Zusammenfassend über die Architektur der Zisterzienserklöster Hohenfurt (Vyšší Brod) und Goldenkron (Zlatá Koruna), Jiří Kuthan, in: *Umění doby posledních Přemyslovců*, (Ausstellungskatalog), Středočeské muzeum, Rožtoky u Prahy, 1982, S. 328–332 und 333–337.

das weiter auch die reich illuminierte, vierteilige Bibel aus der Zeit um 1300, heute aufbewahrt in Budweis (České Budějovice) in dortigen Státní vědecká knihovna, fond Vyšší Brod, ms 158, geschmückt von Malern, die allem Anschein nach aus dem österreichischen St. Florian oder Heiligenkreuz nach Hohenfurt kamen.¹¹

Alles deutet darauf hin, dass es gerade der Bereich der Buchmalerei ist, der am kompetentesten die gegenseitigen Beziehungen zwischen den beiden benachbarten Regionen dokumentiert. Im Rahmen dieser erhaltenen Werke der damaligen Zeit die meisten von ihnen aus Mähren stammen. Als chronologisch erstes bietet sich hier das Breviar aus dem Olmützer Zemský archiv Olomouc, CO 258, allem Anschein nach vor der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts in Klosterneuburg entstanden,¹² woher es kurz nach seiner Entstehung in die Hände des Olmützer Bischofs Bruno von Schauenburg gelangte, der die Handschrift zuletzt dem von ihm gegründeten Kapitel bei St. Mauritius in Kremsier (Kroměříž) schenkte. Seine bemerkenswert qualitätsvollen, kolorierten Federzeichnungen, welche die konservativere, klassizierende Strömung der damaligen mittelalterlichen Buchmalerei mit Zentrum in Salzburg reflektieren, könnte auch auf spätere, in Mähren erhaltene Schöpfungen der Wandmalereien eingewirkt haben.¹³ Jedoch – wie bekannt – dominierte im im Rahmen der morphologischen Entwicklung der malerischen Produktion Mitteleuropas während des 13. Jahrhunderts der sog. *Zackenstil*, der im sächsisch-thüringischen Gebiet zu Beginn des genannten Jahrhunderts entstanden ist, um sich dann schrittweise in alle bedeutenden Werkstätten zwischen Rhein und Karpaten auszubreiten.¹⁴ Dies gilt auch für die böhmischen Ländern, wo sich jedoch die erhaltenen Denkmäler dieses Stils sowohl im Medium der Wandmalerei wie vor allem der Buchmalerei – wie es scheint – zu konkreteren Inspirationsquellen einer etwas anderen Provenienz bekennen. Während die aus Böhmen stammenden, mit beachtenswerten Illuminationen qualitativ geschmückten Codices des Zackenstils genetisch Bindungen eher mit Beispielen westlichen Ursprungs bekunden – hauptsächlich aus Sachsen und durch dessen Vermittlung mit Italien¹⁵ – dann waren die aus Mähren stammenden und im Übrigen zu seiner hier auch im Medium der Wandmalerei¹⁶ belegten Spätphase gehören-

¹¹ Dazu näher Josef Krása, in: *Umění doby posledních Přemyslovců* (zit. in vorangegangener Anm.), S. 66–67. – Dazu allgemeiner: Jiří Kuthan, Jižní Čechy – kulturní „provincie“ na pomezí země, in: *Jihočeský sborník historický: Jihočeské muzeum v Českých Budějovicích*, LXII, 1993, S. 30–37.

¹² Zur Handschrift und ihrem illuminatorischen Schmuck zuletzt: Pavol Černý, Konstituce gotického stylu v knižní malbě Olomouce na sklonku 13. a na počátku 14. století, in: *Jan Lucemburský: Kultura, umění a zbožnost na Moravě a ve Slezsku v době vlády prvního Lucemburka* (hrsg. Ivo Hlobil – Daniela Rywiková), Ostrava 2012, S. 73 und 82–83.

¹³ Es handelt sich um Fragmente von Wandmalereien in zwei Kirchen in Iglau (Jihlava), hauptsächlich in Mariä-Himmelfahrt aus den 80er Jahren des 13. Jahrhunderts und weiter in der Heilig-Kreuz-Kirche aus den 40er Jahren des 14. Jahrhunderts, weiter auch in der Kirche St. Jakob in Pohrlitz (Pohořelice) aus der Zeit um 1323. Dazu: Tomáš Knořlíček, *Nástěnná malba za vlády Lucemburků na Moravě*, Olomouc 2009, S. 36–37, 53.

¹⁴ Zur Problematik zuletzt zusammenfassend: Harald Wolter-von dem Knesebeck, Deutschland, in: *Geschichte der Buchkultur: Romanik 4/2* (hrsg. Andreas Fingernagel), Graz 2007, S. 291–299.

¹⁵ Es geht vor allem um einige luxuriös ausgeschmückte Handschriften, von ihnen seien stellvertretend angeführt: Mater verborum, ca. 1240, Prag, Knihovna Národního muzea, X A 11; sog. Franziskanerbibel, ca. 1270, ebenda, XII B 13. Dazu: Pavel Brodský, *Katalog iluminovaných rukopisů Knihovny Národního muzea v Praze*, Praha 2000, Nr. 72, S. 86–89; Nr. 110, S. 135–137, und weiter das sog. Antiphonar von Sedletz (Sedlec), Mitte 13. Jh., Prag, Národní knihovna ČR, XIII A 6 und Lektionar, ca. 1280–90, ebenda, Osek 76 (Josef Krása, in: *Umění doby posledních Přemyslovců* [zit. in Anm. 10], S. 48–50, 58–59).

¹⁶ Es handelt sich um Fragmente von Malereien in der Abtskapelle der Kirche St. Prokop in Třebíč aus der Zeit nach der Mitte des 13. Jahrhunderts (Josef Krása, in: *Umění doby posledních Přemyslovců* [zit. in Anm. 10], S. 36–38) und weiter um eine ungefähr gleichzeitige Malerei in St. Georg in Bořitov. Dazu: Jiří Mašín, *Románská nástěnná malba v Čechách a na Moravě*, Praha 1954, S. 50–51, oder die unlängst entdeckten Malereien im Presbyterium der Kirche St. Benedikt in Jägerndorf-Weißkirch (Krnov-Kostelec) vom Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts:

den Zimelien Inspiration aus Niederösterreich verpflichtet. Es handelt sich um die ganzseitigen Kanonbilder in zwei erhaltenen illuminierten Missalen aus dem letzten Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts, namentlich das heute im Archiv města Brna, Nr. 18¹⁷ aufbewahrte Exemplar und die vielleicht etwas jüngere Zimelie im Zemský archiv Olomouc, CO 585 in Olmütz.¹⁸ Für diese Miniaturen kann man die nächsten Parallelen in der in St. Florian belegten lokalen Variante des Zackenstil finden, vor allem was den Körpertyp des toten Christus mit seinem stark gebogenen Leib und weiter einige Details in der Gestaltung der Assistenzfiguren betrifft – wie die spindelförmig stilisierten Locken Mariens – und schließlich auch das expressive Kolorit.¹⁹ Ein kennzeichnender Zug für den Übergangscharakter der Ausschmückung des letztgenannten Codex stellt die Gestalt der allem Anschein nach von einem anderen Maler geschaffenen Initialen dar, deren gespaltener Schaft sich noch zur traditionellen romanischen Form der sog. Spaltenleisteninitiale bekennt, jedoch sie mit den spiralförmig windenden, vegetabilen Ranken den neuen Entwicklungstendenzen entsprechend Interesse an einer naturalistischeren Gestalt andeutet. Eine morphologische Ambivalenz – wenn auch im umgekehrten Sinn – charakterisiert den Schmuck auch eines weiteren, an der Wende vom 13. zum 14. Jahrhundert entstandenen Missales, heute in Olmützer Zemský archiv Olomouc, CO 141.²⁰ Zum voll ausgereiften gotischen Stil gehört hier die Gestaltung der großen Initialen, die sich zum Fleuronée-Typ bekennt – hauptsächlich in der Aufteilung ihrer Schäfte in blaue und rote Segmente, unterteilt durch auf dem freien Pergament ausgesparte, geometrische Zickzacklinien – und besonders der Dekor der Innen- und Außenfelder mit dem Repertoire von Fadenranken oder Gruppierungen von Perlen, Knospen und Fribrillen, deren qualitätsvolle Gestaltung und besonders deren Motivik unmittelbare Übereinstimmungen mit der analogen Produktion aus Klosterneuburg zeigt.²¹ Dem gegenüber ist das im – Übrigen ziemlich beschädigte – gemalte Kanonbild noch retrospektiven Tendenzen von ausgeprägt italienischer Orientierung verpflichtet. Das geht aus der auffälligen, statischen Haltung und der Geschlossenheit des Umrisses der Assistenzfiguren mit zurückhaltendem Ausdruck ihrer Emotionen hervor, da die Inspirationsquelle unter den konservativeren und etwas älteren Strömungen der norditalienischen Tradition gesucht werden muss, die auf das österreichische Milieu eingewirkt haben.²² Es geht also um einen Typ Dekor, der die anschaulichste Übergangsphase der Entwicklung von älteren, romanisierenden Formen zu den neuen Ausdrucksformen der Gotik reflektiert und der bei den analogen österreichischen Beispielen

Zuzana Všecková, *Nástěnné malby*, in: *Kostel sv. Benedikta v Krnově-Kostelci* (hrsg. Dalibor Prix), Ostrava 2009, S. 190–286.

¹⁷ Stanislav Petr, *Soupis rukopisů knihovny při farním kostele svatého Jakuba v Brně*, Praha 2007, Nr. 7, S. 29–30, Abb. 17.

¹⁸ Pavol Černý, in: *Jan Lucemburský* (zit. in Anm. 12), Nr. 232, S. 565–570.

¹⁹ Es handelt sich z. B. um Illuminationen im Missale aus St. Florian, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift, Stiftsbibliothek, CSF III 209, 1260–70 XI 390, 1275–80. Dazu: Gerhard Schmidt, *Die Malerschule von St. Florian. Beiträge zur süddeutschen Malerei zu Ende des 13. und im 14. Jahrhundert*, Linz 1962, Abb. 2, 159.

²⁰ Pavol Černý, in: *Král, který léta. Moravsko-slezské pomezí v kontextu středověkého prostoru doby Jana Lucemburského* (Ausstellungskatalog) (hrsg. David Majer), Ostravské muzeum, Ostrava 2011, Nr. 233, S. 571–577.

²¹ Glossar, Ende 13. Jahrhundert, Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 2276, fol. 77v, dazu: Andreas Fingernagel, Martin Roland, *Mitteuropäische Schulen I (ca. 1250–1350): Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, Bd. 10, Wien 1997, Farbtafel 10; weiter *Moralia in Job*, Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts, Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, CCL 239, fol. 1 (Fig. 18).

²² Zum Vergleich bieten sich hier Illuminationen des Missales aus St. Pölten vom Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts an, St. Pölten, Diözesanmuseum, Hs. 2: Gerhard Schmidt in: *Die Zeit der frühen Habsburger. Dome und Klöster 1279–1379*, 12. Mai–28. Oktober 1979 (Ausstellungskatalog), Niederösterreichisches Landesmuseum, Wiener Neustadt 1979, S. 426).

in der Literatur als *Mischstil* bezeichnet wird.²³ Hinsichtlich dieser sehr engen Bindung zum Niederösterreichischen Milieu kann man vermuten, dass an der Ausschmückung des Missales CO 141 sich zwei aus niederösterreichischen Werkstätten gekommene Illuminatoren beteiligt haben, da im Falle des Schöpfers der Fleuronée-Initiale es möglich ist, seine künstlerische Herkunft mit der Klosterneuburger Tradition zu identifizieren.

In eine weitere Phase gelangten die Beziehungen zwischen Österreich und den böhmischen Ländern während der Konstituierung des neuen Stils, den man schon im vollen Wortsinn als gotisch bezeichnen kann, d. h. während des letzten Viertels des 13. und dem Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts. Dieser Prozess spielte sich in Mitteleuropa vor dem Hintergrund einiger paralleler gesellschaftlicher Faktoren ab, vor allem dem Auftreten neuer Dynastien, in Österreich waren das die Habsburger (1282), in Ungarn die Anjou (1308) und in den böhmischen Ländern die Luxemburger (1310). Die Analogie betrifft weiter auch viele Aspekte des Entwicklungsprozesses der figürlichen Künste der genannten Länder in ihrem Bemühen um eine Konstituierung spezifischer, lokaler Formen, als ihre Gestalter wiederum aus den erwähnten führenden Kunstzentren von West- und Südeuropa ergiebige Anregungen schöpften. Im Falle Ungarns des 14. Jahrhundert wurde die ausgeprägte Orientierung an italienischen Vorbildern zweifellos durch den Herrschaftsantritt der Anjou-Dynastie erleichtert, die sich schon im vorangegangenen Jahrhundert in Neapel und Sizilien machtvoll etabliert hatten. Ihrer Initiative verdankt sich im damaligen Ungarn zweifellos die Entstehung einiger bedeutender Denkmäler der Hofkunst, die dann auch in der Produktion vieler ländlicher Lokalitäten Resonanz fanden, vor allem im Falle der Wandmalereien, wie außerdem die überraschende Anzahl ihrer Werke aus dem Gebiet der heutigen Slowakei belegt. Ähnlich kann man auch im Falle Österreichs die außergewöhnlich ausgeprägten und zahlreichen Übernahmen von aus dem Rheinland stammenden, wiederum stark von Anregungen aus Paris oder Nordfrankreich gekennzeichneten Vorbilder auch durch die Familienbanden der neuen Herrscher aus dem Habsburgergeschlecht mit ihren Stammsitzen in der heutigen Schweiz erklären. Demgegenüber ist es in dieser Hinsicht bei den Denkmälern der böhmischen Ländern der damaligen Zeit kaum möglich, von einer aktiveren Rolle Johann von Luxemburgs, des ersten Königs der neuen Dynastie, zu sprechen. Auch diese Umstände sind bei der Beurteilung der Beziehungen zwischen den österreichischen Regionen und den böhmischen Ländern während der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts in Betracht zu ziehen, d. h. in der Zeit, als in den figürlichen Künsten das Luxemburger Königtum einen langwierigen und komplizierten Prozess der Suche eines eigenen Idioms durchlief.

Dieses Problem hatte auf ihre Art schon die ältere Forschung bemerkt. Nach Alfred Stange verdankten sich einige herausragende Werke der böhmischen Malerei aus der Anfangsphase des schon voll ausgereiften gotischen Stil – namentlich die Illuminationen des Passionals der Äbtissin Kunigunde und die Tafelbilder des Hohenfurter Altars – ihre Entstehung außerdem auch entsprechenden Anregungen aus Österreich.²⁴ Gegen diese Ansicht polemisierte vehement in neuerer Zeit Gerhard Schmidt, der in seiner ersten Reaktion verkündete, dass „*von einer generellen Wechselwirkungen zwischen den beiden Kunstlandschaften (d. h. den böhmischen Ländern und Niederösterreich) aber kann in dieser ersten Phase der Gotik kaum die Rede sein*“.²⁵ Seine strikte Auffassung milderte er unlängst dadurch, dass er einen „*nur sehr bescheidenen Einfluss Österreichs*“ auf die böhmischen Länder mit konkretem Hinweis auf zwei Fille – nach ihm

²³ Dazu Gerhard Schmidt, Die Rezeption der italienischen Trecentokunst in Mittel- und Osteuropa, in: *Gotika v Sloveniji: Nastajanje kulturnega prostora med Alpami, Panonijo i Jadranom. Akti mednarodnega simpozija Ljubljana*, Narodna galeria, 20.–22.11. 1994, Ljubljana 1995, S. 25–36.

²⁴ Alfred Stange, *Deutsche Malerei der Gotik I*, München-Berlin 1934, S. 143 und 178.

²⁵ Gerhard Schmidt, Bildende Kunst: Malerei und Plastik, in: *Ausstellungskatalog Wiener Neustadt 1979* (zit. in Anm. 22), S. 87.

Ausnahmefälle – zuließ, und zwar außer der Holzskulptur des hl. Florian die Wandmalereien im Kapitelsaal der Johanniterkommende in Strakonitz (Strakonice), wo er Reflexe der Buchmalerei der zwanziger Jahre des 14. Jahrhunderts aus St. Pölten und aus Lilienfeld erblickte.²⁶ Es ist sicher kein Zufall, dass beide zitierte Forscher die damaligen Denkmäler der Malerkunst Mährens übergangen haben, die praktisch bis heute ohne weitere Beachtung geblieben sind, zum mindesten, was die Buchilluminationen betrifft. Aus ihrer kunsthistorischen Bewertung, vor allem auf der Grundlage entsprechender Vergleiche, geht jedoch der außergewöhnlich intensive Kontakt besonders zwischen der Region des luxemburgischen Mährens und des geographisch angrenzenden habsburgischen Österreichs hervor.

An ihrem Anfang erscheint das Graduale aus dem Olmützer Zemský archiv Olomouc, CO 195, das in den zwanziger Jahren des 14. Jahrhunderts in der Olmützer Diözese entstanden ist, wie die liturgische Struktur seiner Texte bezeugt, dessen Hauptilluminator nichtsdestoweniger allem Anschein nach niederösterreichischer Herkunft war.²⁷ Die relativ reiche Illumination des Codex stellt das erste Denkmal der Buchmalerei in Mähren dar, in welcher der neue gotische Stil schon voll in allen seinen konstituierenden Komponenten zu Geltung kommt. Dies wird sowohl bei den figürlichen Darstellungen im Rahmen der Initialen als auch in der Gestaltung des vegetabilen Dekors deutlich, wobei überdies das geläufige Repertoire, wenn auch nur relativ bescheiden, um Drollerien und einen weiteren Typ einer kalligraphischen Schrift in der Gestalt von Cadellen ergänzt wird. Trotzdem äußert sich aber auch hier eine gewisse genetische Dichotomie in der Gestaltung der figürlichen Darstellungen und des vegetabilen Dekors. Die erstgenannte Komponente zeigt eine Reihe von Ähnlichkeiten mit etwas älteren Schöpfungen einiger führender oberrheinischer Werkstätten, deren gelungene Synthese der aus Paris und Nordfrankreich stammenden Anregungen auf einige östlicher gelegene Zentren der deutschen Länder eingewirkt hat, insbesondere auf Franken (Regensburg) und die österreichische Donau-region, namentlich in St. Florian und in Lilienfeld.²⁸ Demgegenüber erinnert die Ornamentik im Olmützer Graduale mit ihrer Morphologie sowie Motivik in vielen Fällen an oberitalienische Beispiele, die jedoch in diesen Modifikationen wiederum in einigen Niederösterreichischen Werkstätten wie St. Florian oder Klosterneuburg belegt sind.²⁹ Man kann deswegen annehmen,

²⁶ Gerhard Schmidt, Die Kunst in den habsburgischen Ländern zur Zeit Johanns von Luxemburg, in: *King John of Luxembourg (1296–1346) and the Art of his Era. Proceedings of the International Conference, Prague*, September 16–20, 1996, Prague 1998, S. 162–163. Der erwähnte Forscher deutet jedoch bei der stilistischen Charakterisierung der Illuminationen des für Klosterneuburg in der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts entstandenen Breviars Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 1199, hier die Möglichkeit einer Vermittlung von Schmuckelementen englischer und flandrischer Gebetsbücher gerade durch der Gruppe älterer Handschriften der Elisabeth Rejčka an (Gerhard Schmidt, Buchmalerei, in: Ausstellungskatalog *Die Gotik in Niederösterreich. Kunst und Kultur einer Landschaft im Spätmittelalter*, Minoritenkirche, Krems-Stein, 21. Mai bis 25. Oktober 1959, Wien 1959, Nr. 109, S. 48).

²⁷ Pavol Černý, in: *Jan Lucemburský* (zit. in Anm. 20), Nr. 234, S. 578–584.

²⁸ Ähnlichkeiten zeigen sich z. B. unter den Illuminationen des Graduales für die Dominikanerinnen in St. Katharinenthal, ca. 1312, Zürich, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, LM 26117, im Kolorit sowie den Palmettenmotiven des vegetabilen Dekors, beispielsweise in der Darstellung der Taufe Christi (fol. 21r): *Das Graduale von St. Katharinenthal*, Faksimile-Ausgabe, Luzern 1983. – Weitere Ähnlichkeiten kann man unter den Illuminationen der Fragmente des Antiphonars für die Dominikanerinnen vom Oberrhein finden, um 1300: Initiale „H“ mit der Darstellung der Taufe Christi, Schweiz, Privatbesitz, weiter in der Initiale „D“ mit der Szene des Letzten Abendmahls, Österreich, Privatbesitz, oder in der den Judaskuss enthaltenden Initiale „O“, München, Staatliche Graphische Sammlungen, Inv. Nr. 40 230, in: *Buchmalerei im Bodenseeraum 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert* (hrsg. Eva Moser), Friedrichshafen 1997, Abb. 228–230, 232 und 233.

²⁹ Die großen, am unteren Rand medaillonartig endenden Stäbe mit Fangarmen ähnlichen Blättern sind fast identisch mit analogen Motiven in der Bibel aus Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 2, ca. 1310/20. Dazu: Gerhard Schmidt 1962 (zit. in Anm. 19), S. 132, Abb. 45), weiter in dem sog. Sierndorfer Missale, vom Anfang des 14. Jahrhunderts, Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, CCL 71, fol. 44r (Martin Roland, Der Codex Ser. N. 3764

dass die Schöpfer der genannten figürlichen Darstellungen und des vegetabilen Dekors in einer niederösterreichischen Werkstätten ausgebildet worden sind, woher sie nach Mähren kamen, um hier die Lehren aus den erwähnten beiden Hauptzentren der Inspiration zu vermitteln, aus dem Oberrheingebiet und weiter aus Norditalien. Das Graduale CO 195 nimmt so jedoch durch seinen spezifischen, illuminierten Dekor im Kontext der Buchmalerei in den böhmischen Ländern eine isolierte Stellung ein.

Die chronologisch folgenden Denkmäler der in Mähren erhaltenen Buchmalerei tauchen wiederum nach einer gewissen Pause während des zweiten Viertels des 14. Jahrhunderts unter den liturgischen Handschriften auf, deren oft reicher und außerordentlich beachtenswerter Illuminationsschmuck bislang praktisch unpubliziert blieb und die gleichfalls intensive Beziehungen zu den nahen niederösterreichischen Werkstätten belegen. Es ist dies namentlich ein Teil des im Olmützer Zemský archiv Olomouc aufbewahrten Graduales CO 2, das durch seinen liturgischen Charakter eindeutig zur Olmützer Diözese zugehört, dessen ungeachtet einzelne Textbestandteile aus verschiedenen Zeiten stammen.³⁰ Die Entstehung seines ursprünglichen und ältesten Hauptteils lässt sich in das zweite Viertel des 14. Jahrhunderts datieren, während die übrigen Texte nach und nach bis zum Ende des erwähnten Jahrhunderts ergänzt wurden. Dieser zeitlichen Abfolge entspricht auch der relativ reiche Dekor, bestehend aus großen, Silhouetteninitialen [Abb. 1] und kleineren, von Fleuronné begleiteten Lombarden. Unter dem Gesichtspunkt der hier diskutierten Problematik sind beim ältesten Dekor des Graduales CO 2 am interessantesten die Silhouetteninitialen mit auffällig robusten Schäften, gefüllt mit relativ naturalistisch gegebenen Akanthusblätter in ihren expressiv ausgefranzten Rändern, die in dieser monumentalisierenden Gestalt in den böhmischen Ländern keine bekannten Analogien haben. Die nächsten vergleichbaren Beispiele bieten sich hier jedoch in einigen Handschriften aus Niederösterreich an, die den betreffenden, im Rahmen des ursprünglichen Teils des Graduales als Hauptkünstler sich betätigenden Illuminator inspiriert haben könnten.³¹ Ähnlich differenziert ist der Dekor auch des etwa gleichzeitigen Ho-



Abb. 1 Antiphonar, Olmütz/Olomouc, Zemský archiv (Landesarchiv), CO 2, fol. 183r, Initiale „A“dest

der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek in Wien und die niederösterreichische Buchmalerei des ersten Viertels des 14. Jahrhunderts, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* XLVI/XLVII 1993/94, Teil 2, Abb. 2).

³⁰ Dazu Štěpán Kohout, *Sbírka rukopisů Metropolitní kapituly Olomouc: Soupis iluminací 10.–18. století*, Opava 2001, S. 9.

³¹ Zum Vergleich bietet sich hier die Initiale in den Handschriften der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Wien an, hauptsächlich in den Exemplaren des Willehalm, Wien oder Wiener Neustadt, ca. 1320, Cod. 2670, fol. 62v; weiter Petrus de Alemania, *Lumen animae*, Zwettl, zweites Viertel 14. Jahrhundert, Cod. 2310, fol. 49r; Bibel, Krems (?), 1333/34, Cod. 1174, ff. 2v, 60r, 248r, oder Johann zu Frankenstein, *Der Kreuziger*, Niederösterreich, vor der Mitte des 14. Jahrhunderts, Cod. 2611, fol. 1v, dazu: Fingernagel 1997 (zit. in Anm. 21), Abb. 285, 286, 344, 367, 368, 376, 431.

miliars CO 12 aus dem Olmützer Zemský archiv Olomouc, das gleichfalls dank liturgischer Indizien hinreichend zuverlässig der Olmützer Diözese zuordenbar ist.³² Seine Initialen sind an den Schäften mit verschiedenen Varianten von Akanthus geschmückt, oft mit einem bemerkenswerten Sinn für ihre naturalistische Form gestaltet und mit charakteristischen, aus den Serifen wachsenden Ranken ausgestattet [Abb. 2]. Die Formen sind vergleichbar mit einigen Schöpfungen der erwähnten, für Königin Witwe Elisabeth Rejčka entstandenen Handschriften,³³ zeigen andererseits jedoch auch Kenntnis der zeitgenössischen Produktion der niederösterreichischen Skriptorien.³⁴ Es ist deswegen möglich, dass der Schöpfer dieser morphologisch eigentümlichen Initialen entsprechende Vorlagen aus beiden genannten Quellen benutzt hat.

Im Rahmen des heute in Mähren aufbewahrten, erhaltenen Bestands der illuminierten Handschriften des zweiten Viertels des 14. Jahrhunderts dürfen auch nicht einige Zimelien übergangen werden, die nachweislich in Österreich entstanden und anschließend nach Mähren gelangt sind, auch wenn es einstweilen nicht möglich ist, die Zeit ihres Transfers verlässlich zu bestimmen. Es handelt sich um zwei liturgische Handschriften, deren Schmuck bis jetzt gleichfalls praktisch unbeachtet blieb. Chronologisch die erste von beiden ist das Missale aus der Olmützer Vědecká knihovna, M III 44, das nach einer Inschrift um das Jahr 1330 entstanden ist und deren Ursprung in einem Skriptorium in Niederösterreich gesucht werden muss, wie die Präsenz der Heiligen Leopold und Koloman anzeigt.³⁵ Diese Lokalität lässt sich relativ verlässlich dank der ausgeprägten Morphologie des aus Fleuronné-Initialen bestehenden Dekors präzisieren [Abb. 3], die eindeutig auf das Benediktinerkloster in Garsten hinweisen.³⁶ Aus einem anderen monastischen Milieu stammt das etwas jüngere Homiliar M III 5, heute gleichfalls in der Vědecká knihovna in Olmütz, das außerordentlich mit zahlreichen Dekorationen von Initialen ausgestattet ist, durchwegs im Fleuronné-Typ [Abb. 5].³⁷ Am bemerkenswertesten ist die Eingangs-Initiale mit der Darstellung des auferstandenen Christus, wo am unteren Rand ihres massiven Schafts die Figur einer stehenden Ordensschwester in brauner Kutte und rotem Schleier mit einem Krummstab in der Rechten erscheint, die allem Anschein nach die Priorin des Dominikanerinnenkonvents darstellt [Abb. 4]. Angesichts der nächsten Analogien in der morphologischen Gestaltung dieser durch außergewöhnliche, für den sog. „reichen Stil“ charakteristische Opulenz gekennzeichneten

³² Aus der neueren Literatur Kohout (zit. in Anm. 30), S. 13.

³³ Es handelt sich um heute in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek Wien aufbewahrte Handschriften, hauptsächlich das Lektionar, Cod. 1772, fol. 75r, weiter ein Psalter, Cod. 1774, ff. 86v, 202, weiterhin ein Antiphonar, heute in Raigern (Rajhrad), Muzeum knihy, Ms. 600, fol. 151r. Dazu: Antonín Friedl, *Malíři královny Alžběty. Studie o vzniku české školy malířské XIV. století*, Praha 1930, Abb. 96, 157, 159, 111.

³⁴ Von den niederösterreichischen Beispielen kann man hier illuminierte Handschriften zitieren, aufbewahrt wiederum in der Wiener ÖNB, wie die Bibel, 1333/34, Cod. 1174, fol. 2v, oder Miscellanea, Mitte 14. Jahrhundert, Cod. 1160, fol. 12r (Fingernagel 1997 [zit. in Anm. 21], Abb. 368 und 406).

³⁵ Dazu: Miroslav Boháček-František Čáda, *Beschreibung der mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Wissenschaftlichen Bibliothek von Olmütz* (hrsg. Hans Bernd Harder, Hans Rothe), Köln-Weimar-Wien 1994, Nr. 374, S. 659–661.

³⁶ Analogien bieten sich hier vor allem aus Handschriften an, die in Garsten während des zweiten Viertels des 14. Jahrhunderts entstanden sind. Es handelt sich hauptsächlich um eine Abschrift der Werke von Dionysius Areopagita, datiert 1343, Wien, ÖNB, Cod. 695, weiter ein Exemplar von Aegidius Romanus, *De Regimine principum* aus derselben Bibliothek, Cod. 2290 (Fingernagel 1997 [zit. in Anm. 21], Kat. Nr. 137, S. 327–330, Fig. 423–424, Kat. Nr. 138, S. 330–331, Fig. 425–427, Farbtaf. 37–38), weiter sind dies die Handschriften derselben Provenienz, heute aufbewahrt in Linz, Studienbibliothek, Cod. 425, 456 und 458, dazu: Kurt Holter, *Das mittelalterliche Buchwesen im Stift Garsten*, in: *Kirche in Oberösterreich: 200 Jahre Bistum (Ausstellungskatal.) Linz*, 26. April bis 27. Oktober 1980, Ehemaliges Benediktinerstift Garsten, Linz 1985, S. 102–105), weiter ein Missale, St. Paul im Lavanttal, Benediktinerstift, Cod. 62/3, Kurt Holter, *Die Bibliothek von Alt-St. Paul, St. Blasien und Spital an Pyhrn, Österreichische Kunsttopographie* 37 1969, S. 402, Abb. 563–565) oder ein Breviar, Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek, CCI 596 (Fingernagel 1997 [zit. in Anm. 21], Abb. 75).

³⁷ Boháček-Čáda (zit. in Anm. 35), Nr. 358, S. 621–623.

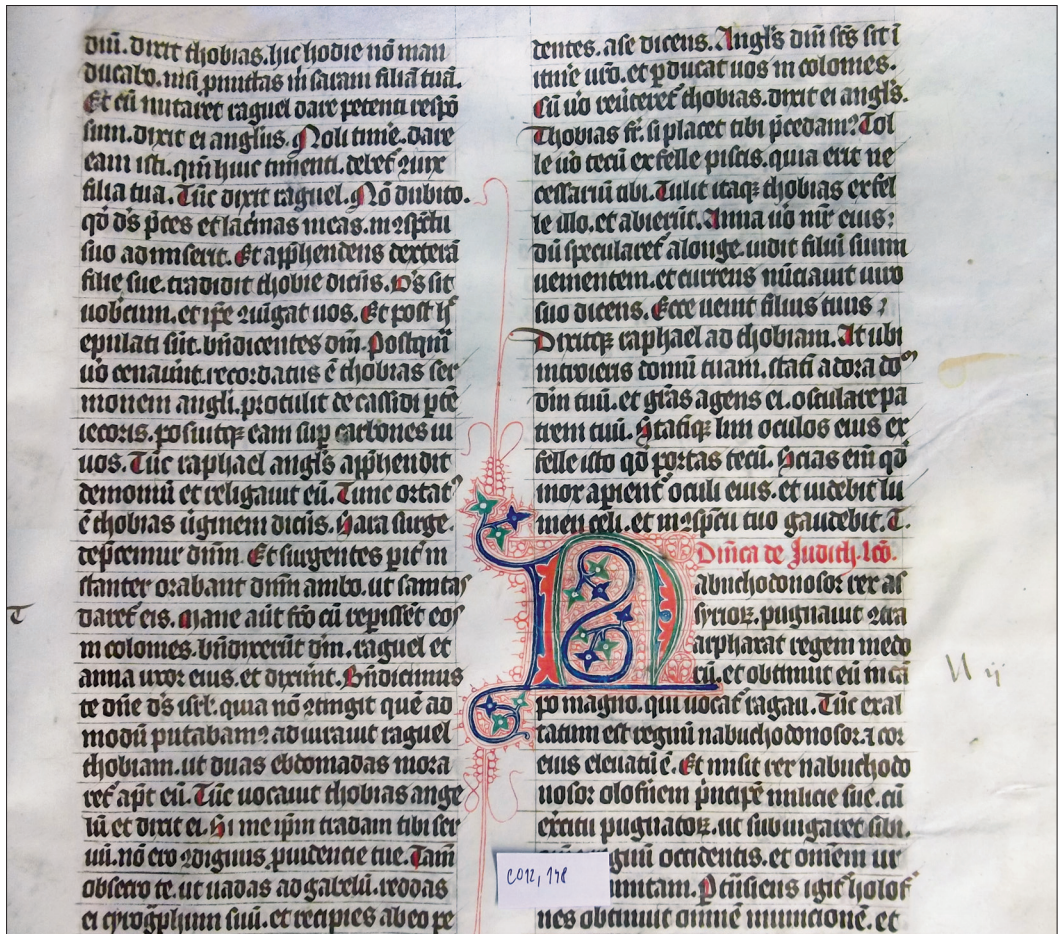


Abb. 2 Lektionar, Olmütz/Olomouc, Zemský archiv (Landesarchiv), CO 12, fol. 148r, Initiale „N“ abuchonodozor

Initialen zur Produktion Niederösterreichs des zweiten Viertels des 14. Jahrhundert,³⁸ kann man die Entstehung des Homiliars für einen der vier Dominikanerinnenkonvente annehmen, die in der damaligen Zeit für die erwähnte Region belegt wurden, namentlich in Wiener Neustadt, Imbach, Tulln, oder Wien. Diese Aufzählung von Belegen von Beziehungen zwischen Niederösterreich und Mähren im Bereich der Buchmalerei der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts schließt ein bedeutungsvolles Missale aus dem Olmützer Zemský archiv Olomouc, CO 131, welches – den liturgischen Indizien nach zu urteilen – um 1350 entstanden ist, vielleicht für das Dominikanerinnenkloster in Olmütz.³⁹ Seine reiche, relativ qualitätsvolle und morphologisch beträchtlich heterogene Ausschmückung führten mehrere Illuminatoren aus. Von ihnen verrät der für die Mehrheit der figürlichen Darstellungen verantwortliche Hauptmaler nicht nur seine Lehren aus der zeitgenössischen Produktion der aus zwei Inspirationszentren – Westeuropa einerseits und

³⁸ Analogien kann man hier z. B. finden in einem Evangeliar, Wien, 1325, Wiener Neustadt, Stadtmuseum, Cod. A 60, fol. 3v (internet: http://manuscripta.at/images/AT/9250/AT9250-A60/AT9250-A60_3v.jpg, besucht am 30. 9. 2014).

³⁹ Dazu Pavol Černý, in: *Jan Lucemburský* (zit. in Anm. 20), Nr. 248, S. 643–653.



Abb. 3 Missale, Olmütz/Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna (Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek), M III 44, fol. 11r, Initiale „A“d te levavi

Italien andererseits – schöpfenden niederösterreichischen Werkstätten, sondern kam auch allem Anschein aus Österreich nach Mähren. Sein höchst beachtenswertes Werk stellt einen bedeutsamen Wendepunkt in der weiteren Entwicklung der Buchillumination in den böhmischen Ländern dar, die während des dritten Viertels des 14. Jahrhunderts in der Konstituierung des ersten, lokal ausgeprägten Stils kulminierte, der auf längere Zeit die weitere Produktion nicht nur in der Buchmalerei, sondern auch in der Tafel- und der Wandmalerei kennzeichnete.

Im Rahmen einer zusammenfassenden Übersicht der hier verfolgten Problematik lassen sich einige abschließende Feststellungen aussprechen: Eine Reihe von illuminierten Handschriften aus der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts, die sich in Mähren erhalten haben, verdient nähere Aufmerksamkeit, nicht nur, weil sie bislang seitens der Forschung übergangen wurden, sondern auch hinsichtlich der Quantität und morphologischen Gestalt ihrer Ausschmückung, die mehr oder weniger stark von Einflüssen gekennzeichnet ist, die aus Werkstätten im geographisch nahen Niederösterreich stammen. Diese massive Rezeption fremder Anregungen ist sowohl durch das Fehlen eines lokal ausgeprägten Stils in Mähren als auch in vielen Fällen durch das zweifelsfreie direkte Wirken von aus Öster-

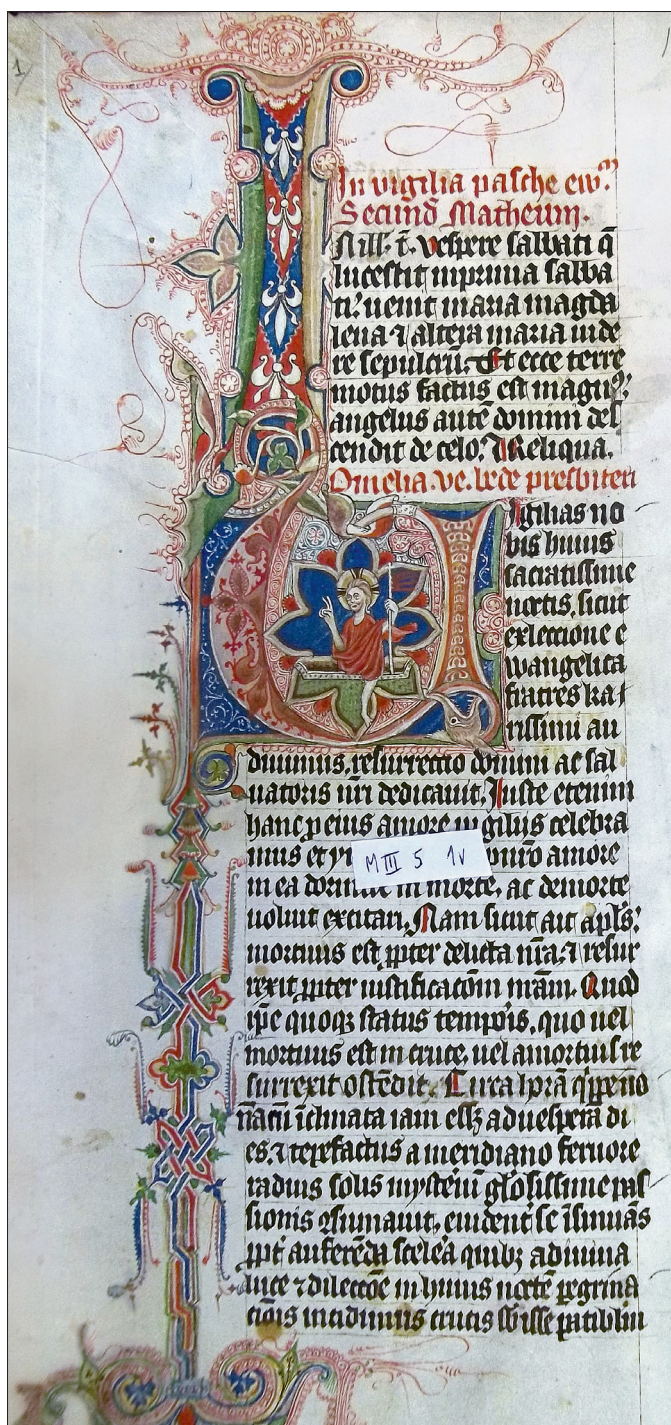


Abb. 4 Homiliar, Olmütz/Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna (Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek), M III 5, fol. 1v, Initiale „V“iligias

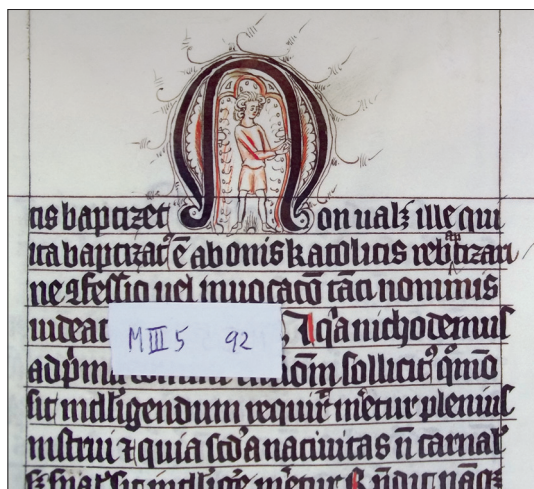


Abb. 5 Homiliar, Olmütz/Olomouc, Vědecká knihovna (Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek), M III 5, fol. 92r, Cadelle „N“on

reich nach Mähren gekommener Illuminatoren erklärbar. Unter dem Gesichtspunkt dieser Erkenntnis ist es dann offensichtlich nicht nur zufällig, dass der Austausch von dekorativen Elementen der Buchmalerei zwischen den zwei benachbarten Gebieten in umgekehrter Richtung, d. h. von Mähren nach Österreich, im definierten Zeitraum nicht festgestellt werden konnte. Unter den Buchilluminationen der hier untersuchten Zimelien überwiegen die Initialen, seien es durch die Hände von Professionellen in der Technik von Deckfarben und Gold ausgeführte oder der weit häufigere Typ der Fleuronnée-Initialen, an deren Entstehung man eine Beteiligung von Floratoren, oftmals identisch mit den Schreibern der entsprechenden Skriptorien, annehmen kann. Demgegenüber sind die figürlichen Darstel-

lungen nur in zwei Fällen markanter belegt und zwar im Breviar CO 195 am Anfang des verfolgten Zeitraums und weiter beim Missale CO 131, das seinen Abschluss markiert. Aufmerksamkeit verdient schließlich auch die Tatsache, dass die hier analysierten Zimelien durchweg aus dem monastischen Milieu stammen, wo man gleichfalls mit größter Wahrscheinlichkeit den Ort ihres Entstehens suchen kann und dass man mit diesem Faktor im Rahmen der weiteren Forschung rechnen muss. Die Bedeutung dieser während der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts in Mähren entstandenen Handschriften kann man schließlich auch im Rahmen der langwierigen und komplizierten Entwicklung suchen, die parallel gleichfalls in der damaligen Buchmalerei in Böhmen ablief, an der diese Denkmäler teilnahmen und die sie um charakteristische Anregungen österreichischer Herkunft bereicherten. Mit ihnen muss man – neben der Tradition der Gruppe der für die Königin Elisabeth Richza entstandenen, illuminierten Handschriften – zumindest bei der künftigen Bewertung des Dekors von Initialen des Fleuronnée-Typs und von Cadellen rechnen. Dieser Prozess, der dann wie bekannt während des dritten Viertels des 14. Jahrhunderts in die gelungene Synthese und in die Konstituierung eines lokalen Idioms mündete, spielte sich allem Anschein nach vor allem auf die Initiative der damaligen Bischöfe und Erzbischöfe in den Hofwerkstätten ab.

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Analysis of Microarchitecture and Decorative Sculptures in Southern and Northern Portals of the Church of St. Wolfgang in Hnanice¹

Abstract | The Church of St. Wolfgang in Hnanice ranks among the most significant late-Gothic sacred buildings in Moravia. Construction of this pilgrimage church was supported by the Premonstrate monks from the nearby Louka monastery and the administrator of the Olomouc bishopric, Jan Filipec. The architectonic sculptural work ornamenting the church was created by stone-carvers from a Viennese workshop, and at its time ranked among the very best in Moravia. The church's southern portal is dated to 1483 and the northern portal, considering its stylistically identical character, is assumed to be from roughly the same era. The author analyses the micro-architecture of these unique massive portals, which clearly derive from architectonic sculpture of the 15th century in Vienna and in Krems, and considers the possible influence of Jan Filipec, whose coat of arms is on the tympanum of the southern portal.

In addition, the author investigates the 'Gerhaertesque' style applied in the relief of the Suffering Christ in the tympanum of the southern portal, and in the relief of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in the tympanum of the portal to the north. On the basis of stylistic analysis, he concludes that the author of the reliefs could have been Anton Pilgram or Hanuš of Olomouc, the latter of whom had spent time in Konstanz shortly before the portals' creation and was certainly well acquainted with the Gerhaertesque sculptural style in which both reliefs were rendered.

Keywords | Architecture – microarchitecture – sculpture – late gothic

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Introduction

Centre of Hnanice, situated south of Znojmo, is dominated by the massive church of St. Wolfgang [fig. 1],² built as a pilgrimage church on the source of a miraculous spring in the years 1480–1510. Church of St. Wolfgang in Hnanice is among the most architecturally important monuments

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² To name a few of the most influential texts on the architecture of St. Wolfgang's church in Hnanice: Marta Procházková, *Stavebníci pozdně gotického chrámu v Hnanicích*, *Jižní Morava XXXI*, 1992, pp. 245–249. – Bohumil Samek, *Umělecké památky Moravy a Slezska 1 (A–I)*, Praha 1994, pp. 486–488. – Petr Kroupa – Marta Procházková, *Poutní kaple sv. Wolfganga v Hnanicích*, in: Kaliopi Chamoniola (ed.), *Od gotiky k renesanci: Výtvarná kultura Moravy a Slezska 1400–1550. II. Brněnsko*, Brno 1999, pp. 102–106.

of the late-Gothic period in the Czech lands. Scope of the building, its quality along with the quality of its details relates to the prestigious builders – Premonstratensians from Louka at Znojmo, Hnanice township and Olomouc bishops Jan Filipec and Stanislav Thurzo. The construction of church of St. Wolfgang was conceived at the initiative of Jan Bavor, abbot of Louka (in office 1466–1482).³ The only realised part, however, were the three naves of the church. The intended adjacent presbytery was never built, presumably due to disagreements between the Louka monastery and the Cistercian monastery in Oslavany, which held patronage over the Hnanice municipality.⁴

We do not know the identity of the architect, author of the project of this church and not even names of the actual masons working on the construction. However, based on style analysis of the architecture and the beautifully preserved architectural sculpture, it is evident that this building is the work of Viennese masons belonging to the local St. Stephen's Cathedral.

Progress of the Research

Stylistic exceptionality and high quality architectural elements ornamenting St. Wolfgang's church, including the decorations of southern and northern [fig. 2] portals, has been attracting the attention of art historians for over a century.⁵ These monumental portals are essentially composed of two separate portals – an internal saddle shaped one framing the entrance and an external one finished with a tympanum shaped as a keel arch with a finial in the top part. The external portal has a richly profiled lining realised as stone bars, has two brackets in the top part which used to support statues as indicated by the canopies above the brackets.

Among the first to analyse these portals was one August Prokop who, regrettably, read the date on the southern portal as “1443”,⁶ which put the portal into a wrong timeframe and context. Jan Sedlák rightly realised the northern and southern portals of this church are linked to activities of Viennese stonemasons of the St. Stephen's Cathedral. He references Puchheim's (1437) and Fuchs's (1448) baldachins and the antechamber of the Singer Gate in St. Stephen's Cathedral, Vienna, as sources of inspiration.⁷ Kaliopi Chamonikola⁸ characterised reliefs in Hnanice as early radical dynamic position of “post-gerhaertian” line in Moravian sculpture. However, her opinion that reliefs in St. Wolfgang's church have “*their precursors in the Viennese St. Stephen's Cathedral's pulpit*” is hardly acceptable as that pulpit is at least 15 years younger.⁹ Chamonikola also included the wooden statue of St. Catherine in Hlína from the 1480s into the same style family as the Hnanice reliefs.

³ Kroupa – Procházková (n. 2), p. 105.

⁴ Ibidem, p. 106.

⁵ To name a few texts dealing with the portals in Hnanice: August Prokop, *Die Markgrafschaft Mähren in kunstgeschichtlicher Beziehung. II. Band: Das Zeitalter der gotischen Kunst*, Wien 1904, p. 566. – Jan Sedlák, K některým otázkám pozdně gotické architektury na jižní Moravě, in: *Historická Olomouc a její současné problémy III*, 1980, pp. 202–203. – Petr Čehovský, *Kamenné skulptury v Podyjí 1480–1550*, Olomouc 2012, pp. 148–152.

⁶ Prokop (n. 5), p. 566.

⁷ Sedlák (n. 5), pp. 202–203.

⁸ Kaliopi Chamonikola, Kapitoly k sochařství a deskové malbě, in: Chamonikola (n. 2), p. 264.

⁹ Čehovský (n. 5), p. 152. I use dating method of Lothar Schultes when dating the Viennese pulpit in Saint Stephen's Cathedral, see Lothar Schultes, Plastik vom Ende des schönen Stils bis zum Beginn der Renaissance, in: Artur Rosenauer (ed.), *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich, Teil 3, Spätmittelalter und Renaissance*. München–Berlin–London–New York 2003, pp. 350–351.



▲ Fig. 1 Hnanice, St. Wolfgang's church,
1480–1510. Photo by Petr Čehovský



◀ Fig. 2 Hnanice, St. Wolfgang's church,
northern portal, around 1483.
Photo by Petr Čehovský

Breakthrough in the investigation into the work of the anonymous sculptor who created both tympana in St. Wolfgang's church was constituted by the findings of Ivo Hlobil,¹⁰ who rightly stated his other work is the desk with coat of arms of Jan VI. Boček of Kunštát and his wife Kunhuta of Pernštejn [fig. 3], situated on a house at 49 Hus Square in Polná in Vysočina region. Hlobil dated this desk to the year 1480, when Boček married Kunhuta.¹¹



Fig. 3 Polná, Hus Square 49, heraldic panel of Jan Boček and Kunhuta of Pernštejn, around 1480. Photo by Petr Čehovský

Reliefs in the Tympana of Northern and Southern Portals

In the northern tympanum [fig. 4] the Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin Mary (Luke 1: 26–38) is portrayed: on the left there is the slim figure of archangel Gabriel, kneeling on his right knee, his left leg bent. Even more motion dynamism is contained in the figure of Virgin Mary on the right. Awestruck by the news announced by the archangel, she comes down on the seat beneath her. Relief is greatly deep and both figures, although being architectural sculptures, approach free-standing sculptures in their conception. Dramatic undertone of the relief is brought forth by its framing with richly interwoven branch motifs filling side and interior lining of the tympanum. Given the fact that the northern portal shows identical architectural morphology and sculptural ornamentation as the southern portal dated back to the year 1483, it is reasonable to assume its creation to have happened at about the same time.

In the southern tympanum [fig. 5] Man of Sorrow is pictured between two angels. Figure of Christ stands in the middle, slightly leaning to the left, flanked by one angel at each side. Figures of angels are pictured very dynamically, similarly as in the northern tympanum. They are donning overcoats with generous folds on their front sides, sleeves with deep grooves, both adding to the dramatic effect. Both angels hold in their hands dynamically formed tape bearing barely legible writing written in Gothic minuscule. Under Christ's feet the date 1483 is inscribed. Interior top

¹⁰ Ivo Hlobil, K výtvarné kultuře Moravy a Slezska od gotiky k renesanci, in: Ivo Hlobil – Marek Perůtka (eds), *Od gotiky k renesanci: Výtvarná kultura Moravy a Slezska 1400–1550. I. Úvodní svazek*, Olomouc 2002, p. 102. – For the year of marriage of Jan VI. Boček of Kunštát and his wife Kunhuta of Pernštejn see Miroslav Plaček, *Páni z Kunštátu a Jevišovic (Pokus o stručnou genealogii)*, *Jižní Morava XXXI*, 1995, p. 9.

¹¹ For more information on Jan Boček see Miroslav Plaček – Peter Futák, *Páni z Kunštátu: Rod erbu vrchních pánů na cestě k trůnu*, Brno 2006, pp. 157–160.



Fig. 4 Hnanice, St. Wolfgang's church, northern portal, tympanum, around 1483.
Photo by Petr Čehovský



Fig. 5 Hnanice, St. Wolfgang's church, southern portal, tympanum, 1483.
Photo by Petr Čehovský

lining of the tympanum is filled with figures of basilisks, interior lower lining with motifs of crockets, smooth on the right side. Escutcheon with initials *ih̃s* is located in the right top part of the tympanum, on which there is a frog-mouth helm with a coronet and on the left side there is escutcheon with a crest in the form of a bishop's mitre – coat of arms of the Olomouc bishopric administrator Jan Filipec.¹²

Microarchitecture of the Portals and Influence of Jan Filipec on their Form



Fig. 6 Krems an der Donau, St. Philippe and Jacob's church, northern portal, 1470. Photo by Petr Čehovský

Given the clear link between the structure of southern and northern portals of St. Wolfgang's church in Hnanice and the Viennese stonemasons of St. Stephen's Cathedral, it would be logical to assume that the sculptor ornamenting both tympana also came from Vienna or Lower Austria.

Microarchitecture of the Hnanice portals surely does come out of Viennese models mentioned by Jan Sedlák (see above), but also bears an even closer resemblance to models in: the southern portal of a nave of local parish church (later Piarist) in Krems an der Donau dated to 1477. Very close parallels are obvious in both general structure and individual architectural elements of portals in both Krems and Hnanice. More possible sources of inspiration for the Hnanice portals in Krems might have included the main northern portal of hospital church of St. Philippe and St. Jacob from 1470 [fig. 6].¹³

Architectural framing of northern and southern portals of St. Wolfgang's church in Hnanice brings a new monumental type of Late Gothic portal with ogee arch, embedded saddle portal and a theme of two lateral baldachins above consoles in the top part of the portal¹⁴ into Moravian architecture of the 15th century. And this is exactly why these two portals are so remarkable – it would seem their ordering party preferred the latest fashion in architectural morphology of their time in Central Europe.

Given the fact that throughout the entire Moravia, Hnanice used a newer, more progressive type of portal than either of the architectural centres (Brno and Olomouc), it seems evident that St. Wolfgang's church must have been a commission of great importance.

¹² Jan Filipec was formally the bishop of Olomouc in 1483–1490, he was not, however, recognised by the pope, which makes him administrator of the bishopry of Olomouc. He acted as a bishop in Oradea.

¹³ Čehovský (n. 5), p. 47. – Also according to Bleicher the hospital church portal in St. Philippe and St. Jacob from 1470 and the portal of parish church in Krems from 1477 are of the same type. – Kurt Bleicher, Die Bürgerspitalkirche St. Philipp und Jakob in Krems, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* LVIII, 2004, p. 42.

¹⁴ In this respect Moravia received incentives for architectural sculpture and portals from Austria at about the same time Bohemia did, the 1480s. Václav Mencl, Vývoj středověkého portálu v českých zemích, *Zprávy památkové péče* XX, Praha 1960, p. 144.

Among the important figures of St. Wolfgang's church's construction is abbot of Louka, Pavel, in office roughly 1482–1520, who partook in it since 1482. Despite older literature saw abbot Pavel as the main builder, I tend to agree with the newer assessment of Marta Procházková,¹⁵ according to whom Jan Filipec was also a prominent figure in the construction.

For clarification of how modern portals in Hnanice are, Jan Filipec, administrator of the Olomouc bishopric (roughly 1431–1509) whose coat of arms is located on the southern portal, is of vital importance. Filipec¹⁶ must have had an interest in the construction of the church and intensively supported the building effort. Based on source evidenced itinerary of Jan Filipec, a list of his journeys before 1483 when the northern and southern portals in St. Wolfgang's church were executed, it is clear Filipec knew the current works of Viennese stonemasons and their monumental masonic decorations very well, as he stayed in Krems in August 1477 and in Vienna in June 1481.¹⁷

Stylistic Characteristics of the Hnanice reliefs

From a sculptural point of view, both Hnanice reliefs and the Polná tablet are rare early examples of quality, dynamic, Gerheartian style in architectural sculpture in the Czech lands. Anonymous sculptor behind reliefs in northern and southern tympana of St. Wolfgang's church in Hnanice must have been a truly exceptional artist working for important clients of their time.

On the basis of analysis of architectural sculptures in the Podyjí and Vysočina regions, it seems almost impossible for this anonymous sculptor to have been permanently resident and active here because other works in comparable style have not been found here. When searching for other works of this author, it is therefore necessary to look around in the nearest artistic centres – most importantly Brno, Olomouc and Vienna.

Style inspiration of this anonymous author of the Hnanice tympana in sculpting works of Lower Austria consisted more in a broader sense in that this author knew the works and style principles of Niclas Gerheart of Leyden (roughly 1430–1473) very well, Gerheart being the most progressive Central European sculptor of the 3rd quarter of the 15th century who worked in Vienna and Wiener Neustadt in 1467–1473 at the wish of emperor Friedrich III.¹⁸ Gerhaert's stay in Lower Austria had crucial importance for the spread of late-Gothic dynamic sculpture style in Central Europe. He had many followers in Lower Austria but style comparable to the Hnanice reliefs is not present in their works. Our sculptor, author of the reliefs in Hnanice, drew very general inspiration from Gerheart.

It seems to me the closest figural sculptural parallels to the Hnanice reliefs occur not in Lower Austria but, again, in Moravia and in this respect Olomouc bishopric administrator Jan Filipec is once again a prominent figure.¹⁹

¹⁵ Procházková (n. 2), p. 247.

¹⁶ More on Jan Filipec's patronage in Ivo Hlobil, Výtvarné umění, in: Ivo Hlobil – Eduard Petrů, *Humanismus a raná renesance na Moravě*, Praha 1992, pp. 105–107. – Ivo Hlobil, Visual Art, in: Ivo Hlobil – Eduard Petrů, *Humanism and the Early Renaissance in Moravia*, Olomouc 1999, pp. 141–146.

¹⁷ Antonín Kalous, Itinerář Jana Filipce (1431–1509). *Sborník prací historických XXII. Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis, Facultas philosophica, Historica XXXIV*, 2008, p. 21 and 25.

¹⁸ For a recent source on the works of Niclas Gerhaert von Leyden see Stefan Roller (ed.), *Niclas Gerhaert: Der Bildhauer des Mittelalters* (exhibition catalogue), Petersberg 2011.

¹⁹ Based on author's own original research, not even on the basis of standard publications were found any sculptures in Lower Austria stylistically parallel to the Master of the Hnanice portals. To this issue see: Josef Zykan, Die Plastik, in: Fritz Dworschak – Harry Kühnel (eds), *Die Gotik in Niederösterreich: Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte eines Landes im Spätmittelalter*, Wien 1963, pp. 125–142. – Karl Ginhardt, Die Bildnerei in der zweiten Hälfte des

According to my findings, close parallels to the northern and southern portal reliefs in the Hnanice church of St. Wolfgang can be found in Central Moravia. These parallels can be found partially in the relief of Virgin Mary of Mercy,²⁰ in Saint Wenceslas Cathedral in Olomouc. This relief has been for several decades described as one of the highest-quality Gerheartian works in Moravia. Its origins are usually dated to 1480s, therefore about the same time as the Hnanice reliefs and the Polná coat of arms tablet. Relief in Olomouc is linked to the Hnanice tympana in several side aspects rare in architectural sculpture of that age – the sense of motion in the figures often to the point of dancing, deep relief and deeply carved framing in the form of stylised twigs – in the top part of the Olomouc relief and on the sides and top in the Hnanice reliefs. As far as figure typification goes, parallels can be found for example in figures of angels flanking Christ in the Hnanice relief of Man of Sorrows and in angels in the Olomouc relief – angels in both reliefs have majestic plastically crafted wings.

Identity of Author of the Hnanice Reliefs

Style of this sculptor, author of the tympana in northern and southern portals in the Hnanice church stems generally from Gerheartian realism, his civil name however remains a mystery.

There are two characters coming into consideration when we are trying to determine the identity of the author of reliefs in Hnanice, and who are generally thought to have been actively working in stone sculpture in the 1480s in Moravia – Anton Pilgram (*roughly 1460 Brno – 1513) and Hanuš from Olomouc (*after 1450 Olomouc – perhaps after 1520 Prague).

The idea we have about Pilgram's architectural and sculpting works underwent a massive change at the turn of the twentieth century, when the long accepted hypothetical construction of Pilgram's long-term activity in Swabia gradually fell apart,²¹ temporally determined in the last two decades of the 15th century.²²

According to the findings of Petr Kroupa and Marta Procházková,²³ there are several elements occurring in the Hnanice church which Pilgram later used in his works – theme of twisted interior pinnacles which appear in 1511 on the portal of Old Town Hall of Brno, further it is “*subtle pervading shaping of bars, twisted cannelures, shrivelled leaves naturalistic in a baroque manner, etc.*” Another reason for possible Pilgram's participation is the relative closeness of Hnanice and Brno, where Pilgram was born, the date of origin of the reliefs (it is suggested Pilgram might have

15. Jahrhunderts, in: Karl Ginhart – Margarethe Poch-Kalous – Gertraud Schikola, *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Wien: Plastik in Wien*, Wien 1970, pp. 38–50. – Lothar Schultes, *Podzim středověku – císařské umění za Friedricha III.*, in: *Podzim středověku: Sborník sympozia*, Moravská galerie v Brně, 2001, pp. 71–88. – Lothar Schultes, *Plastik vom Ende des schönen Stils bis zum Beginn der Renaissance*, in: Rosenauer (n. 9), pp. 301–366.

²⁰ On the relief of Virgin Mary of Mercy in Olomouc see Ivo Hlobil, *Olomoucký sochař, Retábl P. Marie Ochránitelky*, in: Ivo Hlobil – Marek Perůtka (eds), *Od gotiky k renesanci: Výtvarná kultura Moravy a Slezska 1400–1550. III. Olomoucko*, Olomouc 1999, pp. 304–306.

²¹ More on the topic in Kaliopi Chamonikola, *K autorské identitě sochaře Antona Pilgrama*, *Umění* LII, 2004, pp. 414–426. – Kaliopi Chamonikola, *Co zůstalo z Antona Pilgrama*, in: Viktor Kubík (ed.), *Doba Jagellonská v zemích České koruny (1471–1526): Konference k založení Ústavu dějin křesťanského umění KTF UK v Praze (2. – 4. 10. 2003)*, České Budějovice 2005, pp. 205–218.

²² It can be assumed that a shift in the research into Pilgram's artistic activities will be brought by dissertations of Gábor Endrödi and Lucie Valdhansová, both of which will be monographically focused on Anton Pilgram's artistic work. At the time when this study finished, there was no German version of Endrödi's text published and the work of Lucie Valdhansová written in Czech was incomplete.

²³ Kroupa – Procházková (n. 2), p. 106. – Petr Kroupa and Marta Procházková claim that “*in 1481 A. Pilgram leaves for work in southern Germany and that he knew the church in Hnanice before 1481 or was helping with its construction.*”

already been active in the 1480s as a sculptor) and a specific artistic form – architectural sculpture which Pilgram specialized in in his mature and late works. It is also reasonable to suggest that in his early phase he worked at least partially in the Czech, or more precisely in Moravian region.

