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Tombstones in St. Vitus cathedral in Prague

Milena Critz Malíková
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Malíková, Milena Critz, M.A.

San Jose State University, 1994

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**TOMBSTONES IN ST. VITUS CATHEDRAL
IN PRAGUE**

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the School of Art and Design
San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirement for the Degree
Master of Arts

by

Milena Critz Malíková

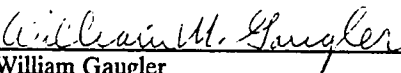
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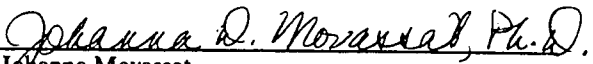
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ABSTRACT
TOMBSTONES IN ST. VITUS CATHEDRAL IN PRAGUE
by Milena Critz Malíková

This thesis addresses the development of sepulchral monuments in St. Vitus cathedral in Prague from its beginning in the tenth century until the present, with focus on the Gothic and the Renaissance periods. It examines what sepulchral monuments tell about the society and the people of their time through the characteristics of their art, and how the tombstones correspond to, describe and closely connect with the history of St. Vitus, and, through it, with the history of the country.

It also discusses the historical, architectural, and archeological background of St. Vitus cathedral, in order to make it easier to understand who was buried there and why. It shows how international the society of people buried in St. Vitus had been, and how the style, size, material, and even the language of their sepulchral monuments has changed.

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I also want to thank my late father, Dr. Emanuel Malík, who taught me that a person should be familiar with one's own history and should also know some Latin, no matter what one ends up doing for a living.

Finally, my thanks go to little Emáneček and Bělka.

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INTRODUCTION

Sepulchral monuments more than any other art form show the tastes of the period and of its patrons. These silent memorials are important historical and artistic documents, interesting in their content, in the wording and lettering of their epitaphs, and in the style in which they were made. They differ according to period, religion, country and culture. In each town and village tombstones of local cemeteries and churches are document of the history of the area. They show who lived there and when, how famous, rich and skillful the inhabitants were, what the artistic style, tastes, wealth and local customs were, which religion predominated, which major language was used, and what material was available for making funerary art and other monuments. Sepulchral art also expresses both the hope for resurrection and the afterlife, and the fear of nothingness and damnation in the face of death. Sepulchral motifs depend on the religious and philosophical beliefs of the society and its individuals, on cultural trends and on political circumstances. In each period sepulchral art is also influenced by fashion and the availability and skillfulness of the artist. In their own way sepulchral monuments are as diverse as mankind itself.

The present thesis is concerned with the sepulchral monuments of the St. Vitus cathedral in Prague. From among the many churches in Prague, I chose to focus on St. Vitus, not only because it is the dominant element of the panorama

of the castle overlooking the city, but also because it is a church which the nationalists of the nineteenth and twentieth century called "the foremost national monument, a famous memorial of the Czech past, a national heritage...." It is a place that "witnessed" within its walls or near vicinity all major historical events connected with Czech rulers, whether princes, kings, free democrats or communists. Moreover, it established itself early as the representational seat of a newly founded archbishopric (1344) under the protection of the king. Its construction was finished six hundred years later, primarily thanks to educated commoners whose ideas and dedicated work to complete the cathedral made the whole nation enthusiastic and willing to collect the necessary funds.

Because of the relatively large number of sepulchral monuments in St. Vitus (about one hundred and fifty), the original intention of this thesis was to focus on only one period, the Baroque. However, while trying to relate individual works to connections with the previous eras and earlier influences, I had to take into consideration most of the sepulchral monuments in St. Vitus in their chronological order, discovering that some no longer exist. This led to questions about the development of burials in the cathedral. Since the cathedral was intended as a burial place for Czech kings, bishops and archbishops, I investigated how many people from each of these groups were in reality buried there. As part of my project I developed lists of rulers, bishops and archbishops; these are included in the appendices. The original idea expanded into a comparative study of all sepulchral monuments in St. Vitus, covering the major periods to the present time. The project has been divided into segments, and the part presented here covers the Gothic and the Renaissance periods.

The research proved very complex and time consuming and extended over a period of three years. Three summers were spent in Czechoslovakia, especially in Prague, where I worked at the Prague castle archives and in the cathedral. Access to the individual chapels in St. Vitus was made possible through the fact that for one whole summer I did an internship at the Department for the Care of the Historical Monuments of the Prague Castle, and during it a suggestion was made that I consider studying the tombstones in the cathedral.

Research in the individual chapels of St. Vitus proved challenging and included some physical labor as well. At the time I was conducting my study, several chapels were being restored, and several had heavy carpeting on the floor that covered the original tombstones placed there. I had to move the carpets in order to see what was underneath, clean the floor to be able to see and read the inscriptions, move the protecting covers from some of the tombstones to see what they looked like, and climb under and over the scaffoldings to be able to examine the monuments. The permission to photograph excluded the use of light, which in several cases resulted in very poor images.

Most of the custodians of St. Vitus and other people I dealt with the first year of my research were very friendly and supportive. However, with the political changes in Czechoslovakia, the major one being the separation of the country into the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, support and accessibility became gradually more limited. The new staff I had to deal with did not share the same interest and enthusiasm for the project, and every request involved a lengthy process. Access to original sources became restricted and

expensive. Obtaining the necessary literature became increasingly difficult with each consecutive summer.

Consequently I spent more time comparing sepulchral monuments in other churches in Prague (when they were accessible). These included St. Stephen and St. Ingacius in the New Town, Týn church, St. Jacob, St. Nicolaus, and St. Salvátor in the Old Town, St. Thomas in the Lesser Town, and St. George at the Prague castle, to name a few. I also spent time comparing tombstones in small town churches and cemeteries in Southern Bohemia—Třeboň, Jindřichův Hradec, Český Krumlov, Kájov—and some castles, such as the one in Telč, in Moravia. In neighboring Austria the major focus was in Stephansdom in Vienna, where there is an abundance of tombs, tombstones and epitaphs inside as well as on the walls outside the church, all done in styles comparative to those found in Prague. In Innsbruck most of the time was devoted to a thorough examination of Maximilian I's tomb complex in the Hofkirche and the Silver Chapel. Other smaller towns and their churches and/or cemeteries, along with monasteries between Vienna and Innsbruck, were also included in the study. In Poland the focus was on the Wawel Castle complex in Cracow. In Germany, the major locations visited included Berlin and Dresden in the north, and many places in the south. These included Munich—the exterior of the Frauenkirche (the interior is closed for restoration), St. Michael's and St. Kajetan's (Theatinerkirche). In Nürnberg the main places studied were St. Johannis cemetery, where Albrecht Dürer and other interesting people of his era are buried, the Frauenkirche, the Lorenzkirche and the Sebalduskirche, where the important tomb of the saint is done by the famous Vischers' foundry. In Regensburg, which itself has about twenty six churches, the

major ones visited and researched included the Dom and the churches of St. Rupert, St. Jacob and St. Emmerau. The last mentioned contains numerous sepulchral monuments demonstrating an interesting variety from the Romanesque to the Baroque periods. Most of the above named locations had some direct or indirect connection with Bohemia. Nürnberg and Regensburg were closely related to Czech history, as will be seen from the discussion in individual chapters.

The primary general literature dealing with sepulchral monuments that I consulted were Erwin Panofsky's Tomb Sculpture and Philippe Aries' Images of Man and Death. Czech books dealing with tombstones include Ivan Borkovský's Svatojiřská bazilika a klášter na Pražském hradě, discussing the tomb excavations in the area of the Prague castle. Literary sources describing and analyzing the tombstones in St. Vitus do not contain many volumes. Therefore, I had to do a great deal of detective work in order to determine what happened to the tombstones that were no longer in their original place. Some tombstones were moved around 1902 from the St. Vitus cathedral to the lapidarium of the National Museum in Prague, because they were in very bad shape, being broken, illegible, or both. At that time the cathedral was architectonically near its completion in the form of a Gothic cathedral, and broken tombstones that were difficult to repair were given away. Many old tombslabs covering crypts (usually belonging to noble families) were replaced. The original stones were cleaned, repaired, and in some cases, moved to different locations. "Moved to different locations" either meant within the cathedral, especially the newly finished section, or away from the cathedral, mainly to the lapidarium of the National Museum.

Older literature that has some information about tombstones and their locations are mainly the historical serial publications Památky archeologické. Most articles of the post-war literature that were written about this topic are usually included as part of books and studies concerned with sculpture, including Albert Kutal's book České gotické sochařství, or Ivo Kořán's article "Renesanční sochařství v Čechách a na Moravě" in Dějiny českého výtvarného umění. Od počátku renesance do závěru baroka, a large, two-volume book edited by Jiří Dvorský and other art historians. A few sources dealing directly with the subject are some more general books about Prague, like Emanuel Poche's and Josef Janáček's Prahou krok za krokem, where mention or a brief description of some of the tombstones in individual chapels is attended to as part of the general description of St. Vitus. I assume that part of the information in the book is taken from Antonín Podlaha's and Kamil Hilbert's Soupis památek historických a uměleckých v království českém. Metropolitní chrám sv. Víta v Praze, published in 1906, or from old chronicles, because some of the monuments named are no longer to be found in the cathedral.

However, Podlaha could not include in his writing all tombstones of St. Vitus either, because at the time he wrote his study, some monuments that were moved from their original places in the floor of the cathedral were "temporarily" (for thirty years as it turned out) stored in two chapels of the finished part of the cathedral and were not accessible. Zdeněk Wirth, František Kop and Václav Ryneš co-authored a book published in 1945 to celebrate six hundred years of the Prague archbishopric. The title was Metropolitní chrám sv. Víta, and one chapter ("Dóm svatovítský - Národní české pohřebiště," by Václav Ryneš) discusses St. Vitus as a national cemetery. Another source by Rudolf Rouček,

Chrám sv. Víta, dějiny a průvodce, published in 1948, nicely describes some of the major sepulchral monuments and also lists many people that were buried in the cathedral without a visible marker for their grave.

Since the material researched was mostly in Czech, Latin, German and occasionally in Polish, it proved sometimes difficult to transcribe everything into English without getting into elaborate historical or ethnical explanations. This process was time consuming: it involved the use of numerous historical texts and technical dictionaries in these languages. Some consideration also needed to be given to names, because many of them are used differently in different countries. An example is the name of the city of Prague: in Czech it is known as Praha, in German as Prag, and in Latin as Praga. As I explain later (in Chapter Two, dealing with the Gothic period) the English version of the names, if commonly known, is used in the text, in order to make it less confusing to the English-speaking reader. In some cases, when I quote parts of Latin inscriptions, however, I use the Latin versions of the names. It should be also pointed out that due to the multilingual inscriptions on the individual tombstones done in different types of lettering I had to include in my research some epigraphic as well as heraldic studies.

Looking at the sepulchral monuments in St. Vitus shows how international the society of people buried there had been, and how the style, size, material and even the language had changed. It brings to mind many questions, e.g., who were these people, why were they buried there, how did they die and when? The purpose of this research has been to find some answers to these questions. But, mainly, it has sought to be a study showing what the

sepulchral monuments tell about the society and people of their time through the characteristics of their art.

CHAPTER ONE

THE FIRST FOUR HUNDRED YEARS (From the Tenth Century Until 1343)

St. Vitus¹ cathedral, (fig. 1—4) the dominant feature of the Prague castle complex, is often referred to as a burial place of the saints, kings, bishops and archbishops of Bohemia.² The importance of St. Vitus as a burial site for church officials and rulers grew from the tenth to the fourteenth centuries under the influence of political and historical factors in the secular and religious environment of Prague. It is not known what tombstones or markers existed prior to the late fourteenth century, because St. Vitus was rebuilt several times, the bodies were moved and new monuments were created. However, it is possible to speculate that early markers or tombstones did exist, because the canon, Beneš Krabice of Weitmile, who was responsible for moving the bodies of the princes, kings, and bishops in the fourteenth century to their present location, had to have some means for identifying them.

This chapter will primarily discuss the historical, architectural, and archeological background of St. Vitus cathedral, in order to make it easier to understand who was buried there and why. It will also discuss how the art of later tombstones corresponds to, describes, and closely connects with the history of this particular church and, through it, with the history of the country. The

dates of this chapter start with the first Christian rulers of the country and end in 1343, just before the archbishopric was founded in Prague and St. Vitus started to be rebuilt in the form of a Gothic cathedral.

Statistics show that altogether more important figures were buried in St. Vitus than at any other single Bohemian church.³ Most of the major Czech saints are included within its walls. Many are well recognized and celebrated internationally as well as domestically. The bodies of early saints were buried there in the tenth and eleventh centuries and the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These major saints are: St. Vitus (d. 306), St. Václav/Wenceslas⁴ (d. 929/935), St. Vojtěch/Adalbert⁵ (d. 997), St. Sigismund (d. 523) and St. Jan Nepomuk (d. 1393). Because there does not appear to be any record of visible monuments marking the burial place of these five—or of Blessed Podiven (d. 929/935), Přibyslava (d. tenth century) and the "Five Holy Brothers"⁶—until the second half of the fourteenth century or afterwards, the tombstones of these early saints will be discussed later, even though historically they belong to this first period.

As can be determined from the list of Czech and Bohemian⁷ rulers in Appendix I, St. Vitus was not used consistently as the royal burial place. This fact is often mentioned by literary sources. The first ruler buried there was Wenceslas⁸ of the Přemyslids. He was the founder of the small, simple, four-apsed, pre-Romanesque rotunda, which he dedicated to a Roman martyr and saint, St. Vitus, and he was the only ruler buried in St. Vitus during the tenth century. The earlier Přemyslids were buried in the older basilica of St. George.

Wenceslas, a devoted propagator of Christianity, had received St. Vitus' arm as a relic, and he constructed the small rotunda, the third church within the

perimeter of the castle complex, to safeguard the physical remnants of the Roman saint. (St. Vitus, who was an 'imported' saint, was killed in Rome in 306.)

The burial of Wenceslas within the rotunda occurred a few years after his murder.⁹ He was in his late twenties when he was killed. Buried along with him were his close friend, Podiven, and one of his sisters, Přibyslava, both of whom probably died a similar, unnatural death. He later became known as St. Wenceslas, patron saint of Bohemia. His significance as one of the most important figures of the early Czech history is summarized in a quote from František Palacký:

Wenceslas, who was pious and just, and who suffered for his zeal for Christianity, was thought of as a martyr soon after his death and proclaimed a saint by all of his people. Legends about miracles at his grave spread to far away countries even while his brother-murderer was still on the throne of Bohemia. The high esteem for Wenceslas in Bohemia grew for centuries. The nation gave him names like "the heir of Bohemia," and "the foremost advocate and intercessor to God for all of the faithful Czechs." The princes and the kings put the image of St. Wenceslas on their coins, seals and banners. Many churches and altars were built over many countries in honor of his name. And, last but not least, everything that the Czech nation had ever wanted to worship as its own, even today is called "Saint-Wenceslavian."¹⁰

While Wenceslas had sought the establishment of a bishopric in Bohemia, his idea of founding the bishopric in Prague was successfully realized later by his nephew, Boleslav II the Pious (ruled 967-999). With his relatively long age of sixty (or sixty-five, according to other sources,¹¹) Boleslav II was considered one of the most important rulers of his time. In anticipation of the request for the bishopric for Bohemia being granted, Boleslav rebuilt and expanded St. George, the main church within the territory of the castle, and he

became known as secundus fundator (secondary founder) of this structure.^{12, 13} In accord with his wish and tradition, Boleslav, as the founder, was buried in the center of the church of St. George, in front of the main altar. His grave remained untouched for a thousand years.¹⁴

Even though it is difficult to explain,¹⁵ the rebuilt church of St. George was apparently not nominated by the Pope for the seat of the newly founded bishopric.¹⁶ Instead, the small rotunda of St. Vitus, founded by St. Wenceslas, became the seat of the bishop, and the three-aisled basilica of St. George became a monastic church.