Reliefs on the northern and southern tympana of church in Hnanice dated roughly 1483 may not be comparable to Pilgram's mature figures from 1500–1511 but more general common style solutions can be found in them, namely Gerheartian dynamism and realism in sculpture. In addition, in the 17 years between the Hnanice tympana and the oldest proven Pilgram's work it can be reasonably assumed Pilgram might have substantially changed his sculpting style and get to mature sculpture. This is also indicated by the stylized narrative character of the Hnanice relief, substantially different from the atemporal Pilgram's figural works after 1500.

Ivo Hlobil stated in the analysis of monumental architectural sculpture in the Town Hall Chapel of St. Jerome in Olomouc, which is usually dated 1488 based on the year 1488 preserved above the painting on the northern wall of the chapel, that “*with heightened expressivity, male heads under the oriel windows and the man's head in the town hall purlin foreshadow less naturalistic masks of the Jewish Gate in Brno, which is usually attributed to an assistant of Anton Pilgram.*”²⁴ It is necessary to agree with this opinion, inter alia because masks on Pilgram's Jewish Gate in Brno as well as heads in the lower part of oriel in Olomouc Town Hall Chapel contain a significant caricatural element rare in Moravia at the time, so logically the link in authorship between the two works emerges. Given the fact that Pilgram's architectural activity in Olomouc in 1480s and 1490s is still admissible, his participation on the decoration of St. Wolfgang's church, whose major builder was the then administrator of bishopric of Olomouc, Jan Filipec, would be logical.

The second possible author of the Hnanice reliefs is, in my opinion, Hanuš from Olomouc²⁵ (perhaps after 1450 Olomouc – perhaps after 1520 Prague).²⁶ Hanuš must have been a prominent sculptor, as evidenced by surviving reports of his artistic commissions and his only signed work so far, a stone sculptural group Lamentation or sometimes iconographically called Putting into the Grave in The Holy Trinity Church in Görlitz, formerly a Franciscan church, from 1492.

Romuald Kaczmarek insightfully characterised the Görlitz sculptural group as a work influenced by the Burgundian sculpture of the late 14th and 15th century.²⁷ He considers the works of Claus Sluter, whose working style was used in different varieties in Burgundy in the 15th century, to be an important source of inspiration for the Görlitz sculptural group. Treating the drapery on the Görlitz sculpture Kaczmarek describes as traditional to even archaic²⁸ and pointed out that next to the Burgundian component the influence of Konrad Witz's paintings and graphics by Master E. S. are also present, especially in the rendition of folds of the drapery.

²⁴ Ivo Hlobil, Olomoucký sochař, sochařská výzdoba kaple sv. Jeronýma, in: Hlobil – Perůtka (n. 20), p. 315.

²⁵ Selected works on Hanuš from: Jarmila Krčálová, Příspěvek k poznání díla Hanuše z Olomouce, *Umění* IV, 1956, pp. 17–50. – Walther Biehl, Das Rätsel um Hans Olmützer: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Oberlausitzer Plastik im späten Mittelalter, in: Martin Reuthner (ed.), *Oberlausitzer Forschungen*, Leipzig 1961, pp. 135–142. – Jarmila Krčálová, headword Hanuš z Olomouce, in: Anděla Horová (ed.), *Nová encyklopedie českého výtvarného umění*, Praha 1995, p. 244. – Marius Winzeler, Horní Lužice a její umělecké vazby k Čechám, Slezsku a Sasku v pozdním středověku – přehled. / Die Oberlausitz und ihre künstlerische Verbindungen zu Böhmen, Schlesien und Sachsen im ausgehenden Mittelalter, Ein Überblick, in: Alena Martyčáková (red.), *Podzim středověku: Vyhraňování geografických teritorií, městská kultura a procesy vzniku lokálních uměleckých škol ve střední Evropě*, Brno 2001, p. 156. – Romuald Kaczmarek, Hans von Olmütz – ein ungelöstes Problem. Über die Beweinungsgruppe in der Dreifaltigkeitskirche zu Görlitz, in: Tomasz Torbus (ed.), *Die Kunst in der Oberlausitz um 1500* (Studia Jagellonica Lipsiensia 3), Ostfildern 2006, pp. 115–127.

²⁶ Biographical information on Hanuš from Olomouc quoted from Jarmila Krčálová, see: Krčálová 1995 (n. 25), p. 244.

²⁷ Kaczmarek (n. 25), especially pp. 118–119.

²⁸ Ibidem, p. 119.

Despite the above mentioned group of statues in Görlitz being the only surviving work of which Hanuš is proven to be the author, his life is documented by a relatively high amount of support materials giving information about his areas of work – in 1473 he is a sculptor journeyman in Zurich, after that until 1478 he worked south of Lake Constance. In November 1478 he is recorded to be a sculptor in St. Gallen.²⁹ According to Krčálová he stayed in Constance in 1479³⁰ where “*he was recommended by the town council to the town council of Olomouc.*” Later the same year, 1479, Hanuš travelled to Olomouc to take his father’s inheritance. He is thought to have lived in Olomouc between 1479 and 1482, in 1483 he became a townsman of Wrocław where according to Romuald Kaczmarek he stayed for the following 5 years. Nevertheless, he seems to have kept in contact with his hometown Olomouc by the year 1488.³¹ Hanuš is repeatedly reported in Görlitz in 1488–1503, in 1503 he sold his house in Wrocław and left for Görlitz. In the later years of his life he is being identified with Hans the woodcarver at the Prague Castle.³²

Ivo Hlobil rightfully stated that during his stay in the south of Germany, Hanuš surely came into contact with the works of Nikolaus Gerhaert van Leyden and that the question of Hanuš’s surviving works in Olomouc has not yet been resolved.³³ To this day, there has not been an attempt to attribute selected sculptures in Olomouc from the 1480s to Hanuš. The fact that Hanuš was reported in Olomouc in 1479 and his stay there probably lasted until 1483 means it would hypothetically be possible to attempt to attribute some selected Gerhaertian stone sculptures in Olomouc from the 1480s to him.

In 1480 and the 1480s in general, several higher-quality pieces of monumental stone sculpture appear in Olomouc, clearly influenced by Gerhaertian style and have not yet been attributed to a particular sculptor. The highest-quality one is without a doubt the above mentioned relief of Virgin Mary of Mercy at Předhradí, today situated in the northern chapel of Saint Wenceslas Cathedral in Olomouc.

Hanuš from Olomouc must have been among important and high-quality sculptors of his time. This is proven by the fact that he was addressed by his civil name and above all the letter from the Görlitz town council addressed to the Olomouc town council from 1489 where Hanuš is “*labeled as indispensable and therefore the Görlitz town council rejected commissions from his home town Olomouc.*”³⁴

Given his lengthy stay around Lake Constance in the 1470s, his stay in Constance in 1479–1482, where Nikolaus Gerhaert van Leyden executed a monumental, yet not unpreserved, altar for the local cathedral, and the appearance of Gerhaertian sculptures in Olomouc dated to the 1480s, it is reasonable to assume his style continued in the then modern trend of dynamic dramatic sculpture under the influence of predominantly Gerhaert van Leyden. Furthermore, it is hard to imagine town council of Olomouc to show interest in an artist whose qualities were questionable. That attests for the fact that Hanuš must have been responsible for “some” commissions by 1489 already, the year Olomouc town council asked for his services.

Following the logical assumption that Hanuš was influenced by Gerhaertian style of sculpture around the year 1480, it is possible he might be responsible for the relief of Virgin Mary of Mercy in the Virgin Mary Church in Olomouc Předhradí or of the bust of a man under the oriel in the Town Hall Chapel of St. Jerome in Olomouc from 1488. Ivo Hlobil stated that the rendition of

²⁹ Jiří Fajt – Markus Hörsch (eds), *Künstler der Jagiellonen-Ära im Mitteleuropa*, Ostfildern 2013, pp. 307–308.

³⁰ Krčálová 1995 (n. 25), p. 244.

³¹ Kaczmarek (n. 25), p. 116.

³² Krčálová 1995 (n. 25), p. 244. – It is not clear if Hanuš from Olomouc was indeed Hanuš the woodcarver who was active at the Prague Castle until as late as 1530.

³³ Ivo Hlobil, *Pozdně gotická a raně renesanční plastika na Olomoucku*, in: Hlobil – Perůtka (n. 20), p. 258.

³⁴ Winzeler (n. 25), p. 156.

the figure of Virgin Mary in Olomouc was clearly influenced by the conception of the figure of emperor Friedrich III. by Nikolaus Gerhaert on his Viennese gravestone cover, he aptly identifies the “dancing” stance of Virgin Mary as Gerhaertian.³⁵ Since the only signed artwork of Hanuš from Olomouc is partially influenced by graphics of Master E. S.,³⁶ who played a key part in the spread of Gerhaertian realism in Central Europe, it is all the more reasonable to assume that Hanuš might have already been influenced solely by this source in his early phase.

Hanuš from Olomouc must have known Gerheart’s monumental altar in the local cathedral during his stay in Constance and Gerheart’s style must have influenced his work. Tympana in Hnanice were created mere four years after his stay in Constance and it comes as no surprise that the Gerhaertian flavour is so substantial in them. Church of St. Wolfgang in Hnanice was built under the patronage of Premonstrates from the nearby Louka monastery and bishops from Olomouc. It was also Jan Filipec, administrator of the Olomouc bishopric, who considerably contributed to its construction in the 1480s and who could invite Hanuš to participate in its sculptural decoration. The personality of Jan Filipec could be a logical explanation, why Hanuš from Olomouc probably played such a significant role in decorating the church in Hnanice.

The research of the reliefs in the tympana in the northern and southern portals of the church St. Wolfgang’s in Hnanice will sure continue in the future. The above mentioned analysis of the reliefs wanted to emphasize, that also one of the above mentioned artists – Anton Pilgram or Hanuš from Olomouc – could have been the author of the reliefs.

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³⁵ Hlobil (n. 20), p. 306.

³⁶ More: Eva Maria Breisig, Die Vermittlung des neuen Stils: Zur Funktion von Druckgraphik und Zeichnung in der Zeit Niclaus Geraerts, in: Roller (n. 18), pp. 135–150.

Notes on the Sojourn of Rudolf II at the Spanish Court: Spain and Bohemia over the period 1550–1650

Abstract | In the century from 1550 to 1650, Spain was the world's first global imperial power. Ruled by the Hapsburgs, it was also where the Austrian Hapsburgs sent their sons for education. The future emperor Rudolf II spent his youth here under the supervision of his uncle, Philip II, then the most powerful monarch in the world. This king was hardly the figure depicted by romantics such as Friedrich Schiller. During the construction of El Escorial, the royal summer residence (as well as the royal pantheon and a functioning monastery), Philip conceived the building in part as Solomon's Temple, and hence (as proven by René Taylor) a kind of symbolic alchemical work, including application of Italian hermetic-Neoplatonist philosophy. At the same time, the building was an homage to St. Lawrence, since it was on his feast-day that Philip II won the battle of St. Quentin (10 August 1557). For this reason, he first employed as his architect Juan Bautista de Toledo, who had been Michelangelo's assistant in Rome during the construction of St. Peter's Basilica; further work was led by Juan de Herrera, also erudite in alchemy and esoteric lore. In the Escorial, the idea was of an esoteric interpretation of geometric principles (*figura cúbica*). And Philip II himself initiated his nephew Rudolf into esoteric philosophy and alchemy, grounded in the works of the medieval mystic Ramón Llull; another expert in his work, later, was the Spanish envoy to Rudolf's court in Prague, Guillermo de San Clemente. In addition, there was in Madrid a public mathematical academy and a secret alchemist's workshop. It was here, in the Spanish capital, that Rudolf II first encountered the principles of alchemy, which accompanied his entire later life in Prague.

Keywords | El Escorial – esoterics – alchemy – architecture

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Over the years 1550–1650, a period which covers the rise and decline of the Rudolfine era, Spain was the leading power in Europe. Spain was the first world imperial power of modern times, although a gradual decline in its importance set in after 1588. The years 1550–1650 are usually described as the age of Spanish hegemony. After the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, which marked the end of the Thirty Years' War, the spotlight began to shift from Spain to England and France, and even in some respects to Holland.

In the first part of the 16th Century, Czech-Spanish relations received added impetus in 1526 when the Czech estates elected the Hapsburg Ferdinand I as King, the grand-son of Isabella the Catholic and Ferdinand of Aragon. This happened as the result of a justified fear of a common enemy; the Muslims. This was not the first time someone Spanish had appeared in a ruling family in Bohemia: Louis Jagiellon married the Spanish Infanta Maria in 1521, the daughter of

Joanna the Mad and Philip the Handsome (Castilian King 1478–1506), Maria being the granddaughter of the Emperor Maximilian and the sister of the Spanish King, Charles I and Emperor Charles V.¹ The wedding therefore connected the Jagiellon family with the heirs of the Catholic kings (Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon). The new ruler, Ferdinand I, was born in 1503 in the Castilian town of Alcalá de Henares,² and was raised as the future Spanish king in his home country. Only within the changed political situation, did the Emperor Charles V send his brother to Vienna. He brought with him many Spanish advisers and secretaries, amongst them a banker, Salamanca, and a Boccaccio-like poet, Castillejo, whose work mentions their stay at the Prague Castle.³

The triumphant rise and expansion of Spain in the second half of the 16th century, which had its beginnings in the capture of the last Muslim bastion in Granada and the discovery of America, is linked with the reign of Philip II, which saw the epoch-making victory over the Turks at Lepanto in 1571, when the combined Spanish, Venetian, and papal fleet broke the Turkish grip on the Mediterranean and thus on the whole of southern Europe.⁴

When examining the role of Rudolf II⁵ as one of the greatest collectors and patrons of alchemy in the history of the Hapsburg dynasty, we are confronted sooner or later by the basic question: where did the Emperor acquire his interest in art, and where did he become acquainted with the basic principles of alchemy, which he was later to support so passionately?⁶ The answer, even if it is often given rather evasively, is nevertheless clear enough: in Spain at the court of Philip II. Prince Rudolf, the future Emperor, was brought up along with his brothers at the royal court of his uncle Philip II in Madrid. In view of the family ties between the Viennese and Madrid branches of the Hapsburg family (in Spain they were referred to as “the Austrians”), and, particularly, of the powerful position of Spain, this was quite natural.

¹ Her paper on the life of Rudolf II has been studied by Pablo Jiménez, *Vztahy Španělska a Čech a jejich doklady v rudolfínské kultuře a umění*, Dissertation manuscript, Prague, Charles University, 1966. – It was published in Spanish as Pablo Jiménez Díaz, *El coleccionismo manierista de los Austrias: Entre Felipe II. y Rodolfo II*, Madrid 2001.

² Even though his gravestone in St. Vitus Cathedral states – wrongly – that his birthplace was Spanish Medina. For more about Ferdinand see my article: Pavel Štěpánek, 1526: Rodilý Španěl na českém trůně – Ferdinand I. Preludium vlády Rudolfa II., in: Helena Dáňová – Klára Mezihoráková – Dalibor Prix (eds), *Artem ad vitam: Kniha k poctě Ivo Hlobila*, Praha 2012, pp. 493–504.

³ Another poet visited Prague for some time; see Bohumír Roedl Sr., Alonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga: Básník a conquistador na dvoře Rudolfa II, *Dějiny a současnost* XXV, 2003, No. 2, pp. 27–30.

⁴ See my catalogue exhibition Pavel Štěpánek, *Filip II. (1527–1598) a jeho doba: Vybrané ukázky umění a dokumentů z pražských sbírek / Felipe II (1527–1598) y su época: Piezas selectas de arte y documentos en colecciones de Praga*. Španělské velvyslanectví a Národní muzeum v Praze, Lobkovický palác, 19. ledna – 28. února 1999. Embajada de España en Praga y Museo Nacional de Praga, Palacio Lobkowicz, El Castillo de Praga, del 19 de enero al 28 de febrero de 1999 (Catálogo, in Czech and Spanish). – One portrait of Philip II can also be found on the largest Czech bell, Zikmund, in the bell tower of St. Vitus Cathedral, cast in 1547, on which is a medallion of this Spanish King among others.

⁵ For general historical information see Jaroslava Hausenblasová – Michal Šroněk, *Urbs Aurea: Praha císaře Rudolfa II.*, Praha 1997, and the catalogues of the exhibitions Eliška Fučíková (ed.) a kol., *Rudolf II. a Praha: Císařský dvůr a rezidenční město jako kulturní a duchovní centrum Střední Evropy. Katalog vystavených exponátů*, Správa Pražského hradu, Praha 1997. – For particularly important investigations about concrete persons at Rudolf's court see Jaroslava Hausenblasová, *Der Hof Kaiser Rudolfs II*, Prag 2002.

⁶ Fernando Checa Cremades, *Felipe II. Mecenas de las artes*, Madrid 1997. – Pavel Štěpánek, Španělský dvůr. Učednická léta Rudolfa II. *Antique*, 1997, nr. 2, p. 36–37, and nr. 3, p. 42–43.

Rudolf II's stay at the court in Madrid can be followed in some detail from several sources, including the reports of his conversations with Philip II, who tutored him, regularly and Rudolf's correspondence with the court in Madrid.⁷

Our view of the period is often subconsciously influenced by Schiller's romantic drama and Verdi's opera *Don Carlos*, where the Spanish king Philip II plays an inauspicious role. The fact remains, however, that modern research displays Philip's reign in a much more favourable light.

Philip had only been on the throne for a year when he employed in his service the alchemist Tiberius de la Roca (who did not work in Spain, but in Mechelen in Flanders), who was later joined by the German Peter Sternberg. This was not the first time that magicians, astrologers, and alchemists appeared at the Spanish court. Philip's father Charles V had also surrounded himself with them. Philip II's interest in alchemy and esotericism had been strengthened by his travels through Europe, particularly to England, where he had a personal meeting with John Dee, whom we will come across later at the court of Rudolf II in Prague.⁸ It was Dee who drew up a chart of the stars for young prince Philip, and the latter was clearly satisfied with it, for he later had it reproduced on the small retablo in the main chapel in the Escorial.⁹ Philip rewarded Dee for his astrological analysis of the course of his life with a Mexican obsidian mirror, which Dee used throughout his life during his magic performances.

The alchemist milieu in Madrid, which reached a "creative" peak around that time, would clearly have been known to the young princes Rudolf, Ernest, Wenceslas and Albert over the years 1564–1571. The portraits of the young princes were painted by the court painter Alonso Sánchez Coello with a number of them still on display at present in the Lobkowitz gallery in Nelahozeves.¹⁰ Wenceslas died in the Escorial at the age of 17 as Grand Prior of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem (the Maltese Knights) and is buried there. From the beginning, it was planned that Albert would have a career in the church, while Rudolf was destined for secular rule. Both princes were tutored personally by their uncle, receiving several hours of lessons twice a week. He taught them the basic principles of ruling, politics, and – as a matter of course – esotericism and alchemy.

During Rudolf's in Madrid (in 1567), evidence exists of the activity of a brotherhood which carried out alchemist work at the orders of the king. Eight written communications between Philip II and his secretary Pedro de Hoyo have survived from a three-week period (30 January to 20 February 1567). From them we learn that the royal secretary rented out a "discreet" house in Madrid, in which a furnace was secretly constructed for carrying out alchemist experiments. A man, revealingly referred to as "*one who is familiar with the mysteries*" directed the work of the team of "*brothers*", which indicates the existence of a Hermetic brotherhood which was not only known to the king, but was directly under his supervision. The king would not have manifested, however, the prudence for which he was famed (he was known as the "*rey prudente*") if he had not said, with regard to the work of this brotherhood, that he did not believe that transmutation

⁷ Julián Paz, *Catálogo II: Secretaría de Estado: Capitulaciones con la casa de Austria y negociaciones de Alemania, Sajonia, Polonia, Prusia y Hamburgo, 1493–1796*, Madrid 1942.

⁸ Josef Janáček, *Pád Rudolfa II.*, Praha 1973. – Bohumil Vurm, *Rudolf II. a jeho Praha*, Ostrava 1997. – Another book, without academic aspiration, deals with this theme: Jan Boněk, *Rudolf II. a jeho císařská Praha*, Praha 2008; chapter Rudolf II a Španělsko. – See also Peter Marshall, *Magický kruh Rudolfa II: Alchymie, astrologie a magie v renesanční Praze*. Praha 2008.

⁹ Fray Julián Zarco Cuevas, *El monasterio de El Escorial y la casita del príncipe*, Madrid 1926.

¹⁰ Pavel Štěpánek – Eva Bukolská, Retratos españoles en la colección Lobkowitz en Roudnice, *Archivo Español de Arte* 46, 1973, pp. 319–339, and other studies by the authors. – Pavel Štěpánek, *Španělské umění 14.–16. století z československých sbírek*, Středočeská galerie, Praha, December 1984 – January 1985, catalogue No. 26.

would produce the quantities of gold mentioned in the report of the “initiate into the mysteries”, even if he refers to “a certain degree of success”.

A further focus of esoteric thought revolved around the royal palace and monastery of the Order of St. Jerome in the Escorial. The palace of the Escorial, which Philip II had built in honour of the victory over the French on St. Laurence's day (10 August 1557), has the shape of a gridiron, the attribute of the saint whose name it bears (the full title of the Escorial is San Lorenzo de El Escorial). Recent research, notably by René Taylor,¹¹ has shown that this is not the only symbolism present: Philip II established the idea that the Escorial should be understood as a new temple of Solomon, as an analogy of alchemist work, and, above all – in a practical sense – the idea that the building is the result of a magical operation. Work was begun on the complex at a time when the Council of Trent was coming to an end, and thus its austere style is sometimes explained as complying with the conclusions of the Council, which recommended limitations to non-essential elements in art.

The builders actually drew their inspiration from Italian Hermetic Neoplatonic philosophy and science;¹² with philosophers and mystics involved in the basic conception. The choice of the site for the building was entrusted to astrologers, who, working with alchemists, determined that the building should deviate from the cardinal points of the compass by 16 degrees, in such a way that it would be oriented towards the point where the sun would set on 10 August, the day dedicated to Saint Laurence, the patron saint of the monastery and the royal residence.

The first architect, from 1562 onwards, was Juan Bautista de Toledo; from 1567 the work was taken over (though officially not till much later) by Juan de Herrera (1530–1597). Herrera was also an adherent of the esoteric interpretation of geometry (*figura cúbica*) in the sense of Neoplatonic speculation.¹³ In addition to his architectural training he was also educated in astronomy and astrology. He illustrated the *Book of Astronomic Wisdom* published in 1562. It was this, in fact, which secured his entry into the royal service. He was also an expert on symbolism, and above all a committed adherent to the teachings of Ramón Lull. From a modern reconstruction of the King's personal library, following old lists and existing volumes in the Escorial, it is quite clear that the Spanish ruler was an adherent of the teachings of the Majorcan mystic and martyr Ramón Lull. Philip II received permission from the church to officially study Lull's controversial work. Herrera himself wrote a work entitled *Treatise on the Hermetic Body According to the Principles and Opinions of Ramón Lull* (in the original: *Tratado del cuerpo cúbico conforme a los principios y opiniones de Raimundo Lulio*). It is in fact a cabalistic work dealing with the “philosophers' stone” or perfection. Although it does not touch on the processes of alchemy directly, it expresses the theoretical bases observed by the science and art of alchemy. (Alchemy is one of the disciplines understood to be included in the concept of *Ars Magna*, or the Great Art, although in an internal sense as pansophism, as transmutation of the soul.)¹⁴ Herrera understands the geometry of space in a directly mystical way, with symbolic roots in the mediaeval cathedrals, and implements this understanding in his building work. In his conception, the dressed stone contains in its seemingly cold immobility all the powers of the universe, fitted into a unique balance of static calm. In short, what Herrera is trying to tell us is that building with the aid of symbols involves reproducing God's creation on the small scale of perfect alchemy.

¹¹ René Taylor, *Arquitectura y magia. Consideraciones sobre la idea de El Escorial*, Madrid 1992.

¹² See *Bohemia–Italia: Češi ve Vlaších a Vlaši v Praze. 1600–2000*, Praha, Vlašská kaple. 18. 5. – 15. 6. 2000. Catalogue by Zdeněk Hojda and Jaroslava Kašparová.

¹³ Domingos Tavares, *Juan de Herrera: Disciplina na arquitectura*, Dafne Editora 2005. – 5. 8. *setiembre de 1973, XXIII Congreso Internacional de Historia del Arte*, Granada 1975, p. 38, cat. 20.

¹⁴ Raimon Arola, *Los Amores de los Dioses: Mitología y alquimia*, Barcelona 1999. – For more on Lullism see http://quisestlullus.narpan.net/eng/3_lulisme_eng.html

The entire construction of the Escorial was actually directed by Philip himself; he decided on the final forms personally. The King and Herrera, both adherents of esotericism, were in general agreement. Philip was obviously surrounded by a group of “Lullists”. The Escorial is evidence of the fact that Spain followed down the road marked out by Michelangelo in an even more radical fashion than Italy itself; it was here that architectural rationalism reached its uttermost boundaries. The Escorial is a perfect expression of Renaissance Neoplatonism and a radical application of Roman theories. In the extreme character of his designs, Herrera went beyond the Italian concept in his presentation of the harmony of values and in the strict proportions of architectural elements of classical origin (the so-called Herrera style).¹⁵ The effect is heightened by the material used – granite ashlar without stucco, marble, or plaster, whose visible, geometrically regular layers lend the building an appearance of austere grandeur. The decoration of the interiors is however the work of the Italian mannerist painters Frederico Zuccari, Luca Cambiaso and Pellegrino Tibaldi, who worked according to a plan drawn up by Spanish monks.

As far as collections are concerned, it is worth bearing in mind one apparently unconnected fact: at the same time as the royal palace was being built, a new library was being established under the direction of Benito Arias Montano (1527–1598). Arias Montano, a polyglot who spoke 15 languages, was a member of the brotherhood known as Familia Charitatis; he proclaimed the freedom of direct relationships with God, regardless of the religion professed. Philip II worked with him and kept him under his protection. By coincidence, both of them were to die in the same year; ten years later, Arias Montano's works were placed on the *Index*. The King even included his own private library, in a separate section, in the monastery library, and thus made forbidden works available. The view has been expressed that Arias Montano inspired Philip II in his interest in the works of Hieronymus Bosch, of which he held the largest collection. It is no coincidence that a number of Bosch's paintings, specifically *The Garden of Delights*, have been interpreted as containing alchemist symbolism. Philip II also commissioned paintings from Titian, with whom he corresponded; the painter had already worked for his father and painted a portrait of Philip in his youth.¹⁶

In addition, an alchemist workshop operated directly in the monastery in the Escorial, where it was situated next to the astronomic observatory, in the Philosopher's Tower. Among the alchemists who worked there was the mathematician Dimas, author of the *Enumeration of Lull's Surviving Works* (running to 300 volumes) and the royal distiller and apothecary Diego de Santiago, who in 1590 constructed a complicated distilling apparatus for the Philosopher's Tower. He was the author of *Two Books on the Chemical Art* (*Dos libros de arte separatoria*, 1598), in which he cites as authorities Vilanova, Paracelsus, Lull and Rupercisus. In this work he also mentions that he was in contact for twenty years with a brotherhood of alchemists working for Philip II.¹⁷

Another interesting figure in the circle connected with the Escorial was Richard Stanhurst, author of an *Apologia for the Chemical Art* and the short treatise *The Touch of Alchemy*, published in 1593 in San Lorenzo de El Escorial and dedicated to the King.¹⁸ In it he attempted to distin-

¹⁵ José Camón Aznar, *Zlatý věk iberské kultury*, in: René Huyghe, ed., *Umění renesance a baroku*, Praha 1970, p. 229. Translation from the French.

¹⁶ For a study about gardens in Prague see Sylva Dobalová, *Zahrady Rudolfa II., jejich vznik a vývoj*. Praha 2009, pp. 66, 94, 110, 180, 207, 218, 310.

¹⁷ The text of Taylor is available at <http://books.google.cz/books?id=Zsf3HvMXfQC&pg=PA27&lpg=PA27&dq=%22Dos+libros+de+arte+separatoria%22&source=bl&ots=aEEIH41lIV&sig=vw4rmjBaHCXzn9ohabJfphVBjDo&hl=cs&sa=X&ei=F20-VNnnIej5ywO984CQBQ&ved=0CCIQ6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=%22Dos%20libros%20de%20arte%20separatoria%22&f=false>.

¹⁸ For Stanhurst see <http://www.jstor.org/discover/10.2307/30005654?uid=3737856&uid=2129&uid=2&uid=70&uid=4&sid=21104927562473>

guish true alchemists from false ones (frauds), and to define the stone of wisdom and universal medicine. It is clear that esoteric and alchemist research continued throughout Philip II's reign, and that it was not just a case of "the sins of his youth". The same also applied to Rudolf II.¹⁹

Art history is still faced, however, with the major task of carrying out a truly in-depth analysis of the alchemist symbolism of that time in the sense described by Jung – not only of those symbols which are obvious and easy to interpret, but also of more complex symbolic language, even if it is indirect. This includes, for example, the identification of classic figures in the alchemist key, or the interpretation of light and shade or other values regarded as exclusively artistic, but which can also be interpreted in an esoteric way. Once this has been achieved, people will no longer express surprise at the fact that Rudolfine art seemingly fails to reflect any interest in alchemy, as they did at the exhibition on Rudolf II held in 1989 and at the exhibition *Eros and Myth* held in Vienna in 1995.

It is worth noting that when the young Rudolf returned home with Ernest, they were overcome by "a sort of feeling, as if they had moved from the theatre of the great world to the countryside". Afterwards, in Prague, Rudolf surrounded himself with Spanish courtiers. A powerful influence was yielded by the Spanish ambassador Guillermo de San Clemente, as the supporter of the pro-Spanish Catholic party, at one stage led effectively on the Czech side by Polyxena of Pernštejn.

It should be added that the Spanish diplomacy in Prague not only reflected the busy relations between the Czech kingdom as part of the Central European group of states, and the large Empire on the Iberian Peninsula, but also brought into the Prague environment of the 16th and 17th centuries a strong Spanish flavour. A number of historians speak of an axis between Madrid and Prague.²⁰ The Spanish mission in Prague was important career-wise because of the vast area of influence and because of the important responsibility it held in its power. It was therefore an important career choice for a diplomat. The influence of the Spanish Ambassador in Prague spread across the Imperial Court, the German Empire, Poland and the countries below the Danube.²¹ Among the five books published in Spanish by the publisher Jiří Černý in Prague (Nigrin) is a work by the envoy Juan de Borja entitled *Empresas Morales* – 'moral emblems', which is the first publication of its kind in the Spanish language.²²

Guillermo de San Clemente²³ was a knight of the Order of St. James and an intellectual figure during the Rudolfine period. He worked and lived in Prague from 1581 until his death in 1608, a full 27 years. He was known as a patron and commissioner of art works, and as a donor of various art objects, including manuscripts. He gave, for example, manuscripts written and illustrated by Rodrigo de Oviedo to the Augustinians from Malá Strana and additional documents to the Jesuits. San Clemente yielded a great influence not only as the representative of the most powerful King in Europe, but primarily as a spiritual leader, patron and supporter of the Czech pro-Spanish Catholic Party led, among others, by Polyxena of Pernštejn. It has been argued by

¹⁹ Pavel Štěpánek, *Pintura manierista en la corte de Rodolfo II.*, in: *Goya, Revista de Arte* (Madrid) 1991, nr. 220, p. 202–209, il. – Pavel Štěpánek, *Pohár Rudolfa II. v Madridě, Umění a řemesla*, 1981, nr. 1, p. 69, il.

²⁰ Alfonso E. Pérez Sánchez, *L'asse Madrid – Praga*, in: Pontus Hulten, R. J. Evans, Alfonso E. Pérez Sanchez, *Catalogue de l'exposition Effetto Arcimboldo: Trasformazioni del volto nel sedicesimo e nel ventesimo secolo*, Milan 1987, pp. 55–64.

²¹ Recently, Pavel Marek, *La Embajada Española en la Corte Imperial (1558–1641): Figuras de los embajadores y estrategias clientelares*, Praga 2013, has analysed the question of Spanish Ambassadors in Prague.

²² Juan de Borja, *Empresas Morales*, Valencia 1998. – Rafael García Mahiques, *Empresas Morales de Juan de Borja: Imagen y palabra para una iconología*, Valencia 1998. – A complete reedition with an extensive commentary.

²³ Pavel Štěpánek, *Guillem Ramon de Santcliment i de Centelles*, *Revista de Llibreria Antiquaria* (Barcelona), octubre 1986, No. 12, p. 24–27.

some that both of them are portrayed on the picture in the sacristy of the Church of St. Thomas, where an unknown painter imposed Polyxena's face onto St. Catherine. San Clemente was not only a reliable officer of the state but also an intellectual; when Giordano Bruno visited Prague he stayed with him at the diplomat's residence.

An attempt has even been made to compare Rudolf's decision to move his residence to Prague at the beginning of his reign with the moves made by his uncle (Toledo – Madrid – the Escorial). Rudolf II, of course, always maintained his links with Spain and used them to further his collecting activity. An analysis of the analogies between Rudolf's government and the Spanish milieu at the court in Prague is beyond, however, the scope of this article.²⁴

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Fig. 1 Pompeo Leoni (?), Bust of the King Philip II of Spain in armor, with the Order of Golden Fleece, alabaster, cca. 1560, Museo del Prado.
Photo Pavel Štěpánek

²⁴ For more general details see Robert J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II. a jeho svět: Myšlení a kultura ve střední Evropě 1576–1612*, Praha 1997, Czech translation.



Fig. 2 Juan de Herrera,
General perspective of the palace
of El Escorial. By Pedro Perret, after
drawing of Juan de Herrera, 1587.
Photo Pavel Štěpánek



Fig. 3 Juan de Herrera,
Façade of the main entrance to the
palace of El Escorial, Spain. Detail.
1563–1584. Photo Pavel Štěpánek

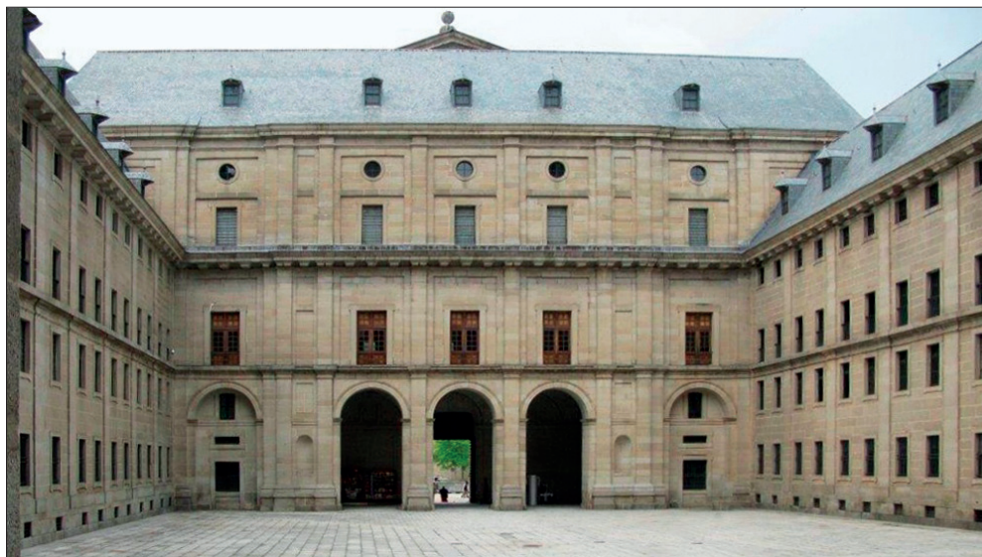


Fig. 4 Juan de Herrera, The library of El Escorial, view from the courtyard of the basilica. Detail. 1563–1584. Photo Pavel Štěpánek



Fig. 5 Juan de Herrera, The Palace of El Escorial, geometrical conception and the symbolical decoration in form of the grill, attribute of St. Lawrence. Detail. 1563–1584. Photo Pavel Štěpánek



Fig. 6 Juan Bautista Monegro, Statue of Solomon at the entrance to the basilica of El Escorial. Detail. 1563–1584. Photo Pavel Štěpánek

On the Figuralism of Giuseppe Heintz Il Giovane

Abstract | This previously unpublished painting from a private collection in Prague is, in contrast to the earlier assumed title-themes such as *'Young Woman Brought before a Ruler or Judge'* or *'St. Justine'* (?), newly determined iconographically as *'Daniel Defending Susanna'* (oil on canvas, 100 × 145 cm), i. e. the Biblical theme from chapter 13 of the Book of Daniel in the Old Testament. Here, the young Israelite prophet Daniel is convicting two of the Babylonian elders of false witness, and proving the innocence of Susannah, the wife of Jójakím. From a stylistically critical standpoint, the painting would appear to have been influenced by the Rudolfine style of Bartholomeo Spranger, Hans von Aachen and Joseph Heintz the Elder, or the Italian circle of Jacopo Palma Il Giovane, as a pasticcio of Italian, Flemish and Central European styles; in terms of technical analysis and technical elements, it is closer to the oeuvre of Matthäus Gundelach. In the article, authorship of the painting is ascribed to Joseph Heintz the Younger (Augsburg, c. 1600 – Venice 1678), adopted and trained by Gundelach and after 1625 active in Venice as Joseph, Gioseppe or Giuseppe Heintz Il Giovane, as well as using the names Giuseppe Enz or Enzo, and the Latinised form of Heintius. Comparison with Heintz's paintings *'The Adoration of the Magi'* in the church of San Andrea in Breguzzo, Trentino-Alto Adige (in which the author also proposes the ascription of a crypto-portrait of the author as the figure of St. Joseph to the right) and the *'Adoration of the Magi'* in the Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona as confirming the authorship of the Prague painting, believed to have been completed sometime after 1669 by Heintz the Younger with the aid of his workshop, as revealed by the relatively low number of upper layers of painting. In conclusion, the author also mentions three confirmed examples of Heintz's oeuvre from Czech and Moravian collections: *Fistfight on the Bridge*, *Dis Riding Out from Tartarus* and *Carnival in Venice*.

Keywords | Figural painting – biblical themes – Venice – Giuseppe Heintz

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The earlier iconographic identification of the theme of a painting from a private collection in Prague, *A Young Woman brought Before the Judge or Monarch* (?), oil on canvas, 100 × 145 cm, as *St. Justina* (?), by restorer Mojmir Hamsík, in the opinion of Jaromír Šíp,¹ is not unfounded because the young woman is being brought, with her hands tied, before a judge or a monarch holding a sceptre. This identification, however cannot completely explain the presence of the two bearded men or the young man showing something on his fingers. And if the young woman in the painting is the early Christian saint Justina, venerated in Padua, she lacks, beside other attributes, the halo. The motifs in the picture are not based on any traditional iconography of St Justina, a Christian martyred under Emperor Diocletian. She was pierced by a sword (another frequent attribute is a palm branch and a book) and is often shown in a scene of martyrdom. The iconographic identification thus should be changed.

¹ Kindly communication of the painting's owner.

The present author believes that the biblical theme of the painting is based, with some changes in motifs, on Chapter XIII of the Old Testament *Book of Daniel* (in the Roman Catholic tradition a canonical, in the Protestant tradition an apocryphal chapter), which tells the story of the chaste Susanna, the wife of Jójakím, a respected member of the Israelite community held in the captivity of Babylon. The two elders (judges) from the Jewish community, who were unable to seduce Susanna by means of extortion, accused her of having committed adultery with a young stranger. When Susanna was brought before a senior judge, the young Israelite prophet Daniel, having interrogated the two elders (judges) separately, proved them guilty of false testimony because he found contradictions in their testimonies about the tree under which the woman was said to be adulterous (one said it was a pistachio tree, the other one an oak), which proved Susanna innocent and led to the sentencing of the two elders to death.

The composition of the painting refers to Renaissance models, e.g. to the Titianesque approach found in Jacopo Negretti, known as Palma Il Vecchio or Rocco Marconi (see e.g. Rocco Marconi, *The Adulteress before Christ*, Collections of the Prague Castle), but is much later, most likely coming from after the middle of the 17th century. Jaromír Šíp's suggested attribution to Jacopo Negretti, known as Palma Il Giovane (Venice 1544–1628), is obviously based on Palma's splendid painting kept in the National Gallery in Prague, *The Adulteress before Christ*, which preserves the Venetian tradition of pictures with several figures but distinctly differs in style from the painting in the Prague private collection, although its composition in the right half and the treatment of the figures are similar. The painting from the private collection, *Daniel Defending Susanna* [fig. 1] shows Mannerist residua, which unlike Palma's *Adulteress before Christ*, show Flemish influence, found e.g. in the Rudolphinian era of the Prague Imperial Court in the sphere of Bartholomeus Spranger, Hans von Aachen and Joseph Heintz the Elder, especially in the draperies or in the boyish figure of Daniel in the foreground. In its style the painting from the private collection appears as a pasticcio of Italian, Flemish and Central European stylistic and technical elements.

The Flemish character of the Aachenesque-Heintzesque figure of Daniel in the foreground and some details of the clothes conform to the style of the generation of Jacopo Palma Il Giovane. The disharmonious effect of the painting is usually typical of travelling artists, who moved from the north to the south of Europe. These features support the belief that the painting under study is the work of a painter who became acquainted with Rudolphinian art, was influenced by Flemish elements, but the Venetian fashion of the use of colours and the style prevailed in him. The picture *Daniel Defending Susanna* [fig. 1] is very much similar to the works of Matthäus Gundelach (Kassel 1566–Augsburg 1653) but does not attain its painterly qualities. However, it is possible to imagine that it may have been done by a follower of his. Gundelach, after the death of his master, Joseph Heintz the Elder (Basle 1564 – Prague 1609) in Prague, where he was active in 1605–1615, later as the Emperor's personal painter, married Heintz's widow. Since about 1612 he was heavily inspired by Italian principles of painting. He became the teacher of the orphaned Joseph Heintz the Younger and adopted him as his own son.

A careful comparison of the painting from the private collection, *Daniel Defending Susanna*, with the works by Joseph Heintz the Younger (Augsburg, about 1600–Venice 1678), brings us to the conclusion that most probably he is the author of this work. The earlier hypotheses about the similarities with the works of Flemish Mannerists and the Prague Rudolphinians Hans von Aachen and the painter's father Joseph Heintz the Elder and concurrently with the work of the Venetian Jacopo Palma Il Giovane, are in correspondence with the fact, that Joseph Heintz the Younger painted also scenes with similar half-figures.

From 1617 the young Heintz is known to be in Augsburg in Gundelach's studio. There, in 1621, Joseph Heintz the Younger entered the studio of Rottenhammer's pupil Matthias Kager,

then he travelled, like Hans Rottehammer, to Venice and established his own studio there. In the city on the lagoon the painter is known since 1625 as *Joseph*, *Gioseppe* or *Giuseppe Heintz Il Giovane*, also *Giuseppe Enz* or *Enzo* latinized as *Heintius*.

The work under study, *Daniel Defending Susanna*, is very close to Enzo's *Adoration of the Magi* in St Andrew's church in Breguzzo in Alto Adige in the mountains of Trent [fig. 2].² The altarpiece from Breguzzo shows the same painterly qualities, it must have been completely the work of the main master, it is signed by Heintz at lower right and is dated 1669.³ In addition to the similarity of the two compared paintings, the face of Susanna surprisingly resembles the face of the Virgin Mary. Other similarities are found in the shape of the draperies in the two pictures and in the figure of the second of the three Magi, rendered as a seated Israelite senior judge or ruler in the background of the Prague painting.

About the altarpiece in Trent we could now suggest that the location of St Joseph's face at the right edge of the canvas, the turning of Joseph's look from the picture toward the viewer, the character of his portrait-like face, and the placement of the figure representing the painter's patron and also the painter's signature underneath St Joseph indicate that the painter painted himself as St Joseph. At that time he was 69 or 70 years old. This anniversary might have been a potential motivation for placing of his own crypto-portrait into the painting.

The figure from Breguzzo suggests one more affiliation of the very receptive and often compiling Heintz, this time to the work of Bernardo Strozzi, who arrived in the city on the lagoon from Genoa in 1630 or 1631 and whose works from the 1630s very much influenced the contemporary Venetian painting. His appealing figural types attracted also Heintz, as it is clearly evident from his adoption of the figure of the impoverished old man from the background of painting from private collection by Bernardo Strozzi (1581–1644), *The Charity of St. Lawrence* for the figure of one of the perjured elders in the picture *Daniel Defending Susanna*.

The same Heintz's composition as from Breguzzo is found, only slightly changed, in the *Adoration of the Magi* in the Museo di Castelvecchio in Verona [fig. 3]. Changed are e. g. the gesture and the face of St. Joseph. The portrait features are absent and the smaller stylistic unity of the whole painting admits that the work need not have originated as a mere autograph and might have been done in collaboration with a studio assistant. The Verona painting is also similar to the Prague canvas.

The canvas painting *Daniel Defending Susanna* reveals high authenticity of the original, as it was demonstrated by the restoration report written by the academic painter Mojmír Hamsík.⁴ The peripheral parts of the painting show that originally the canvas was larger and that in the past it was cut away, especially on the upper edge. In spite of the mechanical losses of some parts of the surface and in spite of minor retouching, the value of the age of the work is undisturbed. From the visible fine craquelure of the original layers of the painting, from the composition of the pigments, and from the restorer's documentation the painting's age can be deduced and the degree of the preservation of the painting and the authenticity of its origin may be established, even though the Prague painting does not rule out the share of an assistant either. The technological survey done by the restorer Zora Grohmanová, together with the chemical analysis performed

² Daniele d'Anza, Joseph Heintz Il Giovane, "pittore di più pennelli", Arte in Friuli, Arte a Trieste, Rivista di storia dell' arte fondata nel 1975, Numero 23, without pagination. Loaded 1. 11. 2014 z: <http://www.artericerca.com/Arte%20in%20Friuli%20Arte%20a%20Trieste/Joseph%20Heintz%20Pittore%20di%20pi%C3%B9%20pennelli%20-%20Daniele%20D%27Anza.htm>

³ Ibidem.

⁴ The restorer's report by the painter Mojmír Hamsík is deposited in the private collection together with the painting.

by Ivana Vernerová and the sections of samples of pigment layers speak in favour of the dating of the work from the private collection between the beginning and the end of the 17th century.⁵

The chance of an earlier dating, i. e. the beginning of the 17th century, was made possible by the technological report on the conservative technology of the painting, which Giuseppe Heintz Il Giovane might have used already since his Rudolphinian beginnings and could have partly continued with it deep into the 17th century. On the other hand, it cannot be ruled out that during the seicento he handled the pigments in a new way, in the spirit of the advanced 17th century. On the basis of the stylistic similarity between *Daniel Defending Susanna* [fig. 1] and the two *Adoration of the Magi*, from Breguzzo [fig. 2] and from Verona [fig. 3], neither of which has so far been defined in literature as a prototype, and the former of which is dated 1669, the work under examination, *Daniel Defending Susanna*, may have been produced not very far from this date, possibly somewhat later.

At that time, Giuseppe Heintz the Younger was probably assisted in his studio, since about 1661, by his son Daniele Heintz, and at the latest since 1673 also by his daughter Regina, registered in the “*catalogue of artists now living in Venice*”.⁶ Since 1672 there was working in Heintz’s studio one of the later most notable figuralists and portraitists of the beginning settecento in Rome, the renowned Francesco Trevisani (Capodistria 1656–Rome 1746). Until this time in about 1671–1672 he was the pupil of the famous Venetian *tenebroso* from Bergamo, Antonio Zanchi. He was then staying with Heintz until the master died in 1678.



Fig. 1 Giuseppe Heintz Il Giovane, *Daniel Defending Susanna*, probably around 1669, Prague, private collection, oil on canvas, 100 × 145 cm. Photo by Mojmír Hamsík

⁵ The technological survey by the restorer Zora Grohmanová and the analysis of the samples by Ivana Vernerová are deposited in the private collection together with the painting.

⁶ Daniele d’Anza, Joseph Heintz Il Giovane (note no. 2)



Fig. 2 Giuseppe Heintz Il Giovane, *Adoration of the Magi*, 1669, Breguzzo, S. Andrea's church, oil on canvas, size unspecified, signed, dated, ill. 12 from: <http://www.artericerca.com/Arte%20in%20Friuli%20Arte%20a%20Trieste/Joseph%20Heintz%20Pittore%20di%20pi%C3%B9%20pennelli%20-%20Daniele%20D%27Anza.htm>.



Fig. 3 Giuseppe Heintz Il Giovane, *Adoration of the Magi*, around 1669, Verona, Museo di Castelveccchio, oil on canvas, size unspecified, signed, dated, ill. 11 from: <http://www.artericerca.com/Arte%20in%20Friuli%20Arte%20a%20Trieste/Joseph%20Heintz%20Pittore%20di%20pi%C3%B9%20pennelli%20-%20Daniele%20D%27Anza.htm>.

Collaboration of one of these assistants is thus possible both in the *Adoration of the Magi* from the Museo del Castelvecchio in Verona, originally from the Verona collection of Giulio Pompei, and in some places in the painting *Daniel Defending Susanna*, as it is revealed by the stylistic heterogeneity of parts of the painting. The signed and dated *Adoration of the Magi* from Breguzzo appears to be, on account of its high quality, Heintz's own work. The provenance of the painting *Daniel Defending Susanna* has not been studied yet. On the other hand it is known that works by Heintz were personally commissioned in the painter's studio in Venice and later through a mediator from Bohemia, by Count Jan Humprecht Černín (Radenín 1628–Prague 1682), in 1660–1664 Imperial Ambassador at the Venetian Republic.

Heintz's style was gradually enriched with various Venetian and Netherlandish admixtures, for instance with the model of Hieronymus Bosch, of Bosch's imitators, and of the prints by Jacques Callot in scenes from the hell, the underworld and the fires as well in folk scenes from the streets. In his day he was best known in the field of Venetian *vedutismo* painting and public ceremonies whose seicento pioneer in Venice he was, after the example of Carpaccio. In Czech collections, three more of his works have been recently identified.

From earlier days is known *The Fist Fight on the Bridge*⁷ [fig. 4] from the Mělník collection of Jiří Lobkowicz. It describes a favourite pastime in Venice, a fight with bare fists, waged between two groups of Venetians, the Castellani and the Nicolotti. Their encounters took place several times from September up to Christmas on the still surviving Fist Bridge, Ponte dei pugni, in the sestiere Dorsoduro near San Barnaba church. The fighters tried to push as many contestants as possible down into the canal under the bridge. The Castellani wore red caps or some other red parts of their clothes, while the Nicolotti wore black. Giuseppe Heintz Il Giovane must have depicted the traditional fist fights several times. One copy dating from 1673 is in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum in Nuremberg, others attributed to him are found in other collections, e. g. in the Museo Correr in Venice. The painting in Mělník was probably produced, considering its very different style, in another period of the painter. The picture in Mělník is distinguished by a free style, with considerable use of dark, separating contours.

From the earlier anonymous paintings the first identified was the mythological scene from the underworld, *Dis Riding from Tartarus*⁸ [fig. 5], kept in the Municipal Museum of Mariánské Lázně. The canvas depicts a scene preceding the abduction by Dis (Hades, Pluto) of Proserpine into the Underworld – Tartarus, in a way that links the Mannerist italianising nude Venus with the underworld architecture and the picturesque Boschian monsters and the Callotian Giants with serpents for their legs by Hesiodes. Another identified painting by Heintz presents the *Carnival in Venice*⁹ [fig. 6] coming from the Vízmbek chateau in Dlouhá Loučka in the north of Moravia, now at the State Chateau Velké Losiny, attributed to Giuseppe Heintz Il Giovane

⁷ Giuseppe Heintz Il Giovane, *Fist Fight on the Bridge*, Mělník, Chateau, collection of Jiří Lobkowicz, oil on canvas, 101 × 142 cm ca. Ladislav Daniel, "Malíři, jimž v světě rovných není!" Benátské malířství ve sbírkách českých zemí a jeho sběratelé, in: Ladislav Daniel (ed.), *Benátčané: Malířství 17. a 18. století z českých a moravských sbírek*. Electa, Milano 1996, p. 24.

⁸ Giuseppe Heintz Il Giovane, *Dis Riding from Tartarus*, Mariánské Lázně, Municipal Museum, oil on canvas, 117 × 135 cm, Inv. N. O 42. – Ladislav Daniel, Josef Heintz mladší, *Dis jedoucí z Tartaru*, in: Ladislav Daniel (ed.), *Benátčané: Malířství 17. a 18. století z českých a moravských sbírek*. Electa, Milano 1996, p. 108, catalogue number 20.

⁹ Joseph Heintz ml. (1600–1678), *Carnival in Venice*, around 1650, oil on canvas, 54,2 × 71,8 cm, Velké Losiny, State Chateau, old inv. no. V 373, new inv. no. VL 595. – Marie Mžýková, *Katalog obrazárny státního zámku Velké Losiny*, Šumperk 1986, p. 44. – Pavel Štěpánek, *Lékařství ve výtvarném umění*, catalogue of the exhibition, Praha 1987, catalogue no. 46. – Antonín Jirka, *Středoevropské malířství 1600–1730 z moravských sbírek*, catalogue of the exhibition, Zlín 1992, catalogue no. 22. – Andrea Kavková, *Obrazové sbírky ze zámku Vízmbek*, Diploma theses, Palacký University Olomouc, Philosophical Faculty, Olomouc 2014, p. 133, catalogue no. 166.



◀ **Fig. 4** Giuseppe Heintz Il Giovane, *Dis Riding from Tartarus*, after 1635, Mariánské Lázně, Municipal Museum, oil on canvas, 117 × 135 cm. Photo by Milan Posselt

▼ **Fig. 5** Giuseppe Heintz Il Giovane, *Fist Fight on the Bridge*, Mělník, Chateau, collection of Jiří Lobkowicz, oil on canvas, 101 × 142 cm ca. Photo by Milan Posselt





Fig. 6 Giuseppe Heintz Il Giovane, *Carnival in Venice*, about 1650, National Institute for Preservation of Historical Monuments, Velké Losiny, State Chateau, oil on canvas, 54,2 × 71,8 cm, photo National Institute of Preservation of Historical Monuments, Regional Department Olomouc

by Marie Mžýková.¹⁰ The place of the street merrymaking has not been identified yet but the scene may depict one of the larger squares in Venice. What is going on there may be part of the Venice carnival but this is not quite certain, it may represent another festivity in Venice. In the foreground we can see at least two masked figures but they may be also the harlequin actors from the *commedia dell'arte*. With certainty, playing musical instruments can be identified, for instance a group of musicians on the left and a violinist on a rostrum on the right. On the same stage boards, a tooth extraction is taking place, this being a public performance of the dentist or field surgeon, while a crowd is looking on. At the front in the middle there is a customer of a female palm reader, in the centre of the composition we can find numerous dancers. From the right a cavalcade is arriving, headed by a trumpeter on horseback and a walking drummer. Among the people are riders on horseback and dogs. The background is filled with stands, in the left foreground some people are talking. The picture is painted with a thin paint, characteristic of Heintz's free, slightly pastose style with visible brush touches.

English by Jaroslav Peprník

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¹⁰ Marie Mžýková, *Katalog obrazárny státního zámku Velké Losiny* (note no. 9).

Church
of the Assumption
of the Virgin Mary
in Horní Jiřetín|

Memorandum on the church in Horní Jiřetín

With considerable anxiety we are following the current debates about the continued fate of the foothills of the Ore Mountains, since what is being considered is the possibility of cancelling the territorial limits to mining, related to which is the elimination of the town of Horní Jiřetín and the surrounding countryside. At this point we consider it startling that the predominant course of deliberations takes into account only the economic side of the matter and totally disregards the incalculable and irreplaceable values of culture and countryside, which would, in destroying the areas in question, disappear. It was, of course, precisely a technocratic way of thinking that gave no consideration to anything other than the purely material repercussions of its decisions, and which transformed a once significant and beautiful cultural countryside beneath the Ore Mountains into an area of devastation. It is almost a miracle that even under these conditions in some places, such as Horní Jiřetín, there is no let up in the intensive struggle to restore dignity to the devastated region.

As historians of art and architecture we see an example of this restored dignity in the story of the Horní Jiřetín church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, a carefully restored structure rescued from mining and which is a valuable Czech Baroque architectural monument. The church, established near an ancient pilgrimage site 320 years ago, was built by the Prague Archbishop Johann Friedrich of Waldstein, an art-lover and major patron of architecture. Construction was entrusted to Jean Baptiste Mathey, a Rome architect of French origin and, above all, a key figure of seventeenth century Czech architecture, whose work paved the way for the coming of the celebrated generation of Johann Santini-Aichel. The architect of Troja Palace and the church of St. Francis of Assisi by Charles Bridge in Prague, designed several major buildings in Wadstein's Duchcov manor, of which the Jiřetín church is one of the most valuable. It is not only a major landmark of the countryside, but in particular an artistically outstanding work, which played an important inspirational role in the construction of many major Czech church monuments of the eighteenth century. It therefore concerns not only a significant North Bohemia monument, but a work which for its execution and the name of its creator is very important for the history of Czech architecture as such. Despite that, in the debates hitherto about the fate of the foothills of the Ore Mountains it has been wholly neglected.

For works of architecture of this standard it holds true that their importance is fundamentally connected with the character and memory of the place in which they were built. Not only the church's demolition but also its displacement and uprooting from the unique countryside contexts for which it was intended, and which for more than three centuries jointly shaped, would mean an unjustifiable cultural loss. One cannot therefore but not fail to see how conspicuously symbolic the fate of the Horní Jiřetín church is. Nor should we forget either that it was precisely intensive opencast mining that brought the region of the North Bohemia brown coal basin to today's depressing state, and that its benefits have only been a fraction of the enormous losses that came with it. It is possible to describe the reckless overexploitation of the countryside, of which dozens of villages, valuable churches, and country houses became a victim, and even the entire exceptionally precious medieval town of Most, without exaggeration, as one of the deepest of Czech cultural traumas, and is rightly included among the gravest crimes of the Communist regime. Indeed the Jiřetín church represents an important example of how even with this ill-fated legacy it is possible to create a meaningful future. To allow its destruction would represent a confirmation that hopes placed not only in this area, but also in the regeneration of the whole area of the Ore Mountains foothills, were futile and that in this country, for the sake of speculative economic reasons, it is possible to destroy even something that is part of a most valuable

architectural and historical heritage, which in its cultural significance reaches far beyond the borders of Bohemia.

We the undersigned therefore call on you: not to intensify the past injustice now so indelibly marked in the appearance of the region; not to continue in the destruction commenced under a past regime; and not to allow the destruction of the church in Horní Jiřetín, and the countryside of which it is an integral part. We call on you, instead, to support the efforts so necessary in picking up on what has remained of the heritage of the area, and to grant Horní Jiřetín, its church, and the whole of the Ore Mountains foothills, hope and the right to its own future.

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Care colleghe, cari colleghi,

anche se oggi non sono purtroppo a Horní Jiřetín con voi, mi preme di farvi arrivare la mia voce almeno in questo modo – esprimendo con la lettera aperta la mia opinione sulla salvaguardia dei monumenti storici.

Il vostro evento ha come scopo la salvaguardia di un monumento architettonico di indiscusso valore storico e storico artistico, la chiesa di Horní Jiřetín dell'architetto francese Jean Baptiste Mathey, artista che, vorrei ricordare, imparò il suo mestiere anche a Roma.

La località, dove la chiesa da lui progettata si trova, mi preme di sottolineare, è minacciata da ben due pericoli. Il primo è senz'altro rappresentato dalla zona industriale circostante e dalle sue necessità, il secondo però, ben più grave, è l'indifferenza umana. Noi storici dell'arte e tutti gli operatori del settore della tutela del patrimonio storico e culturale abbiamo l'obbligo e il dovere morale di difendere l'ambiente, ma soprattutto di far conoscere il suo valore, il valore che il patrimonio artistico ha per noi, al giorno d'oggi, ma che in futuro dovrà avere anche per i nostri eredi.

La voce sull'eventuale distruzione della chiesa di Horní Jiřetín è ormai arrivata anche in Italia. Ed è proprio da qui, che vorrei esprimervi, care colleghe, cari colleghi e tutti voi, addetti ai lavori, la mia più sincera ammirazione per la vostra azione di salvaguardia di questo monumento, contro quello che spesso viene descritto come l'interesse dell'uomo e che però più di frequente si traduce in una sfrenata corsa al denaro e al ricavo. Spero, che anche da lontano il mio supporto morale alle vostre ammirevoli e coraggiose iniziative e a quella che vorrei chiamare *l'operazione di mantenimento dell'identità culturale del proprio popolo*, possa essere in questo momento utile.

Personalmente sono convinta che le risorse energetiche si possono, al giorno d'oggi, trovare altrove; è proprio il campo delle nuove energie alternative che ci riserva ogni giorno delle nuove e affascinanti sorprese sempre più rispettose dell'ambiente. Ma la memoria culturale e artistica di un popolo una volta distrutta non potrà mai godere di nessuna alternativa.

Mi auguro che la vostra voce, assieme alla mia, e con me di tutto il Dipartimento di Storia dell'Arte e Spettacolo di Sapienza Università di Roma, diventi un coro che potrà godere di ascoltatori capaci di comprendere che il valore del futuro si basa anche sul rispetto del proprio passato. Poiché quello non è niente altro che il rispetto di se stessi e di quello che siamo oggi.

Un cordiale saluto a tutti voi,

Marina Righetti

Direttore del Dipartimento di Storia dell'arte e Spettacolo

Marina Righetti. Foto di Jana Zapletalová



Horní Jiřetín, 28 mars 2014

Horní Jiřetín, 28 mars 2014

Monsieur le maire adjoint,

Mesdames, Messieurs,

Je suis particulièrement honoré de prendre la parole devant vous à Horní Jiřetín et je remercie les organisateurs de cette conférence de permettre à un non spécialiste de s'exprimer sur un sujet complexe et mal connu, la protection des monuments historiques.

Nous sommes rassemblés tout près de l'église de l'Assomption construite sur les plans de Jean-Baptiste Mathey. Malgré ses trois siècles d'existence il s'agit d'un édifice menacé de destruction. L'image qui me vient en m'adressant à vous est celle d'une communauté. Cette communauté que nous formons est à l'image du monde dans lequel nous vivons; elle est constituée de gens venus d'horizons divers, rassemblés par le sentiment d'appartenance que suscite un monument en danger.

Je précise que je m'exprime ici en mon nom personnel, mais je tiens à vous dire que la représentation diplomatique française à Prague a toujours été attachée aux édifices historiques tchèques que nous devons à des Français, même lorsqu'ils sont passés par Rome, comme dans le cas de Mathey.

Mathey a construit pour l'archevêque Waldstein qui jeta les bases du futur palais Buquoy, qui est aujourd'hui l'ambassade de France à Prague. Vous voyez que nous sommes ici un peu chez nous...

Lorsque j'ai entendu parler de la possible destruction de Horní Jiřetín, je rentrais de Jezeří où j'avais rencontré quelques visiteurs heureux de voir revivre ce château exceptionnel. Jezeří a perdu son décor historique, mais l'édifice perché au bord du bassin minier existe encore, après un long combat. J'avais aussi à l'esprit la situation dans mon propre pays. Vous savez peut-être qu'il y a en France un débat difficile sur les églises. Des édifices de la deuxième moitié du XIXe siècle ont été démolis, pour faire place à des parkings ou à des logements. Cela suscite beaucoup de réactions, dont certaines sont inattendues: des prêtres acceptent la destruction d'églises devenues trop grandes et sans valeur artistique, si en échange on construit ailleurs des chapelles accueillantes et fonctionnelles; à l'inverse des citoyens sans liens avec l'Eglise et sans pratique religieuse se mobilisent pour sauver ces mêmes églises au nom de la protection du patrimoine historique. Pour eux c'est la silhouette de leur ville ou de leur village que l'on détruit.

Nous avons un beau mot en français pour dire l'acte de construire un bâtiment d'architecture: nous employons le terme «édifier». Ici à Horní Jiřetín il ne fait aucun doute que l'église a été «édifiée». Regardons les aquarelles et les photos anciennes. Au premier plan l'église, et en arrière-plan un horizon immense, mais au lieu de l'actuel désert, des champs, des arbres, une terre féconde qui s'allonge sous la montagne. Hier comme aujourd'hui l'église de l'Assomption occupe un site exceptionnel; elle a valeur de monument historique.

Revenons à l'acte d'édifier. Pour édifier, il faut posséder des savoir-faire et, en même temps, il faut être capable d'innover. Comment les sociétés humaines acquièrent-elles ces savoir-faire et cette capacité d'innover? L'histoire nous donne la réponse: c'est en détruisant et en reconstruisant que l'homme a perfectionné ses outils et ses connaissances et c'est en conservant qu'il a acquis la liberté d'innover (l'innovation n'impliquant pas la disparition pure et simple des monuments anciens). Il y a donc un double mouvement au coeur de l'acte d'édifier: destruction et conservation. Par ce qu'il détruit pour connaître et par ce qu'il conserve pour innover, l'homme s'intéresse à son passé, il acquiert une connaissance de soi, ou mieux, une conscience de soi. L'acte d'édifier fonde l'identité.

Mais l'histoire nous apprend qu'il y a souvent démolition sans refondation. C'est ce qui se produit pendant les guerres ou pour des raisons idéologiques et c'est ce qui se produit aujourd'hui lorsqu'on fait tomber des ensembles anciens pour les remplacer par un parking, un centre commercial, un programme immobilier. Dans ces cas-là, il se produit une perte d'identité irréparable; c'est l'acte d'édifier que l'on détruit.

Qui connaît la région où nous nous trouvons sait que Horní Jiřetín n'est pas un édifice isolé. A ses côtés, Červený Hrádek, Jezeří, Litvínov, Duchcov, Teplice, Osek, Bohosudov, la petite chapelle de Chlumec sont comme des sentinelles plantées dans la montagne. Ce sont des édifices connus et visités. J'en viens ainsi à la question de l'appartenance. Dans notre monde fait de cultures partagées et de mobilités nous savons que l'idée d'un patrimoine national qui reposerait sur la coïncidence entre le monument, son style et le récit national, est dépassée. L'intérêt porté aux monuments historiques, à ces souvenirs-témoins de l'homme comme les appelait Erwin Panofsky, suscite des liens d'appartenance étendus, qui traversent les frontières et les disciplines. Des communautés se forment autour de tel ou tel monument ou lieu, qui créent de la valeur ajoutée: recherches, publications, liens humains, voyages, tourisme, etc... Notre réunion aujourd'hui en est un exemple. Pour ces communautés, il est important de trouver un ancrage local, de dialoguer avec les habitants, les usagers, les responsables des lieux.

Mais, oserais-je le dire ici, pour dissuader tout à fait les démolisseurs il faut encore réunir d'autres conditions. Il faut faire connaître la valeur et la signification des édifices. Cela passe par l'éducation, l'accessibilité des monuments – en particulier les églises –, un travail d'explication auprès des autorités politiques, des responsables du culte, et des acteurs économiques, la mise en place de projets de développement dans lesquels les monuments historiques trouveront leur place, à côté de nouvelles réalisations comme on le voit dans le pays minier français à Lens ou tout près d'ici en Lusace. Il ne peut pas y avoir de protection du patrimoine historique sans un mouvement plus large au sein de la société. La compréhension du passé comme une valeur qui fonde l'avenir n'est pas naturelle, elle doit être reconnue et expérimentée. Puisse cette conférence y contribuer et contribuer à sauver l'église de l'Assomption de Jean-Baptiste Mathey.

Laurent Toulouse

Laurent Toulouse et Martin Mádl. Photo de Petr Zinke



Petr Macek

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Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and the North Bohemia coal mining area

Abstract | The Jean Baptiste Mathey church in Horní Jiřetín is only one in a series of historic buildings in Northwest Bohemia endangered by the coal mining industry. The open-cast mining has long posed a threat to the region but despite much devastation the area remains an ancient cultivated landscape with continual settlement from prehistoric ages, with many significant monuments. In the past, the area attracted praise from Caspar David Friedrich or Johann Wolfgang Goethe. However, the mining of coal through open pits culminated under Communist rule, with over 300 square kilometres of landscape destroyed, including 106 towns and villages, including the old royal town of Most. A statistical report notes that during World War II, i.e. from the start of German occupation in 1938 until 1945, the region saw the destruction of 1 church, 9 synagogues and 7 Jewish cemeteries, while in the peacetime years of 1945–1989 the list of destroyed heritage comprised 104 churches, 411 chapels, 4 monasteries, 12 synagogues and 5 Jewish cemeteries. Even after 1989, despite the exceptional efforts of heritage specialists, museum professionals and engaged citizens, the situation has continued to worsen. Many valuable buildings are, even now, assigned to the list of threatened or vanished landmarks. In Horní Jiřetín, though, the situation is different: the village is in relatively good condition, and the recently restored church is in use for both services and cultural events. The local residents view this landmark as an important part of their life. Abolishing the mining restrictions would be an unfortunate return to the state of affairs before 1989, and of little benefit for the Czech nation as a whole.

Keywords | Cultural landscape – devastation – North Bohemia

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This publication contains many papers discussing the Horní Jiřetín church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. The following text places this long underappreciated building in a wider cultural and geographical context and discusses some more general points related to this often abused part of Bohemia.

The region today is known chiefly for its brown coal mining industry. The landscape was formed by a tectonic rift which created a fault block with a scarp face on the Czech side of the Ore Mountains (Krušné hory) and is partially defined from the south-east by the volcanic peaks of České středohoří. This dramatically formed landscape with a number of stretches of water along the foot of the mountains became a site for the formation of brown coal deposits. In the last two centuries these have been both a blessing and a curse for the region. The landscape protected from the north-west by the mass of the Ore Mountains was, long before the industrial revolution, a perfect place for agricultural development, with human settlements there since prehistoric times. Later, it was one of the richest regions of the Czech lands and this was reflected in the local architecture. The famous spa town of Teplice was in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a genuine competitor to the spa of Karlovy Vary and attracted local and

foreign visitors, who appreciated not only the spa, but the picturesque surrounding landscape too. Trips to the Cistercian monastery of Osek and the Bohosudov Jesuit College were a staple of the resort's tourist industry.

These romantic qualities made the region well known among European artists. Looking at eighteenth century depictions of it, and even more in the nineteenth century, we see one of the most remarkable landscapes in Bohemia. The dramatic scenery of the Ore Mountains and České středohoří was sketched and painted over and over again.¹ Dresden-based Caspar David Friedrich and his many colleagues made numerous trips here and it was depicted in drawings by Johann Wolfgang Goethe. It is also important to mention Carl Robert Croll,² who worked for the House of Lobkowitz, and especially Ernst Gustav Doerell, who spent decades documenting this now lost land in his paintings.³

Brown coal deposits, sometimes rising above the surface, had been discovered from time to time since time immemorial, but everything changed dramatically in the middle of the nineteenth century when the railway was built here. And it was at the start of the twentieth century, when the hunger for energy overrode all other interests, that the region, in one hitherto isolated incident, lost its first settlement. After 1948 the situation escalated. During the period of communist rule, in sharp contrast to its declared interest in the people's wellbeing, the totalitarian regime concentrated on the rapid exploitation of the land's natural resources without giving much consideration to the people living locally or the country as a whole. The surface mining techniques used to extract the coal completely transformed vast swathes of the landscape. In bald figures this shows as 300 square kilometres of destroyed landscape and the disappearance of 106 towns and villages. Only some of this was caused by the mining itself. Opencast mining operations necessarily need large areas of land to dispose of the spoil, and the mines were complemented by coal-fired power stations, which in turn needed to store large quantities of waste slurry. The attitude of the regime to the locals can be seen in the fact that a not insignificant percentage of the 90,000, mostly involuntarily, rehoused citizens, had to move no less than three times as the mines caught up with them in their new homes.

Given this situation it should be imperative to preserve what little there is left to connect us to our disappearing history. The devastated smog-filled region began to be seen by many Czechs as irretrievably lost, which, together with the region's being economically depressed, might account for the otherwise inconceivable lack of preservation efforts extended to the remaining parts that are still untouched by the mining industry.

In the year this conference took place we marked a sad anniversary. On 26 April 1964 the Politburo decided to go ahead with the demolition of the town of Most. This, in Europe, was an unusually ruthless decision, sacrificing a historically important town with many churches, several monasteries, and dozens of unique civil buildings, which had hitherto largely escaped any major devastation. In the general discourse about the disappeared town of Most, the one thing most often mentioned is the unique engineering achievement of transferring intact the main town church 841 metres out of harm's way, which was successfully carried out in 1975. The transfer of this large and precariously fragile hall-type building was undoubtedly a feat of technical and technological ingenuity which can still be admired even today. The rescue of this one late-Gothic church has been used ever since to present this singular event as sufficient compensation for the

¹ Karel Král, *Die nordböhmische Landschaft in der Romantik*, exhibition catalogue, München 1991.

² Carl Robert Croll 1800–1863, Rudolf Alt 1812–1905, exhibition catalogue, Středočeská galerie v Praze, Praha 1980.

³ Vladimír Kaiser-Michal Šroněk, *Ernst Gustav Doerell*, Ústí nad Labem 1986. *Ernst Gustav Doerell*, exhibition catalogue, Litoměřice-Duchcov 1971. *Ernst Gustav Doerell*, exhibition catalogue Duchcov 1980.

destruction of a whole town, or even as an example of an ideal solution to the conflict between the preservation of history and the new demands for natural resources. It was anything but that. In the battle for the protection of our heritage this act ended up being a major, irreparable loss. During the original negotiations there were many promises made about transporting valuable statues or even some of the other remarkable buildings (whole houses in some cases, or the most important parts of others). The early promises of a sort of open-air museum in the church's new location were left unfulfilled. Even the church itself, after the difficult transfer process, was left vulnerable to the elements and the rescue works were continuously delayed. Even if the whole operation had ended up a success, a few choice buildings torn out of their natural context would be no substitute for a town that took centuries to form.

The mass demolition of whole villages swept many important pieces of church architecture away with everything else.⁴ There are examples of lost churches from all period starting with the Romanesque church in Nové Sedlo na Bílinou in the Chomutov region, which was destroyed in 1972 along with the whole village. Only parts of a unique Romanesque portal were saved. The Gothic period can be represented by the churches in Židovice and Kopisty (both in the Most region), whose valuable medieval frescoes were taken down and preserved but were later put in boxes, and have not been made accessible to the public since. In 1980 the church of the Birth of the Virgin Mary in Bystrice near Chomutov, in the typical North Bohemia style of late Gothic, was destroyed along with the whole settlement. Important examples of local Baroque architecture disappeared in the Chomutov region, especially the works of the Kadaň architect Christoph Kosch, whose designs expanded on the work of Kilian Ignaz Dientzenhofer. Neither was architecture from the last two centuries spared. In Radovesice in the Teplice region the All Saints church was, together with the whole village, enveloped by a spoil tip. A photographer managed to capture the moment when tons of waste were falling from a conveyor belt straight into the church tower, pouring out of the windows lower down, and resembling a surreal fountain. This photograph is one of the strongest images from this era, successfully conveying the absurdity of the time.

So far only lost buildings have been mentioned. Even more losses were suffered in the destruction of the contents of churches, including unique altars, pulpits, and baptismal fonts. Only a small number of them ended up in museums and galleries; some were kept in hastily improvised storage. Valuable contents were not only vulnerable to theft⁵ but some were even simply burnt for fuel. It is important to add that abandoned churches are still now at risk from thieves and vandals, even though they are unlikely to be directly affected by the mining industry.

These losses are further compounded by often insufficient documentation of the demolished buildings, which would have given us at least some insight into their artistic and historical merits. It is disturbing that sometimes a few poor quality photographs are all that is left. Some buildings have therefore disappeared from the face of the earth without our having appreciated their value or even having registered their existence.

Bald statistics at this point might paint the clearest picture. Available data shows us that during the Second World War, between 1938 and 1945, the Ústí nad Labem region lost one church, nine synagogues, and seven Jewish cemeteries. In the period from 1945 to 1989 we lost

⁴ From the various sources it is important to mention: Michal Valenčík, *Ohrožené památky: Kostely, kaple a kapličky v České republice*, Praha 2006; Martin Koutek, *Zapomenuté české kostely*, Praha 2011; Martin Čechura, *Zaniklé kostely Čech*, Praha 2012; *Zničené kostely severních Čech 1945–1989*, exhibition catalogue, Praha 2012; www.znicenekostely.cz – www.zanikleobce.cz.

⁵ *Katalog odcizených a nezvěstných uměleckých děl*, I and II (ed. Michaela Ottová), Praha 1999.

104 churches, 411 chapels, four complete monasteries, twelve synagogues, and five Jewish cemeteries. Altogether this adds up to the unbelievable figure of 563 buildings and sites.⁶

It has already been mentioned that the region affected by coal mining is considered to be irretrievably lost by many people, which leads to further neglect of areas which have so far been left unharmed and will probably continue to be so. Unfortunately, even the efforts of numerous state organisations (the National Heritage Institute, museums and galleries), churches, local interest groups, former residents, and other individuals involved, are not enough to stop the destruction. Some remarkable movements that began after 1989 have exhausted themselves and are no longer active. The devastation continues to spread day by day. As one example we can quote the long-abandoned church of St. James the Greater in Loučov, Domašín. In 2011 this medieval building lost its roof when a truss gave way and collapsed into the nave. It is a sad reality that even in places away from the mining operations many buildings are falling into disrepair unobserved, such as the Baroque church of St. Bernard in Řisuty in the Louny region, probably designed by the Roudnice architect Pietro Paolo Columbani, as well as a slowly deteriorating pilgrimage site nearby containing the church of St. James the Greater, a cemetery and a chapel. These are only examples and if a comprehensive overview had been kept the number would probably take us aback.

This situation is probably partially due to the major demographic changes after the Second World War. The expulsion of the German inhabitants in the aftermath of the war and the influx of new people without ties to the region had an effect that cannot be underestimated. This critical state of affairs is beginning to change now that the generations that have grown up in the region now see it as their home. If there is hope for the future it is in these changed attitudes on the part of the local population. A number of buildings have been saved by local efforts. The repaired Baroque church built originally by Christoph Kosch to a design by Kilian Ignaz Dientzenhofer in Březno near Chomutov and the renovation of the Chomutov Jesuit college are among the successes. Even with this good news the majority of buildings are still at risk. The time when the count of endangered buildings keeps rising is unlikely to be over just yet.⁷

The situation in Horní Jiřetín is very different from the picture painted so far. The village is in good shape, the currently renovated church is alive and open, not only for worship, but also for general cultural uses. The local residents are investing in their environment and there is an active social scene. The surrounding landscape has not been heavily polluted by the mining industry and it neighbours the exquisite, nationally important site of Jezeří castle. This outstanding Baroque building is the dominating feature of that part of the Ore Mountains and, since the 1960s, has served as a symbol of defiance against the industrial devastation of the landscape.⁸ Here we have a still largely undisturbed complex that is capable of evoking the ever-disappearing landscape, which is steeped in history and is being kept alive by the investment of local citizens.

The church in Horní Jiřetín is a building of undeniable artistic and historical merit. Most importantly, it is one of the linchpins of an as yet remarkably preserved whole and it is imperative for the whole culturally aware community to insist on its preservation.

English by Kateřina Macková

⁶ *Zničené kostely severních Čech 1945–1989* (see note 4).

⁷ This text deals with the historical and present day Ore Mountains (Krušné Hory) region. Similar cases can be found in other regions of the country. It is alarming that this situation also happens (fortunately only in isolated cases) in other parts of the country, including Central Bohemia.

⁸ A comprehensive overview can be found in Pavel Koukal, *Bitva o Jezeří*, Duchcov 2010.

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Fig. 1 Most, Franciscan monastery with the church of St. Francis of Assisi being demolished in 1974.
Photo by National Heritage Institute (NPÚ), Ústí nad Labem



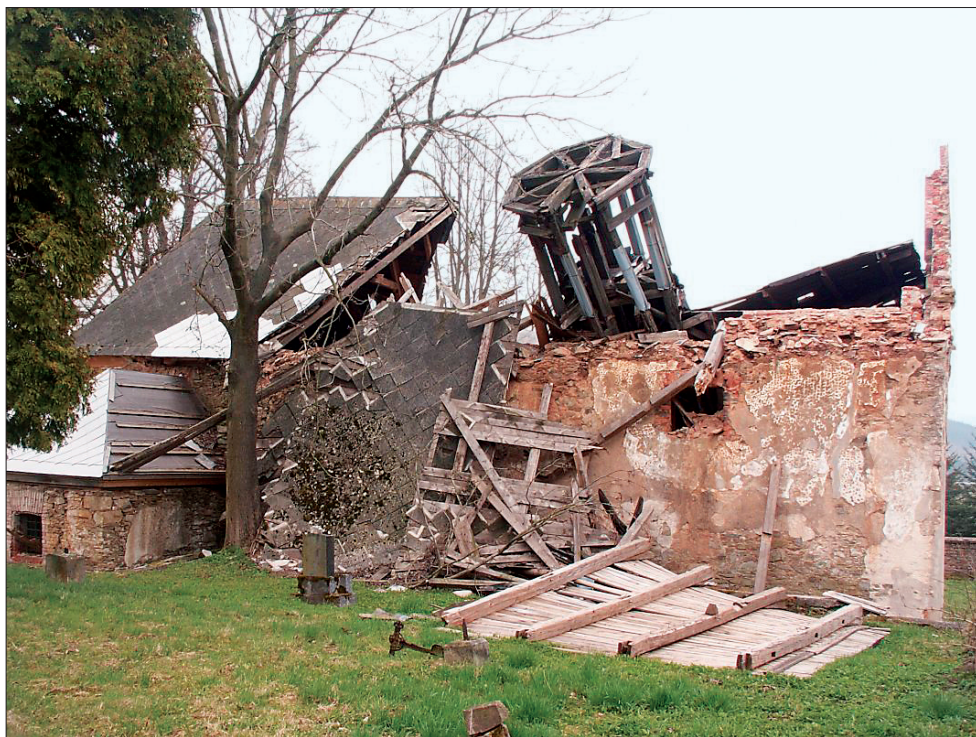
Fig. 2 Radovesice, Teplice district, church being buried under spoil in 1984.
Photo by National Heritage Institute, Ústí nad Labem



◀ **Fig. 3** Radovesice, church being buried under spoil in 1984. Photo by National Heritage Institute, Ústí nad Labem

▼ **Fig. 4** Louchov, Chomutov district, condition of the abandoned church in 2011. Photo by www.znicenekostely.cz





▲ **Fig. 5** Loučov, the church after the collapse of the roof in 2012.
Photo by www.znicenekostely.cz



◀ **Fig. 6** Řisuty, Louny district, condition of the church in 2011.
Photo by www.znicenekostely.cz

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Jean Baptiste Mathey and 17th century European architecture

Abstract | Jean Baptiste Mathey ranks among the most significant architectural figures of the Czech lands in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. His arrival in 1675 represented a transition point bringing the level of local architecture to that of the era's great architectural centres. In his palaces, chateaus and sacred architecture, Mathey developed motifs and themes that he had absorbed during his long period in Rome. The exceptional qualities of his buildings and their clear international connotations have always led researchers to seek out the inspiration and the sources that would place Mathey's oeuvre within one of the then-prevalent currents of European architecture. In his work, it is possible to discern in order not only the echoes of Roman architecture, but also possible influences from France, where Mathey was born. The level of the currency of the influences (ranging in various evaluations from allegations of strong conservatism to possible reflections of highly contemporary tendencies), as well as the question of a Roman or a French orientation, led researchers to present entirely contradictory evaluations of the architect's personality and work. Based on analyses of his most significant buildings, such as the Archbishops' Palace, Church of St. Francis of Assisi or Troja Chateau in Prague, as well as the recently evaluated church in Horní Jiřetín, it becomes clear that all of these previously mentioned aspects merged within Mathey's work into a unified synthesis, and that excessive stress on any one of them would obscure or weaken our understanding of it. Jean Baptiste Mathey thus emerges as a notably synthetic and style-formative individual, who can without any questions be ranked among the most significant Central European architects of the final decades of the 17th century.

Keywords | Rome architecture – French architecture – 17th century – Mathey

The architectural scene in Bohemia in the first half of the 1670s represents a remarkably textured mosaic of ideas and trends, which is well represented by the rising significance of Prague as a strong local centre of the arts.¹ The primary figures in architecture of the preceding decades – Carlo Lurago and Francesco Caratti – had already realized their principle designs at this time and their construction enterprises continued with their completion as well as soliciting further commissions to sustain them. Giovanni Domenico Orsi was in his prime in this period and his plans for the completion of St. Vitus' Cathedral and variations on the ground plan of the new St. Francis' Church represent a new, and in terms of architectonic concept very advanced level of consideration of the spatial and compositional issues of ecclesiastical architecture. It was this very situation into which came Jean Baptiste Mathey, an architect through whom the domestic

¹ The text of the article is based on the author's recent monograph on Mathey's work, which constitutes part of a comprehensive overview of Baroque architecture in the Czech Republic. – Cf. Petr Macek – Richard Biegel – Jakub Bachtík (eds), *Barokní architektura v Čechách*, Praha 2015 (in press). – This study is supported by the grant of GAČR P 409/10/1099, *Barokní architektura v Čechách*, and by a program of development of the sciences and humanities of Charles University, P 12, *Historie v interdisciplinární perspektivě*.

milieu became linked directly to the contemporary Italian, and in particular Roman artistic environment.² The year 1675, which is generally accepted as the year of Mathey's arrival in Prague, can therefore be regarded as a quite fundamental milestone, both from the perspective of the transformation of the local environment, and from the perspective of the connection of Prague creative work with up-to-date contemporary stimuli, the exploration of which was to become for several decades a fundamental feature of the local architecture.

In all likelihood, Jean Baptiste Mathey was born in Dijon in 1629.³ Nothing is known of his training and it is assumed that he underwent it in his native Burgundy sometime in the period 1645–1650. From the point of view of his subsequent role as an architect, it is noteworthy that he trained as a painter and it was in that profession that he left for Rome in the mid-1650s, where among other things he worked in the circle of the excellent painter Claude Lorrain.⁴ Mathey's stay in Rome, which we know of thanks to his own testimony in an application for court freedom addressed to Emperor Leopold in 1686,⁵ lasted almost two decades. He may be spoken of without much exaggeration as a naturalized Roman, who apparently only began to be interested in architecture in that city. The period of Mathey's stay in Rome also coincides with the climax of the artistic boom that had begun in the first third of the century, the main protagonists of which in the field of architecture were Gian Lorenzo Bernini, Francesco Borromini and Pietro da Cortona. It was in this very period that Bernini's crucial trip to Paris occurred and, via academic and debate circles, the dialogue between Italian, French and gradually Central European architects, too, were developing ever more strongly. The Rome of Mathey's day was a city of intensive artistic dialogue and supranational artistic taste, which at the end of the century became, primarily through the agency of academia, the foundations of the Roman "Baroque Academicism" that dominated Central European architecture, too, after 1700.

Mathey's first modern biographer, Johann Joseph Morper, made the very likely supposition that the painter moved in the circle of Carlo Rainaldi's studio.⁶ Another place of training that Mathey could have passed through during his stay in Rome was the studio of Giovanni Antonio de Rossi.⁷ In 1668 Mathey became court painter in the service of Count Johann Friedrich of Waldstein, who belonged to the supreme clerical and intellectual circles of Roman society of the day.⁸ Following the death of Cardinal Ernst Adalbert von Harrach in 1667, Johann Friedrich was shortlisted for the seat of the Archbishop of Prague, although ultimately Pope Clement IX did not appoint him due to his young age.⁹ Von Waldstein thus became von Harrach's successor

² For basic information on the life and work of Jean Baptiste Mathey, cf. especially Oldřich Stefan, Příspěvky k dějinám české barokní architektury: Skupina římského směru – G. B. Matthaei, *Památky archeologické* XXXV, 1926–1927, pp. 79–115. – Johann Joseph Morper, *Der Prager Architekt Jean Baptiste Mathey*, München 1927. – Jiří Kropáček, K značce architekta J. B. Matheye, *Umění* XXXIV, 1986, pp. 144–149. – Mojmír Horyna – Pavel Preiss-Pavel Zahradník, *Zámek Trója u Prahy*, Praha 2000.

³ Jiří Kropáček published a record from the register at the parish of St. John in Dijon, which mentions the baptism of one "Jean Baptiste Math (...)" on 13 November 1629. Cf. Kropáček (note 2), p. 144.

⁴ Some details of Mathey's stay in Rome, including his presence in the circle around Claude Lorrain are known from letters from Canon H. Othemín to Johann Friedrich von Waldstein. – Cf. Jiří Kropáček, *Architekt J. B. Mathey a zámek Trója v Praze*, *Acta universitatis carolinae: Philosophica et historica* 1 – 1987, Praha 1988, p. 71.

⁵ For a transcription of the application of 27 March 1685, cf. Morper (note 2), p. 8.

⁶ Morper (note 2), pp. 59–60.

⁷ Horyna – Preiss – Zahradník (note 2), p. 326.

⁸ For more on Waldstein cf. Lubomír Slaviček, "Conte savio": Jan Bedřich z Valdštejna – mecenáš a podporovatel umění, *Dějiny a současnost* XV, 1993, no. 1, pp. 13–16, and especially Jiří Hrbek, *Barokní Valdštejnové v Čechách 1640–1740*, Praha 2013.

⁹ Hrbek (note 8), p. 713.

only in the role of Grand Master of the Order of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, which subsequently played a fundamental role also in the career of Mathey, his protégé. Von Waldstein later succeeded in acquiring the title of bishop in 1673, when he was appointed to the diocese of Hradec Králové, and a year later finally achieved the position of Archbishop of Prague,¹⁰ which became the immediate impulse for his transfer to Prague, where the new Archbishop also took his court painter and architect, Jean Baptiste Mathey. In the same year, an extensive conversion of the Archbishop's residence at Prague Castle was launched, which was the first manifestation of a fundamental artistic watershed in Prague architecture.

The Archbishop's palace, like many other of Mathey's works, reflected in a creative way the influences and stimuli that the architect had met with either directly or through mediation during his long stay in Rome. Mathey's position and role were, without exaggeration, unique with regard to the subsequent architectonic development in this direction. No other architect in Bohemia in the second half of the 17th century succeeded in reacting in his buildings to current European initiatives as did Jean Baptiste Mathey. Many of the inspirations and references in his work logically led a range of scholars to attempt to explain these influences in detail and to establish on their basis his role in European architecture as such. The various opinions and interpretations ultimately led to a serious dispute over how to grasp Mathey's work: were his buildings a reflection of current Roman design, or was it a reiteration of conservative models of the early 17th century? Was the "Roman" component predominant in his work, or could French roots be traced in it? These very issues – and the buildings they concern – will be the main subject of interest in our text.

Archbishop's Palace at Prague Castle (1675–1679)

The originally Renaissance Archbishop's Palace, no. 56-IV emerged through the adaptation and completion of the extensive Palace of the Griespek von Griespach family, which were carried out according to plans by Bonifaz Wolmut after 1561.¹¹ The grandiose reconstruction of the palace according to Jean Baptiste Mathey's plans commenced in August 1675.¹² Despite the large scale of the project, the construction was carried to conclusion over the span of three seasons and in 1679 even the finishing of the palace interiors was completed.¹³ The appearance of Mathey's palace is known from a handful of illustrations showing the palace before a large-scale conversion in the 1760s. The key witnesses to the original character of the building consist on the one hand of part of the side façade that was spared in the later reconstruction, and on the other of an elevation drawing of the façade prior to its conversion in the 1760s, which is preserved in the library of Strahov Monastery and was first published by Oldřich Stefan.¹⁴ An overall view of the original composition of the palace is then offered in an engraving by Friedrich Bernhard Werner, which is unfortunately somewhat misleading in its schematic and disproportionate arrangement. The elevation drawing and the preserved morphology of the palace show well the pattern of relief lesene bands that shows the palace's affinity with the latest trends in Roman palace architecture, represented, for example, by Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi's Palazzo Altieri built in 1650–1654 and

¹⁰ Hrbek (note 8), pp. 713–714.

¹¹ Jiří Kropáček, *Arcibiskupský palác*, Praha 2003. – Pavel Vlček a kol., *Umělecké památky Prahy: Pražský hrad a Hradčany*, Praha 2000, pp. 254–260. – Jiří Kropáček, *Arcibiskupský palác: účelnost a styl*, in: Olga Fejtová – Václav Ledvinka – Jiří Pešek, *Život pražských paláců*, Praha 2009.

¹² Kropáček, *Arcibiskupský palác* (note 11), p. 153.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Stefan (note 2), p. 12.

1670–1676, which Mojmir Horyna drew attention to in connection with Mathey's work.¹⁵ The same author also brilliantly analyzed the background of the entrance portal of the palace, in which the composition of the balcony portal of the type in Palazzo Altieri is combined creatively with flat bossage and an open entablature, as can be seen, for example, on the portal of Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola.

The Archbishop's Palace brought to the Prague environment fundamental new architectonic elements, such as the arrangement of the lesene frames or the refined moulding of the chambranes, combined with a certain reduction and moderation of the morphology, as well as the quite novel concept of gradation with an emphasis on the central section and its prominent avant-corps, the entrance portal and especially the roof pavilion, which, as a characteristic Roman design, constitutes one of the most typical "signs" of Mathey's architecture. No less essential is Mathey's sense for the context of urban planning, which he demonstrated in his first large-scale commission. The Archbishop's Palace was erected on the interface between the square Hradčanské náměstí, which at the time already had the stabilized form of an urbanized space, and the western forecourt of Prague Castle, which was separated from the square by a band of fortifications and whose fragmented medieval skyline could not make any great impression in the space of the square. Until the construction of Pacassi's first castle forecourt, then, Mathey's palace was the most prominent building in the eastern part of the square and thus became the model for other modern palace residences.

Church of St. Francis of Assisi in Prague Old Town (1679–1688)

In the year of completion of the Archbishop's Palace, Mathey was given a commission that this time tested his abilities in the field of church architecture. The Church of St. Francis of Assisi, which since 1252 had been the main sanctuary of the Bohemian Order of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, was situated in an exceptionally exposed position by the Old Town end of Charles Bridge.¹⁶ The mediator was again Johann Friedrich of Waldstein, this time, though, in the role of Grand Master of the Order of the Knights of the Cross. The first plans for a new building on the site of the old Gothic church were drawn up in 1679 by Giovanni Domenico Orsi. An effort can be seen even in their unimplemented variations to design a refined spatial composition, as well as an attempt at a new orientation of the building in the direction of the square Křižovnické náměstí.¹⁷ The third draft in particular approaches, in its central arrangement, the composition of the building chosen by its final architect, Jean Baptiste Mathey.¹⁸ Construction was launched in 1679, in 1685 the cupola was raised and the arches spanned and in 1688 the

¹⁵ Mojmir Horyna, *Slohový profil pražské architektury raného baroka*, in: Lenka Stolárová – Vít Vlnas (eds), *Karel Škréta 1610–1674: Studie a dokumenty*, Praha 2011, p. 5.

¹⁶ Pavel Vlček a kol., *Umělecké památky Prahy: Staré Město a Josefov*, Praha 1996, pp. 64–69. – Vojtěch Sádlo, *Kostel sv. Františka u křižovníků na Starém Městě pražském, Ročenka Kruhu pro pěstování dějin umění 1934*, Praha 1935, pp. 33–34.

¹⁷ For more detail cf. the chapter on the work of G. D. Orsi in Petr Macek – Richard Biegel – Jakub Bachtík (eds), *Barokní architektura v Čechách* (note 1).

¹⁸ A close connection between the resulting project and Orsi's designs is also suggested by the surviving sketch of the ground plan, undoubtedly by Mathey's hand, preserved in the collections of the Monastery of the Knights of the Cross. The definitive solution in the form of a combination of two Greek crosses is only implied here and the remarkable ground plan, which includes among other things the side chapels opening outwards, thus reflects much of Orsi's last plans. The plan was first published in Stefan (note 2), p. 68.

new church was consecrated, although the artistic ornamentation of the interior continued for some years.¹⁹

The basis of the composition of the church consists of a pair of Greek crosses interconnected within the main axis of the building. The space of the nave is given a prominent dynamic by the insertion of an oval ground plan set lengthwise on the main axis, which is reflected in the main cross in the form of concave curving of the corner columns and which is additionally accented by an oval cupola. Set between the arms of the cross are oblong chapels with oval, cupola type arches.²⁰ By means of the comprehensive interconnection of the above-described forms, a space emerged whose basic principle – the combination of the fundamental compositional elements of a Greek cross and an oval – in a certain sense anticipates the dynamic, intersecting compositions of the subsequent architectural generation. The latent dynamics of the interior are manifested not only in the interpenetration of the geometric elements and the use of the oval as the basis of composition of the nave, but also in the basic principle of the baldachin, which stands out due to their “penetration” and accentuates the dominant cupola. Another key aspect is the artistic unity arising not only from the classic row of pilasters, but also the complex architectonic arrangement of the walls of the building, which include flat surfaces and niches for painted and sculpted ornament. The exceptional nature of the building is also underlined by the use of marble cladding, which is relatively rare even in the context of subsequent architectural development in Bohemia.

Unity of composition and artistic concept is also an essential feature of the creation of the building's exterior. The church is composed as a rectangular block with concavely sculpted corners, which dynamically emphasize the central avant-corps of the main entrance façade. The all-stone façade of the building, created from large sandstone slabs – a unique solution in this country used only by Mathey²¹ – is formed as a wall whose modelling copies the dynamic handling of the mass of the building. The façade is articulated by a grid of lesenes and pilasters and the gentle relief layering of the pilasters accentuates the unified, dynamic effect of the modelling of the wall. The pilasters bear a complete entablature, to which is joined the attic level interrupted by a wide triangular tympanum. The base of the tympanum, which as the central compositional element of the façade spans the full width of the triaxial avant-corps, is interrupted in the centre by a wide field in which are set both the aedicule-style portal and a tapering window, which ostensibly covers the remainder of the continuous entablature. Behind the attic of the façade wall the cupola rises on a high tambour, the oval body of which constitutes a compositional counterpoint to the concavely sculpted corners. The verticality of the tambour is underlined by pillar and pilaster combinations that give rhythm to the wall, in front of which are set pairs of Ionic columns. The intricately moulded verticals of the pillars and pilasters are also transcribed into the moulded ribs of the conical dome, which is surmounted by an elliptical lantern than constitutes a second, miniature cupola, including the vertical columns and ribs. The consistent transposition of the verticals into the shell of the cupola emphasizes the unity of the building and visually connects the upper and lower parts.

¹⁹ In view of his position outside the guild, neither here could Mathey have been the collaborating builder. The construction was practically led first by Orsi's former foreman, Gaudenzio Casanova and, after Casanova's death in 1680, the builder Giovanni Domenico Canevalle and the foreman Šimon Steyer. – Cf. Pavel Vlček–Ester Havlová, *Praha 1610–1700: Kapitoly o architektuře raného baroka*, Praha 1998, p. 263.

²⁰ By the placement of the chapels in the corners between the arms of the cross, the ground plan of the building evokes the concept of centroidal church architecture, at the supposed genesis of which were Bramante's plans for the Basilica of St. Peter.

²¹ A contemporary design of the facade apparently intended for the stonemasons responsible for assembling the resulting whole is preserved in the archives of the monastery of the Knights of the Cross.

All of the authors who have dealt in detail with the Church of St. Francis of Assisi have emphasized both the uniqueness of the building and the mastery with which Mathey placed it in its setting. Since the time of Johann Joseph Morper and of Oldřich Stefan, its Roman connections and precursors have been convincingly characterized. In relation to the basic composition of the church with its portico and cupola, these include in particular the churches of Santa Maria dei Miracoli and Santa Maria del Montesanto on Piazza del Popolo.²² Mojmír Horyna, who most recently dealt in detail with the Roman connections of Mathey's work, emphasized a possible connection of the design of the Church of St. Francis to unimplemented plans by Carlo Rainaldi, both variations of his plans for the churches on Piazza del Popolo, which are important particularly from the perspective of the façades, and his plans for the Church of Santa Maria in Campitelli, in which it is possible to observe the spatial concept of combining two centroidal spaces.²³ The initial ground plan solution of the building may be understood in a certain sense also as an echo of the only slightly earlier chapel of the Collège des Quatre-Nations in Paris, which was built in 1662–1668 by Louis le Vau.²⁴ The cupola is rightly credited as derived from Maderno's exceptionally influential Church of St. Andrea della Valle, which Rainaldi completed.²⁵ The tapering window of the façade has been linked, again very convincingly, to Michelangelo's creations in Rome and Florence.²⁶ Alongside these buildings, it is possible also to add as a possible source of inspiration the almost contemporary Church of St. Biagio in Campitelli by Rainaldi's student Carlo Fontana, the concave corners of the upper level of which may anticipate the similarly sculpted corners of Mathey's building.²⁷ The motif of the gable interrupted by the window can be found, for example, in Alberti's Church of St. Sebastiano in Mantua, which is in principle similar to the Prague building in its block-like concept.

A distinctive feature consists of the façades of the building, which in their relief quality and refinement could point to Mathey's French roots.²⁸ A even more compelling link to the French background, though, can be found in the initial design of the interior, which can be connected convincingly – alongside the above-mentioned Roman associations – with the concept of the chapel of Chateau Anet, built by Philibert del'Orme in 1549–1553 and published by Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau in the compendium *Les plus excellents bastiments de France* in 1576–1579.²⁹ Both the basic pattern of the intersection of the central cylinder with a Greek cross and the relief morphology of the walls seem to be almost the direct point of departure of the spatial and archi-tectonic structure of the Prague church.³⁰ An even closer kinship with the French environment is displayed in the design of the central part of the front façade, the pattern of which, with its jagged tympanum mounted on a high, Roman Doric order, constitutes almost a literal transcription of the façade design of the St-Germain-des-Prés Abbey portal (1633), which from the mid-

²² Morper (note 2), pp. 39–42. – Mojmír Horyna, Římský vliv v pražské sakrální architektuře 17. století, in: Vilém Herold – Jaroslav Pánek (eds), *Baroko v Itálii – baroko v Čechách*, Praha 2003, p. 546.

²³ Horyna (note 22), pp. 547–549. – The possible connection understandably further increases the likelihood of Mathey's presence in Rainaldi's studio.

²⁴ Vlček – Havlová (note 19), p. 265.

²⁵ Morper (note 2), p. 43.

²⁶ Horyna (note 22), p. 547.

²⁷ Rostislav Švácha, Hlava pátá: 1620–1780, in: Petr Kratochvíl (ed.), *Velké dějiny země Koruny české: Tematická řada Architektura*, Praha-Litomyšl 2009, p. 430.

²⁸ Refined layering of the precisely worked stone components of the facade is typical of French architecture in the 1620s–30s at the latest and Mathey must surely have been acquainted with its principles.

²⁹ On Chateau Anet cf. e.g. Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *Le guide patrimoine Ile-de-France*, Paris 1995, pp. 105–108.

³⁰ This connection is very compelling even despite the fact that the chapel is not based on an oval ground plan, but on a circular one.

17th century was also disseminated by means of a Jean Marot engraving.³¹ These contexts, which help explain the peculiar contradiction between the Romanesque cogency of the basic concept and the subtle morphology of the interior and exterior of the building, indicate both Mathey's continued links to the French environment and his work with sample literature, which may have played an important mediating role also in relation to the builder of the church.

Troja Chateau by Prague (1677–1685)

Both the Archbishop's Palace and the Church of St. Francis of Assisi signified a major typological watershed for Czech architecture, thanks to which both palatial and ecclesiastical architecture reached a quite new level and one that was up-to-date from the perspective of contemporary Italian architecture.

A similar role in the case of chateau architecture was played by Troja Chateau, the building of which began in 1678 for Count Wenzel Adalbert of Sternberg in Zadní Ovenec by Prague.³² Sternberg belonged to the new generation of nobles for whom, alongside university education, an extensive *wanderjahre* trip was also an essential.³³ In his case the itinerary included the Netherlands, France, England and especially Italy and Rome, where the Count spent several months. His travel diary, which is one of the few similar sources that has survived complete and was analyzed in detail by Jiří Kropáček,³⁴ demonstrates Sternberg's systematic interest in important buildings and locations, including the environs of Rome and in particular Frascati, the example of which was undoubtedly a fundamental stimulus for the construction of a similar suburban villa in Prague.

The building of Troja Chateau began in 1678 with land-forming work, the objective of which was to create great terraces for the actual chateau and its gardens.³⁵ The compositional axis, which in Frascati ensures a view of the distant Roman skyline, was in Prague faced towards Prague Castle and St. Vitus' Cathedral, the silhouette of which rises dramatically above the dense woods of the Royal Game Reserve. In respect of the orientation of the building, it was necessary not only to level the gently sloping terrain, but also to excavate a large section of rock, which alone clearly proves the importance attached to the visual link to the Castle. In 1680, when the main building had been raised to the level of the first floor, the work was suspended due to an outbreak of plague. Following its renewal at the beginning of the 80s, the building was completed in 1685.³⁶

Unlike Mathey's two previous buildings, the question of authorship of Troja is somewhat complicated. Giovanni Domenico Orsi is documented in Troja as the builder in 1678, but he died the following year. The name of Jean Baptiste Mathey is not mentioned in sources until 1685 in connection with a dispute going on between the Count of Sternberg and the representatives of the Prague builders' guild. The dispute, well documented in archives, erupted in 1685 between the builder of Troja and representatives of the Prague guild. Its main subject was criticism of the work of masons for the architect without the appropriate authorization of the guild

³¹ For a reproduction of the engraving cf. Dominique Leborgne, *Saint-Germain-des Prés et son faubourg*, Paris 2005, p.73.

³² Horyna – Preiss – Zahradník (note 2); in detail here and also other literature.

³³ The personality of Wenzel Adalbert of Sternberg is excellently characterized by Pavel Zahradník. – Cf. Horyna – Preiss – Zahradník (note 2), pp. 11–52

³⁴ Kropáček (note 4), pp. 62–67, 86–98.

³⁵ The work procedure was treated in detail by Pavel Zahradník. – Horyna – Preiss – Zahradník (note 2), pp. 59–86.

³⁶ For a detailed history of the building cf. Horyna – Preiss – Zahradník (note 2), pp. 53–86.

and it provides a surprisingly ambiguous view of the course of erection of the building.³⁷ While Sternberg defended Mathey with the claim that the Archbishop's builder had been constructing the buildings in Zadní Ovečec for him for several years without obstacle and that it was up to the Count alone to decide what architect he chose for his building outside of the city walls, the Count's recently dismissed foreman, Silvestro Carlone, contended on the contrary that it was his superior, the builder Giovanni Domenico Orsi, who had drafted the plans for the building, which Carlone had allegedly executed "*up to the roof*". The contradictory claims therefore offer various interpretations by means of which individual authors attempt to define Mathey's share as an author in the final appearance of the building. While Mojmír Horyna³⁸ does not doubt Mathey's authorship from the very commencement of construction and ascribes to Orsi only the secondary role of the builder charged with carrying out Mathey's plans, Pavel Vlček³⁹ inclines to the view that the possibility of Orsi's authorship should be taken seriously and that it is he who was linked to the basic layout of the villa and its compositional principles. In this version, Mathey's role would have consisted of refining the material composition of the building, its interior furnishing and completion of the estate buildings around the actual chateau.

In view of the significance of the building, both for the two possible authors and for Czech palatial architecture, the whole issue must be examined not only from the perspective of the contradictory archival sources, but also and more especially from the point of view of analysis of the building itself. Troja Chateau is composed as a symmetrical, rectangular, two-winged building with a central mass of the main hall and two side wings, which form a *cour d'honneur* by the main façade. The domination of the two-storey main hall is emphasized by its placement linked to the first floor and the connection of the oval staircase, which joins it to the garden. A counterpoint to the body of the central hall, surmounted by a high hipped roof, consists of high turrets set above the central axes of the side wings, which lend the building a remarkably complicated outline and ensure the transformation of its appearance from side views. The façades of the building are articulated with a high order set above lesene frames. The importance of the central hall is emphasized by the insertion of above-window pediments and a central portal, the dynamic moulding of which constitutes a response to the oval shape of the staircase. An integral component of the composition of the building consists of the terrace on which the chateau is set and the estate buildings, which create a forecourt in front of the northern façade and complete the composition of the outline of the building when viewed from the main approach from the direction of the river. It is from this point that one can best appreciate the refinement and careful composition of the garden-facing façade, which first presents itself in its whole breadth, revealing upon the visitor's arrival first the building of the chateau and then, upon setting foot on the actual chateau terrace, the three-dimensionally composed space of the *cour d'honneur* with the dominant staircase in the five-axis width of the hall body.

It is clear that the building is, in the grandeur of its composition and its main compositional patterns, a response to Sternberg's travels to Italy and to the demands that he must have placed on his builder in commissioning this "suburban villa" of a type very unusual in Bohemia. The focal point of the building is the main hall with its painted frescoes honouring the Habsburg family, which is a deliberate compositional counterpoint to the royal seat at Prague Castle. The way in which the architect fulfilled this probable assignment evidences his sense of unity, gradation and a refined opposition of masses. As well as the carefully composed composition of masses, the artistic unity of the building is ensured by the application of the high pilaster order and

³⁷ Ibid., pp. 62–66.

³⁸ Ibid., pp. 92–96.

³⁹ Vlček – Havlová (note 19), p. 267.

very modest application of ornamentation, which, apart from the main portal and the staircase is – quite in the Italian spirit – restricted only to consoles and cartouches beneath the windows.

In the extensive literature dedicated to Troja Chateau, the many inspirational Roman precursors for the individual patterns of the building have been compellingly documented. Oldřich Štefan already deduced in the oval staircase a possible echo of the staircase of the Roman Altieri villa.⁴⁰ Mojmir Horyna dealt most precisely with the possible Roman inspirations, among which he rightly categorized not only other villa buildings with oval staircases and other patterns, but also the Altieri and Chigi palaces, the design of the windows and the high order of the façade of which in all likelihood provided the basis for the specific architectonic arrangement of the Troja building.⁴¹ In contrast, Pavel Vlček noticed possible connections with the French chateau of Vaux-le-Vicomte, which Sternberg also visited and which also could have been the precursor for the distinctive volume gradation of the chateau with the *cour d'honneur* as well as the design of the garden.⁴² In respect of the French precursors, however, even more important may be the chateau at Fontainebleau, which shows in an engraving by Jacques Androuet du Cerceau⁴³ widely circulated at the time its pavilion-style arrangement of the composition, high hipped roof and especially oval staircase, built around 1550 and replaced in 1632–1634 with an even more monumental double design.⁴⁴ The fact that the Count of Sternberg visited Vaux-le-Vicomte during his cavalier journey led Pavel Vlček to the opinion that not only the garden, but also the *cour d'honneur* and the high elevation of the individual parts of the building had French roots and that these designs here could have been mediated directly by the owner. According to Vlček, the architectural solution could have been developed in such a way that the basic layout was created by the owner, the rough elevation of the façades by Orsi and the elevation arrangement and interior design by Mathey. Mojmir Horyna, on the contrary, sees also in the design of the *cour d'honneur* and the garden essentially Roman influences (the *cour d'honneur* of Palazzo Barberini, the terraces and garden of the villa in Frascati or the contemporary garden, no longer existing, of the Villa Altieri on Esquilino), whereby these direct connections are for him another fundamental argument for Mathey's exclusive authorship of the whole.

Is Troja Chateau then the outcome of a gradual, unpremeditated development in which the owner, Sternberg, the first architect, Orsi, and subsequently – at the stage of completing the rough construction – Jean Baptiste Mathey participated in turn? Or is it a uniformly designed work arising from a dialogue between the owner and his architect relocated from Rome, who, not being in a position to execute the construction of the building, assigned the implementation of his plans to the builder Orsi and subsequently to the foreman Sylvester Carlone? The analysis conducted of the building reveals not only various inspirational patterns, but also, and especially, an apparent unity of thought that coheres the compositional whole, the design of the component parts and the inclusion of details into the final result. The basis of the building does not consist of the addition of Roman or French patterns, but the synthesis that combines them into a greater, unified whole. It is this very unity that is the primary obstacle to the first interpretation, which presupposes a pair of different authors and a watershed in ideas at the moment when the building was already complete in rough form. A fundamental supporting argument here, by the way, consists of a building history survey, which demonstrated the integration of the entrance staircase into the mass of the chateau and therefore the presence of the main pattern, i. e. the hall on the

⁴⁰ Štefan (note 2), p. 114.

⁴¹ Horyna – Preiss – Zahradník (note 2), pp. 100–111.

⁴² Vlček–Havlová (note 19), p. 268.

⁴³ Jacques-Androuet Du Cerceau, *Le second volume des plus excellents batiments de France*, Paris 1579.

⁴⁴ Pérouse de Montclos (note 29), p. 296.

first floor and its height gradation, already in the first phase of the project.⁴⁵ The enlightened synthesis of Roman and French elements logically presupposes an architect who directly mastered both traditions and was capable – in dialogue with an exceptionally enlightened owner – of combining these traditions creatively. Orsi could hardly have been such an architect; despite all the inventiveness and maturity of his later buildings, he moved predominantly in the Central European intellectual environment. In addition, Mathey himself stated the “*Sternberg summer palace*” in the aforementioned application for court freedom as one of the buildings that should testify to his architectural abilities, which he would hardly do in reference to a building that he had only had a hand in finishing.⁴⁶ In view of the foregoing, we contend that the most probable author of the Troja building was Mathey and Orsi apparently served him as collaborating builder and partner up to the latter’s untimely death in 1679.

Tuscany Palace in Hradčany, Prague (plans 1685, construction 1689–1691), and the Prague Castle Riding School (1694–1699)

Mathey’s second most important palace building in Prague is the Thun (today Tuscany) palace in Hradčany (the Castle District), the plans of which were apparently drafted as early as 1685.⁴⁷ In the case of this palace, Mathey’s authorship, undocumented by sources, is generally acknowledged.⁴⁸ The exceptionally grand building became the dominant feature of the western side of the Castle Square, instantly transforming it into the notional forecourt of the palace. Alongside the Archbishop’s Palace and the Church of St. Francis of Assisi, then, it constitutes another of Mathey’s buildings that with confidence and unquestionable urbanist sense redefined its surroundings and became the unequivocal dominant feature of the whole space. The palace, the construction of which commenced in 1689, is composed into the square as a rectangular building with a symmetrical pair of entrances⁴⁹ to which are attached architectonically highlighted, triaxial *avant-corps*, offset in relief and surmounted with high roof turrets joined together by the aforementioned pattern of a lookout terrace. With their distinctive architectural arrangement, prominent vertical form and crowning with high roof superstructures, these *avant-corps* present the character of a pair of towers rising through the façade, creating a vertical structure contrastingly complementing the horizontal layout of the façade of the palace. The outcome is an effective tension that may evoke the situation and in a certain sense also the mathematical architectural design of the nearby tower of Prague Castle in the form in which it is captured in Giuseppe Mattei’s depiction.

Unlike the Roman, “up-to-date”, Rossi-style architecture of the Archbishop’s Palace, the appearance of the Thun Palace is closer to that aspect of Roman architecture that is represented by the buildings of Carlo Maderno or Giacomo della Porta.⁵⁰ The shift from refinement to greater impact and the unequivocal nature of the structure as well as the individual components may

⁴⁵ Luboš Lancinger-Milan Pavlík, *Nové prameny k stavebnímu vývoji kostela pražských karmelitánek a k účasti J. B. Mathey na jeho projektu*, *Umění XVII*, 1969, pp. 357–367. – Horyna – Preiss – Zahradník (note 2), p. 99.

⁴⁶ Morper (note 2), p. 8.

⁴⁷ Mojmir Horyna – Jiří Kotalík – Petr Macek – Martin Pavala – Josef Štulc, *Toskánský palác v Praze: historie a rekonstrukce*, Praha 1999. – Vlček, *Umělecké památky Prahy* (note 11), p. 412–416.

⁴⁸ Oldřich Stefan was the first to propose it on the basis of an analysis of the building. – Cf. Stefan (note 2), pp. 82–84.

⁴⁹ The positions of the two entryways were influenced by the existing situation of the historical buildings that became the basis for the palace.

⁵⁰ Stefan (note 2), pp. 82–84.

arise from the architect's attempt to develop further aspects of the architectonic language, as well as from the fact that this particular unequivocal architecture could have been in a certain sense more comprehensible in the client's eyes and, in view of the universally distributed engravings of late 16th and early 17th century buildings, perhaps even more "Roman". Whether that is truly the case obviously remains open to question. The fact is, nevertheless, that this "Classical" aspect of Mathey's work became the basis for a fundamental structural transformation in domestic architecture and a point of departure for subsequent Baroque experiments.

The nearby building of the Prague Castle Riding School, with which Mathey intervened in the foreground of Prague Castle in 1694–1699, also bears prominent Classical features.⁵¹ Oldřich Stefan has placed its Classical structure in connection with the work of the artists of Bramante's Roman circle.⁵² Mojmír Horyna rightly points to a connection between the design of the arcades of the Riding School with the courtyard of the Roman Palazzo Altieri, the portal of which had already inspired Mathey in his plans for the Archbishop's Palace.⁵³ Neither is it out of place to compare it with the contemporary Paris construction of the Collège des Quatre-Nations,⁵⁴ which may be a result either of direct inspiration or of the possibility that both buildings were inspired by similar Italian compositional precursors.⁵⁵

Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Horní Jiřetín (from 1694)

Mathey's work in which intensive foreign artistic influences are manifest for the last time is the remarkable Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Horní Jiřetín (from 1694). The church is unconventionally based on the principle of a single nave with a central transept, to which is attached a long choir ending in a polygonal apse and a front façade with a single steeple and an *avant-corps*. Pavla Priknerová, who has treated the Jiřetín church in detail, rightly stated not only the exceptional nature of its spatial concept, but also the perhaps surprising "historicist" reference that may be concealed in the unconventional combination of the spatial centralized nave with the extended polygonal choir. The researcher also drew attention to the fact that the monumental façade of the church and its central steeple set in the cubic mass of the façade ending with a terrace has no direct precursor in the Czech Republic and can therefore be regarded as one of the inspirational sources of this type of façade, which became popular especially around the mid-18th century.⁵⁶ Even more fundamental, however, may be a remark by Laurent Toulouse, who creditably recognized in the basic ground plan and the design of the volumes an echo of contemporary French ecclesiastical buildings, represented, for example, by the Basilica of Notre-Dame-des-Victoires in Paris, the construction of which commenced in 1629.⁵⁷ This unexpected, though from the perspective of Mathey's artistic profile actually very logical connection, would well explain the unconventional breadth layout of the nave, the high,

⁵¹ Vlček, *Umělecké památky Prahy* (note 11), pp. 250–253; Vlček–Havlová (note 19), pp. 275–278; Jiří Kropáček, K značce architekta J. B. Mathey, *Umění* XXXIV, 1986, p. 144–149.

⁵² Stefan (note 2), pp. 94–99.

⁵³ Mojmír Horyna, Jean Baptiste Mathey a počátky římského baroka, unpublished manuscript, 2010, p. 19.

⁵⁴ Vlček – Havlová (note 19), p. 277.

⁵⁵ The indirect connection via a common Italian precursor was proposed by Mojmír Horyna. – Cf. Horyna (note 53), p. 19.

⁵⁶ Pavla Priknerová, *Kostel Nanebevzetí Panny Marie v Horním Jiřetíně v souvislostech valdštejské stavební činnosti na duchcovském panství*, unpublished bachelor thesis of Charles University, Praha 2013.

⁵⁷ This more than compelling opinion was stated by the art historian Laurent Toulouse at a conference dedicated to the Jiřetín church and the work of J. B. Mathey, which was convened in Horní Jiřetín on 28 March 2014. – Regarding Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, cf. Pérouse de Montclos (note 29), p. 360.

regularly rhythmic vault, the tall windows with segmented arches set into all the fields of the vault and the choir with a polygonal apse frequently used in France. The very probable connection between the Jiřetín building and contemporary French ecclesiastical architecture makes the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary a unique building, which as far as we know has neither parallel nor equivalent in domestic architecture.⁵⁸

Architectural synthesis in the work of Jean Baptiste Mathey

When, on a study trip to Paris in 1696, Jean Baptiste Mathey suddenly died, it was an unexpected blow for his building clients. The lament of the Count of Kaunitz addressed to Wenzel Adalbert of Sternberg that he regretted Mathey's death wholeheartedly, because "*a man such as he we will not have in Prague again*", was quite certainly sincere and clearly reflected the exceptional appreciation Mathey enjoyed in his day.⁵⁹ All the more paradoxical for that is the fact that Mathey's path amongst the key figures of Prague architecture of the second half of the 17th century recognized in expert literature was not at all easy. Unlike such names as Carlo Lurago or Francesco Carrati, which appeared also in literature of the 19th century, Mathey's role in the period was forgotten to such an extent that his buildings were routinely ascribed to other architects and his body of work actually had to be reconstituted. A fundamental step in the recognition of his importance consisted especially of the work of Jan Herain, who succeeded in combining two vague figures, "*Jean Baptiste Mathey*" and "*Matthias of Burgundy*" into the single person of one of the Archbishop's builders, to whom he ascribed both the Archbishop's Palace and Troja Chateau.⁶⁰ An extensive study was built on this by Oldřich Stefan, who not only created a still valid basic catalogue of the architect's works, but also succeeded in placing it compellingly in the context of 16th century Roman architecture, to which, in his opinion, Mathey's work was closely allied.⁶¹

The recognition of the roots of Mathey's architectural language in Roman architecture, represented especially by the work of Donato Bramante, Giulio Romano and Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, brought a fundamental shift in the understanding of Mathey's work, but also instigated a fundamental dispute as to its character. The fact that the architect focused in Rome on the more than one-hundred-year-old precursors rather than the then "up-to-date" models of Bernini or Borromini led Stefan to the conclusion that Mathey was by nature an eclectic, who combined in an academic way tried and tested precursors to the point where in some cases his buildings can be regarded as a "*collection of patterns*".⁶² Mathey was supposedly an academic in whose work "*there is certainly no [...] sharp struggle or attempt to utter things as yet unsaid that he would work hard to accomplish*". Although he cannot be "*denied the positive and special ability to conceive of a building as a clear, rigidly organized whole*", which can probably be attributed to the fact that "*his comprehensive perspective and education were complemented with undeniable taste, by which the intellectual architect, in the event of necessity, secures that which he lacks in direct artistic expression*". "*The absolute value of his work is very high*", Stefan judges, but only "*if we leave aside the deficiencies in the area of development*".⁶³

⁵⁸ All the more alarming is the fact that at the time of publication of the present book, the church and the entire township are under a real threat of demolition due to the coal seams located beneath them.

⁵⁹ Petr Fidler, *Římský akademismus v Praze: Jean Baptiste Mathey, Domenico Martinelli (...)*, in: *Barokní Praha – barokní Čechie 1620–1740*, Praha 2004, p. 274.

⁶⁰ Jan Herain, Zámek Trója u Prahy, *Časopis Společnosti přátel starožitností českých* XVII, 1909, pp. 118–122.

⁶¹ Stefan (note 2).

⁶² Ibid., p. 110.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 111.

A somewhat different interpretation of Mathey's work is offered in the same period by Johann Joseph Morper.⁶⁴ On the basis of an analysis of the surviving buildings, he defined their associations not only with the aforementioned context around 1600, but also with Roman architecture of the mid-17th century and in particular the work of Carlo Rainaldi, whom he even proposed as Mathey's main Roman mentor, which opinion was subsequently adopted by the majority of later scholars. To understand this peculiar conflict in interpretations is not ultimately so difficult; for the historians of Stefan's generation, the main unifying component of the history of art was a clear line of development, which in the case of "Baroque" architecture progressed inevitably towards the dynamic, radical experiments of Francesco Borromini and Guarino Guarini. In compliance with the period concept of "modern" trends, then, most highly valued were those patterns whose constant innovation opened the path forward. The concepts of "academicism" and "Classicism" therefore became more of a problematic designation in the context of Baroque architecture, even becoming closer and closer to synonyms for "indecisiveness" and "conservatism" as the diametric opposite of the creative process. This opinion, conditioned also by the enthusiasm for the radically dynamic character of the most important buildings of the early 18th century in Bohemia, apparently influenced not only the contemporary assessment of Mathey, but also subsequently of the whole "moderate" or "Classicist" line of 17th and 18th century Bohemian architecture.

The most surprising fact, however, is that the dispute perseveres unabated to this day. While Mojmir Horyna was capable of finding in Mathey's work not only direct ties to Rainaldi's, but also direct inspiration from the works of the generation of architects active in Rome in the 1660s and 70s,⁶⁵ Pavel Vlček, on the contrary, emphasizes in Mathey's work "*older stylistic elements, still quite tied to the Renaissance*".⁶⁶ The question of the contemporary "topicality" of Mathey's work thus became one of the main motifs of its further synthetic processing, linking it either to the "less progressive line" of Roman architecture or, on the contrary – in reaction to this assessment – with the work of the contemporary post-Bernini generation, which in response to the radical Baroque experiments returned again to simple, Classicist structures and patterns. Mathey's very links to the contemporary models of the 1670s, well documented by Mojmir Horyna, could then be the symbolic period at the end of this long-running dispute.

The problem is that on detailed analysis of Mathey's work we find support for both points of view. The Archbishop's Palace truly reacts compellingly to Rossi's contemporary buildings in Rome, including in its citation of the entrance portal. The structure and architectural language of the Tuscany Palace, on the contrary, are based quite firmly on the principles that Stefan succinctly derives from the work of Giulio Romano and other important Roman figures of the 16th century. The Church of St. Francis of Assisi, whose indisputable qualities are supported also by the contemporary appreciation of Fischer of Erlach, has quite contemporary Roman connotations. Many of the North Bohemian churches, on the contrary, indicate an attempt at the precision of a simple expression, the roots of which are to be found in ongoing Roman architectural production around 1600. The epilogue to Mathey's body of work constituted by the exceptional chapels in the Schlick and Kolowrat estates cannot, then, be explained from either pole of interpretation and must be perceived only in the context of subsequent domestic development.

A no less serious discussion was provoked by the question of the "French component" of Mathey's work. While Johann Joseph Morper⁶⁷ and Pavel Vlček⁶⁸ were in no doubt about the

⁶⁴ Morper (note 2), p. 118.

⁶⁵ Mojmir Horyna-Jaroslav Kučera, *Dientzenhoferové*, Praha 1998, pp. 53–54. – Horyna, *Římský vliv* (pozn. 22).

⁶⁶ Vlček – Havlová (note 19), p. 260.

⁶⁷ Morper (note 2).

⁶⁸ Vlček – Havlová (note 19).