Why the decision of papal Rome was made in favor of the smaller church can be only speculated upon.¹⁷ It is interesting to note, however, that St. George would have been a more logical match for several reasons:

- a) The basilica had been expanded at the request of Boleslav II because of the anticipated bishopric.
- b) A baptismal font (baptistry) was built in front of the main altar specifically for the use of the bishop, because in the ninth and tenth centuries the bishop himself, or a person qualified by him, were the only people who had the right to baptize in bishopric churches.¹⁸
- c) A new Benedictine monastery was founded and attached to the enlarged church.
- d) The basilica had been used as a royal burial place for over a century.
- e) The body of a local martyr and a saint, Ludmila, grandmother of St. Wenceslas, was buried within its walls.¹⁹

The rotunda of St. Vitus, on the other hand, was smaller but was dedicated to a male saint of a Roman origin. The decision of Rome could have

been influenced by this simple fact and by the fact that the second saint buried in St. Vitus was Wenceslas, the canonized ex-ruler, who was also a male, compared to a female saint (and "only" a wife of a ruler) buried within St. George.

Whether the issue of two vs. one saint, international and domestic vs. domestic saint, male vs. female saint, male ruler saint vs. wife of the ruler saint, played decisive part (or any at all) can only be guessed. However, in a male dominated society gender issues might be taken into consideration.

In any case, the founding of the bishopric in 973, almost one hundred years after the first Czech ruler, Bořivoj and his wife, Ludmila, accepted Christianity²⁰ (thus making it the national religion), started a new chapter in the history of St. Vitus. Almost a hundred years later construction started on a new and bigger church, in the form of a three-aisled basilica but still smaller in comparison to the basilica of St. George.

The new construction of St. Vitus started in 1060, when the original pre-Romanesque rotunda became too small for the influx of pilgrims who kept coming to visit the grave of St. Wenceslas.²¹ The founder of the basilica was the prince Spytihněv (ruled 1055-1061), who established it in response to the growing popularity of the cult of the domestic saint buried within the walls of the castle pilgrimage church. As Spytihněv's contemporary, the chronicler Kosmas, wrote that on the day of St. Wenceslas (28th September), the church could not take in all the pilgrims coming to visit the saint's grave.²² Spytihněv died, however, even before the real construction could begin. The actual sponsor and builder of the new St. Vitus basilica became his brother and successor to the throne, Vratislav II (ruled 1061-1092). He too did not live long enough to see the church

completed. The consecration of the main altar occurred two years after his death, in 1094, during the reign of his son, Břetislav II (ruled 1092-1100).

Both the founder, Spytihněv II, and the final executor, Břetislav II, were buried within the walls of their basilican church.²³ This was done in accord with the Christian tradition: the founder of a new church was buried in the center of the nave, in front of the main altar.²⁴ Unfortunately it is not clear exactly where the original graves of Spytihněv II and Břetislav II were in the Romanesque basilica. This is because during the fourteenth century, when the church was rebuilt and the bodies were moved to their present location in the central adjoining chapels of the Gothic cathedral, the original graves perished.

St. Vitus cathedral lasted 250 years in the form of a Romanesque basilica within the complex of the Prague castle. Beginning in 1344 it was gradually replaced by a Gothic cathedral. Together with the basilica of St. George and another, much older, church of the Virgin Mary, of which nothing is left, it made a strong enclave of religious power next to the secular power of the king. St. Vitus, as the cathedral, gradually became the most important church within the castle, the city, and eventually the kingdom. It became a place of pilgrimage, royal coronations, baptisms, and funerals.²⁵

St. Vitus is generally considered to be the burial place of the Czech kings. Yet from the men ruling the country between the first half of the tenth and the first half of the fourteenth century, only one third were buried in St. Vitus: St. Wenceslas (d. 929 or 935), Břetislav I (d. 1055) and his wife (d. 1058). That means that only two rulers in one hundred years were buried here. After Břetislav there followed the founders of the rebuilt St. Vitus, Spytihněv II (d. 1061) and Břetislav II (d. 1100), and also Břetislav's son, Bořivoj II (d. 1124).

Then the chain of royal burials was interrupted again, until Bedřich (d. 1189) and Konrád Ota of Znojmo (d. 1191) found their resting place there. From the last of the Přemyslids only Přemyslid Ottokar I (d. 1230) and his grandson Přemyslid Ottokar II (d. 1278) were buried in this church. The very last members of the Přemyslids chose burial places in monastic churches they themselves had founded elsewhere.

Looking at the evidence of the occasional burying of the kings in St. Vitus, what can one learn about the church and about the early royal burial rituals? The inconsistency of the royal burial place indicates the changing importance of this particular location. In the case of the early Czech Přemyslid rulers it means that the importance of different churches within the Prague castle changed. This is paralleled by changes in the location of the royal residence itself. As mentioned above, two other churches existed on the territory of the castle before St. Vitus. As archeological excavations have indicated,²⁶ the very first rulers at the end of the ninth century were buried in the oldest of the two churches. The founders of the other two churches, Vratislav I (d. 921) and Vratislav's son Wenceslas (d. 929/935), were buried within the walls of the churches they founded; St. George and St. Vitus respectively. St. George was older and larger; therefore more of the early royal burials took place there than in St. Vitus.

In summary, the royal burials of early Czech rulers changed as follows:²⁷

- 1) End of the ninth century: A ruler, probably Bořivoj, was buried in the oldest church, that of the Virgin Mary, located near the site of the castle gallery of the Prague castle today.
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- 2)* Early tenth century: Vratislav I was buried within the walls of St. George; his son Wenceslas was buried in St. Vitus.
- 3) Second half of the tenth century and early eleventh century: Royal burials took place in St. George.
- 4)* Second half of the eleventh century: Royal burials were at both the Prague castle, in St. Vitus, and the Vyšehrad castle, which became a royal residence for some time.
- 5) The entire twelfth century: Royal burials took place at different locations, but mainly at Vyšehrad.
- 6)* Thirteenth century: Royal burials were in St. Vitus and in monastic churches founded by the individual kings themselves.
- 7)* Early fourteenth century: The last of the Přemyslids were buried in monastic churches. The first Habsburg, Rudolf I, named "Kaše" (d. 1307),²⁸ on the Czech throne was buried in St. Vitus.

As is known from recent and contemporary historical documents, royal tombs always drew attention to themselves, be it for reasons of curiosity or piety. Both St. Vitus and St. George had architectural changes and archeological excavations done within their interiors.²⁹ Because of this many of the tombs and bodies have been moved or removed, replaced, studied, preserved, or destroyed. Some were moved more than once.³⁰ Even though it may not have seemed very pious, from the historical and art historical point of view it brought light to a better understanding of the period and the religious and burial practices of the time.

Although studies of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are beyond the scope of the present work, a conclusion regarding the early burial

practices can be inferred from similar excavations done in St. George in the 1960's by Ivan Borkovský and his team.³¹ As recorded in the archeological research, the team uncovered graves that had not been touched for centuries and hoped to find an undisturbed grave of an early Přemyslid ruler. It was discovered that in the fourteenth century some important graves were moved. This is similar to what occurred at St. Vitus cathedral, where bodies of rulers and bishops were moved by order of the king and the cardinal to a different location.³² However, it seemed that the one grave belonging to St. Wenceslas' nephew, Boleslav II, remained untouched. Therefore, the grave of Boleslav II the Pious (d. 999) is a comparative example to the tomb of his uncle, St. Wenceslas (d. 929/935). (Fig. 5 and 6.)

In both cases the graves were not moved from their original location for a thousand years, and each had been located close to each other, albeit in different churches—St. Wenceslas in St. Vitus, Boleslav the Pious in St. George.