French “Classical” undertone of Mathey’s work, Oldřich Stefan,⁶⁹ and after him most recently Mojmír Horyna⁷⁰ reject direct French influence with the argument that the interconnections between the environments of the French and Italian architects in the context of the art academies suffice to explain some of the general French patterns. The pavilion-style composition of the roofs and staircase of Troja Chateau, the compelling French associations of the Church of St. Francis of Assisi and the undeniable connection of the church in Horní Jiřetín with contemporary French ecclesiastical architecture clearly show us, however, that the much-debated “French component” was in fact an integral part of Mathey’s synthetic thinking, which could never be completely understood without accepting that component.

The figure of Jean Baptiste Mathey is therefore among other things an illustrative proof of the fact that multi-layered artistic creation cannot be fettered by preconceived stylistic categories or by a strict benchmark of “modernity”, which in this case, unfortunately, somewhat obscures the architectural reversions quite apparently accepted in the period and associated among other things with the search for, and dissemination of timeless qualities. It is in this very way, too, that Mathey has been most recently interpreted by Petr Fidler⁷¹ and Rostislav Švácha,⁷² for whom he was primarily one of the first key proponents of Roman academicism who succeeded in including the aforementioned artistic positions in a single, timeless architectural current. This role of Mathey’s was thus crucial not only from the perspective of propagating a new architectonic concept, but also in respect of transformation of the taste of the client, which due in particular to Mathey was prepared for the direct intervention of the Roman academics Domenico Martinelli and Carlo Fontana.

It is clear from the foregoing that the individual architectural positions of Mathey’s work do not stand in opposition to each other, but balance and complement each other, so it can be said with slight hyperbole that in a certain sense they anticipated the plurality of architectural developments of the subsequent decades. An essential counterpoint to this openness to various patterns and influences consisted of Mathey’s extraordinary ability of synthesis, in the undertone of which are present both the primary French point of departure and Mathey’s deeply rooted Roman experience. This very combination made him, without exaggeration, a watershed figure, without whom subsequent architectural development would undoubtedly have taken significantly different paths.

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⁶⁹ Stefan (note 2).

⁷⁰ Horyna (note 22).

⁷¹ Fidler (note 59), pp. 273–275.

⁷² Švácha (note 27), pp. 424–432.



Fig. 1 Jean Baptiste Mathey,
Church of St. Francis of Assisi
in Prague's Old Town, 1679–1688.
Main facade.
Photo by Martin Micka

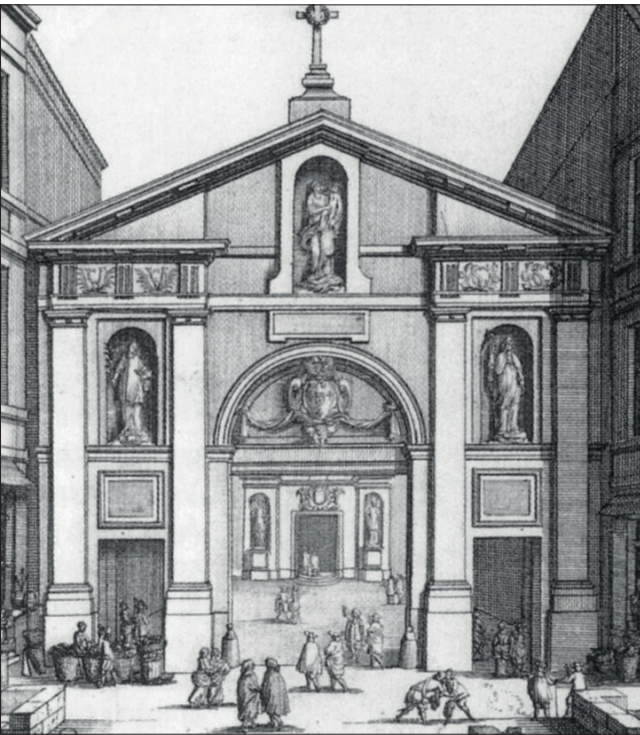


Fig. 2 Anonymous, entrance gateway
to the Abbey of St.-Germain-des-Prés
in Paris, 1633. Engraving by Jean Marot
from the mid-17th century



Fig. 3 Jean Baptiste Mathey, Church of St. Francis of Assisi in Prague's Old Town, 1679–1688: interior. Photo by Martin Micka, 2014



Fig. 4 Philibert del'Orme, interior of the chateau chapel in Anet, 1549–1553. Photo. www.all-free-photos.com

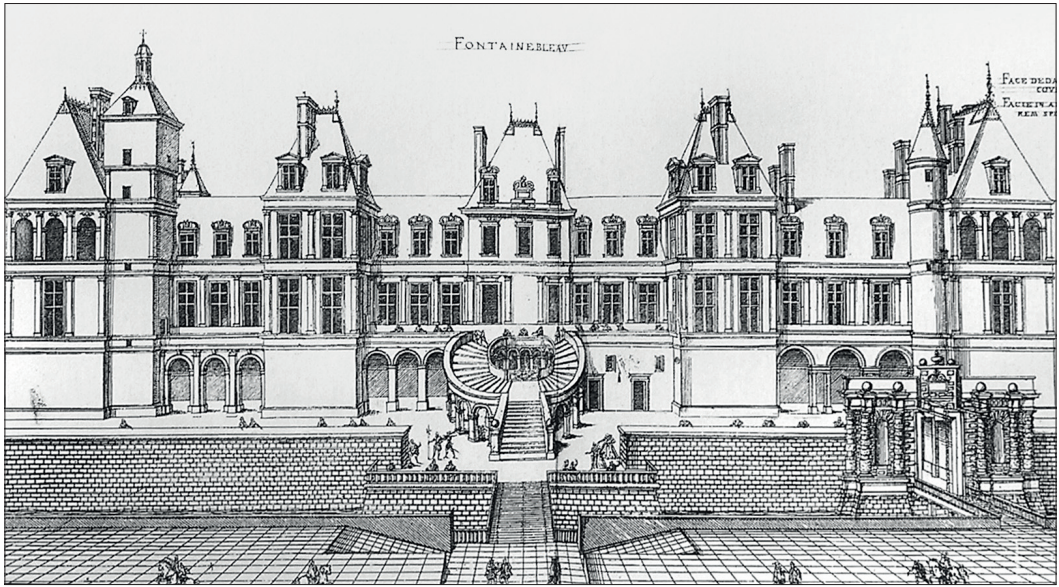


Fig. 5 Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, engraving of the Château de Fontainebleau, 1579

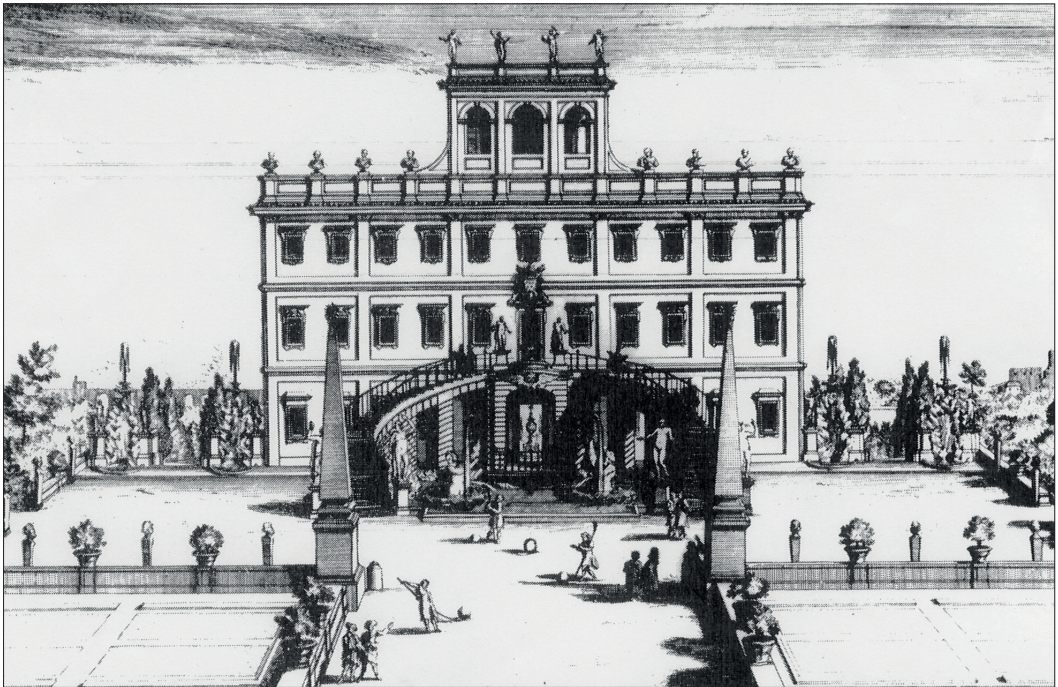


Fig. 6 Giovanni Antonio de' Rossi, Villa Altieri in Rome, 1650–1654 and 1670–1676.
Engraving from the second half of the 17th century

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Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Horní Jiřetín

Abstract | Little attention in the past has been devoted to the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Horní Jiřetín in professional literature. The church, the same as the later works of Jean Baptiste Mathey, was thought to be evidence of a decline in the architect's creative energies. However, a detailed investigation shows the building in a new light. Although Mathey's work is a feat of lesser significance based on domestic traditions, the church presents itself as a structure that is well composed as a whole and with respect to specific details. The characteristic traits include a monumental block façade with an axial tower, which as one of the first in Bohemia, was exemplary for this later, more common style. In addition, it is characterized by a light centralized nave with a short transept and an unusually prolonged polygonal presbytery. The architect strongly reflected this basic disposition in the interior as well. With the help of segmentation, low vaulting, and pronounced lighting, he created the effect of an airy and spacious hall. For some of these elements, examples may be found in Rome or France. An analysis of the rear of the church and its structure revealed latent gothicism, which points to the remarkable quality of Mathey's work with various forms of inspiration. Hence, the church can be considered a structure of high quality that further demonstrates the personality of this important architect and validates the sophisticated level of his later works.

Keywords | Church architecture – baroque – Mathey – Horní Jiřetín

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The future of the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary is quite ambivalent due to the imminent threat of coal mining. Although it is the work of one of the leading Baroque architects in Bohemia, Jean Baptiste Mathey, until recently, very little attention has been devoted to the church by art patrons or professional art historians. Whether this is due to its obscure location in the spoiled landscape near the town of Most or the common interpretation of Mathey's later works, including the Horní Jiřetín church, which were considered to be a significant departure from fame, the Church in Horní Jiřetín has long awaited an adequate analysis and fair assessment of its architectural value. The first attempt at paying off the debt to this extraordinary structure was the conference that took place in Horní Jiřetín on 28 March 2014. It was demonstrated at this conference that the Horní Jiřetín church is not just an ordinary sacral structure, but an achievement that compliments the approach to Mathey's works and that has also brought to the Czech environment a whole range of impressive architectural motifs and inspiration. Some of these are worth discussing in more detail.

The Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary was built at the turn of the seventeenth century in the foothills of the Ore Mountains (*Krušné hory* in Czech) in the Most basin region. The church was closely connected to the widespread building activities initiated by the Arch-

bishop Johann Friedrich of Waldstein (Valdštejn) at his Duchcov hereditary estate¹ and by the Cistercian order in his realm of influence in Osek and Mariánské Radčice.² The active Jean Baptiste Mathey appears in the Prague region several times for a simple reason – he was the court architect of Archbishop Waldstein. Nevertheless, Johann Friedrich of Waldstein was an extraordinarily educated and ambitious builder in the Czech lands with hands-on experience in Rome, from where he brought the architect Mathey in 1675.³ The archbishop undoubtedly demanded a high architectural standard even for the buildings on his estate. Hence, it is understandable that he also used Mathey's services here, however, not until the principal buildings in Prague relating directly to the Waldstein archdiocese were substantially completed. This is also the reason why the mentioned north Bohemian structures fall within the later phase of Mathey's works, and essentially, none of them were completed during his lifetime.

Out of all of the structures, a set of three churches is apparently the most important, connected not only through the architect's name, but also through a number of common conceptual bases. The first of these to be built between 1685 and 1694 was Saint Michael's Church in Litvínov, persuasively attributed to Mathey due to the style analysis of Johann Joseph Morper.⁴ A distinctive trait of the church is the monumental double-tower façade, which is repeated later in the floor plan of the Horní Jiřetín church. The division of the interior walls is also specific, and in a sense, is the precursor for the design of the Horní Jiřetín church.

Several years later, Mathey was employed by the Cistercians from Osek for the construction of a pilgrimage church in Mariánské Radčice. The work, which was described in an article by Otakar Votoček, was carried out from 1692 to 1694, and from the beginning, was executed according to Mathey's design.⁵ The building was constructed, perhaps from the start, by the Litoměřice builder Giulio Broggio, who in all likelihood simplified Mathey's design and even modified the rear of the church to have an independent chapel with a cupola. Mathey's original design, strikingly similar to Horní Jiřetín, may nonetheless be seen in the single-tower façade and the layout of the nave with a transept.

The last to be constructed was the church in Horní Jiřetín where Jean Baptiste Mathey was recorded in the archives, the same as in Mariánské Radčice. Specifically, he is listed in the construction accounts, preserved in the parish archives in Litvínov, published once again by Morper.⁶ The church was built on the location of the older, apparently early Gothic church which, according to the Baroque publication from the beginning of the eighteenth century, *Mariánský atlas*, was used as a pilgrimage place at least since the fifteenth century.⁷ The structure that was

¹ The first and most important undertaking was to convert the Duchcov fortress into a stately country manor which would be representative of the important status of the Prague archbishop. As a part of this, a manor church should have been built, whose construction was entrusted to the nephew of Johann Friedrich Waldstein and heir to the Duchcov estate, Count Johann Josef Waldstein. – See Markéta Baštová – Luboš Lancinger, *Zámek Duchcov*, Stavebně-historický průzkum, Praha 1979. – Mojmír Horyna – Luboš Lancinger, *Duchcov: Zámecký kostel Zvěstování Panny Marie*. Stavebně-historický průzkum, 1986.

² The participation of J. B. Mathey during the construction of the agricultural buildings in Osek is not certain, but only considered as a possibility. See Mojmír Horyna – Jaroslav Macek – Petr Macek – Pavel Preiss, *Oktavián Broggio 1670–1742*, Litoměřice 1992, pp. 95, 98. – With respect to Mariánské Radčice, compare in particular, Otakar Votoček, Barokní Mariánské Radčice a jejich stavitelé, *Umění* XXX, 1982, pp. 153–170.

³ Pavel Vlček (ed.), *Encyklopedie architektů, stavitelů, zedníků a kameníků v Čechách*, Praha 2004, p. 409. – Mojmír Horyna: Jean Baptiste Mathey a počátky vrcholného baroka, unpublished manuscript, pp. 1–3.

⁴ Johann Joseph Morper, *Der Prager Architekt Jean Baptiste Mathey*, München 1927, pp. 80–88.

⁵ Otakar Votoček (note 2).

⁶ Johann Joseph Morper (note 4), pp. 91–97.

⁷ Jan Kvapil, Augustinus Sartorius: Mariánský Atlas, Prague 1717 (concept of Baroque patriotism created by the Osek Cistercians), in: *Ústecký sborník historický*, Ústí nad Labem (Municipal Museum of Ústí nad Labem–Ústí nad Labem Municipal Archives), 2000, p. 156.

built between 1694 and 1700 was the highlight of the three churches from the perspective of time and architectural quality.

The topic of the Horní Jiřetín church has not been taken up too often in professional journals. In addition to the German author Morper, who focused on the archival sources relating to the church in his book on Mathey, Věra Naňková and Mojmír Horyna also briefly discuss the church in their texts. Naňková mentions in particular in her essay *Architektura 17. století v Čechách*⁸ the quality of the interior as proportionally expressive and the large windows of the intensively lighted space and stated that it involves here a more expressive and more balanced treatment of the floor plan of the Mariánské Radčice church. In his description, Mojmír Horyna adds an important accent relating to the lightly centralized disposition of the nave and relatively deep and wide rear of the church. In his words, the church is impressive “*mainly due to its spaciousness and refined rythmization*”.⁹ However, even this otherwise precise observation does not prevent the church from being categorized as one of Mathey's less successful buildings, which relates to the more general assessment of Mathey's works. The majority of scholars are of the opinion, most clearly formulated by Pavel Vlček, that Mathey's later works clearly indicate a decline in the architect's creative energies “*separated from the source of his inspiration*”.¹⁰

However, this perspective has changed in recent years. More attention is now being focused on several less known works of Mathey from later periods that illustrate his innovative approach to the spatial treatment of smaller sacral structures. This concerns, in particular, the chapel in Chlumec near Ústí nad Labem and a series of chapels on the estate of Count Schlick near Veliš in the Jičín region.¹¹ In the context of these works, the structures on the Duchcov estate may be approached in a more liberal manner. Thus, when analysed in more detail, the church in Horní Jiřetín does not appear in any way to be an architecturally weak structure, and on the contrary, demonstrates the topological and thematic wealth that is characteristic of Mathey's work up to the end of his life.

So how would we describe the architecture of the Horní Jiřetín church?

Although it is a relatively classical oblong, single-tower church, its specific design is not ordinary. From the standpoint of the overall composition of the church, the rich combination of materials is worth mentioning. The wide façade with a tower upstages the narrower nave and embodies an independently structured unit. In addition, the nave itself is divided into the wings of the transept that gives the side façade a distinctive architectural axis and laterally extends the silhouette of the church. With the help of triangular heightened gables, a vertical accent is also introduced that contributes to monumentalizing the forms, which is distinctive for the character of the church. Subsequently, an extremely long rear is affixed to the nave that is two thirds the length of the main nave. This rear portion creates an elongated effect on the proportional equilibrium of the church – with this elongated rear segment, the superbly designed anterior portion changes, from a design point of view, into a façade that gradually fades away into the distance.

Despite the use of a tower as a traditional domestic element in the axis of symmetry,¹² the façade indicates a classical treatment and a very balanced composition with respect to the dis-

⁸ Věra Naňková, *Architektura 17. století v Čechách*, in: Jiří Dvorský (ed.), *Dějiny českého výtvarného umění II/1*, Praha 1989, pp. 273–274.

⁹ Mojmír Horyna (note 3), p. 26.

¹⁰ Pavel Vlček, *Praha 1610–1700: kapitoly o architektuře raného baroka*, Praha 1998, p. 257.

¹¹ The following literature takes up these structures – Martin Pavlíček: *Neznámé dílo Jeana Baptista Matheyho, Zprávy památkové péče LXVI*, 2006, pp. 505–506. – Pavel Zahradník-Michaela Ličeníková-Jan Hendrych, *Soubor barokních kaplí na panství Šliků*, stavebně-historický průzkum, Prague 2000. – The author is preparing a more detailed study on this topic together with Petr Macek and Jakub Bachtík.

¹² The façade tower has been used in this part of Europe since the Middle Ages. However, this involves a solitary, massive bell tower, simply attached to the gabled wall of the church nave. The first purely Baroque axial

tribution of material. This is accomplished, in particular, by securing the tower to the massive block façade with level terraces on the side wings, which is a feature that has most likely been used in the Czech lands for the first time in Horní Jiřetín. The clear, strong dimensions and the uniqueness of the entire structure are strengthened as well by the use of pilastered segmentation reinforcing the corners. However, the pilasters not only structure the surface of the wall, but also indicate by way of mutual infiltration in the corners that it is possible to understand the entire structure of the church as a system of inset spatial units. This work with materials introduces an architectural approach of a new design quality and creates a spatial though internally compact unit, which is evident especially on the main façade.

From the standpoint of the characteristic block of the façade and the used morphology (such as separation into individual floors, a flat roof, recesses of the rectangular windows, and the use of small mezzanine windows in the architrave), the façade of the church is surprisingly closer to palatial rather than sacral architecture. A similar typology of ambiguous design had not been encountered in the Czech lands up to that time. However, a clear though distance comparison can be found in Rome in the early works of Gian Lorenzo Bernini in the Church of Santa Bibiana (understandably without the use of a tower). This motif was later repeated in Rome more times, for example, in the Church of San Gregorio Magno al Celio by Giovanni Battista Soria.¹³ Although there is no direct link to these structures in the Horní Jiřetín church, the similarity indicates the relatively unexpected richness of a simple, powerful façade.

In addition, the nave of the church is treated in a non-traditional fashion with the transept connected to the mid-section, which is a style that was relatively rare in Bohemia in the seventeenth century.¹⁴ Close parallels appear during approximately the same period that the Horní Jiřetín church was built, such as the works of Domenico Martinelli in Moravia, mentioned by Rostislav Švácha in this context.¹⁵ However, in the case of Horní Jiřetín, even the specific rendition of the transept ending in high triangular gables is not common. The use of these elements for the Roman architect seems to be relatively unexpected, and we would also have to look hard to find them on local structures. Nevertheless, it is clear that the use of these elements was not functional (e. g. due to the height of the arch), but purely artistic in nature – most likely due to the proportional unity of the transept with the other parts of the church. The vertical gables naturally balance the extremely long rear of the church. It is this link that could help us understanding that this element is surprisingly closest to the transepts of Gothic cathedrals, ending with a flat gabled wall steeply rising to the roofs. This interpretation would be supported by the rendition of the rear of the church.

The presbytery is extended along the entire three window axes and ends in a bevelled polygonal form. This does not necessarily mean that it is a deliberate gothicism. The polygonal presbytery that the architect repeats again at the Church of Saint Kajetán in Prague was a common element in smaller churches in Bohemia up to the end of the seventeenth century, as is demonstrated in the vicinity of Litoměřice (see the churches in Čížkovice, Dolánky, Milešov, or Saint Stephen's Cathedral in Litoměřice). Mathey, however, handles this traditional motif differently. An important aspect is the manner of segmenting the façade – a regular grid of connected pilasters is used here and divided into two levels by delicate moulding. In the upper section, they

single-tower façade can be found in the Czech lands in Moravia on the Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Holešov by the architect Philibert Lucchese. However, the single-tower façade did not become popular until a later time, and in the case of Mathey's works, it is still rare.

¹³ Stefan Grundmann (ed.), *The Architecture of Rome*, Stuttgart /London 2007, pp. 199–200, 205–206.

¹⁴ One of the first with a similar design can be found in Moravia in Brtnice on the Church of the Blessed Julian by Giovanni Battista Pieroni from the 1630s. However, this occurred as an adaption of the older late Gothic church.

¹⁵ See his article in this journal.

are finished with a Tuscan head and pedestal. The head is missing in the lower section, and the interior pilasters change into a piedroit frame. These elements can be understood as two incomplete horizontal frames above each other or as one prolonged connected element. The façade is intentionally perceived as a series of narrow but prominent vertical lines that accompany the much less prominent elements of the moulding, the parallel socle, and the entablature. Thus, this structure has a special role in the presbytery – while the connected pilasters on other parts of the façade strengthen the corners and other spatial transitions, what is created here is the main design element of the flat and canted walls of the rear. The distinctive vertical ingraining of the elongated pilasters hence gives the impression of support pillars, which Mathey essentially portrays in the Gothic style of the entire rear segment. This design is then reinforced by additional gothicisms, for example, the entire length and proportion of the presbytery. Although this is a very rare solution, there is one older parallel to the church that is interesting especially in context – the choir of the house of Saint Wenceslas in Olomouc from the first third of the seventeenth century was reconstructed in Neo-Gothic style in the 1880s. This choir supplemented the nave of the medieval church with an obvious attempt at continuity.

Any reference to historicism here should, of course, be logical. The Gothic presbytery has been retained in many of the churches that were restored in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as a relic of the past. Horní Jiřetín is no exception. As a town with a long pilgrimage tradition where the former medieval church was demolished due to insufficient capacity, an effort was made here to provide a reminder of the age of the site, at least symbolically within the new “modern” structure. However, if Mathey intentionally worked with references to the Middle Ages or the local traditions, then he shows them in quite a new light – as an architect with an abundance of artistic creativity, he managed to promote, in addition to the very distinctive Roman elements, his personal style along with other architectural traditions.

Although the exterior of the Horní Jiřetín church gives almost a Gothicized impression due to its monumental character and prolonged proportions, the church's interior has a surprisingly different character. It gives the impression of space extending out to the widths of the nave. The design presents a single nave in the shape of a deeply inset rectangle divided into five bays with a wider centre bay since the wings of the lateral nave are adjoined to it from the sides. In the direction of the choir, the nave is finished with a distinctive triumphal arch motif that is also symmetrically repeated on the western side and applied to the full length of the wall in bas-relief. The space has a barrel vault with a large arch, segmented ribs and sections, and a lower arch in the lateral wings of the transept.

The low vaulting is very specific and unconventional. Its ribs originate from separate plinths located above the moulding, which lengthens its course so the vaulting has the shape of a full arch extended at the ends. Hence, optically it takes up about half of the overall height of the interior (as opposed to the usual one third). From a perceptual point of view, this helps to lower the height of the church, giving it a more expansive feeling, which in turn promotes additional momentum in the segmentation of the wall.

The moulding around the entire church is supported by slightly more substantial Tuscan pilasters that compensate for the unusually elevated vault with its proportions. They also support segments of the complete entablature, of which only the upper moulding continues along the remaining unsegmented wall. Thus, this continuous feature makes the interior of the church a unified whole without creating a significant division between the lower part of the wall and the vault. Consequently, without a clear division, the wall and the vaulting seem to come together and create the impression of a large, connected atrial space. This artistic achievement again promotes the less common positioning of large segmented windows up to the wall segments above the main moulding – a motif that can be found in the Czech Republic only with Mathey and

his successors.¹⁶ Thus the design and proportions of the windows are very important from the standpoint of the lighting in the church – the space is fully lit by the windows without dramatic lighting contrast, and so the interior of the church is also unified by the flood of light freely entering the church.

The most important motif in the church's interior is, nevertheless, the lateral nave, and Mathey has placed special emphasis on it. This is clear from the fact that the transept is embellished with a vaulted bay in the main nave that is almost twice as long and also has a very complex vault structure – segments penetrate the barrelled base from all sides, which creates the impression of a slight swelling. However, the middle bay is not only lengthened but also imperceptibly widened in the form of an unobtrusive though clearly architecturally formulated “recess” in the corner between the pilasters. Thanks to this, the lateral axis can also be emphasized by a significantly strengthened pilaster and an associated rib of the vault placed on it. Both elements are deliberately connected to the distinctly resolved centre vaulted bay and together create a unique, almost canopy-like structure.

This distinctive transept is placed at the centre of the main nave, not close to the rear of the church, as was the custom of the time. Hence, a strong centralizing motif is integrated into the lateral positioning of the church that significantly changes the character of the entire space. Visitors to the church are quickly influenced by the effect of the lateral nave width, which does not compete with the main space but widens or stretches it. Thus, the lateral nave alters the space perception: the entire length of the church seems to be very relative to the effect of the transept. Thanks to this treatment, the space attains a powerful tone that continues to reverberate throughout the church.

The presbytery, which is segmented by architectural elements similar to the nave only with pilasters formed inside the edges of the polygonal shaped rear of the church, is then observed mainly from a distance and perceived especially as if the length of the church were fading away in the distance. However, the overall effect is more visual than spatial, and so observers lose the notion of the real scope of the interior. In addition, the continuous moulding of the nave and the choir supports this perceptual shortening, which highlights the converging perspective of the church, and together with widening the nave at the transept, mutes the impression of the overall depth.

It is not easy to find parallels for the location of the lateral nave in the front part of the church. This motif does not occur in the Czech lands.¹⁷ It is not even easy to find an example for comparison in Rome. Rudolf Wittkower identified the origin of this motif in the ancient spas and their modification by Michelangelo in the church of Santa Maria degli Angeli.¹⁸ The most prominent example in seventeenth century Rome is the church of Santa Maria in Campitelli by Carlo Rainaldi from 1663 to 1675. Although the layout of this church is significantly different and many times more complex with respect to design, the placement of the lateral nave at the entrance to the church creates a tension similar to the Horní Jiřetín church. Mathey most likely was familiar with this church and based the design of the church of St Francis in Prague on

¹⁶ For example, the Church of Saint Ursula in Prague by architect Marc Antonio Canevalle.

¹⁷ We should mention here in this context the churches of Giovanni Domenico Orsi de Orsini – renovation of the church of the Holy Trinity in Slaný, the church in Světlce u Tachova, and especially the third variation of a design for the pilgrimage church St. Francis Seraphicus (or of Assisi) in Prague, which contains the motif of centralization of the lateral nave by way of the side arms in the basic form.

¹⁸ Rudolf Wittkower, Carlo Rainaldi and the architecture of the High baroque in Rome, in: *Studies in the Italian Baroque*, London 1975, p. 46.

its centralization.¹⁹ Hence, he could have also been inspired when designing the Horní Jiřetín church. Additional churches with central lateral naves had obviously appeared some time sooner in northern Italy, e. g. the floor plan of the defunct church *Gesu e Maria* in Genoa from 1596.²⁰ However, more detailed research on the origin of this motif should be pursued.

Nevertheless, a new approach focuses on a comparison of the Horní Jiřetín church with the design of French churches – a topic that was taken up at the conference on the Horní Jiřetín church by French diplomat and art historian, Laurent Toulouse, who pointed to the striking similarity of the Horní Jiřetín church to the type of churches built in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in France. A more detailed analysis of this topic was made by Richard Biegel in this journal. The latent Gothicism of the Horní Jiřetín church could then provide another explanation emphasizing the French aspects of Mathey's creations, which have been less accentuated up to this point. This could also include uncommon elements in the Czech lands, such as low-set vaulting or the positioning of windows.

Work with a strong central motif reliably places the Horní Jiřetín church into the group of Mathey's sacral structures, since the topic of centrality can be designated as its main uniting motif. As with the Horní Jiřetín church, Mathey never proposes pure centralization in large churches, but always offers a broader concept. The church of St Francis in Prague near Charles Bridge involves a lateralized central element strengthened by the addition of a presbytery. In the churches in Děčín and Chlum sv. Máří,²¹ the central motif is combined with a dome placed traditionally at the end of the church, and the church of St Kajetán in Prague exhibits a Greek cross extending into the presbytery space. In the Horní Jiřetín church, Mathey once again works with the centrality theme in a different though remarkable manner.²²

Hence, the Horní Jiřetín church indicates in many respects a very interesting and well-thought-out structural design that cannot be easily interpreted as a creative decline, but rather as a valuable new structure that had enriched the architecture of the Czech lands. The roots of this inspiration can be traced back to Roman times and French architecture in particular, which demonstrates that Mathey also had access to the main sources of his inspiration in later works.

A very unique method was to develop, in particular, the motif of centralizing the lateral space with the help of the transept. This transept should also incorporate from the outside the Gothic character of the structure, together with the elongated presbytery, and yet in the design of the materials, lift the dimensionality and monumentality of the entire church. Thus, Mathey instilled the interior with immense spaciousness and airiness and the feeling of an expansive hall. The specific layout and segmentation of the architecture also contributed greatly to these qualities, giving the walls the role of only enclosing the interior space. Another extremely interesting element is the continuity of the interior with the exterior, which results in a very ingenious treatment – the transept and the motif of the elongated presbytery play a very specific and distinctive

¹⁹ Mojmír Horyna, *Římský vliv v pražské sakrální architektuře 17. stol.*, in: Vilém Herold – Jaroslav Pánek (ed.), *Baroko v Itálii – baroko v Čechách*, Praha 2003, pp. 549–550.

²⁰ Nadia Pazzini Paglieri – Rinangelo Paglieri, *Chiese Barocche a Genova e in Liguria*, Genova 1992, pp. 50–51.

²¹ I believe that these churches should be considered as Mathey's creations. A detailed investigation of these churches will be the topic of her master's thesis.

²² The church contains two additional central spaces in the form of smaller, more uniquely designed chapels located on the level of the façade. In the case of the lower baptismal chapel St Donato, it is an imbedded structure in the corners of the bevelled pillars with niches yielding a compressed vault of melons alternating the size of the individual vault heads. The upper chapel of the same floor plan, as opposed to the lower one, is apparently intentionally segmented by minimalistic narrow moulding and rosettes located at the peak of the extremely low monastery vaulting. Both chapels experiment with the central space, which contributes further to the view that Mathey was interested in this spatial type.

role for the interior and the exterior of the structure. Last but not least, the new concept of a block single-tower façade was introduced to Czech architecture with the Horní Jiřetín church, which became a style that was employed and modified in the Czech lands, especially during the last two thirds of the eighteenth century. The almost direct reception of the structure in Czech works should also not be ignored. This can be seen in the treatment of the church of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary in Petrovice near Rakovník by Marc Antonio Canevalle or the church of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross in Vtelno by Octavio Broggio.

It follows from the above description that the importance of the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Horní Jiřetín should be significantly re-evaluated. Even if the quality cannot be compared with Mathey's best works, such as the church of the Knights of the Cross in Prague, the Horní Jiřetín church undoubtedly is among the highest achievements in sacral architecture at the end of the seventeenth century in Bohemia.

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Fig. 1 Jean Baptiste Mathey, church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Horní Jiřetín, 1694–1700, exterior view. Photo by Pavla Priknerová



Fig. 2 Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Horní Jiřetín, interior view to the choir.
Photo by Pavla Priknerová



Fig. 3 Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Horní Jiřetín, interior view to the main entrance.
Photo by Pavla Priknerová

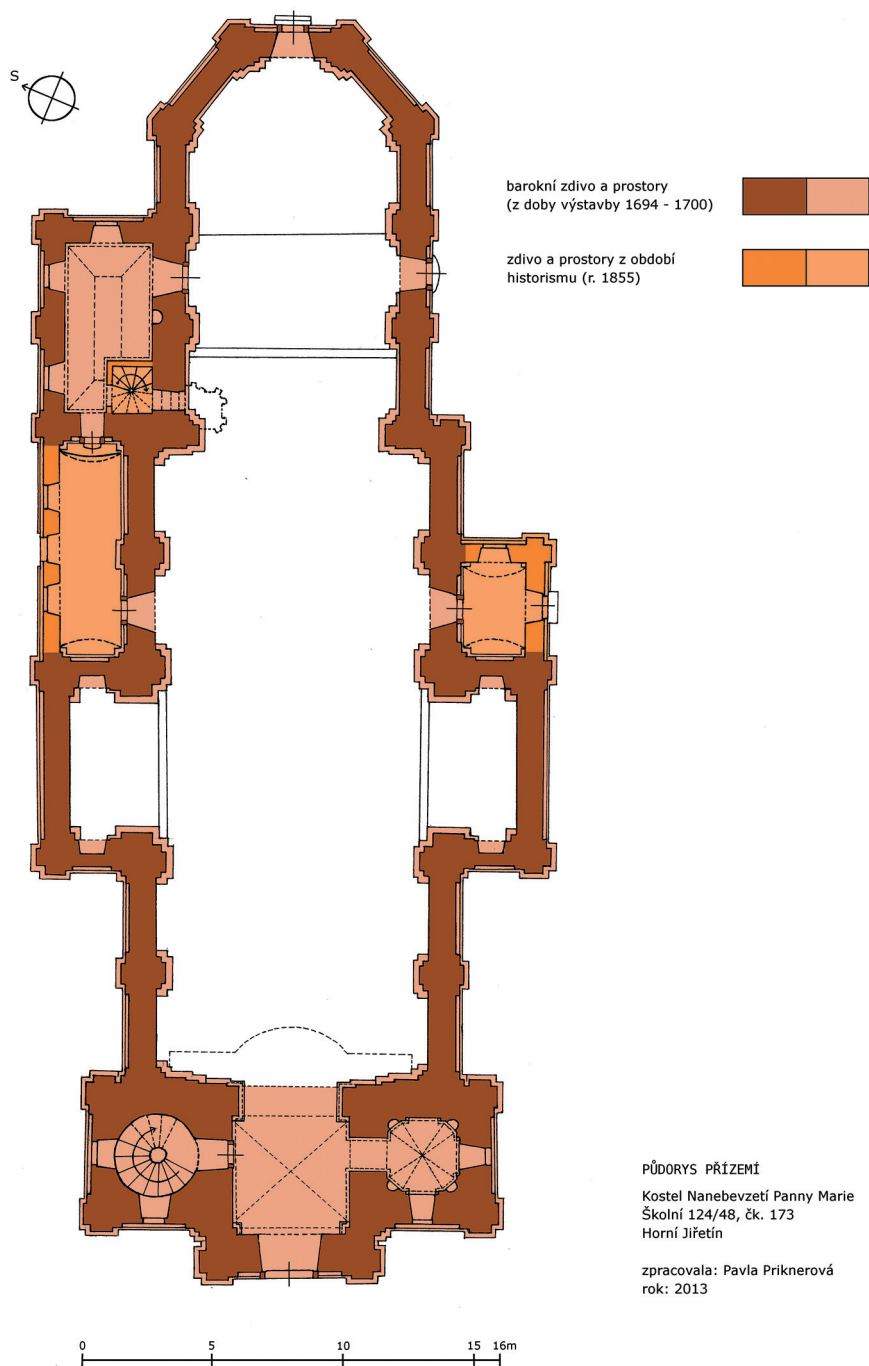


Fig. 4 Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Horní Jiřetín, ground plan.
Drawing by Pavla Priknerová

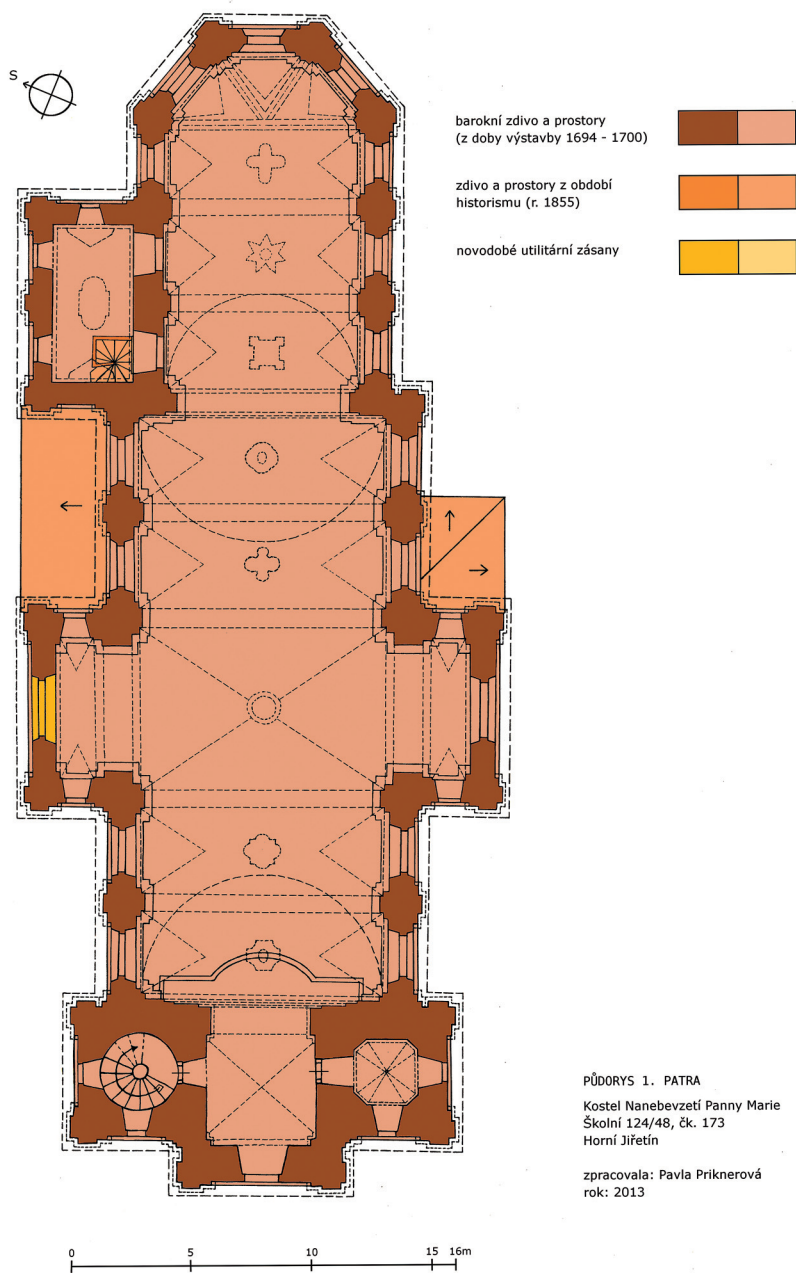


Fig. 5 Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Horní Jiřetín, 2nd floor plan.
Drawing by Pavla Priknerová



◀ **Fig. 6** Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Horní Jiřetín, south-east view.

Photo by Pavla Priknerová

▼ **Fig. 7** Marc Antonio Canevalle, church of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary in Petrovice near Rakovník, 1715–1717.

Photo by Rostislav Švácha



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The Type of Jean Baptiste Mathey's Church in Horní Jiřetín

Abstract | Architectural heritage from the 18th century in the Czech lands is marked by a large number of newly constructed rural churches, in contrast to their relative rarity in the previous century. This delay can be explained by the slow consolidation of Bohemia and Moravia after the Thirty Years' War and the time needed to restore the parish network. The Prague archbishop Johann Friedrich Waldstein (+1694), who took up the struggle for better financial security for the church, found himself in this aim in dispute with both the Czech regional assembly and Emperor Leopold. When these disputes came to a head, twice over, in both instances Waldstein founded new churches on his North Bohemian dominion of Duchcov, in Litvínov (1685) and Horní Jiřetín (1694). The second of these churches became frequently used as a model for many rural churches through the 18th century. The architect of the archbishopric, Jean Baptiste Mathey, here addressed a problem typical for the vaulted lengthwise nave in many Catholic nations: how to deal with centrifugal forces in a barrel-vault. What is used as the reinforcement system to resist such pressures is not, in Horní Jiřetín, a row of lower side chapels, as found in previous examples of urban churches, nor pillars in the inside, but instead the arms of the short transept. At the same period, a similar construction type appeared in Moravia in several village churches linked to Domenico Martinelli. In Horní Jiřetín, what seems unusual is the position of the transept, not placed at the centre of the layout or in front of the presbytery, but instead at the centre of the nave, close to the main entrance to the church. Such a positioning of the transept was evidently assumed by Mathey from Rome's Church of S. Maria in Campitelli by Carlo Rainaldi.

Keywords | Architecture – typology – construction type

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In the wake of the defeat of the Czech nobles at the Battle of White Mountain (1620) and the long chaos of the Thirty Years' War (1618–1648), it took many years before the lands of the Czech crown could recover economically, and to re-consolidate the network of parishes intended, following the reforms of the Council of Trident, to ensure the region's re-Catholicisation.¹ In both aspects, conditions evidently began to improve only by the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries. Precisely these historical circumstances can help us explain why, in the 17th century, so few rural churches were built in Bohemia and Moravia, while shortly after 1700 their numbers increased sharply and their designs were entrusted to the best architects.

¹ Eduard Maur, Problémy farní organizace pobělohorských Čech, in: Zdeňka Hledíková (ed.), *Traditio + Cultus: Miscellanea Historica Bohemica*, Praha 1993, pp. 163–176. – Hedvika Kuchařová – Zdeněk Nešpor, Pastor bonus, seu idea (semper) reformanda: Vzdělávání a výchova kléru pro působení ve státní správě v českých zemích v 18. a na počátku 19. století, *Český časopis historický* CV, 2007, pp. 351–392. – Martin Gaži – Miroslav Novotný – Marie Ryantová, Duchovenstvo, in: Václav Bůžek et al., *Společnost českých zemí v raném novověku: Struktury-identity-konflikty*, Praha 2010, pp. 101–119.

Renewal of the parish network in Bohemia was mentioned as one of his main goals by the new Archbishop of Prague, Johann Friedrich of Waldstein (1642–1694; archbishop after 1675).² A member of the old Bohemian noble family and the owner of the Duchcov-Litvínov estate in North Bohemia, the archbishop took pains to ensure that the parishes in the area of his ecclesiastical authority were economically well founded. Yet he ran up against a lack of will in the Regional Assembly, as well as among the highest officials of the kingdom. With the secular-minded aristocracy in the Assembly, and even with Emperor Leopold I himself, the archbishop also maintained a long dispute on the question of ‘immunity’, in which he desired to relieve the Catholic Church from the necessity to pay the special taxes demanded by the emperor to pay for his wars against the Ottomans and France.

During his first major conflict with the aristocracy and the emperor (1682–1686), Archbishop Waldstein founded a church in Litvínov (Oberleutensdorf), on his North Bohemian estate, consecrated to the Archangel Michael (1685–1694). When the second, and even sharper, dispute emerged over taxes and immunity (1691–1694), during which the imperial commission even charged the archbishop with “*crimes against his royal majesty*”,³ he added on the same estate, in the small town of Horní Jiřetín (Obergeorgenthal), another church, the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (1694–1700). Viewed through this context, the creation of these two churches could hypothetically be regarded as a kind of monument to the archbishop’s defiance of political power. Yet Johann Friedrich of Waldstein was not only the highest-ranking prelate of the Catholic Church in the Czech lands, but also an aristocrat himself, and the owner of many broad acres. Hence there is a second hypothesis that both of Waldstein’s foundations could have been intended to serve as an example to other aristocrats for how to care for their parish sanctuaries, for the churches to which their estates held patronage, and for which new ecclesiastical construction could prove as effective a form of noble self-representation as any other.⁴

Both of these churches were designed for Waldstein by Jean Baptiste Mathey (c. 1630–1695), a French architect born in the Burgundian city of Dijon, who acquired his training in Rome and, upon entering the archbishop’s services in 1675, became the most significant architect in the Czech lands. The task of designing a rural church, presented in both Litvínov and Horní Jiřetín, brought Mathey to two different solutions. As for the first, employed in Litvínov, it was never again taken up by another architect. Yet the basic forms of the type of the church in Horní Jiřetín, in notable contrast, found themselves repeated many times over in different variations within Czech sacral architecture through the 18th century.

Both in Litvínov and in Horní Jiřetín, the churches have a single lengthwise nave, with a narrow polygonal presbytery. The interiors of both churches are covered with barrel-vaulting with lunette intersections. The use of such vaulting forced the architect to confront the question of how to deal with its centripetal pressures, which have a tendency to force the side walls of the church to bend outwards from each other. In such instances, Mathey’s predecessors in Bohemia and Moravia most frequently invoked the structural type of a single nave with lower side chapels, the ‘Il Gesù’ type. Here, the pressures from the vault are resisted by the transverse walls of the side chapels, often raised above the chapels’ roofs with the solid buttresses known as “*contraforts*”.⁵

² Jiří M. Havlík, *Spor českého duchovenstva o imunitu církve: K politickým aktivitám pražského arcibiskupa Jana Bedřicha z Valdštejna*, *Český časopis historický* CVII, 2009, pp. 769–796. – Jiří Hrbek, *Barokní Valdštejnové v Čechách: 1640–1740*, Praha 2013, pp. 119, 160, 178, 319–320, 386–387, 390–392, 502–505, 667, 674, 712–719.

³ Jiří M. Havlík (note 2), p. 784.

⁴ The construction of rural churches as a form of self-representation by Baroque aristocrats is stressed by Eduard Maur (note 1).

⁵ Rostislav Švácha, *The Church of St. Michael in Olomouc and Its Type*, *Umění* LXI, 2013, pp. 398–421, esp. p. 405–408. – The term “*contrafort*” was found in Baroque construction terminology by Petr Macek.

Examples of the employment of this structural type are provided by the Church of the Virgin Mary Victorious in Prague's Lesser Quarter (1611–1613, 1636–1645), originally designed for Prague's Lutheran congregation in 1611 by Giuseppe Maria Filippi, the Church of St. Michael of the Dominican order in Brno (1658–1679) by Johann Baptist Erna, or the Jesuit Church of St. Ignatius in Prague's New Town (1665–1678), in which the architect, Carlo Lurago, placed loft-spaces atop the side chapels, yet structurally his church conforms to the previous instances.

These three examples, of which a great many more could easily be cited, are representative of the churches built during the 17th century in urban settings. In line with their city environments, for all three churches, is their scale, the complexity of their liturgical operations, and evidently as well the amount of costs expended on construction materials. For villages and small rural towns, such a structural type was ill suited, and indeed was almost never found in the countryside. Mathey chose for his churches in Litvínov and Horní Jiřetín a different type of structure. The lower side chapels were abandoned, for one reason because the services in a country church did not require them as much, and equally because they would have unnecessarily increased building costs. In their place, the stability of the side walls in Litvínov is ensured by buttresses, placed on the exterior walls at the points where the ridges of the vaulting press upon them, elevated by whorled “*contraforts*” [fig. 1].⁶ Such a structural solution, in many ways recalling the construction practices of the Gothic era, is almost entirely restricted to this one church in Litvínov among types of sacral architecture in the 17th and 18th centuries.⁷ Much more common was the practice of bringing the buttresses inside, in the form of interior pillars, the effect known in German as the *Wandpfeilerhalle*. Mathey's successor in the services of the Waldstein family, Marcantonio Canevalle (1652–1711), did as much in his Church of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary (1698–1705) at the chateau in Duchcov, to cite only one of a great many instances.

In addition to the external support system, the structural integrity of the Litvínov church depended to



Fig. 1 Jean Baptiste Mathey, church of the Archangel Michael in Litvínov, 1685–1694, detail of the side front with buttresses and whorled ‘*contraforts*’. Photo by Rostislav Švácha

⁶ Rostislav Švácha, *Hlava pátá: 1620–1780*, in: Petr Kratochvíl (ed.), *Velké dějiny země Koruny české: tematická řada Architektura*, Praha 2009, pp. 389–521, esp. pp. 442–444.

⁷ One exception from this rule could be the buttresses on the side wall of the monastery Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Nová Paka (1709–1725). Here, however, the unknown author, possibly Christoph Dientzenhofer or Thomas Haffenecker, simply used this method for reinforcement with the *Wandpfeilerhalle* method applied in the interior.

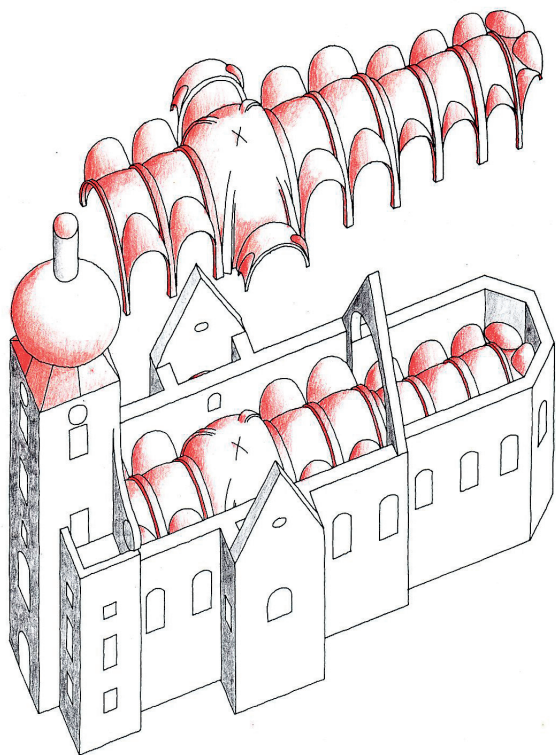


Fig. 2 Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Horní Jiřetín, axonometric diagram of the construction. Drawings by Rostislav Švácha

a large extent on the difference between the width of the facade and the width of the nave, using the stabilising effects of walls attached or supported at a right angle, and a similar difference between the width of the nave and the width of the presbytery. In these elements, the churches in Litvínov and Horní Jiřetín correspond. However, there is one more difference between them, not limited to the diverging appearances of their main facades. In the nave of the church in Horní Jiřetín, Mathey most notably planned its construction system differently: the role of the exterior buttresses is here assumed by the arms of the short transept [fig. 2].

In her diploma work on the church in Horní Jiřetín (2013) as well as the paper delivered at the conference on this building held on 28 March 2014, an excellent characterisation of the aesthetic impact of the use of this transept is provided by Pavla Priknerová. When we enter the church through the main entrance, the transept spreads its long vaulted space into the axis of width, and imprints it with a quality that Priknerová aptly terms “breath” [fig. 3].⁸ Of course, we cannot now deter-

mine whether the public at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries experienced the same effect from this spatial formation. However, in certain respects our present aesthetic experiences need not necessarily diverge too greatly from those of the people of the Baroque era.⁹

At the same time, other reasons are no less plausible as to why Mathey used the transept in this way in Horní Jiřetín. Emerging from the covering of the nave and transept is the form of a cross, in other words, the Christological symbol that has pervaded Christian architecture from the floor plans of the very first Roman basilicas. Documentation on how the symbolism of the cross in the floor plans of churches did not escape younger contemporaries of Waldstein and Mathey from the Czech order of the Cistercians, is found in their texts from the first decades of

⁸ Pavla Priknerová, *Kostel Nanebevzetí Panny Marie v Horním Jiřetíně v souvislostech valdštejské stavební činnosti na duchovském panství*, unpublished bachelor's thesis, Charles University Faculty of Arts, Praha 2013, p. 38.

⁹ I am well aware of the problems inherent in such an assertion. One difficulty facing all modern statements about space in architecture, from Hellenic times to the 19th century, lies in that earlier architectural theories never spoke about space at all, and hence we cannot verify our statements here. – See on this topic Rostislav Švácha, *The Architects Have Overslept: Space As a Construct of Art Historians, 1888–1914*, *Umění* XLIX, 2001, pp. 487–500. – The debates on this theme as presented in the objections of Jindřich Vybíral and Iva Panochová, have not, in my view, overturned this argument. See Jindřich Vybíral, *The Architects Have Overslept? On the Concept of Space in 19th Century Architectural Theory*, *Umění* LII, 2004, pp. 110–122, and Ivana Panochová, “Spacio” v manýristické architektuře: K pojetí prostoru v teorii architektury a přírodní filozofii 16. století, *Umění* LVI, 2008, pp. 282–304.

the 18th century.¹⁰ And indeed, both Archbishop Waldstein (as builder) and Mathey (as architect) used the symbol of the Holy Cross in their best-known joint work, the Church of St. Francis beside Charles Bridge in Prague's Old town (1679–1688), as recently demonstrated by Arkadiusz Wojtyła.¹¹

Along with the aesthetics and symbolism behind the motivating choice of the shape of the Jiřetín church, it is also possible to list structural and technical reasons, which the present author views as the most significant. The centripetal pressures in a barrel vault with unusually wide span are resisted in Horní Jiřetín by none other than the frame of the transept on both sides of the nave. From this standpoint, Mathey's building appears as a significant representative of the structural type of a lengthwise church with a short transept.

During the 18th century, several dozen churches of this type appeared in Bohemia. The Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary near the country residence of the Waldsteins in Loučeň (1710–1713), ascribed by Zdeněk Wirth to Franz Maxmilian Kaňka,¹² the churches in Lysá nad Labem (1719–1741) and Vejprnice (1722–1726), doubtless by the same architect, the Church of St. Wenceslas in Broumov (before 1729) by Kilian Ignaz Dientzenhofer, the Church of St. John of Nepomuk in Rejšice (1730–1735), designed by Franz Ignaz Prée also for the house of Waldstein, or the Church of the Elevation of the Holy Cross in Vtelno (1736–1738) by Octavio Broggio form only a superficial list. Whether any of the architects listed knew and studied the church in Horní Jiřetín is a question that for



Fig. 3 Jean Baptiste Mathey, church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Horní Jiřetín, 1694–1700, interiors of the nave and transept. Photo by Rostislav Švácha

¹⁰ Discussions of the cruciform plan of the church as a Christological symbol are found in the book of the Zbraslav Cistercian Marian Lichtenberg, *Rosa Mystica*, Praha 1711, or in the manuscript chronicle of the Cistercian monastery in Plasy, *Tilia Plassensis* from 1729, the author of which was most likely the erudite monk Mauritius Vogt. – See Rostislav Švácha, *Kostel ve Slapech a dílo Jana Santiniho*, *Umění XXXV*, 1987, pp. 322–348, esp. p. 337 and note 102, and Irena Bukačová, *Mauritius Vogt – Vertumnus vanitatis... delusus*, *Literární noviny IX*, no. 29, 22. 7. 1998, p. 4.

¹¹ Arkadiusz Wojtyła, 'Hoc signum erit in coelo': On the Iconographical Programme of the Church of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star by Charles Bridge in Prague, *Umění LVIII*, 2010, pp. 102–122.

¹² Zdeněk Wirth, František Maxmilián Kaňka: Náčrt k monografii barokového architekta, in: *Cestami umění: Sborník k počtě šedesátých narozenin Antonína Matějčka*, Praha 1949, pp. 161–175, esp. p. 174.

now must remain open. It would seem, to the present author, that their buildings agree with the work by Mathey primarily in the most basic indications of the type. However, it is almost certain that a lesson from the author of the Jiřetín church was learned by Marcantonio Canevalle, the architect who upon Mathey's death in 1695 began to build for the Waldsteins in Duchcov, Mnichovo Hradiště and elsewhere. The striking similarity between Horní Jiřetín and Canevalle's Church of the Visitation of the Virgin Mary in Petrovice near Rakovník (1715–1717) has already been noticed by Pavla Priknerová.¹³

The project for this pilgrimage church was prepared by Canevalle shortly before his death in 1711, and was created for the archbishop's grand-nephew (and inheritor of the Duchcov-Litvínov estate), Johann Josef Waldstein. In Petrovice, he did not use only the construction type introduced in Horní Jiřetín, but also imitated as well the characteristic form of Mathey's single-tower facade, as did Broggio at a later date in Vtelno.¹⁴ In certain respects, though Canevalle diverged from his model in Petrovice. The transept, which Mathey placed unusually in the front section of the church, was situated by Canevalle right at the centre. Moreover, he truncated all four of its corners, where the space of the transept meets that of the nave, and raised them into a massive flattened vault above the intersection, while Mathey in Horní Jiřetín only slightly hollowed out the corners, such that the vault above the intersection seems to be composed more of four hood-forms than a single flat one. Hence in Petrovice Canevalle presented one of the further developmental possibilities of this type of a lengthwise church with a short transept, one rapidly taken up by Kilian Ignaz Dientzenhofer in his first ecclesiastical work in Prague, the Church of St. John of Nepomuk in the Castle district (1720–1729).

In Moravia, the first lengthwise churches with short transepts appeared at the start of the 18th century in Brodek near Prostějov (ascribed to Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, 1707–1721), and nearby in the villages of Tištín (anonymous, 1710–1719), Rousínovec (Pietro Giulietti, 1718–1722) or Žichlínek (anonymous, before 1725). In Moravia, the use of this typology had its own unique pedigree, backed by the building enterprises of two noblemen, Andreas Dominik Kaunitz (Kounic) and Johann Adam von Liechtenstein back in the 1690s. With the aim of elevating the parish churches in their Moravian estates, both aristocrats invited for this task the Roman architect Domenico Martinelli (1650–1718), living in Vienna since 1690. As noted by Jiří Kroupa, in the case of the churches in Bánov (after 1690) or Velký Ořechov (c. 1702), built for the Kaunitz family, as well as the example of the church of Jakubovice near Šumperk (1693–1697), on a Liechtenstein estate, it is hard to say to what extent these works are the invention of the Kaunitz or Liechtenstein court builders, respectively Antonio Riva or Gabriele Gabrieli, and to what extent they were influenced by Martinelli's consultations and sketches.¹⁵ Though built by different master builders in rural areas of Moravia without much direct connection to each other, all three of these churches are linked by the same method of the planimetric articulation of the exterior envelope (one later imitated by the authors in Rousínovec and Žichlínek), and a single structural typology of lengthwise nave and short transept: as well as, evidently, the inspiration of Domenico Martinelli.

Archival documents confirm the role of the architect in the first church in the series, the Church of St. Martin in Bánov, built from 1690 to 1692 by Antonio Riva. Martinelli sent his own plans, intended as a revision of Riva's project, to Bánov in 1692.¹⁶ However, the most refined ele-

¹³ Pavla Priknerová (note 8), p. 53.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 53.

¹⁵ Jiří Kroupa, Stavitelé Martinelliho okruhu a Rousínov, in: Hellmut Lorenz – Jiří Kroupa – Radka Miltová – Stanislav Bohadlo, *Domenico Martinelli: Tvář génia barokní architektury: Genie der Barockarchitektur*, Rousínov 2006, pp. 23–33.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 26.

ment in the entire group, in the author's personal opinion, is the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Jakubovice, constructed in the period 1693–1697 by Gabriele Gabrieli [fig. 4, 5].¹⁷ In its basic structural type, this church matches the church by Jean Baptiste Mathey in Horní Jiřetín. Yet at the same time, there are several notable differences. The layout of the Jakubovice church is not, when compared to Mathey's design, quite as elongated; the transept passes roughly through its centre, the space at the intersection of the transept and the nave is already covered with flattened vaulting, and the vaulting corners are hollowed out more forcefully in Jakubovice than Mathey did in Horní Jiřetín. With this last element, the author of the Jakubovice church succeeded in more logically expressing the difference between the width of the nave and the width of the presbytery. Moreover, another difference between the two churches is the position of the tower: in Jakubovice, situated on the polygon end of the presbytery. In Bohemia, the lengthwise churches with short transepts usually have the tower to the front, before the nave. However, we can find some analogies to the Jakubovice configuration in Bohemia, for instance in the previously mentioned church by Kaňka in Vejprnice, or the churches in Mokropsy (before 1732) and in Líšnice, built – perhaps once again using Kaňka's design – by the Cistercians of Zbraslav.¹⁸

Construction began on the church in Jakubovice one year before, and in the case of the church of Bánov perhaps even for years before, Mathey's church in Horní Jiřetín. However, in Bohemia we know of still even earlier instance of the use of the same type. A simplified form, using a rectangular presbytery without any polygonal termination but with extensive vaulting above the intersection of transept and nave, appeared as early as 1690–1691 in the church in Martínkovice near Broumov by the Prague architect Martin Allio [fig. 6]. Moreover, a “complete” version of the type here under discussion was even used by Jean Baptiste Mathey himself even before the church in Horní Jiřetín: in the project for the Theatin church in Prague's Lesser Quarter (1691), later completed in 1701–1717 by Johann Blasius Santini-Aichel, and even more notably in the Church of St. Bartholomew in the town of Doksy (before 1689), where he was summoned in 1686 by the archbishop's nephew, Johann Friedrich Ernst Josef Waldstein.¹⁹ Though the arms of the transept in Doksy were altered in the 18th century, it is clear that Mathey designed the church with them originally for structural reasons. And two years earlier, in 1684, the medieval Church of St. Lawrence was finally rebuilt into a cruciform shape in the village of Církvice near Kutná Hora, on the estate of the governor of the Čáslav region, František Bernard Věžník.²⁰ In

¹⁷ Václav Richter, *Náčrt činnosti Domenica Martinelliho na Moravě, Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity* F7, 1963, pp. 49–88, esp. p. 67–68. – Hellmut Lorenz, *Domenico Martinelli und die österreichische Barockarchitektur*, Wien 1991, pp. 184–185. – Rostislav Švácha, *Hlava pátá* (note 6), p. 443. For assistance in the examination of the church in Jakubovice, I would like to thank my colleagues Jana Zapletalová and František Chupík.

¹⁸ The parish Church of All Saints in Líšnice and the filial Church of St. Wencelas in (Horní) Mokropsy were built at the bequest of the Zbraslav Cistercians from almost an identical project. A precise date can be assigned only to the second of them, and this from a sermon by Emanuel Radl, *Česko-sláva dokonalosti královské* (...), Praha 1733, delivered on 28 September 1732 in Mokropsy “*in the newly built temple of Our Lord*”. The building dates from the time when the building of the monastery in Zbraslav was being completed for Abbot Tomáš Budecius by Franz Maximilian Kaňka, started in the early 18th century from a design by Johann Santini-Aichel. For more see J. V. Nováček, *Zbraslavského kláštera stavba, Památky archeologické* XXIV, 1912, p. 490. Since the churches in both Líšnice and Mokropsy bear indications of Kaňka's style, the hypothesis of his authorship does appear defensible, though with the reservation that the same forms were also used by Kaňka's pupils Franz Ignaz Prée or Václav Špaček.