According to Borkovský's findings:

Boleslav II the Pious was buried according to the Slavic custom in a coffin made of a hollowed tree trunk. He was dressed in fashionable, contemporary clothes made of greenish brocade. Remnants of animal bones and egg-shells provide evidence that even as late as the end of the tenth century it was allowed (that is, the priests and the ruler knew about it and agreed to or tolerated the practices) to put sacrifices on top of the coffin above the head of the deceased.³³

Thus the pre-Christian Slavic ritual remained intact.³⁴ Even in this respect alone the Christian burial rituals in Central Europe were rather different from those of the Mediterranean regions, where Christianity was much older.³⁵

The discovery of burial rituals in St. George's basilica also helps one to realize what the graves of the Prague bishops, buried in St. Vitus from the time

the bishopric was founded in 973, were like. Since St. Vitus was rebuilt several times, from a pre-Romanesque rotunda to a Romanesque basilica and eventually a Gothic cathedral, and the bodies were moved within the building, it is not possible to know who was buried there in the early years, at what exact location, and what the graves or coffins were like. It is also reasonable to believe that some of the coffins were damaged or destroyed during the different stages of construction, and maybe more bishops than we know of were buried there. For example, the resting places of several (six out of twenty seven) bishops, Bohdal (d. 1017), Ekhart (d. 1023), Izzo (d. 1030), Herman (d. 1122), Ota (d. 1140), Daniel II (d. 1214) were not identified at all, even though some of them, or all, might have been buried in St. Vitus in still unidentified or now perished graves. Furthermore, since there are no known documents indicating the existence of elaborate monuments or tombstones, it is reasonable to suppose that the bishops were buried in the same way as abbesses in St. George's basilica: that is, in coffins made out of hollowed tree trunks and placed under the floor of one of the chapels, either in front of the altar or in its close vicinity.³⁶

In later periods some bishops apparently requested burial in a specific place within the church and also gave instructions regarding the style of the coffin and the tombstone. However, the sources regarding the tombs existing in pre-Gothic St. Vitus sometimes show considerable discrepancies. For example, bishop Jan IV of Dražice (d. 1343) was buried, at his request, close to St. Wenceslas, as several sources claim, in the neighbouring Chapel of St. Ondřej (better known today as Martinic Chapel). Even though there is no monument of his to be seen nowadays, Emanuel Poche claims that in 1336 there was a tomb made of stone, with a bronze figure of the bishop in the center of the chapel.³⁷

However, Poche does not mention further details pertaining to the monument: for example, its date and style; nor does he say when the monument was in the chapel, why it would be made seven years before the bishop's death, and whether the information was his own conclusion or taken from old documents. Further discrepancy in this information might be seen in the fact that the Gothic cathedral started to be built in 1344, and the Chapel of St. Ondřej in this building does not completely correspond with the chapels of the previous basilican structure (See fig. 2.). According to the plan of the structural development of St. Vitus, the space where today's Chapel of St. Ondřej is was originally outside the church. Therefore, the mentioned chapel was most likely in a different location. Since other sources do not mention Jan IV's tomb, it was probably destroyed or removed in later periods. According to Poche the monument was destroyed in 1421 during the Hussite wars.³⁸

Several bishops and later archbishops would request that they be buried in their native land. Bishop Ondřej (no. 18), who died in Rome in 1224, was transported to Bohemia and was buried in two different locations: his body in Velehrad, Moravia, and his head, according to his special wish, in St. Wenceslas chapel in St. Vitus, above the altar of the Holy Cross.³⁹ Although no monument or tombstone indicating his resting place can be seen in St. Vitus, his head is supposedly buried within the wall of the chapel.⁴⁰

Not all bishops who died outside Prague were transported there to be buried in St. Vitus. In some instances the political situation of the country did not allow it, and in that respect the bishopric burials also indicate the politics of the state. The best examples of political pressure are the bishops Jindřich Břetislav (no. 16) and Pelhřim (no. 19). Both were buried outside St. Vitus due

to political circumstances. Jindřich Břetislav was a bishop during very unsteady times, when Bohemia, because of greed and hatred among members of the ruling dynasty, sunk to the lowest level of its political power. In the years 1193-1197 he was the ruler of the country, being so appointed by the Holy Roman emperor. Since he wanted to die in peace, he asked to be taken outside Prague to Cheb, one hundred forty kilometers to the west. From there his body was transported not back to Prague, but north of it, to a monastery, where his sister was an abbess and where his mother was buried.⁴¹ As the Latin text from the Chronicle Gerlaci states: "Cujus corpus Doczan est deportatum et juxta matrem suam officiosissime sepultum."⁴² The second bishop to become a political victim, Pelhřim, was forced to retire by order of the Pope in 1225. Being politically 'unsuitable', he went to live in a Dominican monastery in Prague and is probably buried there.⁴³

It is interesting to note that the number of sacral rulers buried in St. Vitus was much higher than the number of secular ones. Although the first several bishops were buried elsewhere,⁴⁴ the regular burials in St. Vitus started with Šebíř (bishop no. 6, who died in 1067).⁴⁵ Out of twenty-seven bishops, the highest religious representatives in the country before the archbishopric was founded, at least seventeen were buried within the walls of St. Vitus cathedral between the years 973 and 1343. This number can be compared to nine of twenty-nine male secular rulers and two wife-queens.⁴⁶

The identification of centuries-old bodies is difficult to do and may not be accurate. For example, Palacký mentions that bishop Daniel died in Ancona during the plague in 1167 while on a diplomatic mission in Italy.⁴⁷ Palacký, however, does not mention anywhere that bishop Daniel was transported from

Ancona to Prague and buried in St. Vitus. Beneš Krabice of Weitmile (d. 1375), who was in charge of moving and identifying the bodies,⁴⁸ claims, on the other hand, that Daniel was among those bishops who were moved from the Romanesque basilica of St. Vitus to the ambulatory of the new Gothic cathedral of St. Vitus and placed between the chapel of the Virgin Mary and the tomb/altar of St. Vitus. Since the bishops were originally buried in different places throughout the basilica, it was not easy to locate, identify and move them (in some cases after 500 years). The moving of the bodies should also explain why there are no markers or tombstones dating from the very early periods in St. Vitus and why the information regarding the people buried there is based rather on historical documentation and archeological research instead of visible monuments, as would be the case in later centuries.

Nowadays the separate tombs of fourteen identified bishops are marked very simply in the floor of the cathedral by the sign of a staff, the individual's name and date of death (See fig. 7.). The identical rectangular tombstones in the size of a grown person include the name of each bishop in simple Gothic lettering, dates in Roman numbers, and the engraved metal symbol of a staff. All signs and writings were done in this way in the first half of the twentieth century when the interior was being researched and the cathedral was being finished in its present form.⁴⁹ Some of the tombstones are partially covered by the altar of St. Vitus. Yet, those fourteen graves represent and document four hundred years of history. Moreover, they are somewhat the core representation of the Prague bishopric in its first, and probably the most important, part of its existence.

CHAPTER TWO

CHARLES IV AND THE GOTHIC CATHEDRAL

(The Construction of The Gothic Cathedral From Its Beginning In 1344 Until The Hussite Wars in 1419)

This chapter will cover the events of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, starting with the construction of the Gothic St. Vitus in 1344 and ending by 1419, the year when the king Wenceslas IV suddenly died and the Hussite Wars started in Prague. The discussion will focus on the period and the time of rule of Charles IV, when art and humanities flourished and construction of St. Vitus was progressing. Tombstones of the Přemyslid rulers, royal crypt, and tombslabs of the cathedral architects will also be discussed.

Even though the fourteenth century was generally troublesome politically and is considered by historians as "a bad time for humanity" and a "period of anguish, when there is no sense of an assured future,"¹ in Bohemia it was a time of significant changes and great construction projects. From 1344 one major cultural event followed another. Most of these events were connected with the name of one of the greatest rulers Bohemia ever had, Charles IV.

In April of 1344 the Prague bishopric was promoted to an archbishopric by a special bull of Pope Clement VI. This meant that the Czech lands were taken away from the religious influence of the archbishopric of Mainz, providing

political as well as economic and cultural advantages. Since then, for example, Prague archbishops had the right to crown all Bohemian kings. Because of this newly gained importance, a larger and more monumental cathedral was planned to be built as a representational seat for the archbishopric. On November 21, 1344, the existing Prague bishop, Arnošt of Pardubice,² was named the country's first archbishop.

The very same day, King Jan of Luxembourg and his sons, Charles and Jan Jindřich, accompanied by the newly elected archbishop, laid the foundation stone for the Gothic cathedral of St. Vitus in Prague. The important event is described in detail by Beneš Krabice of Weitmile:

Demum novus archiepiscopus Pragensis, nec non Iohannes, rex Boemie, atque filii eius duo, Karolus et Iohannes, et magna multitudo prelatorum atque nobilium exeuntes de Pragensi ecclesia veniunt ad locum efossum et pro fundamento novo preparatum.... Ibidem dominus Iohannes, rex Boemie, de consensu dictorum filiorum suorum dedit atque donavit decimam omnium proventuum de urborum montis Chutne perpetuis temporibus pro fabrica Pragensis ecclesie convertendam et suis huiusmodi donacionem patentibus litteris roboravit.³

At the same time, the king, with the consent of his sons, also provided the new cathedral with income from the silver mines in Kutná Hora. The permanent income of ten percent of the production from the mines was to guarantee the success of the construction effort. The new chapter of the St. Vitus cathedral began (See fig. 8).