¹⁹ Pavel Zahradník, *Archivní nálezy k dílu Jana Křtitele Matheye, Umění* XLV, 1997, p. 547–554.

²⁰ Karel Kibic jr., *Vesnické kostely na panství cisterciáckého kláštera v Sedlci u Kutné Hory, Zprávy památkové péče* LXXI, 2011, p. 281–288.



Fig. 4 Domenico Martinelli, Gabriele Gabrieli, church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Jakubovice, 1693–1697. Exterior view. Photo by Jana Zapletalová



Fig. 5 Domenico Martinelli, Gabriele Gabrieli, church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Jakubovice, 1693–1697. Interior. Photo by Jana Zapletalová

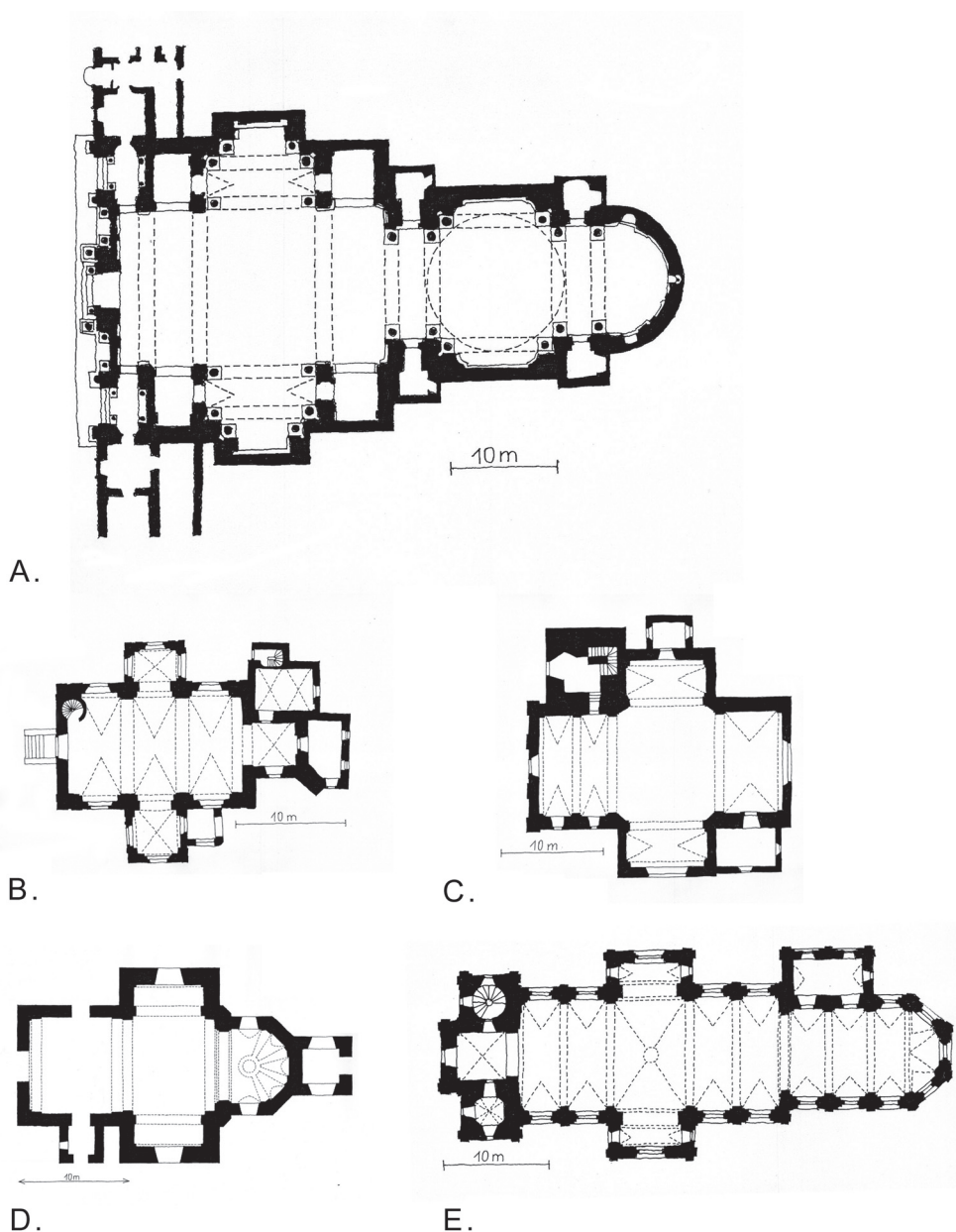


Fig. 6 Schematic ground plans of the lengthwise churches with a short transept. A – Carlo Rainaldi, S. Maria in Campitelli, Rome, 1663–1667; B – unknown architect, Jean Baptiste Mathey probably, rebuilding of the church of St. Lawrence, Církvice near Kutná Hora, 1684; C – Martin Allio, St. George and St. Martin in Martinkovice near Broumov, 1690–1691; D – Domenico Martinelli, Gabriele Gabrieli, Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Jakubovice, 1693–1697; E – Jean Baptiste Mathey, Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Horní Jiřetín, 1694–1700. Drawings by Rostislav Švácha

this case as well, there is a possibility of it being Mathey's work.²¹ And yet, the sense of "breath" evoked in Horní Jiřetín, and even earlier in Doksy, through the combination of all spatial forms, does not occur in Církvice, because the nave is separated from the arms of the transept through partitions with entrance openings at the ground floor and window-openings on the level above.

As we can note from the above, the history of the structural type of a lengthwise church with a short transept in the Czech lands should not be imagined as a single continual chain of causes and effects. Moreover, it is a chain that, at the very least, is geographically split between Bohemia and Moravia. In both regions, the architects brought their own ideas and variations to the form according to the circumstances, and the relationships of their contributions to the earlier sections of our typological series still demand investigation. However, the function of a rural church was definitely met successfully by the structural type, as is confirmed by the large number of its applications in the first half of the 18th century.

At the same time, Jean Baptiste Mathey's church in Horní Jiřetín is not the first instance of this type in the Czech lands: there are several other churches in both Bohemia and Moravia that prefigure it. And yet, within the context of the series presented here it is nonetheless a work of significance, as indicated by the historic prestige of both client and architect, as well as the evident reflection of its form in later churches, of which we have mentioned Canevalle's pilgrimage church in Petrovice near Rakovník and Broggio's church in Vtelno. And further examples of the "influence" of this work of Mathey's in 18th-century ecclesiastical architecture could well be uncovered in time.

Definitively also worthy of further research are the still unclear relationships between the Bohemian and the Moravian branches of our typological series. Did the two branches develop autonomously, or can we speak of forms of exchange between them? We have already noted the churches of the Prague architect Franz Maxmilian Kaňka, whose unusual positioning of the tower behind the presbytery recalls the Moravian churches in Bánov or Jakubovice. Serving perhaps as an instance of the reverse direction of influence could be the church in Rousínovec by Pietro Giulietti (1718–1722),²² where the unusual positioning of the transept and the form of the single-towered facade recalls the church in Horní Jiřetín.

Nonetheless, another question deserving of inquiry could also be the relationship between Domenico Martinelli and Jean Baptiste Mathey. Both architects belonged to the same orientation of moderate academicism in Roman architecture from the second half of the 17th century, in which elements of the styles of Gianlorenzo Bernini, Carlo Rainaldi, Carlo Fontana and other architects of this most vital artistic centre of the era were brought together in synthesis. Martinelli, as a pupil and even former instructor in the main institution of academicism, the Roman Accademia di San Luca, in fact knew a younger and more current version of this architectonic orientation than did Mathey. Yet this circumstance need not necessarily imply that he took no interest in Mathey's work, in the same way that it was also observed by another Viennese representative of academicism, Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach.²³ Both Mathey and Martinelli represented a similar type of architect-expert or architect-consultant, whom builders sought out precisely for their ability to provide good advice and for their academic status. And

²¹ Mathey's authorship, in my view, is indicated by the very choice of the type of church, which up till this point was unusual. Its form, including the method of wall articulation, position of windows and the whorled gable, in turn notably resembles the appearance of St. Bartholomew's in Doksy (1686–1689) as well as the Chapel of St. Catherine in Nynice (1696 or 1699–1701), ordered on the form of a Greek cross by one of Mathey's most important clients, the abbot of the Cistercian monastery in Plasy, Andreas (Ondřej) Trojer.

²² Hellmut Lorenz (note 17), p. 147. – Jiří Kroupa (note 15), p. 23, 30–31.

²³ Mojmir Horyna, Římský vliv v pražské sakrální architektuře 17. století a Jean Baptiste Mathey, in: Vilém Herold – Jaroslav Pánek (eds), *Baroko v Itálii – baroko v Čechách*, Praha 2003, pp. 533–558. – Pavel Vlček (ed.), *Encyklopedie architektů, stavitelů, zedníků a kameníků v Čechách*, Praha 2004, p. 176.

in fact the two men even had a common client in Prague, the well-known connoisseur of the arts Wenzel Adalbert of Sternberg, for whom Martinelli in 1692 prepared plans for a palace near Prague Castle and perhaps at this very time sketched a rough outline of the Sternberg family's Villa Trója, the construction of which was supervised after 1679 by Mathey.²⁴ Yet whether the two architects ever in fact met in person and consulted on anything is, unfortunately, supported by no currently available documentation.

However, the similarities between the Moravian and Czech developmental lineages of the lengthwise church with short transept could be explicable in a different way, through a certain shared pattern. The diploma work of Pavla Priknerová has actually presented a possible model for our type, noting that the motif of a quadratic nave with a short transept was used in the Roman church of S. Maria in Campitelli (1663–1667) by Carlo Rainaldi.²⁵ If we exclude various experimental designs by Francesco Borromini, whose ideas consistently diverged from academism, it is one of the very few Roman churches of the 17th century to abandon the structural type of a single nave with lower side chapels, in which the author, Rainaldi, decided to resist the centripetal pressures of the vaulting in a different way from the expected pattern from Il Gesù. A similar developmental role is held by applications of the structural type described in this paper for the sacral architecture of the Czech lands.

As to whether Rainaldi's church was known to Martinelli, we have no need whatsoever to doubt. However, thanks to Mojmír Horyna, we also know that Mathey was also aware of this exceptional work of Roman academicism. In his most significant ecclesiastical work, the Church of St. Francis in Prague (1679–1688), Mathey even used inspiration from the never-built variant of Rainaldi's project for S. Maria in Campitelli from 1662.²⁶ And, in Mathey's church in Horní Jiřetín, we can find, in fact, simplified motifs of the completed version of Rainaldi's design from 1663. In the case of the Jiřetín church, we have already noted the unusual position of the transept: we would have found it more likely to expect its position towards the centre of the plan or closer to the presbytery, as can be found, e. g. in Jakubovice. Mathey, however, used the transept in fact to indicate the centre of the nave – and employed the presbytery, in turn, to lengthen the entire resulting form. In a more complex and demanding architectonic version, in which a cupola is raised above the space of the presbytery and the right angles of the overall church interior are softened by freestanding columns, Rainaldi's church in Rome justifiably reminds us of the very same spatial configuration. The distance between Rainaldi's architectonic splendour and Mathey's simplicity, in turn, can be ascribed to all of the societal, extra-architectural differences between the demands of cosmopolitan Rome in the 17th century and the needs of a remote rural town in North Bohemia.

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²⁴ Hellmut Lorenz (note 17), p. 94–103, 302.

²⁵ Pavla Priknerová (note 8), p. 39. – Compare Rostislav Švácha, Hlava pátá (note 6), p. 442–444. Rainaldi's church has been published, e. g., by Rudolf Wittkower, *Art and Architecture in Italy, 1600–1750*, Harmondsworth 1986, p. 280–282.

²⁶ Mojmír Horyna – Jiří T. Kotalík – Petr Macek – Martin Pavala – Josef Štulc, *Toskánský palác v Praze: Historie a rekonstrukce stavby*, Praha 1999, p. 76–77.

The Pilgrimage Site in Horní Jiřetín: Unknown Plans for a Vanished Complex

Abstract | A little known part of the history of the Horní Jiřetín church was the fate of the local pilgrimage site. There is evidence of at least its partial existence in a painting by Carl Robert Croll from 1843 and the land register map from a year later. However, convincing pictorial evidence was found recently on the site in the form of two plans, preserved in the collections of the National Heritage Institute at the castle in Mnichovo Hradiště (inv. no. MH 2390, MH 2391). The floor plan and design of the façade show the Horní Jiřetín church surrounded by a distinctly segmented rectangular cloister with seven chapels, whose west wing was connected with the ground floor of the rectory. Thanks to the data from the Horní Jiřetín parish chronicle, the fate of the entire complex could be partially clarified. Construction of the cloister with the chapels and the rectory was planned from 1730, at which time Count Johann Josef of Waldstein provided funds. However, these funds were not sufficient, and the actual construction did not begin until after 1750. The rectory was built during the first stage, while work on the cloister continued in several stages essentially until the end of the eighteenth century and was never entirely completed. Thus, at the end of the 1830s, the site was to be torn down. The chronicle mentions that the construction began according to the plans filed in the archives. However, it is not clear whether it actually relates to the drawings found in Mnichovo Hradiště. The form and design of these plans indicate more that they are only copies of the original, older design made in relation to a later date of construction. Hence, the author of the plans and the original design still remains unclear. The striking similarity of the composition and form of the designed complex to the site in Mariánské Radčice demonstrates that the original design for Horní Jiřetín was in some way connected to the Litoměřice builder Giulio Broggio.

Keywords | Church architecture – pilgrimage site – Horní Jiřetín

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Art-history studies concerning the church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Horní Jiřetín often neglect to mention that it is not a typical parish building. The Jiřetín church is actually part of an important (and still visited) pilgrimage site with medieval origins – the first reference to the earlier church dates back to the late 13th century. On the other hand, one would in all probability expect the usual architectural context – a cloister (a vaulted gallery), chapels, terraces – inside a pilgrimage site from the late 17th century, all of which is missing in Horní Jiřetín. Additionally, there is no certainty as to what exactly (if anything at all) was built around the church. Even known photographs from the turn of the 20th century do not provide any hint as to whether the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Horní Jiřetín is anything more, than a well constructed, but regular municipal sanctuary.

Evidence does, however, exist that the surroundings of the church once looked greatly different. We have to go back for this to the 19th century. The Imperial Compulsory Imprints of the

Regular Land Register of Horní Jiřetín were carried out in 1842. The map demonstrates that the still existing church had been surrounded by three small, separately standing structures, placed within the corners of the rectangular-shaped plot around the church. Two of these structures were located behind the choir and the third to the north of the main façade. There is no doubt that these structures were chapels. It is in fact confirmed by a contemporary painting from the north Bohemian German painter Carl Robert Croll (1800–1863) made in 1843.¹ The canvas reveals the countryside under the Krušné mountains – with a glimpse of the distant Jezeří (Eisenberg) château – viewed from a meadow to the east of the church in Horní Jiřetín. The church is quite distant and partially obscured by trees, thereby preventing any elaborate details from being examined. Nevertheless, there are clearly visible two slender chapels with bell-shaped roofs and distinct roof lanterns in a location which exactly corresponds with the land register map.

We can therefore be certain that at least three pilgrimage chapels had actually existed in Horní Jiřetín. This is not all, however. We have also strong evidence that a cloister had been (at least partially) built as well – and, surprisingly, this evidence takes the form of an actual existing structure. Part of the gallery was in fact preserved on the ground floor of the current presbytery or parish house. Five large, cross-vaulted bays of the former cloister constitute the entire longitudinal section of the presbytery facing the church. The cloister is actually visible even on the exterior, in the form of a blind arcade on the south-west façade of the presbytery. It is furthermore also visible even on the main façade as slightly darker fields of plaster between the torsos of the pilasters. Even this, however, is still not ultimate proof that the pilgrimage site in Horní Jiřetín had actually been completely finished. The interior of the former gallery is left in an unplastered and, in all probability, unfinished state which actually suggests the opposite possibility.

Our knowledge of the pilgrimage complex in Horní Jiřetín has been therefore – despite all this evidence – quite fragmentary, with many questions left unanswered. Up to the current day, we have not known, what the intended project looked like, who designed it and when and what exactly had actually been built. Fortunately, it is now possible to partially complete the mosaic of missing information. This is due to the fact that we have the use of a long time accessible but thus far unpublished information from the parish chronicle of Horní Jiřetín. We can additionally also study a recently found and as yet unknown document which actually depicts the entire original pilgrimage site.

Two extremely interesting and up to now unidentified architectural drawings are deposited under the inventory numbers MH 2390 and MH 2391 in the collections of the National Heritage Institute. They are located in the Mnichovo Hradiště château which includes “gatherings” from the former Duchcov dominion.² The drawings are medium sized roughly 50 × 60 cm), made in ink on relatively thin paper, shadowed and slightly coloured (mainly roofs and sections). There are no signatures, captions or notes. Only the drawing with the elevation has a scale, but without units of length. The overall quality of the drawings is somewhat rough and slightly unskilled.

The floor plan of a church with one central tower, a long nave, supplemented by the transept (or two large chapels) in the middle, and with a markedly long polygonal choir (the plan of the church is distinguished by yellow colouring) can be seen on drawing Nr. MH 2391. A terrace with a short stairway is located in front of the main façade is located a terrace with short stairway.

¹ This currently belongs to the Lobkowicz Collection and is displayed as part of the permanent exhibiton at the Lobkowicz Palace at the Prague Castle. – For information about Croll see Miloslav Vlk, *Carl Croll*, Ústí nad Labem 1989.

² Collections of the National Heritage Institute, Regional Monument care in Prague, collections of the Mnichovo Hradiště château, MH 2390 and MH 2391. The drawings are now inaccessible due to their poor condition and we have only been allowed to study them from (fine) digital copies. This is why our description of their technical aspects remains somewhat sketchy.

Most importantly, the church is surrounded by a rectangular cloister with seven chapels which is connected to the lateral sides of the main façade of the church. The chapels are approximately square-shaped in the top view and can be differentiated into two types. The four smaller chapels are almost separate structures connected with the corners of the choir through one of their sides. The three larger chapels are located directly in the middle of the respective cloister aisles. Particularly interesting is the integration of the left cloister aisle into the ground floor of the presbytery or parish house.

The second drawing, Nr. MH 2390, depicts the exactly same situation in the form of a quite bizarre, quasi-perspective but illustrative elevations of certain façades. The plan shows the entire complex standing on the edge of a slope strengthened by wall. The architectural concept of the site is – with the exception of the church – extremely uncomplicated and conservative. The cloister is designed as a simple set of arcades, articulated by Tuscan pilasters. Its outer walls are entirely minimalistic, articulated by only lesene frameworks. The corner chapels are crowned with pyramid-like roofs with roof lanterns. The windows and doors jambs are traditional, only decorated with ears. More prominent features include the gables of the inner chapels which are crowned with pines and pommels, and the central bay of the presbytery with an elaborate external dormer.

We are of the opinion that all these features: the floor plan and elevation of the church (although slightly altered in the drawing), depicted terrain situation and the relation between the church and presbytery allow us to draw only one conclusion – the drawings from Mnichovo Hradiště depict the church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Horní Jiřetín and its adjoining pilgrimage complex. The plans are therefore the most conclusive and complete evidence concerning this architectural compound thus far. We do not, however, know as yet what exactly this evidence proves. Is it a realized project, or merely a rejected variant, or even the documentation of already built structures? How old are the drawings and who was their author?

The issue with our knowledge of the history of the Horní Jiřetín pilgrimage compound lies in the fact that the site has always been primarily studied in connection with Jean Baptiste Mathey and very little attention has been paid to the later periods,³ although number of records about the history of the complex in the 18th century have survived up to the present. Extraordinarily valuable information is contained particularly in the parish chronicle of Horní Jiřetín which was written between 1738 and 1832 and which is now deposited in the district archive in Most.⁴ In this chronicle, there is a summary of the history of the church back to the end of the 17th century written out on the basis of older records and parish bills. The compact, although at times ambiguous part concerning the building of the presbytery, choir and chapels is presented in chapter VIII of the chronicle, on pages 85 and 86.

According to the chronicle, the idea behind building the cloister was conceived in early 1730 by Count Johann Josef Waldstein. Prior to his death a year later he left 3000 guldens in his will for the purpose of building the complex. The sum was deposited in the Lobkowitz bureau in

³ The only piece of information which could be linked with the construction of the cloister thus far was in a short passage in a monograph about Jean Baptiste Mathey by Morper. – Morper states that in 1701 “*Kapellen und Altane*” had finished. However, this terminology is quite unusual. We have to assume that this information is related to another part of the compound. The “*altane*” might have been for example only temporary structures. See Johann Joseph Morper, *Der prager Architekt Jean Baptiste Mathey*, München 1927, pp. 92–93.

⁴ Memorabilienbuch zu Pfarrei Obergeorghental 1737–1832, SOKA Most, FÚ Horní Jiřetín, ev. jedn. 28, inv. no. 28. We would like to thank Vít Honys for drawing our attention to this essential historical source.

Nové Sedlo nad Bílinou. It would seem, however, that the sum was not high enough. The actual building was not begun until twenty years later.⁵

This was not until 1750 when the previous capital has been increased by an additional 2800 guldens (later stated 2822). This was in all probability the impulse for the construction to begin. The consistory had granted the permission for building the cloister on 27th March 1750 and the construction of the galleries began the following year. Of particular significance is the passage which states that the complex was built after a design preserved in the archive (*“nach dem in Archiv befindlichen Plane...”*), which is even shortly described. The complex should be 116 fathoms long and 95 fathoms wide with four chapels around the church.⁶ These figures match the dimensions of the site given by scale on the elevation plan, just as the number of chapels. By *“Kapellen”* are undoubtedly meant only corner chapels which appear to be almost individual structures attached to the cloister.⁷

The chronicle also briefly captured the progress of the construction which – despite a promising start – did not proceed all that easily. The building was carried out by the Master Mason Griesl from Horní Litvínov and the account was administered by the teacher Mayer. Construction continued for the next five years and the chronicle recorded specific annual expenses. They indicate that the work had gradually slowed down and after the seasons 1756–1759, when the building had been progressing extremely slowly, was halted completely.⁸ After less than a decade more than 4320 guldens were spent but the structure had not been completed yet. Two chapels and nine bays of the cloister were missing at the time, which corresponds with the entire aisle of the cloister on the plans. It is highly probable that the completion of presbytery has been preferred to building the gallery (the structure was most likely built as far back as 1751),⁹ after which money began to run out. It is likely that the builders were not able to obtain the aforementioned additional deposit of 2822 guldens.

The collection of additional resources took another six years. Money was primarily acquired from the parish funds and also from separate donations (one Karl Heinrich from Horní Litvínov even contributed 1100 guldens). And thus in 1765 another phase of construction, organized by the parish priest Strobel, could begin. That same year the building material was gathered and in 1766 the foundations were built, the cellar (?) dug out and the walls erected.¹⁰ Construction

⁵ The delay can be undoubtedly related to the death of Count Johann Josef and the ascension of his successor Franz Josef Georg who in all probability was not as competent with economics. He had additionally belonged to another part of the family tree and therefore did not consider the building projects of the Duchcov dominion a priority. The economic situation on the Waldstein dominions was recently analyzed by Jiří Hrbek, *Barokní Valdštejnové v Čechách 1640–1740*, Praha 2013, esp. p. 160f.

⁶ *“...wornach selber 116 Klfr lang 95 Klfr breit mit 4 Kapellen um die Kirche angelegt werden sollte.”* Unfortunately, it is not clear whether these plans meant to be held in the archive in the time of writing the chronicle or at the time when the construction had begun. The chronicle does not mention the designing of the project or the related costs. We can therefore assume that the building in 1750 had actually followed certain older plans.

⁷ It is interesting that the approval from the consistory applies for seven chapels. This is evidence about the difference between the architectural structure and the function of the cloister. There were supposed to be seven chapels with altars but only four of them as distinguishable structures. Thanks again go out to Vít Honys for the information obtained from the parish accounts.

⁸ In the year 1751 it was 793 guldens and 19 crowns (kr.), a year later 896 guldens and 30 kr., the following year 984 guldens and 10 kr. The sums consequently dropped to 674 guldens 50 kr. in 1754 and 555 guldens 45 kr. in 1755. In the period between 1756–1759 only 416 guldens and 32 kr. were spent.

⁹ According to the chronicle, the previous presbytery or parish house stood above the presbytery garden, accompanied by farming buildings. The chronicle also states that this presbytery was *“extremely old”*.

¹⁰ *“1766 wurde der Grund gelegt, Keller verfertigt, die Mauern aufgeführt” (...)*

also continued the following year.¹¹ Financial problems occurred again, but they were this time quickly averted. The priest Strobel received a payment of a deposited 2822 guldens in 1768. This is why the rough construction could be completed that same year,¹² after spending a total additional sum of 6590 zl.

It would seem, however, that at this point the resources of Horní Jiřetín were depleted. The conclusion of the chapter in the chronicle is somewhat unclear. It is almost certain, however, that the pilgrimage compound was never fully completed. Between 1770–1771 additional building material was collected (2300 bricks, 7 wagons of lime, 51 wagons of grit), with contributions from neighbouring villages and manorial lords. The chronicle also states, however, that substantial savings were necessary and the builders had to be economical with plastering and floor aligning. Additionally, the ambits were left without vaults until 1802, when a local teacher donated 205 guldens. The chapter ends with the statement that *“the upper founding”* (*“obige Stiftung”* – meant either the cloister itself or in all probability the last aisle of the ambit or upper floor of the presbytery) has never served its purpose (*“nicht ihrem Zwecke gemäß verwendete”*). This is probably the reason why the complex vanished so quickly. According to the parish records, the cloister with chapels had to be demolished as early as 1838, only sixty years after the rough building had been finished. The land register map and Croll’s painting from 1843 therefore depict the compound just at the moment of its ruin.

For our purposes, the most important passage in the chronicle is the one statement that the building was based on the plans from the archive. Our question is obvious, are they the drawings from Mnichovo Hradiště? If it the passage means that they were archived at the time when the chronicle was written, then in all probability the answer is yes. We nevertheless do not believe that our plans could actually be the original architectural design, which served as a basis for the actual construction in 1750. In fact there is too little information and too many errors in the drawings to actually serve this purpose. In addition the fact that the plans are carried out quite roughly and in a fashion typical for the late 18th and early 19th century (see the way of colouring and the light or fragile paper), there are many specific details which confirm this – particularly convincing is the frame on the elevation drawing which cuts off the upper part of the cloister. Such a feature has no sense in the actual construction project. The lack of any notes, jottings, signatures (including the approval autograph) and other common elements for an architectural project documentation is also surprising.

We do not think these oddities can be taken as evidence that our plans do not correspond to the architectural design of the compound. We in fact assume that the drawings from Mnichovo Hradiště do actually depict the intended appearance of the cloister.¹³ We strongly believe that the plans are not working drawings of the original design but “merely” much earlier copies which were in all probability drawn up in accordance with the beginning of the construction in 1750–1751. We have to take into consideration that the first original design was probably much older. Not only does the initial donation from Count Waldstein have to probably be linked to a certain specified concept, but the chronicle also does not mention any design work which, if it had been done, would have cost a considerable amount of money. If this is true, it will be consistent that the original drawing was actually copied, perhaps even multiple times. In fact, this would also be the case if the original project was actually designed in 1750. The consistory, for example, had always demanded drawings of the projects which had requested approval. The

¹¹ “(...) diese Arbeiten 1767 eifrig fortgesetzt.”

¹² “(...) der Bau dem Wesentlichen nach zu Stande gebracht werden konnte.”

¹³ A comparison of the presbytery with the drawings is quite conclusive. The fragments of pillars, pilasters and the cornice, preserved in the current presbytery, match perfectly the architectural structure depicted in the drawings.

schematic but illustrative representation of the entire architectural idea for the plans, might have been in fact quite adequate for this kind of purpose. Regardless, the possibility that the plans are copies of the original drawings (or even copies of copies) could somehow explain the confusing combination of an archaic architectural design and the not particularly old age of the plans complemented with obvious factual discrepancies in the depiction of the preserved buildings.

We should point out, however, that we have entered a quite unexplored area. We still know very little about how Baroque architectural drawing and related documentation was processed in Bohemia, particularly in the cases where architects were changed and the construction took a long amount of time.¹⁴ We therefore have limited knowledge about the amount, forms and purposes of the architectural drawings made in particular stages of designing and construction. The situation is far more complicated because a number of drawings might have been made without a direct connection to the actual building process.¹⁵ Although the connection of our plans to the dealings with the consistory seems to be the most probable possibility, it is important to keep this context in mind.

Regardless, however, of the unclear origins and purpose of our plans, it can be assumed that they provide convincing information about the overall architectural design of the cloister. If we also admit that the original design was created as late as 1730,¹⁶ we will be able to outline certain art history and architectural contexts of the project.

The *Marianischer Atlas* was published in Prague, with a dedication to Count Johann Josef Waldstein, in 1717. It was extremely popular Latin summary of the European Marian pilgrimage sites, written by the Bavarian Jesuit priest Wilhelm Gumpfenberger. The text was translated into German by a Cistercian monk Augustin Sartorius from Osek who also added several articles about pilgrimage sites in Bohemia. In these supplements, which were translated and thoroughly analyzed by Jan Kvapil,¹⁷ Sartorius emphasized the region of the north Bohemian (coal) basin, the sphere of activity of his mother house in Osek. Horní Jiřetín specifically received one of the most elaborate entries. Sartorius – with typical Baroque exaggeration – even named this region “*the Marian land*” and fourteen local pilgrimage sites “*strongholds of the Catholic faith*”, which were supposed to guard the borders with Protestant Saxony.¹⁸ Sartorius considered the heart of

¹⁴ Several studies were published concerning this topic but they are mostly focused on the stylistic point of view – see especially Rostislav Švácha, Barokní architektonická kresba a K. I. Dientzenhofer, *Umění XXXIX*, 1991, pp. 72–78 (includes an extensive bibliography on the topic). Our theme, Baroque architectural drawing in the actual process of building, has thus been eruditely and with a number of specific examples and sources treated by Petr Macek – see Petr Macek, Barokní stavitelství, in: *Barokní Praha – barokní Čechie 1620–1740: Sborník příspěvků z vědecké konference o fenoménu baroka v Čechách, Praha, Anežský klášter a Clam-Gallasův palác, 24.–27. září 2001*, Praha 2004, pp. 245–269 (mostly on pp. 248–251). An article by Milan Pavlík published in the same anthology has a very similar theme. – Pavlík even directly mentions the common practice of copying the plans for commemorative purposes. Unfortunately, this study lacks any notes or references to concrete sources. Milan Pavlík, Proces vzniku barokního architektonického díla z přelomu 17. a 18. století. Návrh, prováděcí výkresy, realizace, autorství, *ibid.*, pp. 261–272 (mainly pp. 261–263).

¹⁵ We can mention an extremely faithful memorial copy of the original plans of the town hall in Cheb, made in 1761, is an interesting but thus far rare example. – See SOA Litoměřice, tzv. Valdštejská sbírka, sign. BIF 102/5.

¹⁶ There is another hint for this possibility – the difference between the pyramid-like chapel roofs on the drawing and the bell-shaped roofs on Croll's painting suggesting some changes in the later stages of building.

¹⁷ Jan Kvapil, Severočeská pánev – Mariánská země? Translation of the work *Atlas Marianus* by Wilhelm Gumpfenberger into German by the Osek Cistercian Augustin Sartorius, in: *Náboženské dějiny severních Čech: Sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní konference v Ústí n. L. ve dnech 9.–11. září 1997*, Ústí nad Labem 1999, pp. 20–24. – See also Jan Kvapil, Augustinus Sartorius: *Mariánský Atlas*, Praha 1717 (conception of Baroque patriotism created by the Osek Cistercian), in: *Ústecký sborník historický*, Ústí nad Labem (Muzeum města Ústí nad Labem – Archiv města Ústí nad Labem) 2000, pp. 145–166.

¹⁸ Jan Kvapil, Severočeská pánev... (see note above), pp. 22–23.

this land to be the pilgrimage site in Mariánské Radčice with the church of the Virgin Mary of the Seven Sorrows, which had been administered by the Osek monastery. It is hardly a coincidence that this very complex has strikingly close and important links to the compound in Horní Jiřetín.

The close connection between these two sites is very well known among scholars. The church in Mariánské Radčice was – just like the church in Horní Jiřetín – designed by Jean Baptiste Mathey and moreover follows the same architectural concept of a long nave with a distinctive transept and a one-tower façade. After Mathey's death, however, the building was taken over by its builder Giulio Broggio from Litoměřice, who ambitiously changed the concept of the church (which has an oval-shaped chapel instead of a recessed long choir) and built the cloister in all probability after his own design.¹⁹ The construction began only a year after Mathey's death and the completed buildings bear a strong resemblance to another of Broggio's works which will be mentioned. Furthermore, Broggio's original drawings of the complex have been preserved and do – excluding minor details executed by his son Octavio – match very closely with the existing buildings.²⁰

We have thus far only been aware of the similarity of both churches. If we compare, however, Mariánské Radčice with our drawings of the site in Horní Jiřetín, a substantial resemblance between both compounds can immediately be seen.

Firstly, the floor plans of both sites are – with the exception of the alternate choir in Mariánské Radčice – strictly speaking identical: the placing of the church into the cloister, the position of the corner chapels, the arrangement of the vaulted gallery and the inner chapels, all these features lack essential differences. Additionally the spatial form of the chapels, the plain articulation of the cloister exterior with lesene frameworks, and even particular details such as the niches inserted into the bevelled corners of the outer chapels or the decorated gables of the inner ones, all demonstrate that these two cloisters are also extremely close in terms of elevation. Moreover, most of these architectural forms are very typical specifically for Giulio Broggio with – the rectangular chapel, articulated by only lesenes and corner niches and crowned with the low pyramid-like roof with a distinct lantern, ranking among his favourite themes. He used it not only in another pilgrimage cloister and a significant part of “*the Marian land*” in Bohosudov,²¹ but multiple times even in the form of an individual structure (see for example the chapel of St. John the Baptist in Litoměřice). In short, there is no doubt that the pilgrimage sites in Horní Jiřetín and Mariánské Radčice are connected by an identical architectural concept which demonstrates the evident signs of the style of the particular author.

Unfortunately a certain problem lies in the fact that Giulio Broggio was already dead in 1701. We cannot absolutely exclude the possibility that the afore-mentioned “*plans from the archive*” were really made by Broggio himself, although it is appropriate to take other options into account. We actually do not know if the cloister was meant to be built alongside the church (and therefore, if the basic concept could have been designed by Mathey after all) or if it was a much later idea of Count Waldstein. The degree of similarity between the two sites is in fact quite curious. The arrangement of the seven chapels in Mariánské Radčice clearly follows the iconography of the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary. It is not a matter of course that the same layout without the slightest change was used on a pilgrimage site with a different dedication which was additionally

¹⁹ For more about the activity of both architects in Mariánské Radčice and about the change to the project, see Otakar Votoček, *Barokní Mariánské Radčice a jejich stavitelé*, *Umění XXX*, 1982, pp. 150–72. – About the compound: Petr Macek (ed.), *Oktavián Broggio 1670–1742: sborník k výstavě*, Litoměřice 1992, pp. 91–62.

²⁰ The plans are housed in SOA Litoměřice, ŘC Osek, inv. č. 2108, kart. 343. They were presented in Petr Macek (see note 17), p. 92.

²¹ Apart from the compound itself, see specifically the collection of plans deposited in SOA Litoměřice, ŘJ Bohosudov – *ibid.*, pp. 54–55.

less than ten kilometres away. It is true that the “stronghold” type of pilgrimage compound with accented corner chapels (which was most famously and influentially introduced in Svatá Hora u Příbrami in the Czech Lands) had been very popular in the second half of the 18th century. In contrast, however, this type had been formed into many variants.²² In addition, Giulio Broggio was such a truly creative architect that he would have tried to distinguish both sites at least slightly (see the oval shape of the cloister in Bohosudov, designed in collaboration with Octavio Broggio).

We therefore believe that we should take into account less gifted followers of the Broggios rather than Broggio himself. We can name for example Jakub Schwarz, the builder and Octavio Broggio’s known epigone, who is documented in Litvínov as of the 1720s,²³ or Petr Antonín Versa, who had almost the same architectural profile.²⁴ A number of their known drawings are actually quite similar in the style with the plans from Mnichovo Hradiště. Most importantly, the imitator nature of these builders corresponds with the nature of our plans, made almost slavishly after the well known example.

The importance of the church in Horní Jiřetín has been recently revised. An analysis and interpretation of this significant architectural monument cannot, however, be carried out without knowing its pilgrimage function and position within the “north Bohemian Marian land.” Although further study is necessary,²⁵ we can state that the newly discovered plans of the compound in Horní Jiřetín help us understand these connections. The drawings, made in all probability around 1750 by a builder from the circle of Giulio and Octavio Broggio, prove that the building of the pilgrimage cloister was realized long after the death of Mathey and probably without a direct connection to his original concept. They nevertheless confirm the significance of the Jiřetín pilgrimage site, the mutual links between the pilgrimage sites in the land under the Krušné mountains and also the long lasting influence of Broggio’s architecture in the north-west Bohemia.

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²² The architectural typology of the pilgrimage compounds have been most recently analyzed by Jan Royt, *Obraz a kult v Čechách 17. a 18. století*, Praha 2012 (2nd edition), pp. 135–158.

²³ See Věra Naňková, *Nová zjištění k baroknímu umění v Čechách, Umění XIX*, 1971, pp. 89 and 93. – Petr Macek *Oktavián Broggio* (see note 17), p. 43, etc.

²⁴ Věra Naňková, Petr a Petr Antonín Versové, *Kulturní měsíčník Roudnice XIII*, 1977, pp. 165–165. – Petr Macek, *Oktavián Broggio...* (see note 17), p. 43, etc.

²⁵ Essential records might still be hidden in the parish records of Horní Jiřetín, held in SOkA Most.

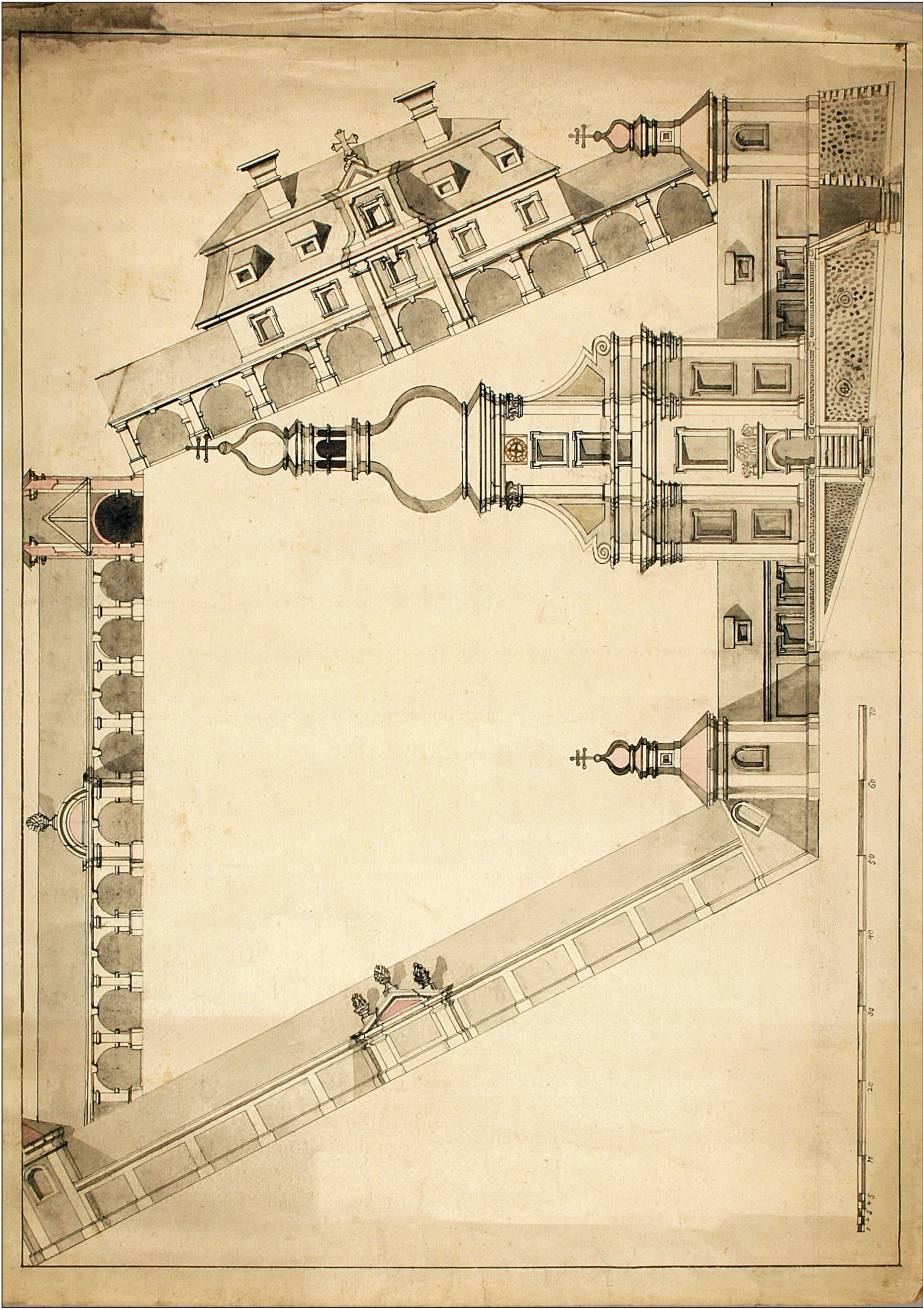


Fig. 1 Unknown follower of Giulio Broggio, overall floor plan for the pilgrimage site with the church of St. Virgin Mary of the Assumption in Horní Jiřetín, 2nd half of the 18th century, ink drawing, 50 × 60 cm (estimated), Collections of the National Heritage Institute, Regional Monument care in Prague, collections of the Mnichovo Hradiště château

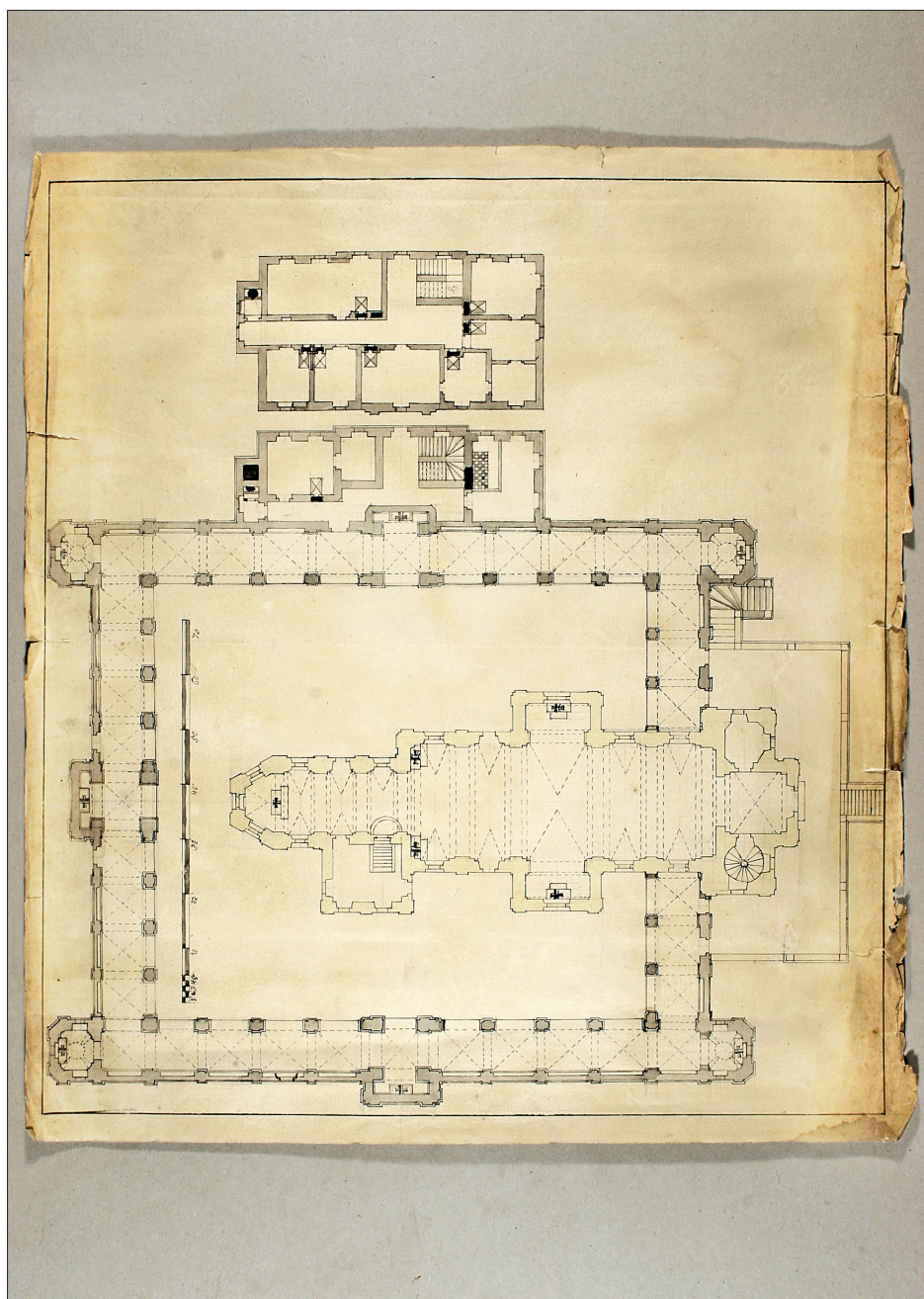


Fig. 2 Unknown follower of Giulio Broggio, elevation of the pilgrimage site with the church of St. Virgin Mary of the Assumption in Horní Jiřetín, 2nd half of the 18th century, ink drawing, 50 x 60 cm (estimated), Collections of the National Heritage Institute, Regional Monument care in Prague, collections of the Mnichovo Hradiště château



Fig. 3 Carl Robert Croll, The church in Horní Jiřetín, 1843, oil on canvas,
The Lobkowicz collection, Lobkowicz palace in Prague



Fig. 4 Horní Jiřetín, presbytery, after 1751, and the church.
Photo by Daniela Vokounová

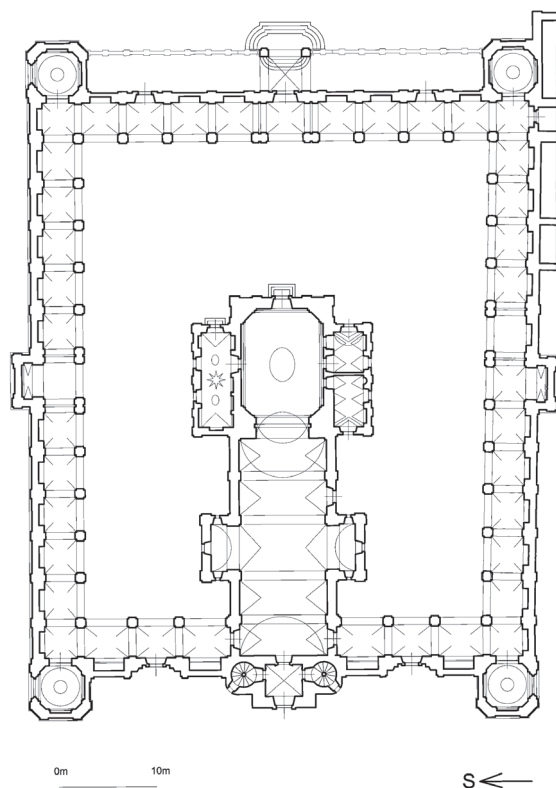


Fig. 5 Jean Baptiste Mathey, Giulio Broggio, Octavio Broggio, Mariánské Radčice, pilgrimage site with the church of the Virgin Mary of the Seven Sorrows, 1692–1703, current floor plan.

Drawing: Lucie Beránková



Fig. 6 Jean Baptiste Mathey, Giulio Broggio, Octavio Broggio, Mariánské Radčice, pilgrimage site with the church of the Virgin Mary of the Seven Sorrows, exterior of the cloister, after 1696. Photo by Pavla Priknerová

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Geophysical Survey of the Horní Jiřetín Church

Abstract | The records on the Horní Jiřetín church indicate that the church existed no later than by 1263. However, no traces of the medieval precursor to the current structure were preserved. Non-destructive archaeological testing, though, could contribute more information about the history of the church. In addition to other spaces originating in the early modern era (cellar vaults, crypts), the current Baroque church may also conceal older substructures under its stones. Hence, in the spring of 2014, we proceeded with a geophysical survey of the church's interior. The survey took place on an area of 540 square metres, and 41 mutually perpendicular profiles were measured with an overall length of 411.6 metres. The ground penetrating radar method (GPR) was used with an integrated radar control unit RAMAC X3M having a range of three to four metres. For more complex sections, all indications of non-homogeneities processed in the form of radargrams in a ratio of 1:100 were assessed using the software REFLEX W. A number of flat and linear non-homogeneities were segmented on the surface by interpreting the geophysical data in the form of a correlated schematic, which can be ascribed to the manifestation of foundation walls from the older medieval structure. In the eastern to mid-section of the interior of the contemporary church, masonry relicts with a width of about one metre can be detected, most likely from the smaller medieval structure with a main axis length of around 24 to 27 metres (dimensions of the nave 15×9 metres, rectangular presbytery 10 to 12×6 metres). The peripheral masonry is parallel, though not identical, to existing church. It is located inside approximately 1 to 2 metres from the walls of the new structure. In addition, other non-homogeneities have appeared in the measurement results. We do not even rule out the existence of several graves and a larger space (approx. 4 m×3 m), perhaps a crypt, in the space under the tower. The selected archaeological survey can establish other non-homogeneity characteristics.

Keywords | Archaeologies – geophysics – non-destructive research

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The main objective of the geophysical survey was to provide detailed information about any remnants of the foundation walls of the former medieval church or other structural elements of archaeological significance.

The town of Horní Jiřetín was first mentioned during the second half of the thirteenth century, and the church in 1263. The current Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary was constructed from 1694 to 1700. The church was commissioned by the Prague Archbishop, Johann Friedrich of Waldstein, and the construction was entrusted to a Roman architect of French origin, Jean Baptiste Mathey, who was a key figure of Czech sacral architecture during the last quarter of the seventeenth century.

The church has a floor plan in the shape of a cross, with a narrower oblong, polygonal presbytery at one end and a rectangular sacristy on the north side. There is a rectangular foyer on

the south side of the nave. A square-shaped chapel is located in the southwest corner. The façade has a triple axis with a square tower.¹

During our geophysical survey,² a total of 41 mutually perpendicular profiles with an overall length of 411.6 metres were measured in the surveyed space of the monument with an area of approximately 540 square metres [fig. 2].

The individual geophysical profiles were laid out so that they were aligned approximately perpendicular to the expected development of the surveyed structures. The profiles were uniformly aligned so that those running parallel with the axis of the structure were aligned from the main entrance to the altar, i. e. WSW – ENE, and profiles perpendicular to it NNW – SSE [fig. 2].

The ground penetrating radar method (GPR) was used to initially resolve the particular issue.

The integrated radar control unit RAMAC X3M (manufactured by Malå Geoscience, Sweden) was used with antennae having a frequency of 250 MHz. The depth reached in the specific environment is around three to four metres. The antennae are continuously shifted along the profiles using a step interval of 0.05 m.

The measurements with the GPR in the individual profiles result in radargrams [fig. 1] indicating the time of arrival of the individual waves from the time of emitting the electromagnetic impulse. Successful use of the method is based on the existence of different permittivity (ϵ_r) and measured resistance (ρ_z) of the specific layers, or near-surface non-homogeneities.

If we know the ϵ_r , then we can determine from the arrival time of the reflected electromagnetic waves the depth of the reflective interfaces. Since there is no supplementary data on the depths and lithological segmentation of the anthropogenic layer available for processing, or on additional stratification (Quaternary, Tertiary), we opted for the interpretation $v(\text{velocity})_r = 0.10$ m/nanosecond. This means that the assumed depth of the clay-sand interface fluctuates within the time $t = 80$ to 100 nanoseconds in an interval of $h = 4$ m to 5 m.

The local non-homogeneities (chambers – crypts, graves, masonry relics, destroyed stone elements, ventilation corridors, etc.) are generally displayed by multiple reverberations of electromagnetic waves in the shape of curves one right after another similar to one-sided hyperboles of various widths and tendencies. The depths of the peaks of the segmented anomalies oscillate during the measurement in an interval of 0.5 m to 1.8 m, width 0.8 m to 3.0 m.

The subsequent processing of the measured data from the interior and exterior of the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Horní Jiřetín was carried out in sections indicating the non-homogeneities with the GPR method. We used the software REFLEX W (Sandmeier, Germany), and the processed data was printed in the form of radargrams devised in a ratio of $1:100$.

In Figure 1, there are radargrams displayed that are decisive for identifying the spaces under the tower. Despite a number of adverse effects on the results of the prospection, including, for example, a. larger immovable objects on the floor of the structure (altar plinths, the morphological level, pews, etc.) and b. heterogeneity or the variable structure of the anthropogenic layer, it

¹ Emanuel Poche et al., *Umělecké památky Čech: Svazek první, A/J*, Prague 1977, p. 409. – For more details, see Pavla Priknerová, *Kostel Nanebevzetí Panny Marie v Horním Jiřetíně v souvislostech valdštejnské stavební činnosti na duchovském panství*, unpublished bachelor's thesis, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague 2013. Additional literature on the church may be found here.

² The methodology for the geophysical survey is described in the following works: Vladimír Hašek, *Archeogeofyzikální prospekce na akci Jemnice, kostel sv. Víta*, Geofond, Praha 1993. – Vladimír Hašek, *Methodology of Geophysical Research in Archaeology*, Archaeopress, Oxford 1999. – Vladimír Hašek-Josef Unger, Geophysical and Archaeological Research of Medieval Architecture of the Thirteenth to Fifteenth Centuries in Moravia, *Archaeological Prospection V*, Bradford 1997, pp. 1–28. – Vladimír Hašek-Josef Unger, Geophysikalische Prospektion und archäologische Untersuchung von mittelalterlichen Befestigten Siedlungen Mährens, *Przegląd Archeologiczny XXXIX*, Wrocław 2001, pp. 103–126. – See also Tadeáš Czudek, *Geomorfologické členění ČR*, Praha 1972.

generally follows from the data that, after eliminating these adverse effects, several significant anomalous elements may be detected from the processed radargrams that localise the position of various near-surface structures. These indications are caused by changes in the lithological nature of the anthropogenic layer (concretions, increased accumulation of stone material, etc.).

A number of surface and linear non-homogeneities were detected on the surveyed area of the church by the complex interpretation of the geophysical data in the form of correlated schemata [fig. 2], and we recommend verifying some of the principle ones with an inspection camera using several drill holes.

From the data obtained by the GPR method, a more substantial interface of the reflected electromagnetic waves can be seen on a number of the profiles, which are within the time horizon $t = 80$ to 100 nanoseconds. It could indicate an interface between the Tertiary clay and sand.

We can assign several anomalies detected in the interpretation of the results of the geophysical work to a possible manifestation of the foundation wall of the older, no longer existing medieval structure, or other structural elements relating to this structure (chambers, graves, etc.) [fig. 3]. The peaks of all of these local non-homogeneities, as stated above, are concentrated in depths of approximately 0.5 m to 1.8 m. Their widths are in a range of 0.8 m to 3.0 m.

We can detect masonry relics in the eastern to central section of the interior of the Baroque structure with a thickness of approximately 1 m, most likely from the smaller medieval structure with a main axis of approximately 24 m to 27 m in length (the dimensions of the nave 15 m \times 9 m, a rectangular presbytery of 10 m to 12 m \times 6 m). The peripheral wall is parallel to the existing church, but is not identical to it. It is located approximately 1 m to 2 m inside the wall of the new Baroque church structure (1694–1700).

In addition to these structures, the existence of more local chambers can be assumed in the space of the presbytery and at the western closure of the structure. We do not even rule out the eventual existence of several graves (1, 2, 3) and a larger space (a crypt) (approx. 4 m \times 3 m) in the space under the tower [fig. 1 and fig. 3]. We also anticipate the possible remains of a structure on the south side (mid-section) of the building.

Additional smaller “anomalies” on the premises are possibly a part of the original, no longer existing medieval structure.

The results of the archaeo-physical prospection in the interior of the church using the GPR method indicated the existence of various linear and flat near-surface non-homogeneities. In addition to any geological causes, it could involve masonry relics from the standing structure, the existence of several graves, etc.

In conclusion, we can state that the results of the geophysical survey in the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Horní Jiřetín indicate the existence of numerous non-homogeneities, most likely of historical importance, and only a targeted architectural and archaeological survey may verify additional specifications or characterisations.

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RADAROGRAMY GPR (250 MHz)

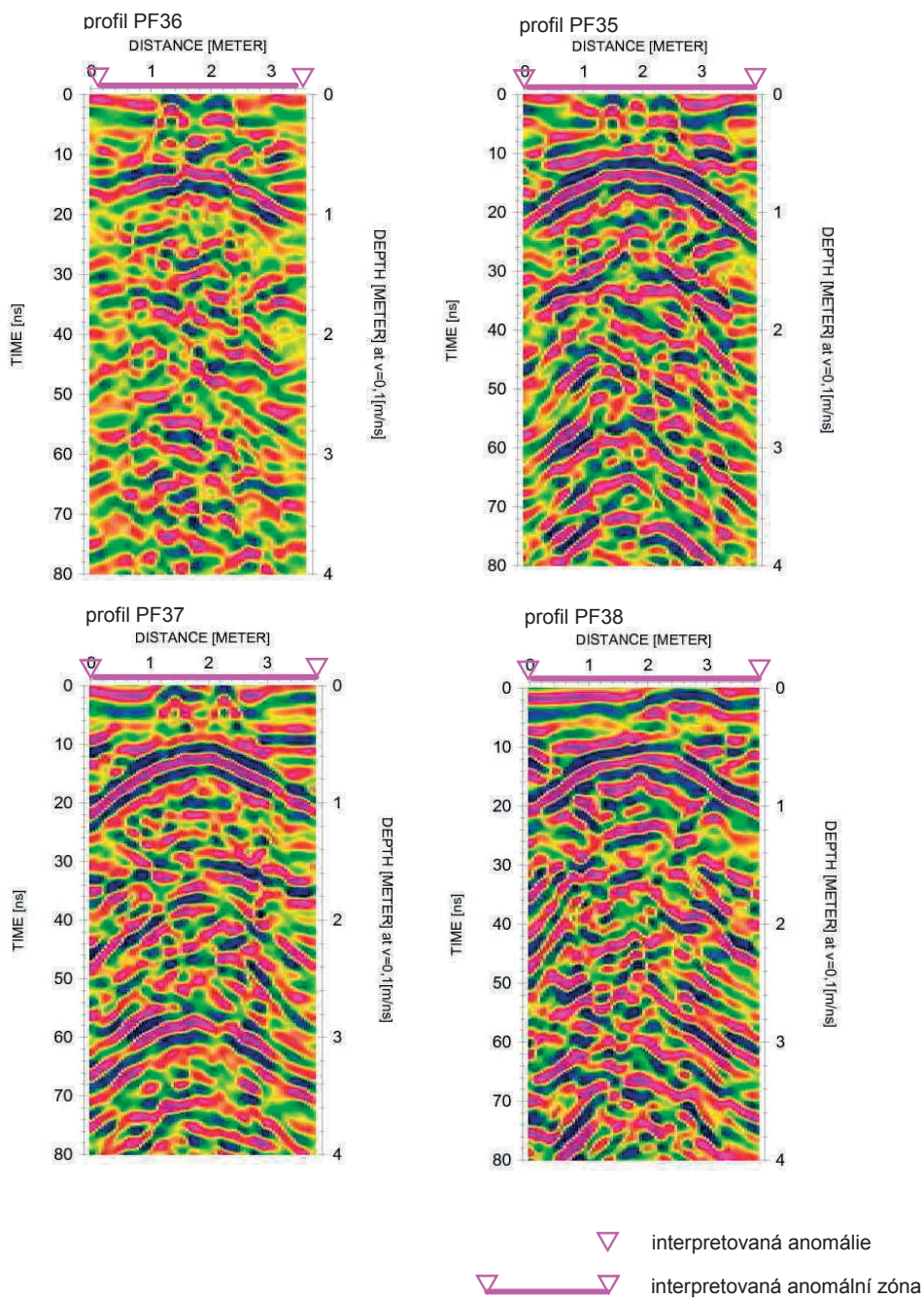


Fig. 1 Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Horní Jiřetín, radargram of the space under the church tower. ISOLINES s. r. o., 2014

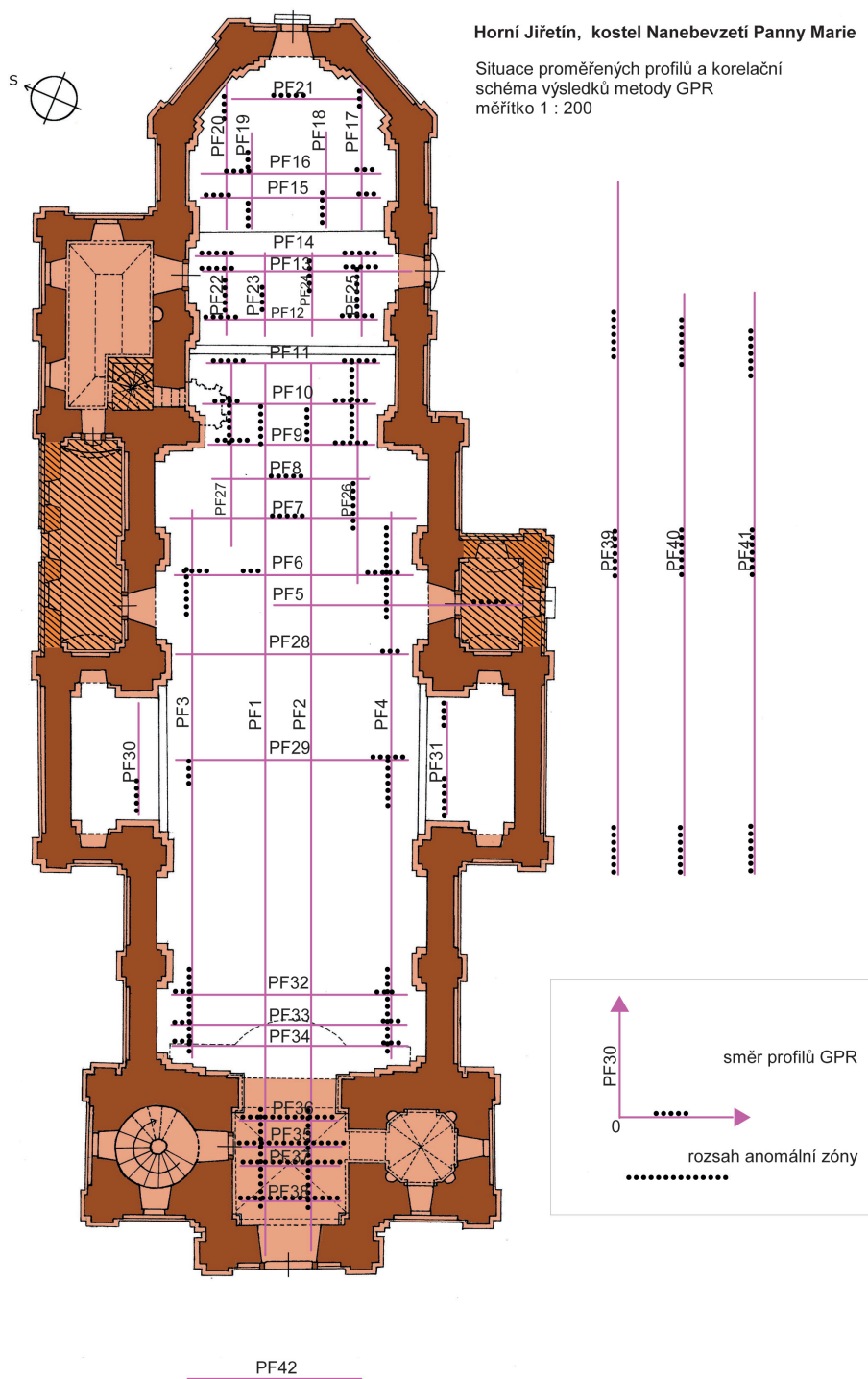


Fig. 2 Church in Horní Jiřetín, schema of the profiles for measurements using the GPR method.
ISOLINES s. r. o., 2014

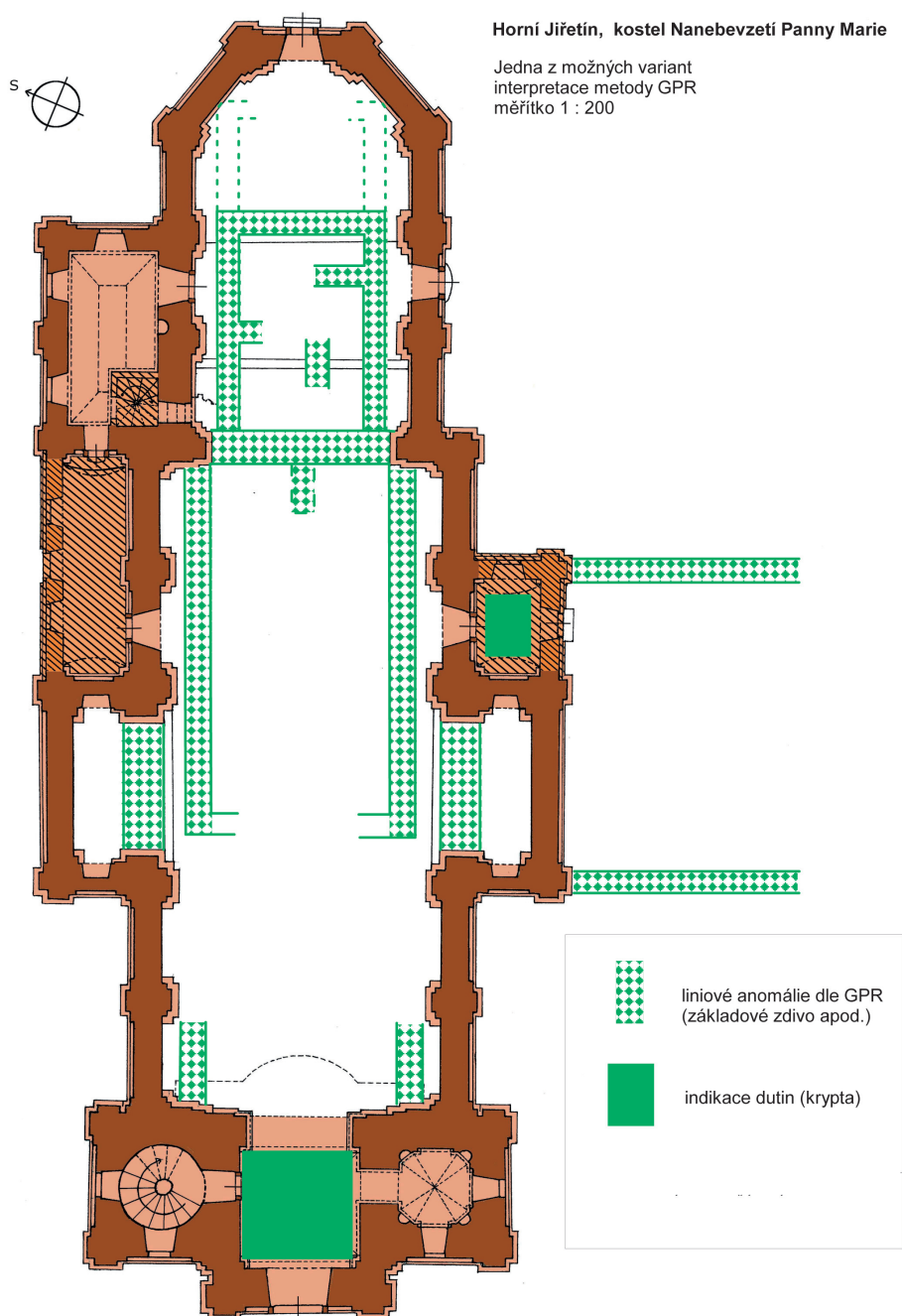


Fig. 3 Church in Horní Jiřetín, interpretation of radargrams with the floor plan of the older medieval church.
ISOLINES s. r. o., 2014

Architectural section of St. Francis's church in the Old Town of Prague

Abstract | A magnificent drawing remained hidden in the collection of plans of the Order of the Knights of the Cross containing a section of St Francis' church. In all likelihood, it could be the work of Jean Baptiste Mathey, who created several other plans for the church. These, however, were intended for construction purposes. The piece is a brilliant drawing. In the upper part, we can see a cross-section of the church's nave, the choir, and other spaces. The lower part shows the floor plan. In my opinion, this perfect rendition could serve as a model for engravers, and thus, a famous structure of European significance could be reproduced as gifts by the grand masters. If the author actually is Mathey, then the drawing could be ascribed to the period before 1679, at which time the construction of the exquisite shrine at Charles Bridge was commenced for the grand master archbishop Johann Friedrich of Waldstein (grand master 1668–1694), which replaced the medieval triple nave.

Reports from that time period also demonstrate the importance of the structure. Already in 1691, Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach copied the plans, and during the high Baroque period, the church served as a representative building that was admired by even high clerical and lay officers who visited the grand master Böhmb (grand master 1722–1750) for a tour of the church.

Keywords | Architectural drawing – baroque – St. Francis church – Prague

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In the drawings collection of the Knights of the Cross¹ there is a remarkably good quality drawing of the Church of St. Francis Seraphicus in the form it had before alterations in the 1720s.² The drawing's careful execution, especially the arrangement of the plan itself with a longitudinal section above a halved ground plan, evidently testifies to the intention of using the drawing as a pattern for subsequent graphic treatment or as a specimen sheet for presentation. However, it is not known what kind of reproduction that could have been or who might have been the drawing's author.

Plans for this major building were commissioned by the then Grand Master and Archbishop Johan Friedrich of Waldstein (Grand Master 1668–1694), probably in collaboration with his General Prior Jiří Ignác Pospíchal (prior 1662–1694). On the site of a medieval three-nave hospital chapel a new church headquarters was erected in the period 1679–1688 with a dome on a tambour. The archbishop's architect, the Burgundian Jean Baptiste Mathey, drew upon various

¹ The author found the drawings at the end of the 1990s in the property of the Prague headquarters. They had obviously been returned to the original owner during restitution from Prague's Academy, while for a long time they had been regarded as lost. They were compiled from the order's archives either by dr. Vojtěch Sádlo or his predecessor, archivist or librarian.

² In the choir, for example, the music galleries are missing, which were probably added during the time of the Grand Master Böhmb for the sake of increasing the space for musical performances.

sources for ideas for his most important building. With regard to the shape of the dome, Heinrich Gerhard Franz once compared it to the Sorbonne Church and the Church of the Val-de-Grâce, Paris, which, as Mathey did with his St. Francis church, followed the style of Rome's Cathedral of St. Peter and the church of St. Andrea della Valle.³ As Mojmir Horyna has more recently illustrated, in the overall form of his Prague church, Mathey followed on from Rainaldi's design for two Marian churches by the entrance to the Via del Corso on the Piazza del Popolo.⁴ The renown of the new church also attracted the attention of Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, who during his visit to Prague in 1691, even applied for permission to be able to make a representation of the just completed structure by Prague's bridge. The principal church of Prague's Knights of the Cross could thus have been the architectural inspiration for Fischer's churches in Salzburg and Vienna (Karlskirche), while at the same time serving those at 'home' for later constructions in Bohemia.

The Knights of the Cross church was conceived as a longitudinal centrally symmetrical building with a dome on a high tambour and with a remarkable exterior, whose corners are concavely cut away. The lay-out of the interior is based on an oval ground plan with interspaced arms of a cross. The presbytery is designed on a ground plan of an equal-armed cross and is vaulted with a small dome on a base cornice. Noticeable on the plan is an annex behind the presbytery which was probably used as a depository and ancillary sacristy. On the ground plan the structural masonry is shown in black, and on the section in grey ink. On the ground plan section the outline of masonry and the architectural configuration of the tambour and lantern are also rendered in grey. The longitudinal section is distinguished by shading with the aid of precise hatching, which in quality are closely related to the drawings of the elevations of the pilgrimage site at St. Mary – Chlum sv. Máří, likewise preserved in the archives of the Knights of the Cross headquarters.⁵ These drawings are characterised by an exacting austerity, which is of interest especially in comparison with the 'soft' painterly execution of the other architectural drawings in the collection of the headquarters' archives.⁶ In this connection, therefore, the question presents itself whether or not it is possible to link these drawings, including the one published herewith, with the architect of the church of the Knights of the Cross himself.⁷ The reason being that during Jean Baptiste Mathey's stay in Rome he could have become more closely acquainted with draughtsman's practice in one of the architectural studios,⁸ and especially with the tradition of graphic reproduction of notable buildings. It is worth mentioning for one thing the extensive tract literature and for another, above all, the popular publications of Giovanni Battista Montano. It is necessary to add, however, that the later illustrations of Rome churches in the publications of the publisher Domenico de' Rossi from the period 1708–1721, also have a similar arrangement of an architectural section above a half ground plan, which to a large extent contributed to the internationalisation of the Rome Baroque at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

³ Heinrich Gerhard Franz, *Bauten und Baumeister der Barockzeit in Böhmen*, Leipzig 1962, p. 38: 'In der Kuppel folgte Mathey französischen Vorbildern, wie Lemerces Sorbonne-Kirche und Val-de-Grâce in Paris, wo die römischen Vorbilder von Michelangelos St. Peter-Kuppel und der von St. Andrea della Valle klassisch vereinfacht sind.'

⁴ Mojmir Horyna, *Architektura baroka v Čechách*, in: Vít Vlnas (ed.), *Sláva barokní Čechie, stati o umění, kultuře a společnosti 17. a 18. století*, Prague, 2001, p. 94.

⁵ Prague, archives of the Order of the Knights of the Cross with the Red Star, collection of maps and drawings.

⁶ The difference is recognisable in particular in a comparison with the collection of washed (tinted) drawings of the Church of St. Mary Magdalene at Karlovy Vary, whose author was undoubtedly Kilian Ignaz Dientzenhofer.

⁷ Unfortunately, to date no other comparative drawings by Mathey are known about, except two 'working' ones that represent the exterior and floor plans of St. Francis's Church.

⁸ Johann Joseph Morper considered, for example, the practice of Carlo Rainaldi.

The question arises then as to what the specimen drawing, perfectly executed in ink on paper in a frame with a Prague ell measure indicated, was to be used for?⁹ In my opinion it could have been used for a personal presentation of the order's command and of the whole order, which, indeed a short time before the building's commencement (1675), was promoted to the orders of religious knights (*Ordo militaris crucigerorum cum rubea stella*) in the new constitutions for the orders. From the time of its construction the building was very highly regarded and was used by the Grand Masters as a '*display cabinet*'. For example, on the eve of the holiday for St. John Nepomuk in 1727 the Premonstratensian abbots requested '*a visit and viewing of our church, which the Grand Master has permitted, and after the viewing of the church, which they liked both for its architecture and symmetry, and for the paintwork and paintings, led them to the headquarters.*' And similarly: '*at the present time many Viennese as well as other foreigners have requested a viewing of our church, which has increased the prestige of our Grand Master.*' The culmination of these visits was the prior announced arrival, on the 17 May 1729 at seven o'clock in the evening, of Cardinal Michael Fridrich Althan, who spoke highly of the architecture and the painting.¹⁰ These interesting archive reports attest to the building's importance both from the architectural point of view and with regard to its furnishings. At this point one can venture the hypothesis, that in the same way as a coin was minted with Waldstein's likeness on it for the church's consecration on 27 June 1688, distinguished visitors might have been provided with, after the examples of Rome, also with the above mentioned precise drawing, which, however, for reasons unknown to us, was not transferred to graphic processing.¹¹ Why it was not noticed either by Oldřich Stefan, Heinrich Gerhard Franz, or Vojtěch Sádlo, remains, however, an unanswered question.¹²

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⁹ The drawing measures 620 mm × 460 mm. The scale is marked with the abbreviation *ehln.* (ell).

¹⁰ Marek Pučálík, *Umělecký mecenát křižovnického velmistra Františka Matouše Böhmba 1722–1750*, unpublished dissertation KTFUK, Prague, 2013, p. 80.

¹¹ For example, an engraving with a depiction of the collegiate church in Salzburg from the Augsburg printers' workshop of J. Ulrich Kraus, which the abbot Placidus Mayrhauser presented in 1707 to the building's initiator, Archbishop Johann Ernst Count Thun, had a similar task.

¹² The above named persons had seen the drawings in the order's archives in a convent in Prague before 1950. My thanks to Daniela Štěrbová and Radka Tibitanclová for a consultation on the preparation for this little study.



Fig. 1 Jean Baptiste Mathey, church of St. Francis's in the Old Town of Prague, exterior, 1679–1688.
Photo by Rostislav Švácha



Fig. 2 Church of St. Francis in the Old Town of Prague, longitudinal section.
Drawings collection of the Knights of the Cross, Prague

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“...mio capital nemico a causa della professione”. Mathey’s not altogether friendly encounter in Prague with Domenico Egidio Rossi

Abstract | The Roman educated, Burgundian architect, Jean Baptiste Mathey (1630–1695), is one of the most important creative personalities of the second half of the seventeenth century in central Europe. In Bohemia, important aristocrats and prelates expressed interest in his services. However, Mathey also came into conflict with other architects and builders who saw him as a competitor and rival. One of Mathey’s enemies was the quarrelsome Italian, Bologna educated architect and painter, Domenico Egidio Rossi (1659–1715), who presumably contributed to the decorative work on the Troja castle in 1687/88, constructed for Count Wenzel Adalbert of Sternberg. After finishing the work, Rossi was arrested in Prague in 1688 due to a debt. Following this, he had to leave Prague and started working for the Liechtensteins. In 1692, he returned to Prague for a short time and worked at the Czernin Palace. On 20 December, Rossi encountered the Sternberg stucco artist, Giovanni Pietro Palliardi, who reminded him of his older incident and hence earned a beating from Rossi. In his testimony, Rossi stated that Palliardi reported this incident to Mathey, who he considered as his mortal enemy, and the whole affair was even taken as far as Count Sternberg. So Rossi had to flee Prague. With respect to the documented contacts with Mathey and Wenzel Adalbert of Sternberg, Rossi was credited with the illusory paintings in three rooms on the ground floor of the Troja chateau, which we can compare with the drafts that Rossi made in 1696 for the Czernin Palace in Prague. Rossi’s paintings are based on actual Bolognese models, and they exceed the quality of central European work of that time.

Keywords | Baroque artists – conflicts – Mathey – Rossi

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The architect Jean Baptiste Mathey (1630–1696), who came from Burgundy and received his training in Rome, can be described as one of the most outstanding artistic figures in the Central European region in the second half of the 17th century.¹ His original architectural concepts had

¹ This study had its origin as part of the grant project *Barokní nástěnná malba v benediktinských kláštorech v českých zemích* [Baroque Ceiling Painting in Benedictine Monasteries in the Czech Lands], supported by the Czech Science Foundation (reg. no. P409/12/2568). On Mathey’s work as an architect and its significance cf. Johann Joseph Morper, *Der Prager Architekt Jean Baptiste Mathey: Studien zur Geschichte des Prager Barocks*, München 1927. – Oldřich Stefan, *Příspěvky k dějinám české barokní architektury: Skupina římského směru – G. B. Mathei, Památky archeologické XXXV*, 1927, pp. 79–116. – Jiří Kropáček, *Architekt J. B. Mathey a zámek Trója v Praze, Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Philosophica et Historica* 1/1987, Praha 1988, pp. 47–98. – Věra Naňková, *Architektura 17. století v Čechách*, in: *Dějiny českého výtvarného umění II/1*, Praha 1989, pp. 249–278

a significant influence on High Baroque building construction in the Czech lands, with which a substantial part of his life is linked. However, Mathey's importance transcended the borders of the Kingdom of Bohemia. In his own day his talent was appreciated by leading aristocratic patrons, including Archbishop Johann Friedrich of Waldstein, Count Michael Oswald Thun-Hohenstein, Wenzel Adalbert of Sternberg, and others. Nevertheless, he was far from achieving popularity with his contemporaries among the master-builders and architects established in Prague, who were by no means happy about the success of this rival. We know that he had a conflict with the guild in the Lesser Town district of Prague, where he settled, and with the master-builders who had started building the Sternberg chateau, later known as Troja chateau, in Ovenec on the outskirts of Prague, before Mathey arrived on the scene. [Fig. 1] This French architect, whom Count Sternberg commissioned to complete the building and probably also to organise the final artistic decoration, was evidently a thorn in the side of the master builders who were established in Prague. The Emperor had to resolve the situation by granting Mathey the freedom of the court and thus allowing him to work without having to become a member of a guild organisation.² But we know less about the enmity between Mathey and another famous artist – Domenico Egidio Rossi (1659–1715).³

Rossi came from the town of Fano in the March of Ancona. He trained as an architect and painter in Bologna, which was a major centre for *quadratura* – illusionistic ceiling painting which created the fictitious impression of an architectural space and provided the frame for figural scenes. We do not know the name of Rossi's teacher, but in Bologna he almost certainly came into contact with the work of two prominent and highly regarded virtuoso artists, Angelo Michele Colonna (1604–1687) and Agostino Mitelli (1609–1660), and their pupils. In the 1680s Rossi left Italy for Central Europe, where he worked in Prague, Vienna, and other places. Later – in late 1697 or early 1698 – he entered the service of Ludwig Wilhelm I, Margrave of Baden, and his wife Franziska Sibylla Augusta of Sachsen-Lauenburg. One of his most important works in Baden was the construction of the Margrave's residence in Rastatt.⁴

The beginnings of Rossi's career have usually been connected with Vienna and Valtice (Feldsberg), where he worked for the Liechtenstein family. However, the earliest mention of him in transalpine lands is in Prague, where in 1688 he was imprisoned by Count Sternberg because of a debt of 50 gulden.⁵ No further details about this affair are known. However, the year 1688

(270–275). – Pavel Vlček – Ester Havlová, *Praha 1610–1700: Kapitoly o architektuře raného baroka*, Praha 1998, pp. 257–287. – Mojmir Horyna, *Architektura trojského zámku*, in: Pavel Preiss – Mojmir Horyna – Pavel Zahradník, *Zámek Troja u Prahy: Dějiny, stavba, plastika a malba II*, Praha–Litomyšl 2000, pp. 87–130. – Věra Naňková – Pavel Vlček, Jean Baptiste Mathey, in: Pavel Vlček (ed.), *Encyklopedie architektů, stavitelů, zedníků a kameníků v Čechách*, Praha 2004, pp. 409–411. – Martin Krummholz, Antonio Porta a středoevropská architektura 17. století, in: Martin Mádl (ed.), *Tencalla I (Barokní nástěnná malba v českých zemích)*, Praha 2012, pp. 251–265.

² Pavel Zahradník, *Stavební dějiny šternberského letohrádku*, in: Pavel Preiss – Mojmir Horyna – Pavel Zahradník, *Zámek Troja u Prahy* (note 1), pp. 53–86. – Věra Naňková – Pavel Vlček, Jean Baptiste Mathey (note 1), pp. 409–411 (409).

³ Cf. Martin Mádl, I soffitti barocchi bolognesi in Boemia, in: Sabine Frommel (ed.), *Crocevia e capitale della migrazione artistica: forestieri a Bologna e bolognesi nel mondo (secolo XVIII)*, Bologna 2013, pp. 343–364 (355–360). – Martin Mádl, Praha–Troja: Zámek Václava Vojtěcha ze Šternberka, apartmány v přízemí, in: Martin Mádl, *Tencalla II (Barokní nástěnná malba v českých zemích)*, Praha 2013, pp. 479–515 (491–499).

⁴ On Rossi's work cf. Günter Passavant, *Studien über Domenico Rossi und seine baukünstlerische Tätigkeit innerhalb des süddeutschen und österreichischen Barock*, Karlsruhe 1967. – Věra Naňková, Domenico Egidio Rossi, in: Pavel Vlček (ed.), *Encyklopedie architektů, stavitelů, zedníků a kameníků v Čechách* (note 1), pp. 557–558.

⁵ The record of Rossi's arrest in Prague in 1688 was discovered by the archivist Jan Herain, who mentioned it in his excerpts from the town council manuals. Information about Herain's note was published by Vilém Lorenc – Karel Tríska, *Černínský palác v Praze*, Praha 1980, p. 110, note 6.

saw the completion of the decoration of two apartments on the ground floor of Troja chateau, which belonged to the Sternbergs, as the painter Francesco Marchetti (1641–1698) mentioned in a letter he wrote from Prague to Trent, to Teodoro Antonio a Prato, on 11 December. According to Marchetti's report, at the time he arrived the ground floor of the chateau had been "*painted by the brushes of various Bolognese, Milanese, Swiss, Flemings, Poles, and Germans.*"⁶

It is highly probable that the noteworthy architectural painting in three rooms on the ground floor of Troja chateau is the work of an artist who came from Bologna or who trained there. The first room is the antechamber of the western apartment, where an ordered system of painted consoles, cantilevers, mouldings, balustrades, and cartouches, creating a convincing optical illusion, frames an allegorical figural painting. This depicts Saturn as Lord of Time, Minerva, who here personifies Virtue, and Fame, who drives away amorini with attributes of pleasure (roses) and hypocrisy (masks), and gives preference to amorini with attributes of fame and eternity (wreaths and circles). The scene is accompanied by the lemma "ANTEEAT VIRTUS, VIRTUTEM FAMA SEQUITUR" [If virtue comes first, it will be followed by fame]. This theme paraphrases the well-known motif of Hercules at the crossroads, and in the context of the decoration of a nobleman's apartment expresses his resolve to choose the way of heroic virtue and reject idleness and hypocrisy. It also recalls the motif of the youth saved by Minerva from the arms of Venus and entrusted to the care of Hercules, which was painted by Pietro da Cortona on the ceiling of the antechamber of the winter apartment in the Pitti Palace in Florence – this motif seems to have captured the interest of Count Sternberg, because he had it reproduced in Troja in the gallery and in one of the rooms on the first floor.⁷ [Fig. 2]

The content of this allegorical scene in the Sternberg chateau with Saturn, Minerva, and Fame, is complemented by illusionistic medallions with busts of four statesmen and philosophers from antiquity – Cicero, Lycurgus, Cato, and Philo – in the company of personified Virtues (the choice here of the virtuous scholars of antiquity from the ranks of statesmen and lawyers was evidently influenced by the status of Count Sternberg, who was head of the Court of Appeal). [Fig. 3] The figural part of the decoration in the antechamber was, however, almost certainly the work of another artist – cooperation between *quadraturisti* and figural painters was by no means unusual at that time, and was also recommended to Sternberg by his Bolognese agent Bartolomeo Cortini as a practical approach that saved time.⁸ The style of the figural work is reminiscent of the painting of Apollo on the sun chariot in the passageway in the Červený Hrádek chateau of the

⁶ "E passando al mio affare, l'ecc.ma Padrona mi mostrò dove devo far le mie operationi, che è nel più nobile sitto dell'palazzo, cioè in alto – essendo tutto il da basso a Terra già stato dipinto da pennelli diversi Bollognesi, Millanesi, Svizzeri, Fiaminghi, Pollachi, e Tedeschi; consistendo per me la gran Sala altissima, due gallerie, et otto camere, lavoro per il più in fresco, e parte in oglio, legato il tutto pret.te, nè stucchi operando qui nel fresco quanto l'estate a causa de' fornelli posticci, che dano il calore come è il bisogno." Marchetti's letter from the private archive of the Tridentine a Prato family has been published by Antonio Rusconi, *Il pittore Francesco Marchetti e la sua famiglia, Studi trentini di scienze storiche* XII, 1931, pp. 22–47 (34–36). – Pietro Delpero, *Francesco Marchetti, un pittore trentino tra Italia e Boemia (1641–1698)* (Tesi di Laurea, Università degli studi di Milano, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia), Milano 1996, pp. 181–185. – See also Pavel Preiss, *Sochařství a malířství trojského zámku*, in: Pavel Preiss – Mojmír Horyna – Pavel Zahradník, *Zámek Trója u Prahy* (note 1), pp. 131–265 (138–139).

⁷ Preiss, *Sochařství a malířství* (note 6), pp. 140–145. – Mádl, *Praha–Troja* (note 3), pp. 500–501, 506, 517–523, cat. no. XI/1.

⁸ Alžběta Birnbaumová, *Archivní materiál k dějinám stavby, výzdoby a zařízení zámku Troja u Prahy, Památky archeologické* XXXV, 1927, pp. 618–623 (619). – Preiss, *Sochařství a malířství* (note 6), pp. 140–145. – Mádl, *Praha–Troja* (note 3), pp. 497–498.



Fig. 1 Jean Baptiste Mathey, Giovanni Domenico Orsi, Troja chateau, Prague, 1678–1695.
Photo by Martin Mádl



Fig. 2 Francesco Bartolomeo Morialdi – Domenico Eggidio Rossi (?), Allegory of Virtue, Time and Fame (detail), Troja chateau, Prague, 1687–1688. Photo by Martin Mádl



Fig. 3 Francesco Bartolomeo Morialdi – Domenico Eggidio Rossi (?), Lycurgus, Troja chateau, Prague, 1687–1688. Photo by Martin Mádl

Hrzan family near Jirkov, which was decorated around the year 1684 by Francesco Bartolomeo Morialdi, an Italian painter (said to be from Venice) who had settled in Prague.⁹

Quadrature with a wealth of themes and a high standard of execution can also be found on the vaults of the antechamber and main room of the eastern apartment. In the former they cover the entire surface of the vault. [Fig. 4] In the latter we find the following: putti with the Sternberg star in a small circular sfondato (probably done by a different artist); the coats-of-arms of the Sternbergs and Maltzans as part of the *quadratura* in larger illusionistically painted cartouches; allegories of Justice and Peace in smaller cartouches; and opposite them the *Joining of Terrestrial and Heavenly Things*, painted after Ripa's *Iconologia* (cf. the motto "*Congiuntione delle cose humane con le divine*"). In the main room, illusionistic architectural painting is also to be found on the walls. Sculptures are depicted between the fictive columns – in this the decoration

⁹ Mádl, Praha–Troja (note 3), pp. 495–496, 517–523, cat. no. XI/1. Morialdi is mentioned ("1676, 21. decembris, Frantz Morialdi, Venezianer...") in Fahrenschon's extracts from the administrative books and documents of the Prague Old Town painters and in the list of members of the painters' guild in the Old Town and Lesser Town that Jan Jakub Quirin Jahn attached to his notes on painters. – See the Archive of the National Gallery in Prague, collection J. Q. Jahn, shelf mark AA 1222/8, Namen der sām[m]tlichen Mitglieder der Maler Confraternität von ihrer Errichtung an der k. Alt und Kleinen Stadt Prag, s. p. – See further Karel Vladimír Herain, *České malířství od doby rudolfínské do smrti Reinerovy: Příspěvky k dějinám jeho vnitřního vývoje v letech 1576–1743*, Praha 1915, pp. 29, 78. – Rudolf Kuchynka, Fahrenschonovy výpisy z knih a listin staroměstského pořádku malířského, *Památky archaeologické* XXXI, 1919, pp. 14–24 (17). – Věra Naňková, Červený Hrádek, Chomutov 1974. – Pavel Preiss, *Italští umělci v Praze: Renesance, manýrismus, baroko*, Praha 1986, p. 265.

is quite similar to the fragmentally preserved paintings in the Palais Caprara in Vienna, which were recently attributed to none other than Domenico Egidio Rossi.¹⁰ [Fig. 5]

The quality of all the *quadrature* on the ground floor of Troja chateau was unique in the context of Central European ceiling painting at that time (in the 1680s). In view of the fact that Rossi was imprisoned on the orders of Count Sternberg in 1688, just at the time the paintings were completed, we can surmise that they were his work. There are also other indications suggesting that this was the case. After the incident with Count Sternberg, Rossi left Prague and entered the service of the Liechtenstein family. In 1689 he was employed as a *quadrature* painter in the decoration of several rooms in Valtice chateau in southern Moravia, and around 1690 he executed the design of the first alternative of the Liechtenstein garden palace in Rossau (Vienna).¹¹ After this Rossi was employed by Count Thomas Zacchaeus Czernin of Chudenitz, for whom the versatile artist worked in Möllersdorf chateau in Lower Austria. Rossi returned to Prague in the service of Thomas' brother Hermann Jakob, in order to work in the Czernin Palace in the Hradčany district of the city.¹²

However, Rossi's activity in the Czernin Palace quite soon came to an end due to a dramatic incident involving the stucco artist Giovanni Pietro Palliardi. In the evening of 20 December 1692, Rossi was returning home from the palace in Hradčany with his friends, the painters Antonio Manini and Lazaro Sanguinetti. In front of Eggenberg House (formerly the Lobkowicz Palace, later the Schwarzenberg Palace) he met Palliardi and let himself be provoked into a fight. The brawl finished in the narthex of the nearby Barnabite church of St. Benedict. Rossi himself subsequently submitted a report on the incident, claiming that Palliardi barged into him as he was passing by and insulted him with his hand on his sword: “He asked me whether I had come to Prague for the same thing I had received here some years before, on the instigation of false declarations by the Frenchman Mathey.”¹³ The stucco artist thus appears to have been reminding Rossi of

¹⁰ Wilhelm Georg Rizzi, *Der Festsaal des Palais Caprara*, *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Kunst und Denkmalpflege* XLIII, 1989, pp. 26–32. I am grateful to Prof. Martina Frank, Università Ca'Foscari, Venice, for kindly pointing this out to me.

¹¹ Passavant, *Studien* (note 4), pp. 109–123, 180, note 185. – Helmut Lorenz – Wilhelm Georg Rizzi, *Domenico Egidio Rossi, Die Originalpläne für das Wiener Gartenpalais Liechtenstein*, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* XXXIII, Wien 1980, pp. 117–179. – Helmut Lorenz, *Kunstgeschichte oder Künstlergeschichte – Bemerkungen zur Forschungslage der Wiener Barockarchitektur*, *Artibus et Historiae* II, 1981, pp. 99–123. – Idem, *Domenico Martinelli und die österreichische Barockarchitektur*, Wien 1991, pp. 42–45, 250–253.

¹² On Rossi's work for the Czernins cf. Johann Joseph Morper, *Das Czernin-Palais in Prag*, Prag 1940, pp. 63–70, 72, 85, 119–120, 143, 164–165. – Passavant, *Studien* (note 4); Věra Naňková, Günter Passavant, *Studien über Domenico Egidio Rossi und seine baukünstlerische Tätigkeit innerhalb des süddeutschen und österreichischen Barock*, Karlsruhe 1967 (review), *Umění* XVI, 1968, pp. 308–314. – Emanuel Poche – Pavel Preiss, *Pražské paláce*, Praha 1973, pp. 149–154. – Lorenc – Tříška, *Černínský palác* (note 5), pp. 109–118. – Preiss, *Italští umělci* (note 9), pp. 265–270. – Mojmir Horyna, *Černínský palác a jeho tvůrci v barokní době*, in: Mojmir Horyna – Pavel Zahradník – Pavel Preiss, *Černínský palác v Praze*, Praha 2001, pp. 73–181 (149–158). – Ulrike Seeger, Giovanni Battista Madernas Dekorationsentwürfe für das Palais Czernin auf dem Hradschin in Prag, *Umění* LVI, 2006, pp. 523–530. – Anna Maria Matteucci, *Quadratura e scenografia: i bolognesi in europa*, in: Sabine Frommel (ed.), *Crocevia e capitale della migrazione artistica: forestieri a Bologna e bolognesi nel mondo (secolo XVII)*, Bologna 2012, pp. 223–246 (239–245).

¹³ “Onde avanzatosi noi alquanti passi in faccia giusto alla casa del S[ignor] Principe d'Echenbergh, ci si scoperse il Palliardi sud[detto], che passò in mezzo a due di noi, e dando a me una spallata mi dimandò in oltre se vi vedevo lume, al che similmente le riposi noc una mano nel petto, dicendole che perciò tiratosi indietro qualche passi, e messo mano alla spada, minacciava con q[ues]ta et con ingiuriose parole mi provocava dimandandomi anche di più, se ero venuto a Praga per il resto cioè di quello ricevei anni sono a instigazioni d'un tal Mattei francese et attestazione sue false...” Quoted from State Regional Archives Třeboň, Jindřichův Hradec branch, Czernin Central Administration collection, fasc. 742, fol. 580–583, statement by Domenico Egidio Rossi. – Cf. also Passavant, *Studien* (note 4), pp. 195–197, doc. VII (here the statement is quoted in extenso).



Fig. 4 Domenico Eggidio Rossi (?), Illusionistic architecture (detail), Troja chateau, Prague, 1687–1688.
Photo by Martin Mádl



Fig. 5 Domenico Eggidio Rossi (?), Illusionistic decorative painting, Troja chateau, Prague, 1687–1688.
Photo by Martin Mádl

the previous incident concerning the debt for which Count Sternberg had had him imprisoned in 1688, or else of some other conflict with the architect Mathey, whom Rossi most probably met and worked with in Troja chateau. Rossi claimed he felt his life was in danger and his honour was affronted, and so he beat Palliardi with the stick he was carrying. The stucco artist, who was said to be totally dependent on Jean Baptiste Mathey, hurried to report the incident to Count Wenzel of Sternberg, and according to Rossi blew the whole affair out of proportion. The Count, who was “*slightly disgusted*” by Rossi, took the side of Palliardi, who was also supported by Mathey. It was Mathey whom Rossi described as the source of his troubles and his greatest professional enemy (“*Mattei, à darli la mano come fautore di tutte le cose et mio capitale nemico a causa della professione...*”). Rossi claimed that Count Sternberg and the architect Mathey prevented him from doing any further work as a painter in Prague. Further on in his statement the Bolognese artist said that he was slandered in a mendacious letter sent to Count Sternberg in Vienna, upon which the Count unceremoniously terminated their working agreement, in the same way as he had done with the painter and Prague burgher Jan Jakub Stevens of Steinfels, who – as it appears from the context – had also worked for Wenzel Adalbert of Sternberg.¹⁴

After the conflict with Palliardi, the Burgrave of Prague, Adolf Vratislav of Sternberg, had an arrest warrant issued against Rossi (who was described as a painter who passed himself off as a master-builder) for desecrating a sacred place. Rossi then had to hide – for a while he found refuge in the Capuchin monastery. Mathey is said to have tried to find him and allegedly attempted to discover his hiding-place with the help of bribes from the wife of Hennigsen, the steward of the Czernin Palace.¹⁵ Eventually Rossi left for Vienna. In the autumn of 1693 he returned briefly to Prague, where he was arrested and interrogated together with Palliardi. In early June 1694 he was released on bail, and soon afterwards returned to Vienna, where he worked for the Czernin family and various other patrons – among them Field Marshal Count Enea Silvio Caprara, who came from Bologna. Around the year 1695 he is said to have been involved in decorating the imperial chateau of Schönbrunn.¹⁶

On 15 July 1696 Count Thomas Zacchaeus Czernin signed a contract with Rossi to paint the decorations in the Czernin garden villa in Leopoldstadt near Vienna (“*salla nel giardino di Leopodstat*”), in which the concept for the ceiling was supposed to be provided by drawings submitted in advance. On the walls it was planned to have painted marble columns, the bases and capitals painted yellow and bronze, and the rest in chiaroscuro. Rossi was also entrusted with preparing the designs for the paintings in the Czernin Palace in Prague.¹⁷ The draft designs for the *quadrature* in the main hall and antechamber that were produced soon after this would appear to be by Rossi. The composition of the architectural features designed by the artist is similar to the architectural motifs in the three rooms in Troja chateau.

In 1696–1697 Rossi worked on the decoration of the Czernin summer pavilion in Vienna mentioned above, but he did not complete it. In 1699 he was replaced by the Bolognese artist Antonio Beduzzi (1675–1735). Rossi had already fled from Vienna in 1698, leaving behind him debts for which his wife was imprisoned.¹⁸ He went to Baden and worked there for Margrave

¹⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁵ A reference to Mathey’s attempts to find Rossi is contained in a letter from Rossi dated 28 January 1693, which was pointed out by Lorenc – Třiska (note 12), pp. 110. – The authors of the monograph on the Czernin Palace place Rossi’s fight with Palliardi in the autumn of 1693, when Rossi was arrested. However, his arrest evidently related to the earlier incident mentioned above, which had occurred in Hradčany in December of the previous year.

¹⁶ Morper, Das Czernin-Palais (note 12), pp. 67–70. – Passavant, Studien (note 4), pp. 10–11, 197–201, doc. VIII–XVIII. – Rizzi, Der Festsaal (note 10). – Naňková, Domenico Egidio Rossi (note 4), pp. 557–558.

¹⁷ Passavant, Studien (note 4), p. 200, doc. XVII.

¹⁸ Passavant, Studien (note 4), p. 201, doc. XVIII. – Cf. also Morper, Das Czernin-Palais (note 12), pp. 68–70.

Ludwig Wilhelm (1655–1707), who seems to have employed him earlier – around 1692 – in Ostrov nad Ohří (Schlackenwerth), West Bohemia. Rossi now designed the magnificent chateau in Rastatt for the Margrave, and also worked for him in Baden and Durlach. After the death of Ludwig Wilhelm he left Baden, but in 1709 he was tracked down and arrested by agents from Baden because of defects in the Rastatt chateau which were blamed on him.¹⁹

Some of the reports we have mentioned about the activities of Domenico Egidio Rossi in Prague and his conflicts with the French architect Mathey and Count Wenzel Adalbert of Sternberg indicate that he was in contact with both of them and worked for them. It is very likely that the activities of this Italian artist in Prague in or before 1688 were related to the Sternberg villa of Troja, where he was probably responsible for the illusionistic painting in three ground floor rooms, and perhaps other work as well. What the exact reason for the openly declared enmity between him and Mathey was, we do not know. We can speculate that the fault lay in the high-reaching ambitions of the Italian artist, who was not only a painter but also an architect. These ambitions may have extended beyond the painting commission that Wenzel Adalbert of Sternberg had entrusted to Rossi and aimed at work related to the completion of the Troja chateau and its overall artistic decoration and furnishings. There is no doubt that Rossi had the talent to carry out such work, as he showed in a number of other cases. However, his rapacity and hot-blooded, quarrelsome nature led to a series of serious conflicts with his employers, colleagues, and competitors, and to ruptures in a number of major projects. The reports about Rossi's conflict with Sternberg's stucco artist Palliardi and the enmity between Rossi and Mathey underline the significance of Jean Baptiste Mathey's standing in Prague and the importance of the projects that Count Sternberg entrusted him to complete. Architecture historians have recently attempted once again to place Troja chateau in a European context and discovered connections between it and the later project of the Liechtenstein Palace in Rossau.²⁰ Thanks to the new evidence of Rossi's activity in Troja and Rossau, this typological connection has a further logical explanation.

English by Peter Stephens

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¹⁹ Passavant, *Studien* (note 4), pp. 11–20. – Naňková, *Domenico Egidio Rossi* (note 4), pp. 557–558.

²⁰ See the lecture by Martin Krummholz “Francouzský malíř”, nebo římský architektonický génius? Nová interpretace architektury Jeana Baptisty Mathey a trojského zámku [“French painter” or Roman architectural genius? A new interpretation of the architecture of Jean Baptiste Mathey and Troja chateau], held in the Institute of Art History, Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, as part of the cycle “Collegium historiae artium” on 24 October 2012; and the lecture by Jiří Kroupa *Mathey a římský klasicismus* [Mathey and Roman classicism], held in Horní Jiřetín during the conference “Barokní kostel v Horním Jiřetíně a architekt Jean Baptiste Mathey” [The Baroque Church in Horní Jiřetín and the Architect Jean Baptiste Mathey] on 28 March 2014. The connection between Troja chateau and the Liechtenstein garden palace in Rossau had already been remarked on by Passavant, *Studien* (note 4), pp. 109–123, 180, note 185.

Die Glorifikation des heiligen Wenzels – ein abgelehntes Werk des Wiener Malers Anton Petter aus dem Jahre 1844 für den Olmützer Dom

The glorification of St Wenceslas – the rejected painting by the Viennese artist Anton Petter from 1844 for the Olomouc cathedral

Abstract | Archbishop Maximilian Josef Sommerau-Beeckh (1769–1853) ordered a monumental painting of St Wenceslas from the Viennese painter Anton Petter (1782–1858), director of the school of painting and sculpture at the Viennese Academy of Art, for the main altar of the Olomouc cathedral. Petter completed his work in 1844. However, the bishop was not satisfied. The painting had been located for some time on the grounds of the Kroměříž chateau, and up to now, has been awaiting rediscovery and restoration. With the consent of the Olomouc archbishop, Jan Graubner, and with the financial support of the CEO of Vitkovice železářny, Jan Světlík, the painting was restored by the Berger family. According to the project of the architect Josef Pleskot, it was installed in place of the main altar in the former Dominican church in Opava as a permanent loan from the Archbishopric of Olomouc. This was made possible thanks to the town of Opava, Mayor Zdeněk Jirásek, and Deputy Mayor Dalibor Halátek.

Keywords | Romantic painting – altarpieces – Olomouc cathedral – Anton Petter

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Kardinal Franz Dietrichstein (1599–1636) riss kurz vor dem Dreißigjährigen Krieg das gotische Presbyterium des Olmützer Wenzeldoms aus der Zeit des Bischofs Bruno von Schaumburg (1245–1281) ab und begann einen neuen Saalchor von monumentalen Ausmaßen zu errichten (Höhe 23 m, Breite 17,5 m, zum Vergleich betragen Höhe und Breite des Chors des Veitsdoms 33 × 12 m). Er wurde mit einem mächtigen Tonnengewölbe eingewölbt und durch hohe Fenster ohne Glasmalereien in zwei Reihen übereinander beleuchtet.¹ Die Ausstattung des Inneren gelang nicht mehr. Auf dem Hochaltar fehlte so lange Zeit ein Bild des Kirchenpatrons.² Der Olmützer Kapiteldekan Claudius Sorina sandte zwar 1654 Unterlagen zur Schaffung eines Altarblatts mit dem hl. Wenzel nach Brüssel zum Kunst liebenden Bischof Leopold Wilhelm (1637–1662, seit 1646 kaiserlicher Statthalter in den südlichen Niederlanden, dem heutigen Belgien), aber zu

¹ Über die Fenster des Dietrichsteiner Chores des Olmützer Doms zuletzt aus stilistischer Sicht Rostislav Švácha, *Architektura baroka v Olomouci*, in: Ondřej Jakubec – Marek Perůtka (eds), *Olomoucké baroko: Výtvarná kultura 1620–1780*, 2, *Katalog*, Olomouc 2010, S. 27–47.

² Zur Geschichte des Hochaltars des Wenzeldoms in Olmütz bislang am meisten Dušan Řezanina, *Nástěnné církevní kalendáře olomoucké z let 1716–1822*, Kralupy nad Vltavou 1971, S. 20.

seiner Verfertigung bei einem ungenannten flämischen Maler ist es nicht gekommen.³ Nach vielen Jahren schaffte das Gemälde erst der Olmützer Erzbischof Maximilian Joseph Sommerau-Beeckh (1837–1853) an.⁴ Er machte sich so um die Entstehung des größten Gemäldes mit dem hl. Wenzel verdient, das bis dahin geschaffen worden war, es misst 825 × 490 cm.

Realisierung

Irgendwann kurz nach Neujahr 1838 besprach der Erzbischof Sommerau-Beeckh die Anfertigung des Bildes mit Anton Petter (1782–1858), einem bekannten Wiener Maler biblischer und historischer Themen.⁵ Schon zuvor hatte er Petter die Realisierung des 1839 erfolgreich vollendeten Gemäldes *Das Martyrium des hl. Mauritius* für den Hochaltar der Kollegiatskirche St. Mauritius in Kremsier/Kroměříž (700 × 300 cm) und auch das Bild *Der hl. Johannes Nepomuk vor Wenzel IV.* für den Seitenaltar derselben Kirche anvertraut.

Den Verlauf der Arbeiten am Gemälde des hl. Wenzel belegt die deutsche, leider nicht vollständig erhaltene Korrespondenz zwischen den beiden Akteuren aus den Jahren 1838–1844, die bereits von dem erzbischöflichen Archivar Antonín Breitenbacher (1874–1937) publiziert worden ist und aus sieben Briefe von Petter an den Erzbischof sowie aus fünf von Sommerau-Beeckh an den Maler adressierten Konzepten besteht.⁶ Außer wertvollen Angaben über die Genese des Bildes selbst skizziert sie die allgemeineren Verhältnisse zwischen hochgestellten Auftraggebern und dem Schöpfer von Kunstwerken im Biedermeier vor dem Revolutionsjahr 1848.⁷

Anton Petter trachtete verständlicherweise sehr nach der bedeutenden und sicherlich gut honorierten Aufgabe. Am 1. Februar 1838 schrieb er dem Erzbischof, dass er aus technischen Gründen mindestens bis zum April die Arbeit am Kremsierer Bild des hl. Mauritius unterbrechen müsse und bat, ob er inzwischen nicht die Skizze zum Bild des hl. Wenzel anfertigen könne. Die Antwort des Erzbischofs ist nicht bekannt, dessen ungeachtet erhielt Petter den Auftrag zur Anfertigung des Gemäldes selbst erst mehr als fünf Jahre später. Erst am 10. Oktober 1843, als er sich für den Aufenthalt in Kremsier bedankte, quittierte er mit Dank, dass der Erzbischof

³ Mořic Kráčmer, *Dějiny metropolitního chrámu sv. Václava v Olomouci*, Olomouc 1886, S. 78.

⁴ Geboren in Wien 1769, war er aktiver Teilnehmer an den türkischen und napoleonischen Kriegen, 1815 Olmützer Kanoniker, 1837–1853 Olmützer Bischof, 1848 empfing er die aus Wien geflohene kaiserliche Familie, er starb 1853 als Kardinal. – Bohumil Zlámal, *Posloupost biskupů a arcibiskupů olomouckých 1832–1976*, in: *Katalog moravských biskupů, arcibiskupů a kapitul staré i nové doby*, Olomouc 1977, S. 87–101.

⁵ „Anton Petter k. k. Historienmaler“. Er unternahm 1808 eine Studienreise nach Rom, 1822 wurde er Professor und 1828–1851 Direktor der Maler- und Bildhauerschule der Wiener Akademie der bildenden Künste; gegenwärtig werden von Petters Bilder am meisten hervorgehoben: *Wenzel II. erbittet von Rudolf II. den Leichnam seines Vaters Přemysl Ottokar*, 1826, *König Ahasver verurteilt Haman zum Tode*, 1835, beide Österreichische Galerie im Belvedere, Wien. – Gerbert Frodl (ed.), *Geschichte der bildenden Kunst in Österreich, Bd. 5, 19. Jahrhundert*, München 2002, S. 347, Kat. 77, S. 347, Kat.-Nr. 88 (einschließlich Abbildung).

⁶ Antonín Breitenbacher, Antonína Pettera obraz sv. Václava, *Památky archeologické* XXXVI, 1928–1930, S. 78–88. – Die Korrespondenz befindet sich heute im Landesarchiv in Troppau, Zweigstelle Olmütz, Erzbistum Olmütz, Bestand Kollegiatskirche St. Mauritius in Kremsier, Faszikel Altäre, Ordner Altarbild (Zemský archiv v Opavě, pobočka Olomouc, Arcibiskupství olomoucké, fond Kolegiální kostel sv. Mořice v Kroměříži, fascikl Oltáře, složka Oltární obrazy). Für den Hinweis danke ich Mgr. Štěpán Kohout.

⁷ Die Inhalte der einzelnen Briefe paraphrasiert dieser Artikel nur knapp. Genauso ging Antonín Breitenbacher bei deren Publikation vor, der sie freilich überdies verdienstvollerweise als Abschrift publizierte. Eine vollständige Edition inklusive einer Übersetzung ins Tschechische der stellenweise wenig verständlichen Texte (siehe z. B. das widersprüchliche Konzept des Briefes vom 28. Dezember 1843) erfordert Nachforschungen in österreichischen Archiven nach eventuell erhaltenen Nachlässen Petters und nach weiteren Quellen – eine anspruchsvolle Aufgabe für die Zukunft.

vermittels H. Lehmanns (des erzbischöflichen *Hof-Secretar und Bau-Inspector*) der Aufnahme der Arbeiten an dem Gemälde zugestimmt hat. Diese schritten dann relativ zügig voran. Am 29. Oktober schrieb Petter, dass er schon einen „*Blendrahmen*“ (Spannrahmen) habe, aber die Vollendung des Gemäldes hinsichtlich seiner „*ungeheuern Größe*“ erst in einigen Monaten zu erwarten sei. Am 5. Dezember dankte er für die Präzisierung des Themas, „*daß der Mörder mit den geraubten herzoglichen Insignien die Flucht ergreift, welches nicht nur eine bessere Wirkung des Bildes hervorbringt, sondern ein höchst poetischer Gedanke ist, der biesher allen, die dieses Gemälde bei mir gesehen, ungemein gefällt.*“ Am 28. Dezember teilt er mit, dass er das riesige Gemälde in dem zu diesem Zweck für sechs Monate überlassenen, kalten Saal der Wiener Polytechnischen Schule male, dennoch erfreue ihn die Arbeit.⁸ Am 28. Dezember 1843 stimmte der Erzbischof zu, dass der Rahmen des Bildes in Wien gefertigt werde, aber in Olmütz vergoldet werden sollte. Am 30. März 1844 gab er der Präsentation des Bildes auf der Kunstausstellung in Wien sein Einverständnis.⁹ Gleichzeitig lehnte er Petters Entwurf für die Anfertigung des Rahmens ab. Zur Skizze, die ihm Petter geschickt hatte, teilte er mit, sie „*entspricht nicht meinen Ideen*“ und die Ausführung würde aufwendiger werden, als das Gemälde selbst. Der Erzbischof entschied, den Rahmen von eigenen, weniger qualifizierten Handwerkern anfertigen zu lassen, „*die das immerhin zu leisten vermögen*“.

Von H. Lehmann („*durch meinen Forstrath*“) erfuhr er, dass das Bild des hl. Wenzel für den Hochaltar des Olmützer Doms „*bereits fertig seye*“, worauf er Petter dringend aufforderte, sich vorrangig der Fertigstellung des Bildes des hl. Johannes Nepomuk für die Kirche in Kremsier zu widmen. Das Olmützer Bild eilte nicht, die „*Decoration des Altars*“ war noch nicht fertig, dagegen schritt die Ausstattung der Kremsierer Kirche, der sich der Erzbischof mehr gewidmet hat als dem Olmützer Dom und in der er schließlich auch bestattet worden ist, sehr voran und der Erzbischof wollte sie im Sommer beenden.¹⁰ Am 12. April 1844 schrieb Petter dem Erzbischof, dass er das Gemälde von der Walze nehme, damit es möglich sei, den Zierrahmen fertigzustellen und seine Größe genau zu messen. Am 21. Juli 1844 versprach er, das Bild bis Mitte September zu überbringen. Die Jahreszahl 1844 datiert das Gemälde.

Die endgültige Höhe von Petters Entlohnung verzeichnet die Korrespondenz nicht. Für das Bild des hl. Johannes Nepomuk erbat sich am 5. Dezember 1843 der Maler und erhielt vor dem 28. Dezember auch das „bescheidene“ Honorar von 800 Gulden. Was das Gemälde des hl. Wenzel für den Hochaltar des Olmützer Doms betraf, überließ er dem Erzbischof die Festsetzung des Honorars.¹¹

⁸ „*Aber alle Hindernisse vermögen nicht meinen Eifer zu erkalten und der Gedanke den gnädigsten Fürsten nach meinen Kräften zu befriedigen, giebt mir Wärm und Kraft das angefangene mit gleiche Liebe und Sorgfalt zu vollenden.*“ – Breitenbacher (Anm. 6).

⁹ Breitenbacher (Anm. 6) schrieb die Korrespondenz zwischen Sommerau-Beeckh und Petter absichtlich auch mit Fehlern ab, hier ist laut Abschrift der irrige Begriff „*Blindrahm*“ angegeben.

¹⁰ Über die Wiederherstellung der Kollegiatskirche St. Mauritius in Kremsier siehe Pavel Zatloukal, *Příběhy z dlouhého století: Architektura let 1750–1918 na Moravě a ve Slezsku*, Olomouc 2002, S. 179–191. – Pavel Zatloukal, *Kroměřížská architektura 1791–1918*, in: Marek Perůtka (ed.), *Kroměříž: Historické město a jeho památky*, Kroměříž 2012, S. 215–260.

¹¹ „*Rücksichtlich der gewöhnlichen a conto Zahlung für letzgenantes Gemälde, wollen Euer hochfürstlichen Gnaden nach Belieben verfügen.*“ – Breitenbacher (Anm. 6).

Der Streit um das Bildthema

Während des Verlaufs der Arbeit am Bild kam es zwischen dem Erzbischof und dem Maler zu einem sich zuspitzenden Streit. Es zeigte sich, dass trotz der anfänglichen Übereinkunft beide Akteure eine unterschiedliche Interpretation des Themas, die Ermordung des böhmischen Herzogs, des Přemysliden Wenzel durch seinen Bruder Boleslav im Jahre 929 beziehungsweise 935 vertraten, was sie wegen mangelnder Kommunikation nicht ahnten. Der Kontroverse ging eine unerwartete Kritik von Petters Bild in den österreichischen Zeitungen voraus,¹² nachdem er es im Frühling 1844 in der Wiener Akademie der bildenden Künste ausgestellt hatte.¹³ Petter bezeichnete sie in seinem Brief an den Erzbischof vom 26. Juni 1844 als unqualifiziert und zweckgerichtet. Er bedauerte, dass er dem Druck nachgegeben und das Bild publik gemacht habe. Auf der Ausstellung war es nicht vollständig entrollt, seine Lichtregie konnte deswegen nicht beurteilt werden und ohne den gebührenden Abstand auch nicht die Angemessenheit der Figuren. Offenbar um den Erzbischof zu beruhigen, fügte er hinzu, dass er vor der Ausstellung eine Besichtigung für den kaiserlichen Hof und die „*hohen Herrschaften*“ organisiert hatte, die sehr gut ausgefallen war. Lobend äußerte sich über das Bild der Erzherzog Franz Karl (Sohn von Kaiser Franz. I., der 1848 zugunsten seines Sohnes Franz Joseph I. auf den Thron verzichtet hat). Damit war die ganze Angelegenheit jedoch nicht zu Ende. Im Brief vom 6. Juni 1844 zeigte sich der Erzbischof zufrieden über die Vollendung des Bildes des hl. Mauritius für den Hochaltar der Kremsierer Kirche und nahm eine ähnlich erfolgreiche Realisierung des Bildes des hl. Wenzel an. Petter versicherte er, dass er die Verurteilungen der Journalisten nicht in Betracht ziehe. Nichtsdestotrotz fuhr er fort, dass er privat erfahren habe (offenbar von H. Lehmann), dass Petter eine zu große Figur des Boleslav gemalt und ihn zum Nachteil der Darstellung des hl. Wenzel in den Vordergrund gerückt habe. Die Massivität von Boleslav steigere, dass er mit dem gestohlenen Hermelinmantel Wenzels gemalt sei, was nicht in der Skizze zu sehen gewesen wäre, die der Erzbischof begutachtet hatte. Hier hielt, sofern der Erzbischof sich richtig erinnerte, die Rückenfigur von Boleslavs Gehilfen den Mantel und den Herzogshut, „*um poetisch den Zweck des begangenen Mordes anzuzeigen*“. Er empfahl Petter, das Bild im eigenen Interesse zu korrigieren. Da die eigentlich Mordtat am hl. Wenzel nicht dargestellt sei, sondern erst die Situation darauf, möchte er Boleslav im Hintergrund zusammen mit seinem verbrecherischen Komplizen platziert haben. Vorab verlangte er eine präzisierende Skizze.

Der Maler reagierte am 26. Juni 1844 auf den Brief des Erzbischofs. Der vernichtenden Kritik, die ihn wie eine kalte Dusche traf, stimmte er nicht zu. Die Weise, wie er Boleslav, dargestellt hatte, verteidigte er. Boleslav habe er in der Dunkelheit dargestellt, der hl. Wenzel und die Engel sind von hellem Licht beschienen, auf diese Gruppe konzentriere sich die Aufmerksamkeit, nicht auf Boleslav. Eine Nebenfigur im Vordergrund steigere die Tiefe des Gemäldes. Er konstatierte, dass er die gebilligte Skizze mit dem Mörder, der die gestohlenen Insignien fortträgt, respektieren würde.¹⁴ Damals hatte er dem Erzbischof aufrichtig für die Präzisierung des Themas gedankt

¹² Nagel (1841) nennt im umfangreichen Eintrag „*Petter, Anton Dr.*“ auf S. 194 in der Aufzählung „*der gelungenen Gemälde dieses vortrefflichen Malers*“ noch „*ein grosses Altarbild im Dome zu Olmütz*“. Als dieses einschlägige Lexikon 1841 herauskam, hat Petter freilich noch nicht an diesem Bild gearbeitet. Dieser Widerspruch ist wohl nur so zu erklären, dass Petter die Liste seiner Arbeiten für das *Lexicon* selbst angeboten hat und die Erwähnung des damals nur besprochenen Gemäldes aus Werbegründen seiner Realisierung vorausging. – Georg Kaspar Nagel, *Neues allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon*, XI, München 1841, im umfangreichen Stichwort „*Petter, Anton Dr.*“, S. 194.

¹³ Die damals publizierten Invektiven konnten bislang nicht eingesehen werden.

¹⁴ Vgl. den oben zitierten Brief Petters vom 5. Dezember 1843, „*daß der Mörder mit den geraubten herzoglichen Insignien die Flucht ergreift*“.

(„meinen wärmsten Dank für die mir angegebene Idee; [...] ein höchst poetischer Gedanke“), jetzt verteidigte er, allein den Mantel des hl. Wenzel zu verändern, nicht die ganze Komposition. Er erwartete das endgültige Verdikt des Erzbischofs. Sommeraus-Beekh antwortete scharf am 4. Juli 1844. Er behauptete, dass auf der früher genehmigten Skizze nicht Boleslav, sondern sein Gehilfe den Mantel des hl. Wenzel weggetragen habe. Die Darstellung Boleslavs mit dem Fürstenmantel selbst gebe dem Bild einen anderen Sinn. Der Legende zufolge betete der hl. Wenzel vor dem Mord vor dem Kirchenportal, er war also nicht mit dem Purpurmantel bekleidet und Boleslav hätte ihn nicht wegnehmen können. Die herzoglichen Insignien haben auf dem Bild die rein allegorische Bedeutung, auf den Zweck des Mordes hinzuweisen, die Usurpation der herzoglichen Insignien und Macht durch Boleslav.¹⁵ Er bestand auf eine Korrektur.

Nach dem Besuch seines Kabinettsrats (H. Lehmann) in Wien quittierte der Erzbischof am 21. Juli 1844 mit Dank, dass Petter den von Boleslaus weggetragenen Purpurmantel entfernt hatte. Nachdem er jetzt (offenbar gerade von Lehmann) erfahren hatte, dass es nicht (mehr) möglich sei, die Figuren neu anzuordnen und die Herzogsinsignien auf eine Nebenfigur zu übertragen, bat er Petter, die herzoglichen Insignien – den Herzogshut, Hermelinmantel und das Schwert – wenigstens auf den Kirchenstufen anzuordnen. So werde der Hinweis auf das vorangegangene Martyrium des hl. Wenzel angedeutet und auch, dass der fromme Herzog vor dem Gebet bei der Kirche die Abzeichen seiner weltlichen Macht abgelegt hat,¹⁶ zugleich hebe sich die Gruppe des hl. Wenzel heraus. Übrigens sei bekannt, dass sich der hl. Wenzel schlicht zu kleiden pflegte. Der Erzbischof wünschte ihn auf diese Weise auch auf dem Bild dargestellt.¹⁷

Das Gemälde zeugt in seinem heutigen Zustand davon, dass Anton Petter die vom Erzbischof geforderte Umplatzierung von Wenzels Herzogsmantel, Herzogshut und Schwert vorgenommen hat, sein Gewand ließ er jedoch ohne Änderung. Sicher war er überzeugt, dass es gerechtfertigt sei. Ohne es dem Erzbischof mitzuteilen, hatte er sich bei der Wahl der Kleidung einschließlich der von Boleslav und seiner Mordgehilfen von den romantischen Kostümen der längst vergangenen böhmischen Herzöge im lithographischen Zyklus *Dějiny české v obrazech* (Geschichte Böhmens in Bildern) von Antonín Machek (1820) inspirieren lassen.¹⁸

In Anbetracht der Größe der Leinwand war es nicht möglich, eine Röntgenuntersuchung durchzuführen, die beantworten könnte, wie das Bild vor der Korrektur ausgesehen hat. Der Restaurierungsbericht des Ehepaars Berger macht allerdings auf das Durchscheinen purpurroter Farbe und deutlicher pentimenti des Mantelsaums an einigen evidenterweise übermalten Stellen aufmerksam. Sicher ist jedoch, dass der Streit des Malers mit dem Erzbischof mit einem Kompromiss endete. Sommerau-Beeckh stellte aber auch dies nicht zufrieden. Petters Gemälde brachte er in aller Stille nicht auf den Hochaltar des Olmützer Doms an und allmählich geriet es in Vergessenheit. Der gut informierte Řehoř Wolný erinnerte sich nach ungefähr zehn Jahren nur noch, dass das Bild „des Todes des hl. Wenzels von einem bekannten Wiener Meister angeblich nicht so gut gelungen war.“¹⁹

¹⁵ „Die herzoglichen oder königl. Insignien (...) sollen nur poetisch den Zweck des Mordes, sich die königliche Gewalt anzueignen, bezeichnen.“

¹⁶ Petter beabsichtigte also, den hl. Wenzel in der böhmischen Renaissance- und Barocktradition beim Martyrium mit dem Mantel bekleidet darzustellen. Er hat sich mit ihr mittels der Kopie der Wandmalereien der Wenzelskapelle im Veitsdom von Matyáš Hůský von 1588 bekannt machen können, seit 1806 in der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek (Cod. Ser. N. 2633. Faksimile, Opus Publishing Limited [Martin Heller], London 1997, Abb. XXIII).