The cathedral was, from its start, a royal commission. Since it was considered the main church of importance, the kings were its builders and protectors, and the archbishops its highest spiritual administrators. Because Charles IV⁴ would become the single person most responsible for its founding

and its construction, he was also the one who decided on the style of architecture in which it was to be built—or, rather, rebuilt. As discussed in the previous chapter, the standing church of St. Vitus in 1344 was a fairly large Romanesque basilica which also included the educational quarter, the *Clastrum Pragense*. The new and larger church was planned to be built in the Gothic style. The existing Romanesque basilica, which still needed to serve as the main castle church for some time, was gradually torn down, until it was completely absorbed within the new complex. (See fig. 2.)

Charles IV inherited the Bohemian kingdom from his maternal side (the House of Přemyslid) and, therefore, was rather easily accepted by the Czech nobles. As he was also a Luxembourg by his father's side, he was closely connected with the French court and culture. Unlike his father, however, he did not use Czech money for his ventures abroad, but rather for building, cultivating and internationally promoting his Bohemian kingdom. Since he was educated in France and also spent considerable time in Italy, he was not only fluent in several languages (Czech, Latin, French, German, Italian) and experienced in politics and battles, but he also knew and understood new philosophical and cultural trends.⁵ He decided to make Prague an intellectual and artistic center, calling artists from all over Europe to come to his court. He also set out to expand and modernize the city, found the university, and rebuild the castle and the cathedral. Eventually Charles IV's patronage formed a sophisticated international court style, and Prague was ready to become one of the great cultural centers of Europe.⁶ As many artists from all over Europe were coming to Prague (many of them permanently settling there), the art they brought with them influenced the local art, intermingling with what was there and with what

was brought from elsewhere. It is probable that the majority of artists coming from abroad were of German origin. However, due to Charles's French contacts, French influence was also considerable. Some of the artists from France could even have accompanied Charles to Bohemia when he returned from his long stay at the court of his uncle, the French king Charles. Some could have come as part of the entourage of Charles's first wife, Blanche de Valois.⁷

The French connection eventually influenced the choice of the first architect for the new cathedral. Master Mathias of Arras was chosen from among the French architects, and it was decided that the construction was to be done in the style of French Gothic. Mathias planned and started the construction of the Prague church in the typical style of French Gothic cathedrals with radiating chapels. However, he managed to finish only eight polygonal radiating chapels (from the Old Sacristy up to the Chapel of the Holy Cross), the ambulatory, and the piers of the choir up to the level of the triforium. He performed his function of main architect for eight years, until his death in 1352.⁸

After Mathias' death, Charles solicited another architect to come to Prague: the young, twenty-three years old Peter Parler from Schwabian Gmünd. Master Peter spent over fifty years, practically his entire adult lifetime, building the cathedral. He partially continued in the style of Master Mathias, especially where their work touched, in order to keep the unity. Otherwise, he continued in his own style. Peter was influenced by North French Gothic, with which he had made himself familiar in Cologne, and by English Gothic, which he probably became acquainted with during his 'Wanderjahre'.⁹ His approach is demonstrated best in his treatment of the triforium, where he uses glass

windows, instead of a solid wall, with the result of making the cathedral much lighter than its contemporaries. By 1385 he finished the triforium, the vaulting, and the choir; the latter was consecrated the same year. The choir was defined in the north by two larger, oblong chapels, of St. Michael and St. Sigismund. Each was approximately the size of two of Master Mathias' polygonal chapels. In the south the choir was defined by the oblong Chapel of the Holy Cross, the square Chapel of St. Ondřej, and the large, square-shaped Chapel of St. Wenceslas. (See fig. 9.) When the choir was ready to be used, Master Peter closed it on the western side with a thick, temporary wall. By creating this wall he made a sort of statement that the first part of the cathedral was finished (See fig. 10.).

Important artists in the fourteenth century who participated in the building and decorating of the St. Vitus cathedral were given special recognition by Charles IV. This appreciation for the architects and artists by the ruler can be documented in two ways: their portraits were allowed to join the royal family portrait gallery in the inner triforium of the cathedral,¹¹ and they were also buried within the cathedral walls. Therefore, both major architects of St. Vitus were buried in a fairly prominent place—in the floor of the finished part of the ambulatory in front of the Old Sacristy of St. Vitus. When Master Mathias died in 1352, a simple tombstone made of sandstone was placed on his grave. It shows a simply engraved, full body of a standing male figure en face, in a long gown, holding one of the tools of his trade, a mallet, in his left hand (See fig. 11.). A Latin inscription in Gothic minuscule, in which the name of the architect is clearly recognizable (Mathias de Arras), decorated the perimeter of this rectangular monument. When Master Peter died in 1399, he was buried in the

vicinity of Master Mathias, in the floor of the ambulatory in front of the Old Sacristy of St. Vitus. His tombstone was very similar to that of his predecessor (See fig. 11a.). Some art historians¹² believe that both tombstones date from the same time, that is approximately 1400, and were most likely done in Parler's workshop. However, if the dates of the tombstones were to be the same, as suggested, it would also mean that they were made after Peter Parler died (1399), which was almost half a century after the death of Mathias of Arras (1352). For that reason it also would have to be concluded that Mathias was either buried in St. Vitus without having a special tombstone made for his grave, or the earlier tombstone was changed for a new one to make it stylistically identical with the one of his successor, Peter Parler. Nevertheless, the same type of tombstone with a simple engraved figure of the deceased has been known from the previous century, for example on the tombstone of the architect Hugues Libergier (d. 1263) in Reims cathedral, France (See fig. 12.). Libergier is shown holding a model of his church in his right hand and one of his master builder tools, the measuring stick, in the left hand. Two other important tools used for overseeing the construction, the square and a pair of calipers, are at his feet. The architect's figure is dressed in a longer gown, mid-calves in length, a cap and pointed shoes. The Prague architects are depicted in longer gowns, especially Peter Parler, whose shoes are not seen at all, and whose gown is the longest. Mathias's outfit shows pointed shoes, a long gown and a mallet in his left hand. Parler and Libergier are illustrated with Gothic architectural features—pointed arches—above their heads, while Mathias is not. The list of similarities could be made longer, but even this brief description documents that the style of the engraved tombstones did not change very quickly within the one

hundred and fifty years, and therefore, Mathias' tombstone could have been earlier than 1400.

The first two architects of the Gothic cathedral were not, however, the only artists connected with the court of Charles who were buried in St. Vitus. Yet, only the tombstone of the painter Oswald is documented in the cathedral. (Oswald was to do the wallpainting decoration of the lower part of the walls in the Chapel of St. Wenceslas and the polychromy of the Parlerian statue of the same saint.)¹³ Master Oswald's tombstone (See fig. 13.), which has completely worn down so that no central adornment is recognizable, had probably the same figurative decoration as those of Master Mathias and Master Peter Parler and probably dated from approximately the same time and the same workshop.

The importance and high social status of the artists at Charles' court can also be pictorially documented by comparing their tombstones with those of higher clergy of the country. One of the known flat, two-dimensional tombstones of the fourteenth century connected with St. Vitus cathedral is that of Canon Oldřich of Žlutice (d. 1380), the canon Vysegradensis. The plain tombstone, made of dark marble, unfortunately shows only an inscription in Latin minuscule on the perimeter of the rectangular stone. It is not clear whether there was any figural, heraldic, or other decoration in the center, or whether it was just plain.¹⁴ Even though the style of the tomb of this higher clergy official shows similarities with the tombstones of the artists, the pictorial depiction is not recognizable. Therefore, a two-dimensional tombstone of Abbott Bohuslav (d. 1363), from the Benedictine monastery in Ostrov by Davle near Prague, will be used here (See fig. 14.). This particular tombstone is presently to be found in the lapidarium of the National Museum in Prague, to which location it was moved from Davle. On

the grave of Abbott Bohuslav was placed a flat, figurative, rectangular tombstone with an engraved full figure of a young abbot (*en face*), in a long gown. He is shown with an *infula* on his head, holding a staff in his right hand and a book (probably a Bible) in the left. A Latin inscription in Gothic majuscule decorates the stone around the perimeter. The figurative depiction of the abbot shows similarities in execution to the figures on the tombstones of Mathias and Peter Parler: a simplified, stylized portrait of the deceased. (These similarities were also on Oswald's.) In this way the highest representative of the monastery, the abbot, is treated at the same social level with the court architects and painters, documenting thus again the high respect the king had for his artists.¹⁵

Even though the tombstones of Mathias, Peter, and Oswald suffered the damages of time, Oswald's was affected the most. The central part is completely worn down, and only a fragment of Latin inscription in Gothic minuscule, showing his name and profession, survived "...ir Osvaldus pictor Caroli..." His tombstone is no longer in its original location. Like the tombstone of Canon Oldřich of Žlutice (and about ten others), it was moved to the lapidarium of the National Museum.¹⁶ The tombstones of Mathias and Peter also changed their original location, but only within the cathedral. Since both tombstones were in front of the Old Sacristy, they were partially covered by a confessional, and partially exposed to the footsteps of the church visitors. Therefore, the left side of both is utterly worn, but the right side shows half of the figure plus part of the Latin inscription on the perimeter. On Mathias' tomb his name—Mathias de Arras—is clearly stated, but his face is hardly recognizable. The facial features are better preserved on Parler's tombstone, which shows the face of a bearded

man in shoulder-length hair, with remnants of his mason mark on the chest of a long gown, with the left arm at the waist line, as if holding something in his hand. The simplified engraving of Peter's features shows similarities with his sculptural facial depiction in the lower triforium, making thus the bearer's identity unmistakable (especially the beard and the little hairpiece in the middle of his forehead). The same body features are still recognizable on Mathias' tombstone; but the gown is somewhat shorter, letting the tip of his left shoe show, while Peter's gown ends in heavy folds, filling the lower part of the rectangular space. The tombstones of both architects were discovered in 1928 during the excavations and archeological research in St. Vitus; they were moved then across the church from the north side of the ambulatory to their present location—the opposite walls of the Valdštejn Chapel in the south side of the cathedral.¹⁷

From among the Prague archbishops of the fourteenth century, only the second one, Jan Očko of Vlašim (d. 1380), is buried in the cathedral.¹⁸ As the country's first cardinal, Jan Očko is buried in the chapel bearing his name, the Vlašim Chapel. Since he was its donor and its founder he was also responsible for its decoration done in fresco of Master Oswald.¹⁹ The marble monument of the cardinal (See fig. 15.) was done from two different marbles—red Slivenec marble for the tomb and white Vlašim marble for the statue—to make the impression of the tombstone more effective. The piece was probably done in Parler's workshop during the cardinal's lifetime and shows the white, reclining figure of the cardinal on top of the red coffin. He has a dog, symbol of fidelity, at his feet. Jan Očko, who most likely oversaw the decoration of his chapel, is dressed in a long, archbishopric gown with a miter on his head. The depiction

represents a standing figure rather than a reclining one. Očko's three coats of arms—episcopal, archepiscopal, and cardinal—are painted on the wall above the monument. Since marble was not the most commonly used material in Parler's workshop and in central Europe on the whole²⁰—the sculptures of the Přemyslid rulers were made of a special kind of limestone²¹—the monument reflects a rather different approach as well. It is more symbolic than realistic, showing clearly the block-like marble underneath the relief sculpture of the body and the face of the archbishop.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, Charles IV designed a very careful program for transforming Prague into a modern, cosmopolitan city. He also had a careful plan for the most important cathedral of his kingdom, St. Vitus. It was to be a special place where the treasures of the kingdom would be kept, where relics of important saints would be worshipped, and where the members of the royal family would be baptized, wed, crowned and buried. Charles was the first one to be crowned in the Gothic cathedral, in 1347, and he had his children baptized there as well. He also had a royal crypt constructed in front of the main altar in the choir. Charles IV and most of his immediate family members are buried there. Since he wanted the "dynastic past" also included in his new structure, he had his royal Přemyslid ancestors re-buried in the Gothic cathedral. The bodies of some of the earlier rulers who were already buried within the walls of the old basilica during the eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries were moved to the cathedral in 1373 and buried with piety in the three prominent eastern chapels—the Chapel of the Virgin Mary (Imperial Chapel), the Chapel of St. John the Baptist (Archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice Chapel), and the Chapel of the Holy Relics (Saxonian or Sternberg Chapel). The sculptural

tombs in high relief were placed above the bodies (See fig. 16.). The placement and arrangement of these tombs refer partially to the former burial place of the Czech Přemyslid kings in the monastery church in Zbraslav, and are partially influenced by the idea of the burial place in St.-Denis, France, referring thus again to the influence of Charles IV's French connections.²²

Each of the above three chapels has tombs of two kings. They are placed there on opposite walls according to the rules of chronology and succession. The right side of each chapel (the southern side) was reserved for the eldest person in the group. Thus, for example, Břetislav I (d. 1055) with his wife Jitka (d. 1058) and Spytihněv II (d. 1061) were placed in the very central Chapel of the Virgin Mary; Břetislav on the right, and Spytihněv, as the younger partner, on the left. Břetislav II (d. 1100) and his brother and successor Bořivoj II (d. 1124) were placed in the Chapel of John the Baptist, to the left of the Chapel of the Virgin Mary, following the same order of succession. The same pattern was followed when two powerful kings, Přemysl Ottokar I (d. 1230) and his grandson, Přemysl Ottokar II (d. 1278), were buried in the Chapel of the Holy Relics, to the right of the Chapel of the Virgin Mary (See fig. 17 and 18.).

The monumental sepulchres of the Přemyslid rulers were made of stone in Parler's workshop and were started between 1373 and 1376, at the latest.²³ The ones of the two Ottokars were done by Peter Parler himself. For the tombstone of Přemysl Ottokar I, according to the weekly accounts of the cathedral's workshop, for example, Master Peter received on August 30th, 1377, the sum of fifteen 'kopa' (kopa = sixty) of groschen, which meant about nine hundred groschen. This was a large sum, taking into consideration the fact that Parler's weekly salary was fifty-six groschen plus a special honorarium for

finishing individual stages of the cathedral's construction and for sculptural works.²⁴ All six monuments were done in the form of reclining figures on top of individual oblong coffins. Therefore, the figures themselves are not free-standing, but rather part of a bigger complex, the sarcophagus. Each figure has a symbol of strength and courage, a lion, at his feet, and two or three coats of arms on the side of the coffin facing the center of the chapel. Incidentally, the symbol of a male lion—heraldically with two tails—was also an old Czech heraldic symbol and, therefore, the appearance of the beast on the tomb of each king had extra symbolical meaning, associating the dynasty with the Czech past. However, the animals are not made as big ferocious beasts but as friendly little lions, which could have symbolized the intentions of Charles' reign, expressed on the tombs of his ancestors: to be strong, but friendly. This statement could raise objections whether the "friendliness" of the beasts was not rather a result of the lack of knowledge of the anatomy of these particular animals on the part of the medieval sculptors. While it could be accepted it still should be taken into consideration that Charles IV had the whole arrangement and iconography of the cathedral carefully planned and might have, at least partially, intended the lions to be done the "friendly" way they were (See fig. 19.).

The whole sculptural work of the tombs was done in high relief. The figures of Bořivoj II, Spytihněv II and Přemysl Ottokar I are dressed in long gowns with princely caps or crowns on their heads.²⁵ The figures of Břetislav I, Břetislav II and Přemysl Ottokar II are in armor with helmets. Each ruler has a different expression, with beautifully done facial details; they were not shown as dead, but rather as living individuals, with character and disposition showing as much as possible. The faces of the individual kings show the interest of the

sculptors in portraiture, even though they were probably mainly done from literary descriptions, rather than real likenesses. However, this writer has reason to believe that at least some of the faces were done with help of real skull models of the deceased.

It is known, and has been already mentioned, that the bodies of the six Přemyslid rulers were moved in 1373 from their original graves in the Romanesque basilica to the new Gothic cathedral. Because of that the sculptor (or sculptors) working in the cathedral would have the access necessary to study the proportions of the bodies and the skulls of the kings and use them as models. Petr Hora²⁶ mentions that the sculptor (Peter Parler, or his relative Jindřich/Henry Parler, or both) of the statue of St. Wenceslas for the saint's chapel in St. Vitus probably used the skull of St. Wenceslas as a model in order to make a realistic depiction of the man's features. Anthropological-medical research done in the last twenty years showed that some sculptors (probably Peter Parler) knew how to use the skulls professionally for making realistic portraits. The method of photographic superprojection proved the surprising likeness of the sculptural portraiture with that of the skull of St. Wenceslas.²⁷ Since the statue of St. Wenceslas was done at the same time period as the tombs of the kings, it is reasonable to conclude that the same system—using the skulls of the kings as models— was applied at least in some cases.