¹⁷ „Ich wünsche daher, daß er auch auf dem Bilde in schlichter Kleidung dargestellt werde, was nun um so füglicher geschehen kann, als die Embleme eines regierenden Herrn ohnehin neben ihm angebracht seyn werden.“

¹⁸ Luděk Novák, Antonín Machek, Praha 1962, S. 174, Kat.-Nr. 81–87, Abb. 78–88.

¹⁹ Gregor Wolný, *Kirchliche Topographie von Mähren: Olmützer Erzdiözese, I. Band*, Brünn 1855, S. 154, Anm. 3.

Die Entscheidung des Erzbischof, Petters Bild auf Dauer zu deponieren, könnte mit der gesteigerten Kritik seitens der österreichischen Presse zusammengehangen haben. Der Kunsthistoriker Dr. Eduard Melly (1814–1854) hielt sich am 9. Juni 1844 in den Wienern Sonntagsblättern darüber auf, warum das Gemälde für den Olmützer Dom *Die Ermordung des hl. Wenzel durch die Hand des Bruder* zeige. Er verkündete, dass es endlich nötig sei, ein für allemal mit der Darstellung von Martyrien auf Kirchenbildern ein Ende zu machen. Die Maler christlicher Themen sollten sich im Geiste des christlichen Humanismus auf die aktiven, wohlthätigen Werke der Heiligen ausrichten, nicht auf ihr passives Märtyrertum. Die Malerei verurteilte er auch als solche und Petter bezeichnete er als einen Maler, unfähig die gegebene Aufgabe zu meistern.²⁰ Sommerau-Beeckh selbst „verriet“ seinen Maler nicht. Er vertraute ihm eine weitere Aufgabe an, das Malen des Bildes für den Hochaltar der Patronatskirche St. Peter und Paul in Keltsch/Kelč (signiert 1846).²¹

Die doppelte Wiederentdeckung des vergessenen Bildes

Mit der Zeit wurde Petters Bild des hl. Wenzel vergessen. Mit dem Ende des Episkopats von Kardinal Erzbischof Friedrich von Fürstenberg (1853–1892) entdeckte es der Bibliothekar František Hrbáček^{22,23} auf dem Dachboden des Kremsierer Schlosses, zusammen mit zwei Gemälden von Lucas Cranach, die in der Folge zum Stolz der Kremsierer Schlossgemäldegalerie wurden. Petters Bild hatte nicht dieses Glück. Hrbáček hielt es für einen Theatervorhang und als solcher sollte es im sogenannten Katholischen Haus in Olmütz oder in der Aula des Erzbischöflichen Gymnasiums in Kremsier benutzt werden. Das Bild, den Vorhang, erwähnte noch Eugen Dostál im Jahre 1924, ohne damals zu wissen, wo es sich befand. Erst ein Jahr später identifizierte Antonín Breitenbacher mit einem Verweis auf Řehoř Wolný in ihm das Bild von

²⁰ Eduard Melly, Die Kunstausstellung in Wien im Jahre 1844, in: *Kunstblatt: Beilage zu den Sonntagsblättern* VI, Wien, 9. Juni 1844, S. 548–549. bes. S. 549–550: „Petter hatte das räumlich größte Bild der Ausstellung geliefert. Es stellt den Mord, an dem heil. Wenzel von Bruderhand verübt, vor und ist für den Dom zu Olmütz bestimmt. Man sollte doch endlich aufhören, solche Mord und Gräuelszenen zur Darstellung von Kirchenbildern zu wählen, was durch nichts geboten ist. Denn jede Kirche ist wohl einem Schutzheiligen gewidmet, nicht aber dem Tode oder der Marter beisetzen und wenn die sich so gerne ‚christlichkirchlich‘ nennenden Maler von der göttlichen Humanität und Milde des Christenthums mehr durchdrungen wären, so würden sie Momente aus dem Leben ihrer Heiligen wählen, wo dieselben als thätige Wohlthäter der Menschheit erscheinen, statt sie in der größten Passivität, in Tod und Marter nämlich, darzustellen. Kommt nun eine so theatralische Komposition und eine in den unnatürlichsten Farbenkontrasten Effekt suchende Ausführung zu einem so blutigen Gegenstande, wie in Petters Bilde, so kann man das Mißverständnis zwischen Mittel und Zweck nur beklagen. Wie schätzen Herrn Petter an seinem Orte, aber diese Aufgabe lag nicht im Niveau seines Kunstvermögens. Zu bedauern ist, daß diese bemalte Leinwandmasse zur Wiederholung der im vorigen Jahre vor den belgischen Bildern oft gehörten Frazee: „Unsere Künstler seien solchen Aufgaben nicht gewachsen“, erwünschte Gelegenheit geben wird. Möchten aber die, welche einen solchen verurteilenden Satz ansprechen oder nachbeten, doch bedenken, daß auf die Wahl des Künstlers von Seite des Bestellers das Meiste ankommt, daß man nicht der Allgemeinheit aufbürden darf, was nur dem Einzelnen zur Last fällt.“

²¹ Bohumil Samek, *Umělecké památky Moravy a Slezska* 2, Praha 1999, S. 136. – 1847 bedankte sich Petter mit einem Brief (siehe Anm. 6) beim Erzbischof für das aus seiner Hand persönlich übergebene Honorar für das Altarblatt mit den hl. Peter und Paul. Nachdem er die 8 Banknoten zu je 100 Gulden erhalten hatte, die er gleich in das Portemonnaie steckte und daheim zum anderen Geld in die Sicherheitsdose legte, war es für ihn eine Überraschung, als er sein jährliches Einkommen nachzählte und feststellte, dass er einen Überschuss hat, weil er wusste, dass er keine tausend Gulden in Banknoten angenommen hatte (Regest Tomáš Hlobil).

²² Eugen Dostál, Studie z arcibiskupské obrazárny v Kroměříži, *Časopis Matice moravské* XLVIII, 1924, S. 146–207, bes. S. 176.

²³ Breitenbacher (Anm. 6), S. 79.

Anton Petter.²⁴ Er fand es beträchtlich beschädigt in der Erzbischöflichen Residenz in Olmütz.²⁵ Damals vermutete er, dass *„es nicht auf den Altar gestellt wurde, weil der den Palmzweig tragende Engel angeblich einen weiblichen Körper habe“*.²⁶

Seine Anbringung an dem Ort, für den es geschaffen wurde, kam überhaupt nicht mehr in Betracht. Kardinal Fürstenberg hatte 1884 den Hochaltar des Olmützer Doms mit einem neugotischen Marmorretabel mit vier in Rom gekauften Renaissance-Statuen der östlichen Kirchenlehrer von Mino da Fiesole und seiner Werkstatt geschmückt.²⁷ Die Architekten Gustav Merretta und Richard Völkel regotisierten den ursprünglich protobarocken Chor²⁸ am Ende des 19. Jahrhundert zu seiner heutigen Gestalt.²⁹ Breitenbacher transferierte deswegen das Bild zurück nach Kremsier, wo er 1921 das Schlossmuseum gründete. Es gelang ihm aber nicht, das Gemälde auszustellen. Er wickelte das Bild auf die ursprüngliche Walze, damit es keinen weiteren Schaden leide, und ließ es im Museum. Er fertigte von ihm die auf lange Zeit einzige, qualitätslos publizierte Fotografie an.³⁰ Seine Anfertigung war hinsichtlich der Größe des Bildes nicht leicht. Wie er schrieb, *„gab es kein anderes Mittel, als aus den Fenstern des zweiten Stocks des Schlosshofs Balken hinausragen zu lassen und das an Balken befestigte Gemälde mit Hilfe von Stricken vom Boden in die Höhe hochzuziehen, damit es aus angemessener Höhe fotografiert werden konnte.“*

Breitenbacher (1928–1930) publizierte er nach vier Jahren die oben zitierte Korrespondenz. Als Breitenbachs Museum unterging, endete Petters Bild wiederum auf dem Dachboden des Kremsierer Schlosses und wurde zum zweiten Mal vergessen. Diesmal führte ein Zusammentreffen von Umständen zu seiner Neuentdeckung. Ende der 70er Jahre des vergangenen Jahrhunderts, beim Zusammentragen der kunsthistorischen Literatur zu Olmütz, fesselte Breitenbachers Artikel von 1928–1930 den Autor dieser Studie. Vor einigen Jahren, als Mag. Jan Štětina ihn auf dem Dachboden des Kremsierer Schlosses mit den Ergebnissen der Untersuchung des Schlossturmes bekannt machte, erblickte er die Hülle mit einem zusammengerollten Bild, hinsichtlich der ungewöhnlichen Breite offensichtlich mit Petters „verlorenem“ Gemälde des hl. Wenzel. Die Fachleute des Kunstmuseums in Olmütz und des Erzbistums Olmütz bestätigten die Annahme, sie entrollten das Bild im Kremsierer Schloss zum zweiten Mal – und Petters *Hl. Wenzel* war wieder in der Welt.

²⁴ Antonín Breitenbacher, *Dějiny arcibiskupské obrazárny v Kroměříži*, Kroměříž 1925, S. 127–128, Anm. b.

²⁵ Breitenbacher (Anm. 6), S. 80: *„Leider sah ich (das Bild) in erbärmlichem Zustand; ursprünglich war es auf eine hohe Holzwalze aufgerollt und war daher ausreichend gesichert, aber später, ich weiß nicht auf wessen Einfall, wurde die Walze herausgezogen und das Bild, gemalt auf einer starken, schweren Hanfleinwand von großen Ausmaßen, 8,5 × 5,1 m, zerbrach unter dem eigenen Gewicht in so viele Streifen, wie gerollte Windungen, bis es selbstverständlich nicht nur unbrauchbar wurde, sondern auch unerkennbar wurde.“*

²⁶ Breitenbacher, *Dějiny* (Anm. 24), S. 128; Breitenbacher (Anm. 6).

²⁷ Olga Pujmanová, Mino da Fiesole v Olomouci, *Umění XXXVII*, 1989, S. 225–240.

²⁸ Den Blick von Westen in den Dietrichsteiner Chor vor der Regotisierung fängt eine seltene Fotografie ein, reproduziert von Mořic Kráčmer (Anm. 3), Abb. 12 und 16. Den für das Altarbild des hl. Wenzels bestimmten Platz, vor dem hohen Fenster hinter dem Hochaltar, überdeckte damals eine textile (?) Blende; den Blick aus dem dreischiffigen Langhaus in den Chor engte ein Paar später beseitigter, sekundärer Barockorgeln unter dem Triumphbogen ein. Die Ausmaße des Gemäldes für diesen Raum hat am ehesten Anton Petter selbst bestimmt.

²⁹ Zatloukal, *Přiběhy* (Anm. 10), S. 335–342.

³⁰ Breitenbacher (Anm. 6), S. 79, Abb. 7.

Rehabilitierung

Das Entrollen des Bildes erlaubte zum ersten Mal, das Bild aus kunsthistorischer Perspektive zu untersuchen. Eugen Dostál (1889–1943), Professor für Kunstgeschichte, Kenner der Erzbischöflichen Gemädegalerie, der mit Antonín Breitenbacher in keiner allzu freundschaftlichen Beziehung stand, hat das Bild möglicherweise niemals *in natura* erblickt. Heute lässt sich konstatieren, dass das Bild allererst durch sein ausdrucksvolles Kolorit gefangen nimmt. In der Folge fesselt die auf Gegensätze gegründete Komposition. Die theatralisch aufgefasste Szene schildert parallel auf der rechten Seite diagonal abgeteilt im grellen, himmlischen Glanz das Ereignis der Glorifikation des Herzogs Wenzel, dem ein Engel in der Glorie den Palmzweig der Märtyrer bringt, auf der linken Seite dann zeigt es die rasende Flucht der Mörder mit Boleslav an der Spitze, hinterfangen von der Finsternis mit dem schwachen Schein einer kleinen Fackel. Das Helldunkel der Malerei kontrastiert mit der lichten Farbigkeit des venezianischen Rokoko. Effektiv ist auch die fast barocke Körperlichkeit der Engel zu Seiten des hl. Wenzel. Der barhäuptige Wenzel, die Erhabenheit selbst, erinnert mit dem edlen Antlitz an Christus und die hingebreitete Gestalt an dessen Kreuzigung.³¹ Der luxuriös gekleidete Boleslav mit Pelzmütze auf dem Kopf und der grimmige Kämpfer mit dem Säbel im Gurt flüchten vom Ort des Brudermords, begleitet von zwei hässlichen Gehilfen. Hinter dem hl. Wenzel malte Petter eine gotische Kirche, kein ottonisches oder romanisierendes Heiligtum, wie es man es hinsichtlich der Darstellung eines Ereignisses am 28. September 935 hätte annehmen können. Aus unbekannten Gründen ließ er sich nicht von böhmischer oder österreichischer, sondern von burgundischer Architektur inspirieren. Archäologische Genauigkeit stand sicherlich nicht auf der Tagesordnung. Weiter oben war die slawische Kostümierung nach der Phantasie Antonín Macheks erwähnt worden. Die herzoglichen Insignien, der Hermelinmantel und die Krone haben mit der böhmischen Ikonographie des hl. Wenzel wenig gemeinsam, sie imitieren die erst im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert eingeführten Abzeichen der österreichischen Erzherzöge.³²

Nachdenken ruft das Bildthema hervor, das der Grund für den Streit zwischen dem Erzbischof und dem Maler war. Seine Protagonisten beriefen sich beide auf ihre Weise auf den Wortlaut der *Wenzelslegende* und sicherlich kannten sie einige ihrer Verse, nichtsdestotrotz zitierten sie inkonsequent und ungenau.³³ Der hl. Wenzel betete der Legende gemäß nicht vor

³¹ Die Wenzels Körperhaltung bei Petter variiert die Darstellung des toten Christus auf dem Altarbild der *Kreuzabnahme* von Leopold Kupelwieser um 1840, eines weiteren akademischen Malers aus Wien, der sich unter Erzbischof Sommerau-Beeckh an der Ausschmückung von St. Moritz in Kremsier beteiligt hat. – Siehe Milan Togner–Martin Pavlíček, *Malířství a sochařství 20. století*, in: *Perůtka* (Anm. 10), S. 259–272, Abb. 26). – Interesshalber: Die Legende *Ut annuncietur / Damit der Name des Herrn verkündigt werde* (13. Jh.) erzählt, dass Herzog Wenzel vor der Ermordung „seine Schritte zur Kirche lenkte und als er fand, dass sie noch geschlossen war, sich vor ihrer Türe auf die Weise eines Kreuzes ausbreitete“ (dt. nach der tschechischen Übersetzung von Bohumil Ryba).

³² Über die Entstehung des sog. Erzherzogshut der österreichischen Erzherzöge und die erste Verbindung mit dem hl. Wenzel um das Jahr 1500: Ivo Hlobil, *Nejstarší olomoucké knižní dřevorezy: Knižní dřevorezy olomoucké diecéze a jejich protireformační význam*, *Umění XXIV*, 1976, S. 327–358, S. 353–358, Beilage: *Zobrazení sv. Václava s (mezi) anděly v české tradici*.

³³ Die Schilderung der Ermordung und des Todes des hl. Wenzel nach den beiden ältesten Legenden (tschech. Übersetzungen Josef Vašica und Václav Chaloupecký). Die Erste altkirchenslawische Legende über den hl. Wenzel (um 940) schildert das Geschehen so: „Wenzel ging in die Kirche zur Morgenmesse. Gleich am Portal erreichte ihn Boleslav. Wenzel blickt zu ihm und sagte zu ihm ‚Bruder, gestern warst du uns ein gut Diener‘. Boleslav, dem sich der Teufel zu seinem Ohr neigte und sein Herz verdarb, zog das Schwert und sagte ihm antwortend: ‚Jetzt will ich ein besserer zu dir sein‘. Und als er dies sagte, schlug er ihm das Schwert über den Kopf. Wenzel wandte sich zu ihm um und sagte: ‚Was fällt dir da ein, Bruder?‘ Und er packte ihn und schlug ihn zur Erde. Da eilte ein gewisser Tuža herbei und schnitt Wenzel in in die Hand. Dieser, verletzt an der Hand, ließ den Bruder und eilte zur Kirche. Zwei Verbrecher, genannt Tira und Česta, schlugen ihn im Kirchenportal tot. Dann trat Hněvsa hinzu und durchbohrte

der Ermordung vor dem verschlossenen Portal der Bunzlauer Kirche, er begab sich zur Frühmesse. Die herzoglichen Insignien erwähnt die Legende nicht, die Schilderung von ihrem *Raub* durch Boleslav (nach Petter) oder die *Poetisierung* (nach Sommerau-Beeckh) gehen über den Rahmen der Legende hinaus.³⁴ Das Engelspaar gehört nach den jüngeren Wenzelslegenden zu den Wundern des hl. Wenzel auf dem Reichstag und beim Sieg über den Herzog von Kourim, nicht zu seinem Martyrium.³⁵

Die Inspiration durch vorangegangene Malereien spielte hier keine Rolle. Die barocken Maler und auch noch Antonín Machek³⁶ haben sich auf die eigentliche Mordtat am hl. Wenzel konzentriert. Sie zeigten Boleslav, wie er den Bruder selbst von hinten mit dem Schwert tötete. Dieser hält sich dabei am Löwenring der Kirchentür fest (Karl IV. übertrug ihn angeblich auf die Tür der Wenzelskapelle im Veitsdom). Dargestellt wird er im prunkvollen Herzogsmantel gekleidet und dem Herzogshut auf dem Haupt, der eventuell beim Geschehen auf die Treppe gefallen ist.³⁷ Ein älteres Bild, das den hl. Wenzel tot mit geschlossenen Augen einfängt, überdies mit zwei Engeln an den Seiten, fehlt vor Petter.

Mellys Kritik, die noch allgemein mit der josephinischen Ansicht über das Funktionieren der Kirche in staatlichen Interesse zusammenhängt, benennt Petters Bild als *Mord an dem hl. Wenzel*. Weder Petter noch Sommerau-Beeckh ging es überhaupt um die Darstellung des blutigen Themas, im Gegenteil, absichtlich sind sie ihm soweit wie möglich ausgewichen, wie man am

ihm die Seite mit dem Schwert. Wenzel hauchte sofort seine Seele aus mit den Worten: ‚In deine Hände, Herr, befehle ich meine Seele.‘“ (Lukas 23, 46). Die lateinische Legende, beginnend mit den Worten *Crescente fide christiana / durch wachsenden christlichen Glauben* (Mitte 10. Jahrhundert), gibt an: „Wenzel wurde gewarnt, dennoch ging er dann in jener Nacht vor der Morgendämmerung des nächsten Tages, wie er es oft gewohnt war, zur Morgenmesse. Aber ihm trat sein Bruder in den Weg, dem er sagte: ‚Gestern hast Du uns gut gedient, erhalte reichen Lohn vom Herrn. Dieser jedoch zog sein Schwert aus der Scheide und hieb es dem heiligen Mann über den Kopf und sagte: ‚Und so will ich dir heute dienen!‘ Und es zeigt sich kaum Blut, denn er war vor schrecklicher Angst schwach. Da konnte der selige Wenzel ihn leicht überwinden, aber er wollte sich nicht selbst beflecken. Jener boshafte jedoch rief laut, sagte ‚Hei, wo seid ihr, meine Leute? Helft mir!‘ Da liefen alle jene Bösewichte aus ihren Verstecken mit Schwertern und Lanzen herbei und mit vielen Wunden zerfleischend, töteten sie ihn. Seine Seele aber, auf jenem Kampffeld aus dem Gefängnis dieser Welt befreit, ging mit dem Lorbeer des Blutes zum Herrn am 28. Oktober.“ Ähnlich schilderte die Ermordung des hl. Wenzels auch František Palacký, *Geschichte von Böhmen I*, Prag 1836, S. 208–209: „...am Montag des 28. Oktobers 935, als es zur Morgenmesse läutete, eilte Wenzel wie gewöhnlich zur Kirche. Am Portal von Boleslav erwartet, lobte er ihn, dass er ihn gestern gut bewirtet habe. Dieser zog dann das Schwert, hieb Wenzel über den Kopf und sagte: ‚Heute möchte ich dich besser bewirten!‘ Aber der stärkere Wenzel, ergriff seinen Bruder, riss ihm auch das Schwert aus der Hand, warf ihn auf den Boden und sagte: ‚Dass dir Gott vergebe, Bruder!‘ Als jedoch Boleslav, als ob Wenzel ihn ermorden wollte, um Hilfe zu rufen begann, sprangen seine Dienstleute, Týra und Hněvsa herbei, griffen Wenzel wütend an, der schon verletzt zur Kirche flüchtete, an ihren Türflügeln vom Schwert Hněvsas durchbohrt zur Erde niedersank.“ (nach der tschechischen Ausgabe von 1848).

³⁴ Es sei erinnert, dass eine zeitgenössische Erklärung die Ermordung des Herzogs Wenzel als lang vorbereiteten, aus einem politischen Gesichtspunkt zu rechtfertigenden Akt interpretiert. „Es existierte ein Zwist und offenbar auch ein scharfer Streit zwischen den Brüdern und sicherlich wurde er von den böhmischen Magnaten geschürt. Es war kein kleinlicher Kampf um Macht, es handelte sich um einen Streit über die Konzeption, über die Zukunft des Staates und letztendlich auch darum, was später mit dem böhmischen Volk geschehen sollte...“ – Siehe Dušan Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců: Vstup Čechů do dějin (530–935)*, Praha 1997, S. S. 427–435.

³⁵ Zu dieser Ikonographie Hlobil (Anm. 32), S. 353–358, Beilage: Die Darstellung des hl. Wenzel mit (zwischen) Engeln in der böhmischen Tradition; vgl. Jan Royt, Kult ikonografie sv. Václava v 17. a 18. století, in: Royt, *Svatý Václav v umění 17. a 18. století*, Ausstellungskatalog, Georgskloster auf der Prager Burg / Klášter sv. Jiří na Pražském hradě, 29. September–13. November 1994.

³⁶ Antonín Machek, *Die Ermordung des hl. Wenzel*, um 1798, Kirche St. Johannes d. T., Skála bei Chrast. – Novák (Anm. 18), S. 169, Kat. Nr. 21, Abb. 14.

³⁷ Eine Übersicht und Interpretation der bedeutendsten barocken Bilder mit der Ermordung des hl. Wenzel siehe Jaromír Neumann, *Brandlovy obrazy a ikonografie chrámu sv. Markéty v Břevnově I*, *Umění XXIX*, 1981, S. 126–163, Abb. 17–24.

einzigsten, leicht übersehbaren kleinen Rinnsal Blut unter dem rechten Ohr des hl. Wenzel sehen kann. Das Bild stellt nicht die Ermordung des Herzogs Wenzel dar, sondern den darauffolgenden Beginn der himmlischen Glorifikation des Heiligen und die gleichzeitige Verdammung Boleslavs.³⁸ Gerade damit wurde es auf innovative Weise ein originelles und außergewöhnliches Beispiel der Ikonographie des hl. Wenzel in seiner und der darauffolgenden Zeit.

Präsentation

Augenblicklich nach dem Entrollen auf dem Kremsierer Schloss rief das Gemälde die Aufmerksamkeit der Medien hervor.³⁹ Für die interessierten Institutionen (namentlich Helena Zápalková und Jan Zapletalová vom Kunstmuseum in Olmütz sowie Alena Jemelková vom Erzbistum Olmütz) bedeutete dies die Sorge, was weiter mit dem beträchtlich beschädigten Gemälde anzufangen, wo für eine Restaurierung Geld aufzutreiben, wie seine Ausstellung zu erreichen sei. Dank des Interesses des Olmützer Erzbischofs Jan Graubner, der Initiative des damaligen Direktors des Olmützer Museums, Pavel Zatloukal, des Mäzenatentums des Unternehmers und Generaldirektors der Vítkover Hüttenwerke, Jan Světlík,⁴⁰ der mühsamen, erfolgreichen Arbeit der Restauratoren Berger (beim Retuschieren von unter anderem 160m linienartiger Beschädigung in den Brüchen), des Verständnisses des Magistrats der Stadt Troppau/Opava (Primator Zdeněk Jirásek, Stellvertretender Primator Dalibor Halátek) und der Professionalität des Architekten Josef Pleskot, gelang es schließlich, alle Schwierigkeiten erfolgreich zu überwinden. Die Hängung in der Kirche St. Wenzel beim ehemaligen Dominikanerkloster in Troppau/Opava ermöglicht, dass Gemälde auf optimale Weise auszustellen: im barockisierten, ausreichend großem Raum (das Presbyterium misst in der Höhe 14 m, in der Breite 7,89 m) als Ersatz für das nicht erhaltene, vorangegangene Retabel des Hochaltars. Anton Petter könnte zufrieden sein. Das Interesse der Öffentlichkeit, beträchtlich schon bei der vorläufigen Ausstellung beim Anlass der Eröffnung der Multifunktionshalle Gong in Ostrau/Ostrava,⁴¹ wird die endgültige Rehabilitierung dieses spektakulären Werks bedeuten. Ein Echo in Österreich ist zu erwarten.⁴²

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³⁸ So durchlebte Karl IV. die Ermordung seines Vorfahren in der *Legende des hl. Wenzel* (dt. nach der tschechischen Übersetzung von Richard Mašek): „*Allerdings hasste Boleslav Wenzels gute Werke, denn er trachtete nach irdischen Gütern und verachtete die himmlischen. Weil er sich nach der Regierung des Bruders sehnte, entschloss er sich schnell zum Verbrechen und lud den berühmten Herzog zum Gastmahl auf die Boleslav-Burg ein, die er selbst errichtet hatte. Der Herzog sah allerdings seinen Tod voraus, aber ließ sich wie ein Schaf auf die Schlachtbank führen. Dieser, der sich nicht von seinem irdischen Bruder hintergehen ließ, ließ sich zugleich glücklich und Gott Dank abstattend, zur himmlischen Palme des Märtyrertums führen.*“

³⁹ Ivo Hlobil, Kam s maximálním světcem? Největší obraz sv. Václava vytažen na světlo. Ukrýval se víc než 160 let na půdě arcibiskupského zámku v Kroměříži, *Lidové noviny*, 26. Juli 2011, S. 9.

⁴⁰ Zlámal (Anm. 4), S. 90–91. Sommerau-Beeckh verkaufte die Witkowitz/Vítkovicer Hüttenwerke Baron Rothschild, an deren Stelle erbaute er die Eisenhütte in Friedland an der Ostrawitz/Frýdlant nad Ostravicí.

⁴¹ Jiří Machalický, Nová kunsthalle z plynojemu, *Lidové noviny*, 14. Januar 2012, S. 9.

⁴² Diese Studie erschien auf Tschechisch im Sammelband: Helena Zápalková, Anton Petter, *Oslavení sv. Václava. Restaurování 2012–2014*, Olomouc 2014, S. 11–17.



Fig. 1 Anton Petter, *Die Glorifikation des hl. Wenzel*, 1844, Öl auf Leinwand, Erzbistum Olmütz – Erzdiozesanmuseum Kremsier / Arcibiskupství Olomoucké – Arcidiecézní muzeum Kroměříž. Nach Restaurierung. Fotografie Šárka und Petr Berger



Fig. 2 Inneres des Dietrichsteiner Chors des Wenzeldoms in Olmütz vor dem neogotischen Umbau, 1886. Simulation mit der Platzierung des Gemäldes des hl. Wenzel. Fotografie Muzeum umění v Olomouci

Liechtensteiniana and regional identity of the Czech Silesia

Abstract | The connection of the Liechtensteins to the region of Czech Silesia, especially the Opava region, can be observed through the activities of museums as cultural institutions that express the identity of society through specific environments. This involved the specific engagement of the Liechtensteins in formulating the generally accepted values that create the identity of a location and region. The Liechtensteins' interest in the regions of Opava and Krnov culminated around 1720, at a time when there was serious discussion about constructing a residence in Opava or somewhere in the Opava region. The structure was never realized, and the relationship of the princes to their principalities was expressed only in the family crests on the facades of patron buildings. A new relationship to the region was not established until Johann II, the prince of Liechtenstein (1840–1929). As a patron of culture and the arts, he liberally subsidized the Opavian Museum of Emperor Franz Josef for arts and crafts. He donated land for its construction, obtained after the demolition of the old Opava chateau. In May 1911, the main space of the museum building was permanently adapted as the Liechtenstein Hall. A pivotal project, declaring the relationship of the prince to the Opava region, was the Liechtenstein exhibition, which opened on 4 January 1914. However, the historical and cultural narrative relating to the unity of the land and the Liechtenstein dynasty as an arbitrator of cultural norms and modern society provided by the exhibition did not last long: it was interrupted by the First World War.

Keywords | Regional identity – museums – Czech Silesia – Liechtenstein dynasty

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The connections of the Liechtenstein family to the Czech Silesia and to the Opava region, in particular, can be viewed through museum activities as those of cultural institutions forming the identity of a society by specific means¹. They represented specific forms of the involvement of the Liechtenstein family in formulating generally accepted values the sum of which forms the identity of a place or region. First, a comparison will be made of the situation at the beginning of the 18th century, i. e. the times of Anton Florian of Liechtenstein (1656–1721), and the beginning of the following century with the situation around the year 1900. Neither Anton Florian nor his predecessors, Karl Eusebius (1611–1684) and Johann Adam Andreas (1684–1712), built their residences in Opava, even though there were some efforts to build them as documented

¹ The paper was delivered on the conference Opavsko mezi Moravou a Slezskem – identita regionu a její proměny, organised by Philosophical Faculty of Ostrava University in September 26, 2014. It is a follow-up of Pavel Šopák – Markéta Kouřilová, Pátrání po identitě: Lichtenštejnové ve Slezském zemském muzeu, *Časopis Matice moravské* – Supplementum 5: *Lichtenštejnové a umění*, Brno 2013, pp. 211–223; published also in German as Idem, Die Suche nach Identität: Die Liechtenstein im Schlesischen Landesmuseum, in: *Die Liechtenstein und die Kunst*, Vaduz 2014, pp. 233–246.

for at least Karl Eusebius.² However, during Anton Florian's reign several buildings symbolically referring to the prince's presence were built in Opava and princely estates.³ The way of reference to the builder was the most common, i. e. the placement of the Liechtenstein coat of arms on the exterior, exceptionally in the interior of the buildings. In this respect, the most important building was and, in fact, still is the Jesuit church in Opava, the Baroque structure built in the 70s of the 17th century and with the Liechtenstein coat of arms in the frontage axis. The coat of arms used to be in the main altarpiece, which was destroyed towards the end of the World War II but known from photographs and from a *ricordo* which was given to the Prince Joseph Johann Adam (1690–1732) by the Opava Jesuits as thanks for funding the construction of the building.⁴

Among the village churches with the Liechtenstein coat of arms stands out Saint Martin's Church in Široká Niva; another church, Nativity of the Blessed Mary Church in Brumovice, was supplied with more common and far simpler coat of arms. Such references seem to have been too little for an estate society; they are too trivial, common, in fact, quite natural. On the other hand, there is no evidence for the existence of the triumphal symbolism which consists in evoking a symbolic relationship between the prince and patron saints or evidence about the existence of symbolic, i. e. mainly depictive representation (sculpture, painting) of the prince's beneficial deeds for the country in the Opava or Krnov regions. We would expect the existence of more monuments to commemorate the Liechtenstein family in "their" principality and which would have been kept by the next generations with respect. This can be explained in only one way: the Liechtenstein family manifested little interest in their estates and the principality in Silesia. Not only did they not reside there, they even did not have the need to declare their connection to the region and invest in the court representation in addition to their common utilitarian economic activities.

As a result they had to be fading from the life in the then society; the society which gradually transformed from the subject passivity into a proto-civic society. It is a remarkable and yet not much emphasized fact that the proto-civic society at the turn of the 18th and the 19th century still counted feudal authority for granted as to its public influence; it expected it, perhaps even required it. That function almost seems to have been met somehow "on behalf" by the Grand Master of the Order of Teutonic Knights, as can be illustrated by the two randomly selected examples. The first example refers to the Silesian calendar of general schools (*Schlesischer Volksschulkalwender*, 1858–1863), the annual contributions on which were in the following ratio: 300 guildens by the Diet, 100 guildens by the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights, 50 guildens by the Olomouc Archbishop and only 25 guildens by the Liechtenstein family.⁵ The other example refers to the Male Choir Society which, at their beginnings prior to 1850, had been seeking for the arbiter of their activities to find him in the Prince Felix of Lichnowsky and the Grand Master

² Pavel Šopák – Petr Vojtal, Opava jako barokní rezidenční město: Příspěvek k tématu, in: *Opava: Sborník k dějinám města* 1, Opava 1998, p. 71–75.

³ These were not unambiguous author artworks. For instance, only one builder, the engineer Johann Gilbert, has been identified to date from the long Liechtenstein period; he worked for Anton Florian of Liechtenstein from 1712 and specialised in economic and technical buildings such was the Prince's mill in Opava, whose project he designed. Christiane Salge, *Anton Johann Ospel: Ein Architekt des österreichischen Spätbarock 1677–1756*, Berlin 2007, pp. 83 and 90.

⁴ NPÚ, územní památková správa v Kroměříži, Státní hrad Šternberk, inv. č. ST 1013, Marianna Štorková, *Lichtenštejnská obrazárna hradu Šternberka na Moravě*. Master's thesis, Olomouc, Philosophical Faculty of Palacký Univerzity, 2009, most recently see Pavel Šopák a kolektiv, *Znamení vertikál: Církevní a náboženský život českého Slezska od středověku po první světovou válku*, Opava 2013, pp. 257–259.

⁵ *Erster Bericht der k. k. Lehrerbildungs-Anstalt in Troppau*, Troppau 1873; *Schlesischer Volksschulkalender* was published from 1857.

of the Teutonic Knights but not in Alois II, Prince of Liechtenstein.⁶ Such lack of interest can also be recognised in the history of the Grammar School Museum (*Troppauer Gymnasialmuseum*). The literature wrongly connected the memorandum of 1827 written by Faustin Ens, Franz Mückusch von Buchberg and Johann Joseph Schößler to the Liechtenstein family, whereas the addressee of the document was more likely the Archduke Anthony Victor as the then Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights.⁷ To sum up, the Liechtenstein family and the Opava museum were an incompatible pair of contradictory entities. Some change in the relationship between the Liechtenstein family and the Silesian society and the Opava society, in particular, occurred at the end of the 19th century and it was a striking, perhaps even ground-breaking change. The then reigning member of the Liechtenstein family, Johann II (1840–1929), loved the museums and galleries in the central Europe. He was even celebrated for his role of an art patron in the publication which was published to celebrate the 50th anniversary of his reign and which now represents a valuable source.⁸ However, his relationship with the Emperor Franz Joseph Opava Museum of Arts and Crafts was more intimate than that with the similar museums in Prague, Vienna, Brno or Wrocław. It can be demonstrated by the external manifestations such as donating the land with the old Liechtenstein chateau or giving the money to build the museum and contributing a number of valuables to its collections, but mainly by the development of the interior system of symbols associated with the museum and its seat.

Despite its smaller scale and limited funds the museum building built in 1893–1895 had, as compared to the then museum buildings in central Europe, a remarkably rich sculptural and painting decoration conceived partly as a celebration of art and partly as a pantheon of the Silesian Land. Until the spring 1945 its exterior included a sculptural decoration structured by values hierarchy, the lower part of which was represented by the three types of fine arts – sculptural allegories of the art of painting, sculpting and architecture – and the top part by the figure of Genius rising from the cupola. The trio of the figural allegories was placed into the inter-column gallery in front of the assembly hall of the Chamber of Trade and Commerce. Behind the windows was the central area – the assembly hall under the ceiling of which were placed the coats of arms of the Silesian towns, representing, as a whole, the Austrian Silesia as an autonomous country. Its coat of arms was embedded in the mosaic floor of the hall. When the Chamber of Trade and Commerce, which funded the museum and its construction primarily, decided to build a new administration building, which was built in 1908–1910, the connection of general principles (crafts and commerce at that time) in sculptural allegories and the Silesian Land was even more distinctive and set directly on the frontage: the architect Leopold Bauer and the sculptor Josef Obeth as an implementer supplemented the sculptors with the relief strips with the names of the Silesian towns. Meanwhile the vacant hall had become representative exhibition space. Analogically to the Vienna Arsenal (1856) by Theophil Hansen or the National Museum building (1883, implementation in 1885–1891 by Schulz in Prague), the most important space was situated under the cupola. It was dedicated to Johann II, Prince of Liechtenstein, who, on 10 April 1884, as early as on the meeting of the board of the decorative arts museum, was asked to take over the patronage over the museum.⁹

⁶ Pavel Šopák, Kultura–politika–společnost: Počátky mužského pěveckého spolku v Opavě (1847–1856), *Časopis Slezského zemského muzea*, series B 62, 2013, no. 1, pp. 25–36.

⁷ Státní okresní archiv Opava, Archiv města Opava, inv. no. 818, carton 57, originally from the property of the town museum in Opava, which received it as a gift at the beginning of the 20th century.

⁸ Karl Höß, *Fürst Johann II. Von Liechtenstein und die bildende Kunst*, Wien 1908, reprint 2010.

⁹ *Festschrift aus Anlass der Eröffnung des neuen Museumsgebäudes 27. October 1895*, hrsg. vom Museums-Curatorium, Troppau [1895], p. 22.

At the same time we can see how – metaphorically said – the ratio was reversed between the funding of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Knights and the Prince when the Archduke Eugen of Austria donated 200 guldens, but Johann II, Prince of Liechtenstein donated 11 000 guldens. On 27 October, 1895, when the museum building was ceremonially opened, the Prince of Liechtenstein was repeatedly mentioned in speeches as documented by the then newspaper report mentioning not only his credits for the building but his donating a number of valuable artefacts to the collections.¹⁰ In May 1911, the past assembly hall of the Chamber of Trade and Commerce, which then served for temporary exhibitions, was renamed after the Prince Johann and “for ever”. It is impossible to find a museum building for which the celebration of a personality would be expressed in such representative means, apart from the emperors and members of the reigning dynasty, who took patronage over museums (e.g. the patron of the Brno museum of decorative arts was the Archduke Rainer). Since from the original iconography remained the coat of arms of the Silesian towns in the *Liechtenstein hall*,¹¹ it literally became an apotheosis of the Silesian Land under its ruler, though not quite rightly, since among the Silesian towns represented in the coat of arms gallery, were also those lying in other Silesian principalities, i.e. the Těšín region, Bilsko and in the Austrian part of the Nisa principality. In addition, Opava had two Liechtenstein halls at that time; the older one had been developed after the first half of the 19th century on the first floor of a land house (*Landeshaus*) and served as audience space.

There were some plans to decorate the Liechtenstein hall with a bust of the Prince. It was to be the work by one of Silesian artists, but the plans were not implemented. However, the thought of ceremonial space decorated with a portrait of the Prince was not new in Opava. To a certain extent, we can see in the Liechtenstein hall a continuation or outcome of a concept which was chosen for the Assumption of the Virgin Mary Church presbytery in the half of the 18th century. In this sacral space was, in 1757–1765, placed a kenotaph (*sic!*)¹² of Karl I, Prince of Liechtenstein (1569–1627), the work by the sculptor John George Lehner, who created a complex composition with a number of assisting figures and with a portrait locket, in particular. However, the work was created one hundred and thirty years after Karl's death in a quite different situation. In other words, it was not only an artistic concept and form, outstanding because of its French inspiration; the artefact surprises by its modernity, which reflected the contractor's requirement as well as the unexpressed desire of the then elites, and can be referred to as the late Baroque *historism*. It is a symbolic identification of the land with the first of the Liechtenstein princes relatively early after the secession of the remarkable part of Silesia and the crises of regional identity. Thus the Assumption of the Virgin Mary Church presbytery became the memorial space of the secular, even political meaning. Therefore, it is not surprising that when the interest in the *liechtensteiniana* culminated by the museum of decorative arts (which also used the name Silesian Land Museum), work by Lehner was repeatedly commented on by Edmund Wilhelm Braun.¹³

¹⁰ Das schlesische Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, *Silesia*, no. 249, October 29, 1895, p. 2.

¹¹ Edmund Wilhelm Braun, *Tätigkeitsbericht über die Jahre 1910–1912: Zugleich als Erinnerungsschrift an die Erweiterung und Neuaufrichtung der Museums-Sammlungen*, Troppau 1913, pp. 11–12. – The Chamber of Trade and Commerce was moved into a new building on October 23, 1910, between October, 1910, and the end of May, 1911, the re-installation of the collections was carried out, the interior and furnishings from the wooden church in Tošovice were installed in the hall, the museum opened in May 29, 1911.

¹² Since Edmund Wilhelm Braun (see footnote no. 13) the contemporary literature refers to this kenotaph as to the epitaph, though not precisely.

¹³ Edmund Wilhelm Braun, Das Epitaph des Fürsten Carl Liechtenstein in der Troppauer Pfarrkirche und sein Meister Johann Georg Lehnert, *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte Österreichisch Schlesiens* IV, 1909–1910, pp. 25–39. – Idem, Die Restaurierung des Epitaphs des Fürsten Carl von Liechtenstein in der Troppauer Pfarrkirche und sein Meister I. G. Lehnert, *Mitteilungen der k. k. Zentralkommission für Denkmalspflege* III, Folge 14, 1915, pp. 162–164.

The opening of the building in May 1911 was an extraordinary social event and was attended by everybody who meant something in the political, economic and cultural life. The building was decorated with the flags of the land and Liechtenstein colours, and the Prince Eduard Liechtenstein, had a ceremonial speech on behalf of Johann II, Prince of Liechtenstein. The Liechtenstein exhibition in January and February 1914 meant the culmination of that increasing link between the Liechtenstein family and the modern Opava, and also between the princely dynasty and the Austrian Silesia. The exhibition to commemorate the 300th anniversary of the acquisition of the Opava and Krnov regions by the Liechtenstein family, was a unique opportunity to unite the dynasty with the town of Opava and the land, and paradoxically with not only the Opava-Krnov principality as would have been adequate to the scope of the state dominance of the territorial lord, but due to the then civil state of Opava as the capital city of the Silesian Land also with the entire Austrian Silesia. The exhibition opened on 4 January 1914 and the opening was attended by the Prince Eduard Liechtenstein and the most significant representatives of land administration and self-government – Land President (*Landespräsident*) Max, Count of Coudenhove, and Landeshauptman Heinrich, Count of Larisch-Mönnich,¹⁴ – and together with them the representatives of towns, institutions and societies.¹⁵ From newspapers, e. g. from the Těšín *Silesia*, we can learn about the structure of the exhibition the core of which was the installation in the Liechtenstein hall. For a couple of months the museum director, Edmund Wilhelm Braun, turned the hall into – according to the newspaper – a *monumental* family gallery.¹⁶ The concern of the exhibition was not only the retrospective, family memorials, coins, documents, artworks of the past centuries or standard manifestation of patronage. One of the most cited exhibited items was the town shooting gallery in Krnov, work by the architect Leopold Bauer of 1908, remembered as a tangible example of the Liechtenstein support of modern architecture in the region. After all, prior to the World War I the Liechtenstein family and Opava was not only the Landesmuseum, but also sociable events, such as patronage of the second international tennis tournament which took place in Opava in May 1911. All such events reinforced the attachment of the Liechtenstein family to their principality and Silesia, and belief of the inhabitants of Opava and Silesia that they finally found an arbiter of their public actions, activities, arts and crafts, and creativity in Johann of Liechtenstein.¹⁷ However, such historical and cultural fiction on the integrity of the country and the Liechtenstein family as an arbiter of cultural standards and life of modern society did not last long; it vanished with the first gunshots in the World War I.

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¹⁴ *Troppauer Zeitung*, no. 1, January 4, 1914, p. 3.

¹⁵ For instance, the participation of the director of Opava grammar school was recorded in *Jahresbericht des k. k. Staats-Gymnasiums mit deutscher Unterrichtssprache in Troppau für das Schuljahr 1913–1914*, Troppau 1914, p. 43.

¹⁶ *Silesia* no. 3, January 4, 1914, p. 1. – *Silesia*, no. 4, January 6, 1914, p. 2. – Die Liechtenstein-Erinnerungsausstellung in Troppau, *Silesia*, nos 26 a 28, February 1 and 5, 1914, pp. 1–2.

¹⁷ Zweites internationales Tennisturnier Troppau, *Silesia*, no. 122, May 30, 1911, p. 2.



Fig. 1 Johann Adam Delsenbach, view of Opava with the Liechtenstein Castle, about 1720.
Slezské zemské muzeum



Fig. 2 Opava, Dolní Square, church of St. George and St. Adalbert with the emblem of the Liechtenstein family, about 1680, view before 1945. Slezské zemské muzeum



Fig. 3 Široká Niva, church of St. Martin, main entry with the coat of arms of the Liechtenstein family.
Photo by Pavel Šopák



Fig. 4 Opava, Emperor Franz Joseph Opava Museum of Arts and Crafts, before 1918.
Slezské zemské muzeum



◀ Fig. 5 Opava, provost church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, Karl of Liechtenstein's epitaph by Johann Georg Lehner. Slezské zemské muzeum



▼ Fig. 6 Opava, Land Museum, Liechtenstein Hall, before 1938. Slezské zemské muzeum

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Beautiful Boxes or Technocratic Grey? Towards a Periodic Definition of Czech Housing Estates Using the Example of Prague

Abstract | Prefabricated housing estates, which were created in the Czech lands between the late 1950s up until the mid-1990s, have in recent years emerged as a subject of interest, and not only for architectural history. An extensive interdisciplinary research project into Czech housing estates, covered by the five-year grant “Prefabricated Estates in the Czech Republic as Part of the Urban Living Environment”, has also included the participation of the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague.

In the over four decades of their construction, these housing estates underwent architectural development, though this need not immediately be apparent on first view. For us to deal with all of the theoretical as well as practical problems posed by the phenomenon of the prefabricated housing estate, we need first of all to find a suitable terminology and a basic periodicisation, which has been the aim of our work.

Because it has been found within the documentation of selected housing estates to be impossible to accept any of the previous chronological and stylistic divisions of mass housing without reservations, the article discusses a concept for periodicisation that would apply on the level of the entire nation. The proposal is based on the architectonic and urban analysis of the estates, the development of prefabrication and panel technology, as well as on the era’s political and economic situations, which directly influenced the construction of public housing. The housing estates of Prague have been selected as a model instance for the reason that they provide the hitherto most thoroughly researched locality in the Czech Republic, while the national capital at the same time acts as the nation’s most influential cultural centre.

Keywords | Panel block architecture – estates – periodisation

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The prefabricated housing estate, as created in the Czech Republic from the late 1950s up until the mid-1990s,¹ ranks among the most controversial and contradictory architectural legacies of the recent past. In one respect, these estates represent the material realisation of the dreams of the interwar left-wing avant-garde of housing for all (and indeed, every third Czech lives in a prefabricated apartment block); yet on the other hand, these estates could be viewed as an only rarely successful attempt by overly ambitious architects trapped in the belief that it was possible to construct new, harmonic cities in an architectural vacuum. At the same time, the prefabricated housing estate later became viewed as part of the “social contract” in the wake of

¹ The last prefabricated estates were still under construction even after the fall of Communist rule in 1989, circa to 1995. By that year, the “complex apartment building” (“*komplexní bytová výstavba*”; KBV), fall to the end, too.

the Prague Spring and subsequent Warsaw Pact invasion between the Communist party-state and society at large: that the promise of social security and satisfaction of material needs would be matched by a complete withdrawal from political participation. In yet another factor, the new inhabitants of these estates generally left behind historically formed urban structures to arrive in these functionalistically austere tower blocks without any mutual hierarchy, let alone any clearly defined public spaces. In consequence, the prefabricated housing estate should be understood as a multidimensional phenomenon worthy of research attention from a variety of humanistic as well as technical fields.

An extensive interdisciplinary investigation into Czech housing estates is being undertaken by the Museum of Applied Arts in Prague, within the framework of the five-year grant entitled “Housing Estates in the Czech Republic as a Component of the Urban Living Environment”². The research team, to which the author of the present text belongs, has taken as its goal the documentation of selected Czech housing estates in terms of their historic, aesthetic, heritage, cultural and social aspects. This project is intended as a contribution to the recognition of the architectural and urban values of the estates and to contemporary life within them. The results of the research will be presented in a series of thirteen exhibitions in regional capitals and, finally, in Prague. As the main outcome of the research, a certifying methodological guideline will be prepared for the protection of these areas and the possibilities of their development, as well as to educative methods that allow the questions of the prefabricated estates to become accessible to the general public.

Art-Historical Research on the Prefabricated Housing Estate

At the start, it is worth posing the question of whether architectural history should even turn its attention to the prefabricated housing estate. From the standpoint of art history as traditionally conceived, the first answer may well be negative. At first glance, there would seem no reason at all to examine mass construction where the pressure for the quantity of completed units almost completely suppressed any other aesthetic or artistic ambitions. From the “grey sea of panels”, it is possible to rescue only a select few instances that meet the criteria for architecturally valuable buildings, and the great majority of housing estates are more deserving of the designation of average production for the era. Yet should this debatable measurement of ‘architectural quality’ be retained today as the sole, or even the main, criterion and guideline for what architectural history should examine? Quite certainly, no. In the age of “post-art”, we can find historical significance in the prefabricated estates according to quite different criteria, for instance precisely in their quantity and mass scale, as they reflect the contemporary conditions and problems of architectonic creation in a different way than buildings of exceptional quality.

Though the first reflections on prefabricated estates appeared immediately after they ceased to be built, in the mid-1990s, coherent art-historical research on the topic can only be dated back to a decade later, when the theme was addressed in the diploma work of Eva Novotná and Lucie Zadražilová.³ The latter author, in her latest book, provides a summary of the ideological

² The present article was prepared within the framework of the project “Prefabricated Housing Estates in the Czech Republic as a Component of the Urban Living Environment: Evaluation and Presentation of Their Residential Potential”, supported by the Czech Ministry of Culture as part of the Program of Applied Research and Development of National and Cultural Identity (NAKI), project ID code: DF13P01OVV018.

³ Eva Novotná (Pýchová), *Česká bytová výstavba 1945–1964* (MA thesis), Department of Art History, Faculty of Arts, Palacký University, Olomouc 2005. – Lucie Zadražilová, *Sociokulturní pohled na problematiku bydlení v Československu ve 2. polovině 20. století: Prostorová a sociální specifika panelových sídlišť* (PhD dissertation), Department of Cultural Anthropology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague 2012.

background behind the construction of these estates and its implementation in practice, as well as compiling the most complete overview of the literature on the topic to date.⁴ In the USA, the theme of Czechoslovak panel construction has been addressed for some time as well by Kimberly Elman Zarecor.⁵ A wider public awareness of the residential culture of the housing estate was spurred by the exhibition *Husákovo 3+1* held by the Prague Academy of Applied Arts and Design.⁶ The development of forms of collective residences in the 20th century within the (former) Czechoslovakia was presented at this year's Venice Biennale by a group of authors led by Martin Hejl.⁷ Prague's prefabricated housing stock, however, has not (with the exception of one exhibit⁸) yet received a full discussion, as is the case with that of Bratislava.⁹

Previous Periodicisation of Housing Estates

The concept of the housing estate, for our research, is understood as an urban residential complex with over 150 units,¹⁰ which in contrast to the historically formed city was created at once over a relatively short period (between a few years and up to two decades). These estates were planned as autonomously functioning "city districts", intended to provide all their residents with the full range of public facilities. At the same time, we also include under the title of "housing estate" those districts constructed with traditional masonry (generally from the late 1940s up to the end of the 1950s) in which the first forms of standardisation and prefabrication were applied, and which in fact prefigured the later spread of concrete-panel construction.

In this specified period of over four decades, the form of the housing estate underwent definitive architectural development, though this may not at first sight be evident. More visible differences can be discerned primarily in the urban plan of the estate as a whole, and indeed criticism from this era regarded precisely the urban design as the sole possible space for architectural invention in designing the estates.¹¹ For us to be able to match all of the theoretical and practical problems that the phenomenon of the prefabricated housing estate brings in its wake, we need first of all to find a suitable terminology and basic periodicisation to create a framework for our research. We are, of course, not the first to encounter the necessity of articulating the development of mass housing construction, yet nevertheless none of the previously prepared periodic divisions can be accepted for our purposes unreservedly. In the following brief overview of the previously proposed chronological description of the housing estates (arranged according to the level of complexity), we will show why this is the case.

⁴ Lucie Zadrazilová, *Když se utopie stane skutečností: Panelová sídliště v Československu 1953–1989*, Praha 2013.

⁵ Kimberly Elman Zarecor, *Manufacturing a Socialist Modernity: Housing in Czechoslovakia 1945–1960*, Pittsburgh 2011. – See also review by Martina Hrabová, in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* LXX, no. 3, September 2014, pp. 423–424.

⁶ Lada Hubatová-Vacková – Cyril Říha (eds.), *Husákovo 3+1*, Praha 2007.

⁷ Martin Hejl et al., *2 × 100 mil. m²*, Praha 2014.

⁸ Martina Flekačová – Klára Halmanová – Milan Kudyn – Lucie Zadrazilová, *Texty k výstavě Pražská panelová sídliště* (not published), Staroměstská radnice, Sál architektů 31. 5. – 16. 9. 2012.

⁹ Henrieta Moravčíková – Mária Topolčanská – Peter Szalay – Matúš Dulla – Soňa Ščepánová – Slávka Toschevová – Katarína Haberlandová, *Bratislava. Atlas sídlisk*, Bratislava 2011. – This book was reviewed by Rostislav Švácha in *Umění* LXI, 2013, p. 188.

¹⁰ This figure is stated by the Institute of Urban Development in Brno, which collects data on the condition and problems of Czech housing estates.

¹¹ Pavel Halík, *Urbanistický prostor a urbanistická kompozice, Architektúra a urbanizmus* XV, 1981, p. 189–202.

One very basic chronological division into three groups has been proposed by Jiří Knapík and Martin Franc.¹² Their concept distinguishes the brick buildings in Socialist-Realist style constructed in the years of Stalinism, the first panel states from the mid-1950s to the end of the 1960s, and then the gigantic estates of the post-Prague Spring era in the 1970s and 1980s. This division, however, is much too simplistic for our purposes.

Ivo Oberstein, who in his dissertation examined the Prague housing estate of 'Southwest Town' (Jihozápadní Město),¹³ took the prefabricated-concrete estate as his subject, dividing it into three developmental stages for which he used the term "generations". In the first generation, he placed housing estates that arose in larger or smaller open spaces, in which the urban composition did abandon the traditional residential block but still retained a link to the elements of the earlier city. As examples, he listed the estates of Solidarita, Petřiny, Novodvorská or Krč. The second generation, which for Oberstein is represented by 'North Town' (Severní Město), was already constructed upon completely open land, where the entire urban 'skeleton' needed to be built. This group of four individually designed estates (Prosek, Ďáblice, Kobylisy, Bohnice) was praised for its attempt to create true urban spaces (pedestrian zones, recognisable centres), yet with the qualification that *"the basic urban structure is, however, resolved on traditional principles."*¹⁴ South Town (Jižní Město), which in Oberstein's view lacked a well-planned transport network and thus had to leave its urban structure more open, represented a transitional phase. The third generation of housing estates, in this framework, was represented by Southwest Town (Jihozápadní Město), which was composed along the stations of the metro line in an effort to shift individual transportation towards public, to include in the urban plan the "organic" integration of earlier suburban village areas, and to use the prefabricated blocks to create enclosed urban spaces.

Yet not even Oberstein's more discerning periodicisation sufficiently captures the entire developmental trajectory of housing-estate construction (including those groups created using traditional masonry technology). Moreover, it is entirely incorrect in its mixing together several utterly different housing estates into a single 'first generation'. From the completion of Solidarita, the first ever Prague housing estate, to the later examples of Petřiny and Krč, concrete-panel technology made considerable progress, and these estates have significant differences in both architecture and urban planning. Nor should we entirely omit the concept of the 'housing estate' in Socialist-Realist style, even though no such designs were ever built in Prague. Though Oberstein is correct in describing it as a characteristic example of construction in Prague from the 1970s, Jižní Město definitely should not be assigned to a 'transitional phase', but forms a developmental stage all of its own.¹⁵ And as for an estate such as Jihozápadní Město, in which the architects in charge were actually responding to the increasing criticism of the prefabricated estate in the final years of Communist rule, stressing the loss of elements shaping a true urban environment, yet another category is itself necessary.

At the same time, Ivo Oberstein prepared his categorisation of Prague's housing estates over a decade before their construction came to an end, and thus could not capture them in full. In his categories, he focused – following the orientation of his research – on their urban conception and placement in the wider organism of the city. Such a system, unfortunately, overlooks architectural evaluation, as well as any placing of these estates into the historic and political

¹² m-fra [Martin Franc], entry 'Sídliště', in: Jiří Knapík–Martin Franc (eds), *Průvodce kulturní děním a životním stylem v českých zemích 1948–1967*, Praha 2011, p. 820–821.

¹³ Ivo Oberstein, *Urbanistická kompozice Jihozápadního Města* (PhD dissertation), Faculty of Architecture, Czech Technical University, Prague 1980, p. 8–17.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁵ Czech housing estates with a similar fate, where pressures for quantity completely overwhelmed any qualities inherent in the design, are indeed considerable in number.

context of the period of their creation. Oberstein's model was taken up by Kateřina Jišová and Lucie Zadražilová,¹⁶ with certain modifications, though these authors both correctly note that the division into 'generations' invokes a sense of progress in stylistic development – which in the case of these housing estates, is disputable.

The authors of the monograph on the housing estates of Bratislava¹⁷ used for their chronological system a sequence based on the immediate political and historical context. Individual phases are set off by specific years that represent significant political decisions, or the years of the start or the finishing of selected Bratislava estates. In this system of periods, the authors include only those building complexes realised entirely with prefabricated concrete-panel technology. The first phase (1955–1960) is connected with the second Czechoslovak Five-Year Plan and the period of the first experiments with panel technology. The subsequent stage (1961–1976) is demarcated by the start of the construction of the Ružinov estate. It was during this period that the concept for development of public housing construction in Slovakia was set up until 1980, as well as including the large-scale international competition for the estate of Petržalka in 1967. In fact, it is the construction of Petržalka, in the period 1976–1981, that determines the third phase, during which Bratislava's population sharply rose, along with the number of newly constructed flats. The concluding period (1982–1995) is regarded as a revision of the architectural and urban aspects of prefabricated construction, culminating in the completion of the Dlhé diely estate in the mid-1990s. However, the characterisation of the individual stages lacks a broader architectural-urban evaluation, such that the estates could be assigned differently than simply on the dates of their creation. Moreover, the restrictions of the determining years in terms of construction within Bratislava mean that this system cannot be applied to other estates in Slovakia.

External Factors Influencing the Architecture and Planning of Housing Estates

The chronological division of housing-estate construction cannot be grounded in stylistic analysis alone, since the architectural and the urban form of the built results was influenced not only by the authorial design but many other additional factors. First of all, it is necessary to reiterate that the sole investor and commissioner of apartment construction was the state, which actively directed the process from the planned number of flats through the project preparation up to the actual construction. In contrast to painters and sculptors, who even despite disfavour from the regime could at least find relatively free creation in the area of "parallel culture",¹⁸ the architects employed in the massive state design institutes worked exclusively on state commissions. Their role in the design of housing estates retreated into the background. Architects "*were placed in a position entirely subordinated to the monopoly contracting firms, investment organisations, and an entire array of other administrative and planning institutions. Hence they had to resign from the*

¹⁶ Kateřina Jišová, Mraveniště lidí: Sny a realita budování socialistického velkoměsta, *Dějiny a současnost* I, 2005, no. 4, p. 41–43. – See Zadražilová, *Sociokulturní pohled* (note 4), p. 179–180. – Lucie Zadražilová, Brněnská Tapiola: Sociokulturní pohled na brněnské sídliště Lesná a jeho vztah k finské Tapiole, *Brno v minulosti a dnes* XXVI, 2013, p. 215–216.

¹⁷ See Henrieta Moravčíková (note 9), p. 24–28.

¹⁸ Pressure on the artists who produced the sculptural decoration of the housing estates was primarily ideological. Even though the state, as the commissioner of the artworks (represented by the Fund for the Fine Arts) determined the creative guidelines, artists could avoid conformity through selecting safely apolitical themes. See Pavel Karous, Morfologie unavené moderny, in: idem, *Vetřelci a volavky: Atlas výtvarného umění ve veřejném prostoru v Československu v období normalizace (1968–1989)*, Praha 2013, p. 13–17.

*possibility of standing at the birth of the most important city- and landscape-forming decisions...*¹⁹ Many architects did not wish to reconcile themselves to this practice, and succeeded at times in defending (at least in part) their designs, yet at the same time it was not only a question of their personalities but also on the responses of national committees in each region, and the willingness of the state construction enterprises to implement technological innovations.

In addition to political and economic pressures, another influence on the form of the housing estates was the development of technology and standardisation. As soon as standardisation by volume took precedence in the 1960s over standardisation by element, a factor that determined the appearance of the entire building without, essentially, requiring any intervention on the part of an architect, housing estates began to be built on the basis of the patterns in the standardisation guidebooks, in an almost military austerity. Any divergence from the set standards raised the construction price against the standard technical-economic indicators.²⁰ Moreover, for each specific housing-estate project, a factory was assigned, each of which manufactured only one certain type of panels. Another influence on the resulting form of housing estates also stemmed from the construction firms, which often altered the original urban plans for greater ease in situating the crane routes.²¹

At the same time, the architectural and urban qualities of housing estates were not dependent only on all the aforementioned factors, but above all on the current political situation within the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The political thaw in the 1960s was naturally reflected as well in changes in the architecture of housing estates. Similarly, the crackdown after the Soviet invasion of 1968 forced many architects to leave the state design studios, and their projects were taken over by others. If we keep in mind that the architectonic form of a housing estate was dependent on the authorial plan only to a very limited extent, we cannot use only art-historical criteria for a periodic differentiation, or terms derived from stylistic analysis, but must turn towards other historical sciences. This thesis is also supported by the notable turning points in prefabricated construction,²² which to a large extent correspond with major political and economic shifts in Czechoslovakia.

A Proposed Periodisation of Housing Estates: Prague

In setting the developmental stages of Czech housing estates, we took our start from historical and political time divisions,²³ public events influencing construction, the development of prefabrication and panel technology and the stylistic changes in architecture and urban planning. Since the individual phases could be present at the same time in parallel with each other, and since the development of public-housing construction proceeded differently in various regions and cities, we have decided not to use strictly chronological dating. For each period, we employ a term derived from the buildings' physical characteristics. The housing estates of Prague have been assumed as a model example, for the reason that the city is the hitherto most thoroughly

¹⁹ Václav Králíček, *Architektura bez architekta?, Umění a řemesla XXVIII*, 1986, p. 32.

²⁰ This phrase (in Czech, "technicko-hospodářské ukazatele" – THÚ) refers to the factors determining the planned number of flats on the estate, their category and floor area, the height of the buildings, and additionally the type, quantity, and floor area of public facilities.

²¹ Construction supervisors frequently simplified their work by refusing to follow more complex urban plans through not repeatedly dismantling the cranes and re-situating the crane routes. This often-denounced practice of "crane planning" in which the blocks were constructed precisely along the routes, led to the buildings emerging clumped together, and an overall confusing and disharmonious effect within the estate.