It is fair to suppose that the method was used in the case of both of the last kings, Přemysl Ottokar I and Přemysl Ottokar II. There are several reasons leading to this conclusion: their faces are clearly shown, uncovered by helmets as in the case of both Břetislavs, for example, and they were the last of the Přemyslids to be buried in the cathedral. Furthermore they were both not so

distant relatives of Charles IV, and both considerably increased the prestige of the state, serving thus as an example for their educated and ambitious successor. If he desired to have their features as realistic as possible, it would have been only natural.

Karel Stejskal also observes that the need to differentiate individual types of the rulers is, on the surface, represented by the detail of how each king is dressed. Consequently, the kings dressed in long gowns represent "rulers of the peace," and the ones clothed in armor are "the warriors."²⁸ A brief description of each tomb shows the differences.

The mentioned dress-code iconographically depicts the events typical for the rule of individual rulers: for example, Břetislav I (d. 1055) is sometimes referred to as "innovator of the Czech realm,"²⁹ because he not only tried to gain back territories lost to the Czech principality but also to expand it. In 1029 he militarily took over Moravia and became ruler there. In another military expedition to Poland he brought the body of a Czech saint, St. Vojtěch, back to Bohemia. His aim was eventually to make a large realm of Western Slavs, which would protect them against the Germanic expansion. He died during a military expedition to Hungary. His body was brought back to Prague and buried in St. Vitus.³⁰ In 1373 the body of Břetislav I, like the bodies of the other five Přemyslid rulers, was moved to the Gothic cathedral and buried in its present location. A few years later Parler's workshop produced the monuments. Břetislav I is depicted as a warrior, dressed in armor and a helmet. His left arm is holding a sword, his head is resting on a helmet, his feet are leaning against a lion at his feet. The facial features are partially covered by the armor.

The second warrior, Břetislav II (d. 1100) was at war with Poland for several years. However, he did not die during a military expedition but after a hunt, by the hand of an assassin.³¹ Like Břetislav I he too was depicted as a warrior in armor. Because his tomb suffered the most damage in later times—the head, arms and even the lion were destroyed—the features are not recognizable.

The third warrior, the powerful Přemysl Ottokar II (d. 1278), was the last one of the Přemyslids to be buried in St. Vitus. Generally referred to as "King of Gold and Iron," he was the most powerful ruler in Central Europe in the thirteenth century. During his relatively long reign of twenty-five years (1253-1278), he was also a vigorous founder of numerous monasteries and towns throughout his vast kingdom, which covered most of central Europe all the way to the Adriatic Sea. He died at the battle of Moravské Pole (near modern Dürnkrot) in 1278, struck down by his enemies, after all of his faithful around him had fallen dead. As can be read in old chronicles, he was stabbed by spear and killed by additional seventeen wounds after his weapon, shield and helmet were taken away.³² The anthropological-medical studies of Přemysl Ottokar II's remnants in St. Vitus also revealed that his skull was cut almost in half by a death blow carried from the front, heavily damaging his skull and his brain.³³

However, even after his death the fate of the remnants of one of the most admired, most hated and most feared man of the century was adventurous. His trip back to Prague, to his final resting place in the Chapel of the Holy Relics in the Gothic St. Vitus, took almost a hundred years. It might be interesting to follow the trip of the dead king, because it not only documents the historical events but also reveals some burial practices of the time and helps to explain the

attributes of his tomb and why the art of his tomb in St. Vitus may seem more beautiful and powerful than that of the other tombstones, even though it was done by an equally skilled master sculptor. After the battle the victorious enemy, Rudolf the Habsburg, had Přemysl Ottokar's body taken to Vienna. There it was put in the monastery of the Benedictines and embalmed. Because Přemysl Ottokar II was under an interdict by the Pope, he was neither allowed to be buried in a sacred ground nor could any religious services be kept for him. For that reason his heart was taken out of his body and buried. The embalmed body was exposed for viewing in the unfriendly country for thirty days. The following year, 1279, when the interdict was revoked, the Roman Emperor Rudolf Habsburg gave permission for Přemysl Ottokar's body to be taken back to his native land. It was accepted by his queen, his nobles, and representatives of the nation in Znojmo, Moravia. There he lay in state for some time and finally was buried in sacred ground. After nineteen years, before the coronation of his son Wenceslas II in 1296 in St. Vitus in Prague, the body of Přemysl Ottokar II was taken to Prague, temporarily deposited in the monastery of St. Francis and finally buried in the Romanesque basilica of St. Vitus.³⁴ The shape of his tomb there is not known, because the church was rebuilt. In 1373 the body of Přemysl Ottokar II was moved to its present location in the Gothic St. Vitus and has stayed there ever since.

On his tomb Přemysl Ottokar II is shown as an athletic man dressed in armor. But unlike the other two warriors he has a long, rich gown around his shoulders. It is decorated in the upper part by ermine fur, covering part of his chest. Around the hips is carved a heavy, beautifully engraved-like-metal belt (probably from gold and silver), used in the fourteenth century court fashion as

adornment of both male and female fashion. A similar type of belt is to be seen on the adornment of Břetislav II and also on the statue of St. Wenceslas, which proves that all the past royal deceased were portrayed as knights of the fourteenth century, rather than people of the periods they lived in (See fig. 20.). The king's feet are resting against a lion. Even though his tomb is not much longer than anybody else's (all being slightly less than two meters long, except for the one of Bořivoj II, which is only one and three quarters of a meter long), there are three coats of arms on his sarcophagus—Czech lion, Moravian eagles and Austrian fess—compared to the usual two the rest of the kings have. This refers to the fact that Přemysl Ottokar II expanded the territory of the Bohemian kingdom for Austria. The most interesting and the most beautiful feature of the whole sarcophagus is the king's head, showing the wrinkled face of an older, bearded man with ear-length wavy hair. His head is decorated with a royal crown, but resting on a helmet rather than a pillow (See fig. 18.). By these two iconographical items the sculptor very clearly showed the symbols of the power of the man: the king and the warrior. While the real model of the person was no longer available (He was more than a century dead.), the art of the Gothic sculptor made him look as realistic as possible—a powerful king, fearless warrior and a strong, impressive man of royal blood.

Before the remaining three monuments of Přemyslid rulers are discussed, it should be mentioned that the idea of warrior king vs. rulers of the peace appeared elsewhere, even though not commonly in such close vicinity with each other as in Prague. An example of the royal warrior is the tomb of Edward the Black Prince, in Canterbury Cathedral, England. It shows a man in heavy, richly decorated armor, with facial features partly covered by "chain link armor

protecting the head and neck." His effigy is "expressive rather of the soldier than of the man."³⁵ His father Edward III, buried in Westminster Abbey, London, represents the ruler of the peace, because during his fifty-year-long reign there was peace in the country. His tomb portrait shows a calm older man in long beard and shoulder-length hair. He is dressed in a long gown and his head, without any crown, rests on a double pillow. T.S.R. Boase states that the facial features were probably based on a death mask, "though the schematic treatment of hair and beard adds dignity and power."³⁶ Both monuments are done in gilt copper and were executed in the late 1370's, which puts them into the same time category with the Prague monuments. The possible use of death mask of king Edward would support the theory that the fourteenth century sculptors did use dead bodies and skulls for realistic portraiture.