²² Josef Pechar, *Československá architektura 1945–1977*, Praha 1979, pp. 47–59.

²³ Stanislav Balík – Vít Hloušek – Jan Holzer – Jakub Šedo, *Politický systém českých zemí 1848–1989*, Brno 2011.

researched locality in the Czech Republic, and, as the national capital, it equally represents the influential cultural centre of the nation.

The Prehistoric Phase

Only shortly after liberation from Nazi occupation, as early as July 1945, the ‘Block of Progressive Architectural Groups’ (Blok architektonických pokrokových spolků – BAPS) published its declaration calling for the industrialisation of construction, unified development planning, and a consequent resolution of the housing shortage. With its authoritarian policies and ambitions towards central economic planning, the ‘Third Czechoslovak Republic’ appeared a promise for left-wing architects that their plans for creating housing for all, proclaimed even before the start of the war, would finally see realisation.

The first true housing estate in Prague was ‘Solidarita’, in the suburb of Strašnice, constructed in 1947–1955 to the design of architects František Jech, Hanuš Majer and Karel Storch,²⁴ which later offered its residents not only housing but also public facilities (shops, a theatre, a school and medical centre) as well as shifting several household functions to a central level (a central heating system and a common laundry). The “two-year-plan” estates of this stage were based in their architectural form on the traditions of interwar Functionalism, or as in the case of Solidarita reflected a post-war shift towards physical solidity and even a rehabilitation of ornament, such as a stress on tectonic elements. In terms of the urban plan, this relatively small estate is characterised by rows of apartment blocks or single-family row houses in extant open spaces within the broader city centre. As for the technology, the buildings are of brick masonry with standardised windows and doors. During the construction of Solidarita, however, there appeared the use of prefabricated ceilings and large wall sections, which were cast directly on the construction site.

The radical changes in the economic and social systems of Czechoslovakia following the seizure of power by the Communist Party in February 1948 understandably had a profound effect on architecture. The ‘Construction Nationalisation Act’ from the same year merged all private construction firms into the state enterprise ‘Czechoslovak Construction Works’ (Československé stavební závody). Originally, it included as a specialised department the design institute Stavo-projekt, which with its 1200 employees then represented one of the world’s largest single design organisations. In many aspects, particularly in terms of the possibility of free accessibility to land, reference was made to the principles of the Athens Charter for the creation of Functional-ist urban planning.

The Socialist-Realist Phase

The active generation of architects, trained in the principles of pre-war Functionalism, worked in a simple and rational idiom of architecture emerging from industrial models – yet shortly after 1950, they came under political pressure to adopt Soviet patterns and methods. Architects were forced to swear allegiance to the new “joyful” and monumental historicised architecture of Socialist Realism, often termed ‘sorela’, a style regularly encountered primarily in the cities given priority by the Communist authorities during the 1950s for their orientation towards heavy industry. By contrast, Prague as a *“relatively well-equipped and relatively modern metropolis, moreover one not entirely positively oriented and politically reliable, was not ranked among the ‘building-of-socialism priorities’ of the Communist regime. It served, instead, as a supply (manufacturing)*

²⁴ Unless stated otherwise, only the names of the chief architects of the housing estates are listed.

source, and a reservoir of investments and labour forces for other areas of the state”, wrote Václav Ledvinka.²⁵ For public housing complexes, the ‘Sorela’ phase in Prague is represented almost entirely by the never-realised designs for the housing estates of Červený vrch and Petřiny, which were only begun at the very end of the 1950s following heavily revised designs.

Housing estates in the style of ‘Sorela’ are marked with a traditional street network consisting of enclosed or semi-enclosed blocks, arranged in groups, complexes and districts providing various set levels of public facilities. These built complexes likewise were largely constructed on open areas in direct connection to the earlier urban fabric. Created of traditional brick masonry, the apartment blocks were constructed on the basis of standard plans, indicated with the letter T (most frequently T 13 and T 15), with “speaking” facades employing various historicist or folkloric ornamental touches and ideologically suitable motifs to cultivate the taste of the inhabitants. Technologically, these buildings differ from the “two-year-plan” constructions through the use of a standardised design, and the desire for prefabrication of even more elements (ceilings, staircases, lintels). “Ornamentalism”, however, was denounced in architecture in the USSR at a conference of workers from the building trades by Nikita Khrushchev in 1954. Two years later, the Union of Czech Architects proclaimed the right to freer creative possibilities at its founding meeting.

The Pioneering Phase

The subsequent stage in housing construction is announced by the appearance of the first concrete-panel buildings of ‘Type G’. On the grounds of its outdated technical and structural forms, development of type T was cancelled, and the system was replaced by one of entirely prefabricated concrete-panel buildings prepared in Zlín (then Gottwaldov).²⁶ In Prague, the construction of the very first prefabricated estates made use of the type G 40. These small residential areas are also inserted into extant built fabric, and the blocks, usually of five storeys, are placed either in rows or along the main roads. The connections between the individual panels of the facades are still covered by quasi-classical lisenés and the roofs outlined by cornices, as can be seen in the first such neighbourhood, the Herálecká estate (1954–1957), by architect Alexej Peták.

The expansion of the next type, G 57, was in its turn based on the realisation of the first large prefabricated complexes, such as Petřiny (1958–1965) by architect Vojtěch Mixa. On an open plan, the form consists of orthogonally ranked six-storey buildings, with the prefabrication process fully acknowledged on the buildings’ facades. No historicist elements are visible, yet it is also worth noting the use of coloured panels, the nautical portholes in the lift-shafts or the shaped balustrades of the loggias. Estates of this type often have interesting public facilities, such as Petřiny’s ‘hotel-residence’.

Despite all the construction efforts, a lack of available housing continued to increase through the 1950s. The primary recipient of state investment was industrial manufacturing, and the actual number of new flats during the two decades (starting from the outbreak of World War II) had grown only very slowly. As a result, in 1959 the Central Committee of the Communist Party set down the goal of addressing the housing shortage in Czechoslovakia through the construction of 1,200,000 flats by 1970. Following this decision, there appeared the ‘nationwide discussions’ on housing organised by the Research Institute for Construction and Architecture (Výzkumný

²⁵ Václav Ledvinka, Praha – etapy vývoje po roce 1945, in: Olga Fejtová – Václav Ledvinka – Jiří Pešek (eds), *Evropská velkoměsta mezi koncem války světové a studené (1945–1989)*, Praha 2011, p. 172.

²⁶ For more, see Michaela Jehlíková Janečková, Vývoj panelových soustav v československém stavebnictví, *Beton* VIII, 2008, no. 3, pp. 20–22.

ústav výstavby a architektury – VÚVA) in 1959–1960 in all of the regions of the state. Moreover, in 1959 the authorities began to support ‘cooperative’ construction, to help cover the continual demand for new flats.²⁷ At the same time, the final years of the 1950s also witnessed the decentralisation of political power. In 1957, there emerged ‘general investor divisions’ administered by regional or city national committees, which assumed activities previously performed directly by the national ministries. One year later, the branches of Stavoprojekt were themselves devolved to regional administration.

The ‘Humanistic’ or the ‘Beautiful’ Phase

All of the official decisions mentioned stimulated a greater freedom in architectural work in the 1960s, which historically coincided with the other political and social ‘thaws’ in the 1958–1968 period. The “*golden Sixties*”, as the decade is often termed, were manifested in all forms of art-work, including the architectural forming of housing estates. At the start of developments in the 1960s stood the experimental estate of Invalidovna (1958–1965) by the architects Josef Polák and Vojtěch Šalda.²⁸ During its construction, a test was made of the broad-span construction system later developed into the type T 06 B. In Invalidovna, two types of buildings were first constructed that were later repeated in housing-estate designs from this decade with notable frequency: long slab-blocks with ribbon windows, referring back to interwar Functionalism, and point-houses ending in a bent pergola.

Invalidovna stands slightly outside of the mainstream of development, thanks to its immediate connection to the Brussels World Exposition of 1958 and equally because the component standardisation used in its experimental construction was never put into series production. A more typical example of a “beautiful” estate from the 1960s is Ďáblice (1966–1975) by architect Viktor Tuček, which along with the estates of Prosek, Kobylisy and Bohnice forms the series of four independent districts forming the ‘North Town’ (Severní Město). In its urban conception, where several apartment blocks create semi-open internal courtyards, Ďáblice took inspiration from the tradition urban fabric, yet the outline of most of the estates from the 1960s has such a loose urban structure that it lies closer to Modernist geometric abstraction.

Likewise, the architectonic conception of the apartment blocks themselves moved away from the Purist austerity of the previous buildings. This shift was itself made possible by the approval of the new construction typologies T 05 B – T 08 B, thanks to which it became possible to realise construction on a larger scale and with a much more variable architectonic and urban plan. Moreover, the political openness of the 1960s allowed a measure of inspiration to arrive from the architecture of the West. At the same time, it is necessary to keep in mind the high degree to which the possibilities of shaping the prefabricated construction elements were restricted. As a result, architects worked most frequently with the facade grid, interrupting it with inset loggias or alternately articulating it with protruding balconies as a kind of rhythmic bay. Other favoured devices to enliven the environment were various pergolas, covered shopping arcades, sculpturally formed staircases, or occasionally supporting pilings recalling the work of Le Corbusier.

The slab-blocks in Ďáblice, by Vilém Hess and Viktor Tuček, have a bracket-supported facade, with the horizontal effect balanced by a number of vertical elements: French windows, accented framings of balconies, or protruding lisenés separating the windows. The paired tower

²⁷ In addition to state and cooperative construction, the other approved construction types were company, private and collective-farm housing construction.

²⁸ Ladislav Zikmund-Lender (ed.), *Experimentální sídliště Invalidovna*, Praha 2014.

blocks by Jiří Kulišťák emerge from a cascade-shaped plinth, with the spectrum of typologies further enlivened by the terrace-block by Viktor Tuček.

Contributing to the quality of the architecture of this period were a number of competitions held throughout the 1960s on the national, the inter-institutional, and even the institutional levels. Forming the symbolic conclusion for this liberal decade are the two urban-plan competitions for Jižní and Jihozápadní Město (1967 and 1968), the level of which is indisputably comparable to anything prepared at the same time outside of the Soviet bloc. A strong influence of Japanese ‘metabolic’ architecture can be seen in the vision of the satellite town of Etarea by Gorazd Čelechovský from 1967.²⁹ His design for a new approach to the space of large urban formations, using expressively sculptural architecture, can be placed among the technocratic utopias common at the end of the 1960s.

The Technocratic Phase

After the violent end to the Prague Spring and the following crackdown on the political and cultural freedoms of the era, under the term of ‘normalisation’, one of the results was a revival of political repression against non-conformist intellectuals and a renewed (and strengthened) surveillance of artistic work. The Union of Czech Architects, formulated in the open years of 1968–1969, was dissolved and replaced by the pro-regime Alliance of Czechoslovak Architects. Even the highly respected Alliance of Design Ateliers (Sdružení projektových ateliérů), created in 1966, had to transform itself into a component of the structure of state design studios. Many architects were deliberately kept away from attractive commissions by the authorities. And the architecture of the preceding years was attacked for its “uncritical” following of Western fashions, elevating the aesthetic aspects above socialist principles.

The retreat of the greater part of the population from public life was supported by the state’s social policy, which at least allowed for a degree of economic development in the first half of the 1970s. In part, the material standard grew thanks to the massive investments in housing construction, primarily in the larger cities, “*because precisely there can we find the most favourable conditions for the development of manufacturing forces for application of the progressive forms of the socialist patterns of life*”.³⁰ Pressure on the extensive growth of cities urged the architects to attempt residential complexes for tens of thousands of residents, literally on open “greenfields” and without any direct connection to the extant built fabric. Indeed, these new efforts were no longer merely housing estates, but in fact new and separately functioning “towns”.³¹

The trajectories of the majority of these new “technocratic” estates generally seem somewhat interchangeable. Construction was often proceeded by an architectural and urban plan competition that had been held at the end of the 1960s, for which the winning participants could, at most, be blamed today for the naive faith that it would prove easy to construct a new town for several tens of thousands. During the project (though at the latest even during construction) the architect was then confronted with pressures from the public body or the state construction firm, forcing compromises in the architectural and urban qualities of the estate to favour the

²⁹ Kateřina Jiřová, Etarea – sen o ideálním satelitním městě, in: Olga Fejtová – Václav Ledvinka – Jiří Pešek (note 25), pp. 249–257.

³⁰ Lubomír Svrček, O generálním rozvoji města Prahy, *Československý architekt* XXII, 1976, no. 4, p. 4.

³¹ Originally, these residential complexes were truly to have functioned as independent towns, providing not only residences and full public facilities but even a sufficient number of employment opportunities for the residents. In the case of Jižní Město, the authors planned the creation of an industrial area, which was later used for the second part of the estate, Jižní Město II. Precisely because of this mono-functional character, these estates became known as ‘sleeping cities’.

quantity of units produced. Monotonous prefabricated blocks forming high barriers, incomplete public facilities, lack of care for public spaces and the requirement of a long commute to the rest of the city are all characteristic of the housing estates dating from the 1970s. A synonym for such construction became, in fact, Prague's Jižní Město (1971–1985), where the main architects of the design, Jan Krásný and Jiří Lasovský, had to abandon the original scheme and allow the original well-conceived proposal, without any of their input, to dissolve into a grey banality. Nor could these prefabricated monoliths without any architectural character be aided by the use of new construction methods – the Czechoslovak VVÚ-ETA system and the Danish system Larsen-Nielsen. Completely omitted from realisation was the architecturally intriguing proposed social centre with facilities intended for the city as a whole, or the adjoining central park conceived as a form of “land art”. Economics triumphed completely above aesthetics.

The Post-Technocratic Phase

The megalomaniac construction projects of the 1970s were brought to an end by the economic stagnation of Czechoslovakia that appeared in 1981–1982, and the long-term unsustainability of the continual expansion of urban areas. Investment in the construction of housing estates continued to decline from the mid-1980s onward. At the same time, there began to appear, though with a definite time-lag compared to the West, criticism of functionalist urban principles and their abandonment of the traditional elements that form cities. *“As an example, we can cite any modern housing estate. As long as we kept our eyes on its blueprints, or at least on its overview, its bird's eye perspective, judged its scale model, it looked interesting: the apartment blocks formed a composed image among the parkland and the broad roadways swooped in elegant curves. Yet then, when we see the estate as it is built, we find it hard to make our way through these composed groups of buildings, and as the surveys reveal, it instead provokes a feeling of disorganisation, of confusion.”*³² Revision of the previous construction of housing estates was also taken up by the exhibition *Urbanita*, held in 1986. By this point, there were already several architects publishing in the official press their own critical objections to the rigidity of standardised volumes, the monopoly of state construction firms, and even the neglect of historic urban centres.

It was a return to traditional urban values that architect Ivo Oberstein evoked as the goal of his project for Jihozápadní Město (1978–2000), in part to overcome the shadow cast by the failures in the implementation of Jižní Město. Even though both designs share a wide range of similarities (positioning of individual districts along the metro line, the central park), at least in Jihozápadní Město there was a genuine realisation of a unique urban composition, which unequivocally looked back towards historic construction types. The custom-manufactured corner sections for the panel buildings of VVÚ-ETA type allowed for the creation of enclosed or semi-enclosed courtyards. In addition, the architects also strove to delineate public spaces, in the form of squares or a main boulevard. And the variegated architectonic forms of the specifically designed public facilities at the centre of each section clearly reveal the inspiration of the Post-modern. Notably, Oberstein entrusted the designs of the non-residential structures to architects of a younger generation, who made use of citations of historicist elements and thus placed them into contrast with the blank austerity of the prefabricated apartments. For example, the centre of the section of Luka, a kind of reminiscence of a traditional high street by architects Tomáš Brix, Václav Králíček and Martin Kotík, creates a suggestion of an entrance gate for the district. For the final stage in the history of Czechoslovak mass construction, the post-technocratic housing estate represents a movement towards the renaissance of large residential complexes.

³² Benjamin Fagner, *Labyrinty měst*, Praha 1984, p. 83.

Conclusion

The periodicisation proposed in the previous sections is largely identical to the framework prepared by Marie Tomášková for the housing estates of Brno.³³ In it, she indicated the chronological sections of construction with a descriptive title: the immediate postwar, the first panel buildings, a brief series of better-designed structures, the Orwellian vision of a living environment, and the end of panel construction. Quite naturally, though, there is no need here for the omitted phases of socialist realism and the “post-technocratic” projects, because it would be difficult to find actual structures in Brno to correspond to these categories. One difference from our division, though, is Marie Tomášková’s use of the phrase “the final phase of the housing estate (1985–1995)”, which is itself entirely a chronological idea.

Our proposal of new terminology for determining the historical periods of Czech housing estates is motivated on one side by a desire to avoid the frequently misleading instances of direct chronological limitation, yet on the other by a fear of presenting definitions that are too unclear and excessively broad, such as the blanket phrase “postwar housing estates”. In the choice of the title for each stage, our aim was to find the most precise and the most simplified characteristics. The first estates constructed immediately after the war of ordinary brick up to the mid-1950s, when true prefabrication became possible, can be regarded as the prehistoric era of mass housing. A uniquely self-contained phase is formed by the residential areas conceived in the spirit of Socialist Realism, and likewise constructed with traditional methods. The implementation and testing of new concrete-panel construction typologies, from the mid-1950s into the early 1960s is definitely deserving of the term “pioneering” in terms of the industrialisation of building. As for the titles of the next three stages, the source is the political situation in Czechoslovakia. The thaw of the 1960s led to the creation of the most aesthetically pleasing estates, with high aesthetic standards and still bearing a sense of human scale. Under “normalisation”, the rush to create sheer numbers of new flats, linked to a faith in scientific and technical advancements leading to the development of the individual and of society, brought technical pressures to bear on housing construction. A gradual disillusionment with this utopian plan-making that in the end completely failed to take the human individual into account, led to the effort towards the re-humanisation of the estates – yet in the relentlessly hard-line party-state of Czechoslovakia in the 1980s, this effort had its evident limits.

The proposed periodicisation has been prepared for purposes of collecting and processing data on selected housing estates in all regions of the Czech Republic, which is our present project. Even though in this phase of research we have derived our findings primarily from the situation in Prague and Central Bohemia, it is our conviction that this periodicisation will serve well on the level of the state as a whole.

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³³ Marie Tomášková, *Panelová sídliště v České republice: Vývoj a výhled do budoucna*, *Architektúra a urbanizmus* XL, 2006, pp. 55–60.



Fig. 1 František Jech – Hanuš Majer – Karel Storch, prefab house in Solidarita, 1947–1955.
Photo by Martina Flekačová, 2014



Fig. 2 Alexej Peták, prefab house in Herálecká, 1954–1957.
Photo by Martina Flekačová, 2014



Fig. 3 Josef Kubín, never-realised design for the housing estate Petřiny, 1954. IPR Praha



Fig. 4 Viktor Tuček, prefab house in Dáblice, 1966–1975.
Photo by Karel Neubert 1974. IPR Praha

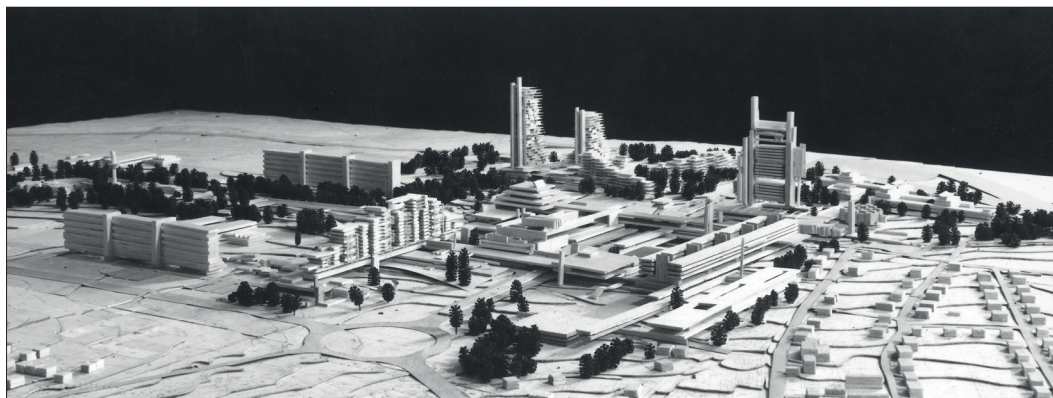


Fig. 5 Jan Krásný – Jiří Lasovský, Jižní Město city center, model, 1976. IPR Praha



Fig. 6 Ivo Oberstein, prefab houses, Jihozápadní Město, aerial view, 1978–2000.
Photo by Kamil Wartha, 1989. IPR Praha

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Walter Benjamin on the Life of Students

Abstract | The German philosopher and critical theorist, Walter Benjamin (1892–1940) published only one larger volume during his lifetime. Today, however, everyone who is more deeply interested in the history of modernism refers to it. Benjamin's essay "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction" or his unfinished work on "Paris of the Second Empire in Baudelaire" have in this respect opened up new worlds.

Lovers of avant-garde art and architecture know Eric Dluhosch (*1927), Professor Emeritus of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a native of Jindřichův Hradec, as the translator of works by El Lissitzky and Karel Teige into English and as the co-editor of a major book on Teige published in the USA in 1999. However, in our case, Dluhosch did not refer to Benjamin as a follower of avant-garde, but as an author concerned with the purpose of universities. Not only is Benjamin's interest in the university system and its policies noteworthy, but also how students behaved in this system. In his early thoughts from 1914, the German scholar refused to see the purpose of study as a leisure activity or preparation for a well-paid career. In his opinion, students do not fulfil their mission if they do not fully and painstakingly give in to the subject of study. Eric Dluhosch used the lens of Benjamin's text in order to gloss the situation at American universities today.

Keywords | Walter Benjamin – universities – students

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Rather than entering into a contentious argument about the defects of this descent into intellectual relativism and fashion-driven hero worship, let me refer to another text, in this instance Walter Benjamin's essay *The Life of Students*, which appeared in 1914 in a series called *Utopia*.¹

His musings on the relationship between student and university may serve well as a comment on the current situation in academia as well, to wit: *"There exists a notion of history that in its reliance on the infinity of time confines itself solely on the distinctions of those moments in human epochs that unfold at a slower or faster rate along the path of progress. This conforms to a lack of cohesion and lack of precision and rigor in the demands that such a method places on the present."* What does Benjamin mean by this somewhat cryptic sentence? In contemporary terms it means that already in 1914 he deplored the emerging "now-ism" of modern historiography, with its penchant for projecting current notions of progress into some idealized, but politically correct utopian end condition, rather than keeping the future open and essentially unknowable as a metaphysical puzzle, trying to ferret out those elements of the present that carry the germ of a possible emancipation from current interpositions of false ideologies. He calls this narrow minded and faction-grounded view of progress *"exceedingly vulnerable, disreputable and ridiculous"* and suggests that *"rather than concentrating on ideologically colored phraseology*

¹ Walter Benjamin (– Michael Opitez), *Ein Lesebuch*, Leipzig 1996, pp. 595–607. Note: All the quotations have been translated by the author from the German text. All quotations are from this essay. – Benjamin's essay was published in Czech as *Život studentů*, in: Walter Benjamin, *Agésilas Santander: Výbor z textů* (edited and translated by Jiří Brynda), Praha 1996, pp. 107–122.

and pragmatically elaborated descriptions of the singularities of manners, institutions, events, etc., (...) we must search the present for the hidden tendencies that presage the possibility of a more perfect future in the metaphysical, rather than pragmatic philosophical sense.” And further on, “in order to capture the historical position of students and the university and the shape of its present condition [1914], it may be profitable to look at these as something similar, namely the reflection of a higher metaphysical condition of their history in our descriptions (...). The first question to be asked is what constitutes its consciously self-aware unity, for it is not very fruitful to dissect the life of students into discrete problem areas (...).”

Then as now, most students come to the university to establish some kind of direction for their future life, to penetrate to the core of things, in short, to distill from the conundrum of courses and programs some essential ethical principles to guide their life. Then as now, this is becoming increasingly difficult, as the universities have slowly, but inexorably directed their primary energies toward producing certified professionals in this or that “useful” specialty. Even science as a singularly well suited quest toward self-realization has become “professionalized” in that it is being advertised as the best path toward conventional success and material security. It is Benjamin’s contention that such a strategy represents one of the most hypocritical claims of the university with *“its promise that by providing its students with a professional education, they will achieve their ‘other’ life goals as a kind of self-generated bonus,”* and further on *“no good can come of it when institutions, that call themselves centers of science, use science primarily to gain titles, privileges and professional as well as social status.”* The claim that this is the only way for society to provide itself with its doctors, lawyers, engineers and architects is merely an excuse to circumvent the question of what are the ethical foundations of knowledge in the broader, existential sense.

Contrary to the claim of intellectual “independence” from political, corporate and governmental pressures, the universities have, in effect, become an almost exclusive source for supplying professional functionaries to these entities, either tacitly, by “certifying” a bright future with their diplomas, or openly, by receiving large sums of money for their research, or gifts from wealthy and influential alumni beholden to the same industrial/governmental elites.

By making the diploma the only legally valid certification of a student’s profession, all other paths are automatically closed, thus providing the university with a monopoly over “knowledge.” This is what Benjamin has to say on this matter

“The university as an institutional entity is a massive game of hide and seek, engaged in by both the professorate and the students, who operate along parallel lines, without acknowledging each others deception. And, as always, the students are expected to accept passively their inferior status as not yet certified equals.”

Unable to ask deeper questions about the ethical values of his or her educational goals, the student is sidetracked into “busy work” on partial problems, generated by a fragmented and derivative curriculum with its more or less air tight and compartmentalized specialties. Neither do the humanities (usually tolerated as a necessary “profit loss center” to the relevant utilitarian “profit generating” programs) with their fragmented curricula satisfy the student’s search for some kind of overarching existential wholeness or higher sense of historical identity, as it is not uncommon *“to discover that within this community a war of obfuscation and deception is surreptitiously waged against the breaking through of any manifestation of higher aspirations, individually determined goals, and a more profound development of the self.”*

And what about the academic professional? Not unlike the average citizen whose “social performance (...) is in most cases manipulated in such a way as to suppress any deeply seated original and non-derivative strivings toward autonomy of the inner being,” most of the professors, having themselves graduated from the very system they inhabit, have become the guardians of its privileged position as the exclusive domain of those who “know.”

If any skepticism is voiced, it immediately becomes subject to the “scholarly” evaluation and approbation of one’s professional peers. Open criticism by the students or the public is either scorned, or confronted with abstruse abstract arguments, routinely published in scholarly journals (as part of a scholar’s claim to promotion and tenure), or discussed by one’s academic peers in carefully screened professional conferences. It may be said that, in general, intellectual controversy prefers to deal only with abstractions (or statistical renderings) of public problems, rather than aiming in their criticism at the emancipation of the general public from false ideologies, apart from being always careful to consider the expected reaction from one’s professional peers. The public is seldom, if ever, made to participate in these controversies, and if so, the average citizen has neither the time or the interest in attending, apart from the fear of being confronted by the impenetrable academic jargon, comprehensible only to the “initiates” of their respective specialties.

This attitude spills over into the classroom as well, as “[T]he only tie that binds the student to the professional interest or narrow research agenda of the professor is (...) the abstract incentive of ‘social accomplishment,’” dangled before the eyes of the dutiful assistant, not to mention the financial incentives offered by various stipends, tuition grants, outright cash rewards, and-of course-the chance of deserving a footnote in a professional journal. The student’s energies thus become “deformed and diverted, not as a result of a genuine thirst for knowledge, nor as a result of a painful struggle for intellectual truth, but only as a result of such crass and at the same time highly superficial incongruities, best caricatured by the dualities ideal/material and theoretical/practical. Hence, no ethical elevation, but merely an anxious and timid reaction to ones caged in spiritual existence.”

Earlier, social responsibility was mentioned as one of the primary ethical concerns, claimed by the university. It is treated more often than not in a piecemeal, disconnected, and abstract manner, “all connected by a highly exaggerated and despicable relativism which tries to confront all intellectual and physical phenomena by their relativized opposites in a tentative and pedantic manner.”

Student social life is treated in a similar way. The guiding ethic is a vacuous utilitarianism, cleverly camouflaged by gestures of caring and “love,” while at the same time urging the hapless student to remember his or her “duty” to the powers that be, and the attempt to transform any conflict into a negotiable pact with “reality.” As a result, the student leaves the university without any deep notion of true values, since he or she has been told over and over again that all values are essentially relative and negotiable.

The much vaunted voluntarism of so-called social work is routinely satisfied by such vague notions as “civic duty” at best and “personal charity” at worst. No wonder then that no genuine student community is able to take deep root in the absence of a common overarching ideal. Instead, we encounter a conundrum of different “interest groups,” each with their own agenda and each pursuing its own-often diverging-special interests and ambitions. By such means the university has “domesticated” altruism, the strivings of an independent ego and fundamental manifestations of personal oppositional feelings. Lacking any powerful allies among the faculty, the students lack the reinforcement necessary to bring serious issues to the fore, and if they do, they are either ignored, or simply referred to some cumbersome “task force” or committee, which will keep them obfuscated and pacified by endless discussions until graduation, after which the whole issue is either quietly buried in an “Proposed Action Report” or referred back to the “task force” for further study. To quote Benjamin in this context:

“Student opposition is routinely channeled into the smooth platitudes of liberal politics and the development of social principles remains stuck on the level of the liberal press. The questions to be asked in a university setting are never asked by the students. Rather than challenging the student to

ask fundamental questions concerning the very sources of national revival and personal authenticity, he or she is courted, spoiled and cajoled into accepting the prevailing drift of public opinion as expressed in the media and politics."

The same applies to the professoriat. The result is a *"self-inflicted curtailment of the creative spirit and its deformation into a spirit of narrow professionalism that by now has permeated all aspects of higher education."*

Benjamin continues his examination by a critique of the lecture/seminar setting, so common in modern education. In his view, such a setting merely reinforces the feeling of inadequacy in the students, since both the content and form of debate is generally dictated by the instructor (and the curriculum), and students are by the very nature of this setting relegated to the status of note takers and responders, rather than being encouraged to initiate open debate on their own terms.

Originally, the student was considered both learner and teacher, *"because the idea of true productivity requires complete independence in its dedication to science, not to those teaching it."* All this merely leads to the perpetuation and reconfirmation of the status quo and *"the closing of any alternative avenue for the next generation."*

And it was already in 1914 that Walter Benjamin discovered the stifling influence that universities exert on spontaneous manifestations of Eros and feeling on the part of students. While the university pretends to be tolerant of the erotic urges of their students, all aspects of interpersonal intimate relationships are codified and regulated to the point where the true meaning of love and friendship becomes corrupted and is instead replaced by legalistically couched "utilitarian" definitions, supported by the publication of strictly enforced "rules" as well as the threat of commensurate penalties and punishments in case of deviation or disobedience. The results are depression at best, suicide at worst. Drugs and alcohol become the only means by which to escape the tedium of the lecture hall and the seminar room, despite the fact that they too are strictly forbidden. No wonder then that the modern student in his late twenties and early thirties still exhibits all the signs of arrested infantile behavior, especially during his or her "free" time. The media are complicit in this infantilization of youth, by calling young men and women in their twenties and early thirties still "kids," when-in fact-they are already old enough to behave as fully grown-up adults.

And how do students see themselves? Are they aware of the poverty of their existence? One way to find the answer to these questions is to observe their behavior outside of class. Their obsession to have "fun," before entering "real" life is revealing. Many see their time in college as a kind of "waiting period" before "settling down" at a job and getting married. This appears to be the norm. One may only speculate to what extent this drive to have fun is essentially a device to push back the fear of what is to come, or *"a secret pact with the devil, before submitting to the inevitable fate of becoming a philistine."* This is tacitly accepted by the alma mater, who knows well that part of this bargain is to "settle down" and "behave" after graduation. Poetically, this goes under the title of a "lost youth."

Only a few resist these prospects and manage to use their time in the university to come to terms not only with their impending maturity and old age, but-more important-to extract from its programs the few courses and find the rare faculty who is still dedicated to the development of an open mind and seeking both intellectual and spiritual emancipation, free from relativistic calculus and economic utilitarianism.

Benjamin's conclusion on this subject is sanguine: *"Only a conscious longing for a beautiful childhood and dignified youth will provide the conditions for true creativity. Without these, no renewal of life is possible; and only the lament of lost grandeur is left to ponder."*

In one of the segments on the *The Power of Myth*,² Joseph Campbell, the great anthropologist, is asked by his interviewer, what advice he can give to students asking on how to find the right path to life. The answer given was “*follow your bliss.*” Walter Benjamin provides a similar answer: “*Everyone must find his or her own compass, a compass that points toward the highest aspirations of one’s whole life. It must point at the future by recognizing the confusing and confining forms of the present.*” This in 1914.

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² Joseph Campbell with Bill Moyers, *The Power of Myth* (ed. Betty Sue Flowers), New York 1988.

Czech summaries

Contesti cistercensi a confronto: committenza e soluzioni costruttive in Moravia e in Sicilia (secoli XII–XIII)

Konfrontace cisterciáckých kontextů: zakladatelská činnost a stavební řešení na Moravě a na Sicílii (XII.–XIII. století)

Roberta Cerone – Jana Michalčáková

Příspěvek vznikl za spolupráce Roberty Cerone z Univerzity Sapienza v Římě a Jany Michalčákové z Univerzity Palackého v Olomouci. Obě badatelky se společně věnují studiu hmotné kultury cisterciáckého řádu ve středověku. Cíl jejich bádání spočívá v mapování možných styčných bodů a rozdílů v „cisterciáckém přístupu“ ke zřizování fundací ve dvou zeměpisných oblastech a v rámci dvou filií. Badatelky se v tom ohledu zaměřily na Sicílii a Moravu, kam řád, z linie Clairvaux a Morimond, vstupuje v odlišných dobách (Sicílie – šedesátá léta XII. století; Morava – první desetiletí XIII. století). Fundace zde nevznikají z přímého zájmu řádu, ale z potřeb místní aristokracie. Za fundacemi na Moravě téměř vždy stojí zeměpanský záměr, s evidentním přímým vztahem vládnoucí rodiny – Přemysla Otakara I. i Vladislava Jindřicha – k jednotlivým opatstvím. Na Sicílii se s podobným vztahem setkáme až v době Fridricha II. V obou oblastech se cisterciácké fundace opírají o různě dlouhou tradici, avšak vstup jejich stavebních přístupů ovlivněných řádovými pravidly je téměř současný (10.–20. léta XIII. století). Na Sicílii je počátek pronikání cisterciácké architektury opožděn kvůli silné lokální tradici a je v přímém vztahu k vládě Fridricha II., na Moravě vstup řádu doprovází lineární průnik kulturního i stavebního balíčku (obohaceného znalostmi a tvaroslovím přijatým na přesunu z původní oblasti filiace) do již dříve existujících lokálních tradic. Příspěvek se zamýšlí nad možnostmi, jaké tyto komparativní studie mohou do budoucna přinést.

Einige Aspekte der künstlerischen Beziehungen zwischen den böhmischen und österreichischen Ländern während des Hochmittelalters, insbesondere im Bereich der Buchmalerei

Některé aspekty uměleckých vztahů mezi českými a rakouskými zeměmi během vrcholného středověku zejména v oblasti knižní malby

Pavol Černý

Přibližně do poloviny 14. století to bylo dění zejména v Dolních Rakousích, co ovlivňovalo české oblasti. Homiliář ze Zemského archivu v Olomouci CO 258 z 13. století je dolnorakouský import, těsné vztahy k dolnorakouským centrům dokládá i *Zackenstil* mladších misálů CO 585 a Archiv města Brna č. 18. Prvky nového gotického stylu se projevily v iniciálách typu fleuronné v moravském misálu CO 141 z přelomu 13. a 14. století a plně rozvinuly v graduálu CO 195, který vznikl ve dvacátých letech 14. století v olomoucké diecézi, ale iluminoval ho tvůrce prošlý dolnorakouským školením. Vazby na Dolní Rakousy dokumentuje i výzdoba skupiny liturgických rukopisů ze druhé čtvrtiny 14. století. Patří k nim graduál CO 2, s početnými a kvalitními

iniciálami fleuronné, nebo homiliář CO 12, v němž se vedle analogií s iniciálami ze skupiny rukopisů vzniklých pro Elišku Rejčku uplatnily výrazně i motivy dolnorakouského původu. Bezprostřední poznání tamní produkce dokládá i importovaný misál M III 44 z Vědecké knihovny v Olomouci, vzniklý kolem 1330 dle všeho v benediktinském opatství v Garstenu. Vyvrcholení těchto moravsko-rakouských vztahů představuje misál CO 131, vzniklý v olomoucké diecézi kolem 1350. Jeho hlavní iluminátor prošel nepochybně školením v některém dolnorakouském skriptoriu, kde se seznámil s novým proudy vycházejícími jak z dolního Porýní, tak i ze severní Itálie. Tento anonymní tvůrce předjímá další významnou kapitolu ve vývoji malířství českých zemí, exemplifikovanou Mistrem cestovního brevíře Jana ze Středy v oblasti knižní iluminace a Mistrem Theodorikem v kategorii malby deskové a nástěnné.

Analysis of Microarchitecture and Decorative Sculptures in Southern and Northern Portals of the Church of St. Wolfgang in Hnanice

Analýza mikroarchitektury a dekorativních soch z jižního a severního portálu kostela sv. Wolfganga v Hnanicích

Petr Čehovský

Kostel sv. Wolfganga v Hnanicích patří mezi nejvýznamnější pozdně gotické sakrální stavby na Moravě. Stavbu poutního kostela podporovali premonstráti z nedalekého kláštera Louka a administrátor olomouckého biskupství Jan Filipec. Architektonická sochařství, zdobící kostel, byla vytvořena kameníky z vídeňské huti a patří ve své době k nejkvalitnějším na Moravě. Jižní portál kostela je datovaný do roku 1483 a portál severní, na základě stylově totožného charakteru, vznikl přibližně ve stejné době. Autor článku analyzuje mikroarchitekturu těchto unikátních mohutných portálů, jasně navazující na architektonickou sochařství 15. století ve Vídni a v Kremži, a zamýšlí se nad možným vlivem Jana Filipce, jehož erb je umístěn v tympanonu jižního portálu.

Autor dále zkoumá gerhaertovský styl, aplikovaný na reliéfu Krista Trpitele v tympanonu jižního portálu a na reliéfu Zvěstování Panně Marii v tympanonu severního portálu hnanického kostela. Na základě stylové analýzy dospívá k možnosti, že autorem reliéfu mohl být buď Anton Pilgram, anebo nejspíše Hanuš z Olomouce, který krátce před vznikem obou portálů pobýval v Kostnici a jistě dobře znal gerhaertovský sochařský styl, ve kterém jsou oba reliéfy vytvořeny.

Note to the sojourn of Rudolf II at the Spanish Court

Poznámka k pobytu Rudolfa II. na španělském dvoře

Pavel Štěpánek

V letech 1550–1650 bylo Španělsko první světovou imperiální velmocí. Vládl zde rod Habsburků. Habsburkové středoevropští posílali syny na výchovu do Španělska. Budoucí císař Rudolf II. zde strávil mládí pod dozorem svého strýce, nejmocnějšího panovníka světa Filipa II. Tento král nebyl onou postavou, kterou líčí romantikové typu Friedricha Schillera. Při výstavbě své letní rezidence (a královského panteonu a kláštera) El Escorial chápal Filip stavbu mj. jako Šalomounův chrám, a tudíž (jak dokázal René Taylor) jakožto symbolické alchymické dílo včetně uplatnění italské hermeticky novoplatónské filosofie. Vzdal v něm zároveň poctu sv. Vavřinci, na jehož svátek zvítězil v bitvě u St. Quentin (10. 8. 1557). Povolal proto do služeb nejprve architekta

Juana Bautistu da Toleda z Říma, Michelangelova zástupce při stavbě chrámu sv. Petra; poté pokračoval ve stavbě Juan de Herrera, rovněž znalec alchymie a ezoteriky. Při výstavbě Escorialu šlo o ezoterickou interpretaci geometrických principů (*figura cúbica*). Filip II. sám zasvěcoval svého synovce Rudolfa do ezoterického myšlení i alchymie. Vycházeli přitom z díla středověkého mystika Ramóna Llulla; jeho znalcem byl i pozdější španělský vyslanec u Rudolfova dvora v Praze Guillermo de San Clemente. V Madridu byla také v provozu veřejná matematická akademie a skrytá alchymická dílna. Právě zde, v hlavním městě Španělska, se tedy Rudolf II. seznámil s alchymickými principy, jejichž znalost jej doprovázela celý život v Praze.

On the Figuralism of Giuseppe Heintz Il Giovane

O figuralismu Giuseppeho Heintze Il Giovane

Ladislav Daniel

Dosud nepublikovaný obraz z pražské soukromé sbírky je oproti starším tradováním námětů jako *Mladá žena dovedena před vladaře nebo soudce* nebo *Sv. Justina* (?) nově ikonograficky určen jako *Daniel obhazuje Zuzanu*, olej, plátno, 100 × 145 cm, tedy jako biblický námět podle XIII. kapitoly starozákonní *Knihy Daniel*. Mladý izraelský prorok Daniel zde usvědčuje dva starší babylónské izraelské komunity z krivého svědectví, což prokazuje nevinu obviněné Jojákimovy manželky Zuzany. Ze stylově kritického hlediska se malba nově jeví být ovlivněna rudolfínským malířstvím Bartolomea Sprangera, Hanse von Aachen a Josepha Heintze st. a italským okruhem Jacopa Palmy Il Giovane jako pasticcio italských, flámských a středoevropských stylových a podle technologického rozboru i technických prvků, blížící se dílům Matthäuse Gundelacha. Autorem malby je v článku určován Joseph Heintz mladší (Augsburg, kolem 1600 – Benátky 1678), adoptivní Gundelachův syn a vyučenec, od roku 1625 v Benátkách činný jako Joseph, Gioseppe nebo Giuseppe Heintz Il Giovane, také Giuseppe Enz nebo Enzo, latinizovaně Heintius. Srovnání s Heintzovými malbami *Klanění tří králů* v kostele Sv. Ondřeje v Breguzzu v tridentském Alto Adige (autorem navrženo také zjištění malířova kryptoportrétu v postavě sv. Josefa vpravo) a *Klanění tří králů* v Museo di Castelvecchio ve Veroně potvrzují autorství pražského obrazu, který mohl být asi po roce 1669 Heintzem ml. vytvořen za spolupráce dílny a jehož stav ukazuje nevelké úbytky vrchních malířských vrstev. Na závěr autor připomíná tři další dříve identifikovaná Heintzova díla z českých a moravských sbírek, *Pěstní zápas na mostě*, *Dis jedoucí z Tartaru* a *Karneval v Benátkách*.

Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and the North Bohemian coal mining area

Kostel Nanebevzetí Panny Marie a severočeská hnědouhelná oblast

Petr Macek

Ohrožení Matheyova kostela v Horním Jiřetíně souvisí s těžbou hnědého uhlí na Mostecku. Přes devastaci stále jde o starobylou kulturní krajinu osídlenou kontinuálně od pravěku, s řadou významných památek. Pozornost jí v minulosti věnovali Caspar David Friedrich či Johann Wolfgang Goethe. Těžba uhlí formou povrchových dolů zde vyvrcholila v době komunismu. Zničeno bylo 300 čtverečních kilometrů krajiny, zaniklo 106 obcí v čele se starým královským

městem Most. Statistika vypovídá o tom, že za války, v letech 1938–1945, zanikl v ústeckém kraji 1 kostel, 9 synagog a 7 židovských hřbitovů, kdežto v mírových letech 1945–1989 bylo zničeno 104 kostelů, 411 kaplí a kapliček, 4 kláštery, 12 synagog a 5 židovských hřbitovů. Po roce 1989 se vzdor obdivuhodným aktivitám památkářů, muzejníků a občanských aktivistů stav bohužel dále zhoršuje. Řada hodnotných staveb se i teď dostává na seznam ohrožených či již mizejících památek. V Horním Jiřetíně stojíme před odlišnou situací. Obec se nachází v relativně dobrém stavu, v současné době opravovaný kostel je živý, otevřený bohoslužbám i kulturním akcím. Místní vidí památky jako nedílnou součást svého života. Prolomení těžebních limitů by tak nešťastně navázalo na dobu před rokem 1989, což by naší zemi rozhodně neprospělo.

Jean Baptiste Mathey and 17th century European architecture

Jean Baptiste Mathey a evropská architektura 17. století

Richard Biegel

Jean Baptiste Mathey patří mezi nejvýznamnější postavy architektury 17. a 18. století v Čechách. Jeho příchod v roce 1675 znamenal předěl, díky kterému se domácí prostředí pozvedlo na úroveň soudobých architektonických center. V palácové, zámecké i sakrální architektuře Mathey rozvíjel motivy a témata, která načerpal během svého dlouhého pobytu v Římě. Výjimečnost jeho staveb i jejich zjevné zahraniční souvislosti vedly odpočátku badatele k hledání inspirací a zdrojů, které by Matheyovu tvorbu zařadily do některého z aktuálních proudů evropské architektury. V jeho stavbách byly postupně rozpoznávány jak ozvěny římské architektury, tak i přepokládané vlivy Francie, ze které Mathey pocházel. Míra aktuálnosti vlivů (které v různých hodnoceních oscilují od údajného Matheyova konzervativismu až po možnou reflexi zcela soudobých tendencí), stejně otázka římské či francouzské orientace, vedla badatele k výrazně protichůdným hodnocením architektovy osobnosti a tvorby. Na základě analýzy jeho významných staveb, mezi které lze vedle Arcibiskupského paláce, kostela sv. Františka Serafinského či zámku v Troji nově zařadit i kostel v Horním Jiřetíně, se ukazuje, že všechny řečené složky splývaly v Matheyově díle v ucelenou syntézu a že zdůraznění jen jedné z nich by profil jeho tvorby znejasnilo a oslabilo. Jean Baptiste Mathey se tak jeví jako výrazná syntetická a slohotvorná postava, kterou lze bez obav zařadit mezi nejvýznamnější střeoevropské architekty poslední čtvrtiny 17. století.

The Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Horní Jiřetín

Kostel Nanebevzatí Panny Marie v Horním Jiřetíně

Pavla Priknerová

Kostelu Nanebevzetí Panny Marie nebyla v odborné literatuře doposud věnována větší pozornost. Kostel, stejně jako celý závěr tvorby Jeana Baptisty Matheye, byl považován za důkaz o úbytku architektovy tvůrčí schopnosti. Podrobné zkoumání ale ukazuje stavbu v novém světle. Přestože jde v Matheyově díle o počín menšího významu, vycházející z domácí tradice, jeví se kostel jako stavba v celku i v detailu značně prokomponovaná. Jejím charakteristickými rysy jsou monumentální blokové průčelí s osovou věží, které jako jedno z prvních v Čechách představilo tento později ustálený typ. Dále se vyznačuje lehce centrálně řešenou lodí s krátkým transeptem a nezvykle protaženým polygonálním presbytářem. S touto základní dispozicí kostela architekt

významně pracoval také v interiéru, kde za pomoci členění, nízko nasazené klenby a výrazného prosvětlení docílil dojmu rozlehlého síňového prostoru. Pro některé z těchto prvků lze nalézt bezprostřední srovnání v Římě či ve Francii. Analýzou závěru kostela a jeho struktury pak byly odhaleny latentní goticismy, což ukazuje na pozoruhodnou Matheyovu práci s různými inspiračními východisky. Kostel lze tedy považovat za kvalitní stavbu, která dále ozřejmuje osobnost tohoto významného architekta a dokládá vysokou úroveň jeho pozdní tvorby.

The Type of Jean Baptiste Mathey's Church in Horní Jiřetín

Typ kostela v Horním Jiřetíně od Jeana Baptiste Matheyho

Rostislav Švácha

Architektura českých zemí v 18. století se vyznačuje velkým množstvím novostaveb venkovských kostelů, kdežto ve století předešlém se jich postavilo málo. Lze to vysvětlit pomalou konsolidací Čech a Moravy po Třicetileté válce a pomalou obnovou farní sítě. Pražský arcibiskup Jan Fridrich Valdštejn († 1694), který se pustil do boje o lepší finanční zabezpečení církve, se při tom ocital ve sporech s českým zemským sněmem i císařem Leopoldem. Když se tyto spory podvkrát vyhrtily, založil vždy Valdštejn na svém duchovském panství nové kostely, v Litvínově (1685) a Horním Jiřetíně (1694). Druhý z nich se osvědčil jako vzor pro řadu venkovských kostelů 18. století. Arcibiskupův architekt Jean Baptiste Mathey v něm řešil problém typický pro klenuté podélné svatyně v katolických zemích: jak se vyrovnat s odstředivými tlaky ve valené klenbě. Jako opěrný systém, jaký takovým tlakům vzdoruje, neslouží v Horním Jiřetíně ani řada nižších bočních kaplí, s kterou bychom se dříve mohli setkat u kostelů ve městech, ani pilíře vtažené dovnitř, nýbrž ramena krátkého transeptu. Ve stejné chvíli se podobný konstrukční typ objevil na Moravě u několika venkovských svatyní spojených s Domenicem Martinellim. V Horním Jiřetíně se zdá být nezvyklá pozice transeptu, nenasazeného doprostřed celé dispozice nebo před presbytář, nýbrž doprostřed lodi, poblíž hlavního vchodu do kostela. Takové umístění transeptu Mathey zřejmě převzal z římského chrámu S. Maria in Campitelli od Carla Rainaldiho.

The Pilgrimage Site in Horní Jiřetín: Unknown Plans for a Vanished Complex

Poutní areál v Horním Jiřetíně: Neznámé barokní plány zaniklého poutního komplexu

Jakub Bachtík-Jaroslav Horáček

Málo prozkoumanou součástí historie hornojiřetínského kostela byl osud zdejšího doprovodného poutního areálu. O jeho alespoň částečné existenci existovalo svědectví jen v podobě malby Carla Roberta Crolla z roku 1843 a o rok starší mapy stabilního katastru. Nedávno se ale podařilo najít přesvědčivé obrazové svědectví o podobě areálu, a to ve formě dvou plánů, uchovaných ve sbírkách Národního památkového ústavu na zámku v Mnichově Hradišti (inv. č. MH 2390, MH 2391). Půdorys a nárysy fasád ukazují jiřetínský kostel, obehnaný stroze členěným obdélným ambitem se sedmi kaplemi, jehož západní křídlo procházelo přízemím fary. Díky údajům z hornojiřetínské farní kroniky je pak možné částečně osvětlit osudy celého komplexu. Výstavba ambitu s kaplemi a farou byla plánována od roku 1730, kdy na ní hrabě Jan Josef z Valdštejna

věnoval finanční prostředky. Nebylo jich však dostatek a stavba samotná započala až po roce 1750. V první fázi byla postavena fara, zatímco práce na ambitu pokračovaly v několika fázích v podstatě do konce 18. století a nebyly nikdy zcela dokončeny. Již na konci 30. let 19. století proto byl areál určen k zániku. Kronika zmiňuje, že stavba započala podle plánů uložených v archivu. Nelze přitom jednoznačně určit, že jde přímo o výkresy nalezené v Mnichově Hradišti. Podoba a provedení těchto plánů totiž svědčí spíše pro skutečnost, že jde pouze o kopii původního, staršího projektu, zhotovenou v souvislosti s později započatou stavbou. Autorství plánů i původního projektu proto zůstává otevřené. Nápadná kompoziční i tvaroslovná podobnost navrženého komplexu s areálem v Mariánských Radčicích ale svědčí o tom, že původní návrh pro Horní Jiřetín vznikl v okruhu litoměřického stavitele Giulia Broggia.

Geophysical Survey of the Horní Jiřetín Church

Geofyzikální průzkum kostela v Horním Jiřetíně

Vladimír Hašek – Jan Tomešek – Josef Bláha

Ze záznamů o kostele v Horním Jiřetíně vyplývá jeho existence nejpozději k roku 1263. Po středověkém předchůdci dnešní stavby se však nezachovaly žádné stopy. K poznání dějin kostela nicméně může přispět nedestruktivní archeologie. Kromě jiných dutin (hrobové sklípky, krypty) raně novověkého původu totiž dnešní barokní kostel může pod svou dlažbou skrývat i starší stavební substrukce. Na jaře 2014 jsme proto přikročili ke geofyzikálnímu průzkumu interiéru kostela. Ten proběhl na ploše 540 m² a bylo při něm proměřeno 41 navzájem kolmých profilů o celkové délce 411,6 metrů. Použita byla metoda georadaru (GPR) s aparaturou RAMAC X3M a s dosahem do hloubky 3–4 m. Na kompletizovaných řezech byly za použití software REFLEX W vyhodnoceny všechny indikace nehomogenit, zpracovaných do podoby radarogramů v měřítku 1 : 100. Interpretací geofyzikálních dat ve formě korelačního schématu byla na zkoumané ploše vyčleněna řada plošných i lineárních nehomogenit, jaké můžeme přiřadit k projevu základového zdiva ze starší středověké stavby. Ve východní až střední části dnešního kostelního interiéru lze interpretovat relikt zdiva o šíři cca 1 m, pravděpodobně z menší středověké stavby s hlavní osou o délce cca 24–27 m (rozměry lodi 15 × 9 m, obdélný presbytář 10–12 × 6 m). Obvodové zdivo je paralelní, ne však totožné se stávajícím kostelem. Nachází se uvnitř cca 1–2 m od zdiva nové stavby. Kromě toho se ve výsledcích měření projeví i další nehomogenity. Nevylučujeme ani polohy několika hrobů a větší dutinu, snad hrobku (cca 4 × 3 m), v prostoru pod věží. Další charakteristiku nehomogenit může prokázat cíleně volená stavebně archeologická sondáž.

Architectural section of St. Francis's church in the Old Town of Prague

Architektonický řez kostelem sv. Františka v Praze na Starém Městě

Marek Pučálík

Ve sbírce konvolutu plánů křížovnického řádu v Praze zůstal nepovšimnut pozoruhodný výkres, na kterém je zachycen řez kostelem sv. Františka. S velkou pravděpodobností by mohlo jít o přímou invenci Jeana Baptiste Matheye, který ostatně vyhotovil několik dalších plánů ke kostelu, ty však byly určeny ke stavební produkci. Zmíněný řez je brilantní kresbou. V horní části pozorujeme průřez chrámovou lodí, kněžištěm a dalšími prostory, spodní část ukazuje půdorys. Dle

mého názoru mohlo toto perfektní provedení sloužit jako předloha pro rytce a tím by slavná stavba evropského významu mohla sloužit tímto způsobem k multiplikaci jako reprezentativní dar velmistřů. Pokud by byl oním autorem skutečně Mathey, kresba by se mohla vřít před rok 1679, kdy bylo započato za velmistra-arcibiskupa Jana Bedřicha z Valdštejna (velmistrem 1668–1694) ke stavbě velkolepé svatyně u Karlova mostu, jenž nahradila středověké trojlodí.

Význam stavby dokládají i soudobé zprávy. Již roku 1691 si nechal Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach okopírovat plány a v době vrcholného baroka sloužil chrám jako reprezentativní prostor, který obdivovali i vysocí církevní a svěští hodnostáři, kteří se k velmistru Böhmbovi (velmistrem 1722–1750) hlásili na jeho prohlídku.

“...mio capital nemico a causa della professione”. Mathey’s not altogether friendly encounter in Prague with Domenico Egidio Rossi

„...mio capitale nemico a causa della professione“. Matheyovo pražské, ne právě přátelské setkání s Domenicem Egidiem Rossim

Martin Mádl

Burgundský, v Římě školený architekt Jean Baptiste Mathey (1630–1695) je jednou z nejvýraznějších tvůrčích osobností druhé poloviny 17. století ve středoevropském prostoru. V Čechách o jeho služby projevovali zájem přední aristokraté a preláti. Mathey se tu však střetával také s nepřátelstvím dalších architektů a stavitelů, kteří jej vnímali jako konkurenta a rivala. Jedním z Matheyových nepřátel byl svárlivý italský, v Boloni školený architekt a malíř Domenico Egidio Rossi (1659–1715), který se podle všeho v letech 1687–1688 podílel na výzdobě zámku Troja, postaveného pro hraběte Václava Vojtěcha ze Šternberka. Po dokončení prací byl Rossi v Praze roku 1688 zatčen kvůli dluhu. Posléze musel Prahu opustit a pracoval pro Liechtensteiny. V roce 1692 se do Prahy nakrátko vrátil a pracoval v Černínském paláci. Dne 20. prosince se Rossi na Hradčanech střetl se šternberským štukatérem Giovannim Pietrem Palliardim, který mu připomněl jeho starší incident a vysloužil si za to od Rossiho rány holí. Ve své výpovědi Rossi uvedl, že na něj Palliard žaloval Matheyovi, kterého označil za svého úhlavního nepřítele, a celá věc se donesla i hraběti Šternberkovi. Rossi pak musel z Prahy uprchnout. S ohledem na doložené kontakty s Matheyem a Václavem Vojtěchem ze Šternberka lze Rossimu připsat iluzivní malby ve třech pokojích v přízemí zámku Troja, jež můžeme srovnat s návrhy, které Rossi vypracoval v roce 1696 pro Černínský palác v Praze. Rossiho malby vycházejí z aktuálních boloňských vzorů a svou kvalitou převyšují soudobou středoevropskou produkci.

Die Glorifikation des heiligen Wenzels – ein abgelehntes Werk des Wiener Malers Anton Petter aus dem Jahre 1844 für den Olmützer Dom

Oslavení sv. Václava – odmítnutý obraz Antona Pettera z roku 1844 pro olomoucký dóm

Ivo Hlobil

Arcibiskup Maximilián Josef Sommerau-Beeckh (1769–1853) objednal u vídeňského malíře Antona Pettera (1782–1858), ředitele malířské a sochařské školy vídeňské Akademie výtvarných umění, zhotovení monumentálního obrazu sv. Václava pro hlavní oltář olomouckého dómu.

Petter své dílo dokončil v roce 1844. Biskupa však neuspokojil. Obraz pobýval dlouho na půdě kroměřížského zámku. Až dnes se dočkal znovuoživení a rehabilitace. Se souhlasem olomouckého arcibiskupa Jan Graubnera a s finanční podporou generálního ředitele Vítkovických železáren Jana Světlíka byl manžely Bergerovými restaurován a podle projektu architekta Josefa Pleskota jako trvalá zápůjčka Arcibiskupství olomouckého instalován na místě hlavního oltáře v bývalém kostele dominikánů v Opavě. Stalo se tak díky Magistrátu města Opavy, primátoru Zdeňku Jiráskovi a náměstkovi primátora Daliboru Halátkovi.

Liechtensteiniana and regional identity of the Czech Silesia

Liechtensteiniana a regionální identita českého Slezska

Pavel Šopák

Vazbu Lichtenštejnů k regionu českého Slezska, zvláště pak Opavska, lze sledovat pohledem muzejních aktivit jako kulturních institucí, formulujících identitu společnosti specifickými prostředky. Šlo o specifické formy angažmá Lichtenštejnů na formulaci obecně přijímaných hodnot, jejichž úhrn vytváří identitu místa a regionu. Zájem Lichtenštejnů o Opavsko a Krnovsko gravitoval kolem roku 1720, v době, kdy se vážně uvažovalo o stavbě rezidenčního objektu v Opavě nebo někde na Opavsku. Ze stavby sešlo a vztah knížat k jejich knížectví vyjadřovaly pouze rodové erby na fasádách patronátních staveb. Nový vztah k regionu nalezl až Jan II. kníže z Lichtenštejna (1840–1929). Jako mecenáš kultury a umění štědře dotoval opavské Muzeum císaře Františka Josefa pro umění a živnosti, na jehož stavbu věnoval pozemek, získaný po demolici starého opavského zámku. V květnu 1911 byl hlavní prostor muzejní budovy opraven „na věčné časy“ jako Lichtenštejnský sál. Vrcholným podnikem, deklarujícím vztah knížete k Opavsku, se stala lichtenštejnská výstava, zahájená 4. ledna 1914. Historická a kulturní fikce o jednotě země a lichtenštejnské dynastie jako arbitra kulturních norem a života moderní společnosti, kterou výstava poskytovala, však netrvala dlouho: vzala za své s prvními výstřely první světové války.

Beautiful Boxes or Technocratic Grey? Towards a Periodic Definition of Czech Housing Estates Using the Example of Prague

Krásné krabice nebo technokratická šed? K periodizaci českých sídlišť na příkladu Prahy

Martina Flekačová

Panelová sídliště, která u nás vznikala od padesátých do poloviny devadesátých let minulého století, se v posledních letech stala objektem zájmu nejen historiků umění. Rozsáhlým mezioborovým výzkumem českých sídlišť se v rámci pětiletého grantu „Panelová sídliště v České republice jako součást městského životního prostředí“ zabývá také Uměleckoprůmyslové muzeum v Praze.

Za více než čtyři desetiletí výstavby prošla sídliště architektonickým vývojem, který ale nemusí být na první pohled jasně zřetelný. Abychom se dokázali vyrovnat se všemi teoretickými i praktickými problémy, jež s sebou fenomén panelových sídlišť přináší, potřebujeme nejprve najít vhodnou terminologii a základní periodizaci, která povede naše bádání.

Protože se při dokumentaci vybraných sídlišť ukázalo, že nelze žádné dosavadní rozčlenění hromadné bytové výstavby bez výhrad převzít, rozpracovává článek koncept periodizace, která by

obstála i na úrovni celé republiky. Návrh vychází z architektonické a urbanistické analýzy sídlišť, vývoje prefabrikace a panelové technologie a také z dobové politické a hospodářské situace, která výstavbu sídlišť přímo ovlivňovala. Pražská sídliště jsme jako modelový příklad zvolili proto, že jde o dosud nejkomplexněji probádanou lokalitu v České republice a Praha zároveň představuje vlivné kulturní centrum země.

Walter Benjamin on the Life of Students

Walter Benjamin o životě studentů

Eric Dluhosch

Německý historik kultury Walter Benjamin (1892–1940) publikoval za života jediný větší spis. Dnes se ho však dovolává každý, kdo se hlouběji zajímá o dějiny modernosti. Benjaminova esej Umělecké dílo ve věku své technické reprodukovatelnosti nebo jeho nedokončené dílo o Baudelairovi a pařížských pasážích v tomto ohledu otevřely nové světy.

Emeritního profesora Massachusetts Institute of Technology Erica Dluhosche (*1927), rodáka z Jindřichova Hradce, znají milovníci avantgardního umění a architektury jako překladatele spisů El Lissitzkyho a Karla Teigeho do angličtiny a jako koeditora velké Teigovy monografie, jež vyšla ve Spojených státech v roce 1999. Na Benjaminu se však v našem případě Dluhosch neodvolává jako na soupevníka avantgardy, nýbrž jako na autora úvahy o smyslu univerzit. Pozoruhodný se zdá být Benjaminův zájem nejen o univerzitní systém a jeho politiku, nýbrž také o to, jak se v tomto systému chovají studenti. Ve svém raném zamyšlení z roku 1914 německý myslitel odmítá vidět účel studia v zábavném utrácení času nebo v přípravě na dobře placenou kariéru. Student podle něho nesplní své poslání, pokud se úplně a bolestně neodevzdá svému předmětu. Probírku Benjaminovým textem využil Eric Dluhosch ke glosování situace na dnešních amerických vysokých školách.

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