The Přemyslid group of the "rulers of the peace," Spytihněv II, Bořivoj II, Přemysl Ottokar I, is done similarly to the group of warriors, depicting the prototype of a ruler—in a long gown, with crown on his head and symbols of power in his hands. From the "Wochenrechnungen" (weekly accounting books) of the cathedral for the years 1372-1378,³⁷ it is known that Master Peter himself made the sculpture of Přemysl Ottokar I. It is probable, that he also did altogether, or a great part of, the sculpture of the warrior king Přemysl Ottokar II discussed earlier. Even though the garments in which both kings are clothed are different, the depiction of facial features would indicate the same hand and approach. It can be also speculated that Peter was involved in sculpting the sarcophagus of Spytihněv II, founder of the Romanesque basilica of St. Vitus. Spytihněv's facial features show an older man with a beard, wavy hair below the ear lobes, wrinkled forehead, energetic mouth and high cheek bones. The whole

facial expression indicates certain similarities in depiction with those of both Ottokars, even though the gowns of Spytihněv and Přemysl Ottokar I are done differently and Přemysl Ottokar II is in armor. While the bodies of both Ottokars are somewhat more energetic and protruding from the surface, the one of Spytihněv is calmer and more horizontal. This author would, therefore, attribute it partly to another hand. Stejskal attributes the sculpture to Jindřich IV Parler, nephew of Peter, but he agrees on the attribution of Přemysl Ottokar II to Peter Parler.³⁸

Even though the figures of the Přemyslid rulers are shown in a horizontal position, in some cases with head resting deeply on a single or double pillow, they practically represent a standing figure, rather than a reclining one. This can especially be seen from the gowns of Přemysl Ottokar II and Spytihněv II, for example, which do not fall freely on the edge of the coffin but rather "stand" behind the figures.³⁹ Unfortunately some of the figures are entirely defaced (for example, Břetislav II), or have otherwise suffered damage from wars and other causes throughout the centuries.

These six monuments of the Přemyslid rulers executed by Peter Parler and some members of his family and/or workshop, represent fine examples of fourteenth century Gothic sculpture produced in Prague. They also document the ambitious program with which the King and Emperor Charles IV planned the decoration of St. Vitus. They are part of the extensive sculptural decoration of the choir, which showed the royal/national past in the ground floor, the royal present above in the lower (inner) triforium and the eternity above all in the higher (outer) triforium.⁴⁰ Since the six kings were representatives of Charles' royal past, they were placed on the ground floor of the cathedral. The saints and

the Christ were placed above everything and everybody in the higher triforium. The space between the two groups was reserved for the present, which was represented by Charles IV himself and his family. The central figure of each group was either the oldest person (i.e., Břetislav I) or the most important one (Christ). Both of these figures were placed in and above the right side of the central Chapel of the Virgin Mary. Charles IV, as the most important representative of the contemporary royal presence had his bust placed between them, becoming thus the central figure of the lower triforium (See fig. 24.).

Hence Charles, his four wives, both of his parents, both of his brothers, and his oldest son (and successor to the Bohemian throne) with his first wife are depicted in eleven sculptural busts in the lower triforium of St. Vitus. They are accompanied by the highest representatives of the church, three archbishops, and five canons, who were also construction directors. These eight clergymen were not only connected with the construction of the cathedral, but were also among the important courtiers and advisors of the king. Interestingly enough, the whole group is accompanied by both major architects of the fourteenth century St. Vitus, Master Mathias and Master Peter Parler (See fig. 26 and 27.). The last two figures stand in the row as part of Charles' court, or as people of high position given to them by the king himself. Even though the depiction of the main architect in medieval churches was not unusual—for example Gislebertus in Autun, Adam Kraft in St. Sebald (Nürnberg), Anton Pilgram in Stephansdom (Vienna)—they were not, by any means, shown at the same level with the clergy, or even the ruling class, neither sacral nor secular.

The twenty-one busts were done by several artists of Parler's workshop, Master Peter inclusive, within the years 1374-1385 (See fig. 22 and 23.). Not all

are of the same quality and done by the same hand, but all give a very realistic impression and form an unusual portrait gallery of the fourteenth century.⁴¹ The most successful and the most realistic ones are portraits of Charles' third wife, Anna of Swidnitz, and of the architect Peter Parler himself. In the case of a young queen, Anna, Master Parler managed to make a true portrait of a beautiful princess with long, wavy hair, gentle smile and a small crown on her head, making her thus, maybe, a prototype of the "beautiful Madonna" sculptures. He must have known her, or, at least seen her. She died in 1362 at the age of twenty-three, two years after giving birth to Charles' long expected heir. She was among the twelve dead who were portrayed at the lower triforium gallery.

Since the impressive portrait gallery of Charles IV and his court places him as the central figure, and since he is also depicted several more times throughout the cathedral—for example, in painted form on the side of the altar in the Chapel of St. Wenceslas and in a mosaic form above the Porta Aurea—it is rather peculiar that there is no elaborate and magnificent tomb sculpted or painted for him in St. Vitus, even though his royal contemporaries elsewhere had splendid tombstones made for themselves.⁴² Even Charles' archbishops had artistic tombstones done in their commemoration.⁴³ Yet, the main founder of the Gothic cathedral in Prague, the King and Emperor Charles IV, does not have a visible or decorative tomb in any of the chapels or the choir. While he could have had any artist working on his tomb, he decided to be buried in the royal crypt, which he ordered to be constructed during his lifetime. Practically all immediate members of his family are buried there along with him. His four wives—Blanche de Valois (d. 1348), Anna of the Pfalz (d. 1352), Anna of

Swidnitz (d. 1362), Elizabeth of Pomerania (d. 1393), three of his children, who died at young ages, his son and successor to the throne, Wenceslas IV (d. 1419), along with his first wife Johanna (d. 1386) and Charles' youngest son, Jan of Žhořelec (d. 1396).⁴⁴ It is not altogether impossible, however, that the portrait gallery in the lower triforium would serve as such a monument. All of Charles' family members buried in the royal crypt also appear in the inner triforium, except for his little children and his youngest son, Jan of Žhořelec. The idea of living group portraits was not new in sepulchral sculpture and during the reign of Charles IV was used, for example, in Italy, even though rather in a full figure version and on a smaller scale.⁴⁵

The individual bust portraits of both dead and living members of King Charles' family and his court members included some features used in basic funerary iconography: 1) identification—in the form of a carved Latin inscription below or above the portrait; 2) status—coats of arms on both sides of the portrait; 3) the portrait itself—realistic or stylized. Since there are no funerary religious figures included (e.g., God the Father, angels, a praying figure) the whole monument is rather more commemorative than religious and could indicate the idea of the influence of the Roman tombstones based on Greek steles, which show only a portrait of the deceased,⁴⁶ rather than the religious tombstones of the fourteenth century. Since King Charles, due to his position, had any amount of space in St. Vitus available to himself, his group monument could have covered the whole upper space of the cathedral.

While it can be argued that Charles did not intend the royal portraits to be part of a traditional sepulchral monument, it could be admitted that he wanted to be remembered and that he, as a more experienced and more

educated ruler than most of his contemporaries, was influenced both by Gothic piety and Renaissance humanism. His double monument—commemorative sculptural gallery in the triforium and the pious royal crypt—might express what Panofsky calls "...to be remembered rather than saved"⁴⁷ especially in Prague and Bohemia, which he cared so much for, that he was even accused by some monarchs as being "arch-father of Bohemia, arch-stepfather of the Empire."⁴⁸

On the other hand, there is no doubt that Charles IV was likewise a very religious man and as such was depicted on the side of the altar in St. Wenceslas Chapel, and also in the mosaic above the Porta Aurea as a kneeling figure with praying hands. He was also an avid collector of relics, including some from distant places. For example, he had the body of St. Sigismund, Burgundian king (d. 523), brought to Prague in 1365 from the monastery of St. Moritz in Augau, Switzerland, and buried in a chapel dedicated to the honor of the saint.⁴⁹

Following is a list of the main saints and blessed persons buried in St. Vitus cathedral, in chronological order according to when they were brought to Prague:

- 1) St. Vitus, Roman martyr to whom the church was dedicated, brought from Italy.
- 2) St. Wenceslas, Czech ruler and martyr, brought from Stara Boleslav where he was killed in 929/936.
- 3) Blessed Podiven, friend of St. Wenceslas, killed in the tenth century.
- 4) Blessed Přibyslava, sister of St. Wenceslas, died (perhaps by murder) in the tenth century.
- 5) St. Vojtěch, Czech bishop and martyr (also a Polish saint), (d. 997), brought from Poland in 1039.

- 6) Five Holy Brothers-Martyrs, brought together with St. Vojtěch from Poland to Prague.
- 7) St. Sigismund, Burgundian king (d. 523), brought to Prague in 1365 from Switzerland.
- 8) St. Jan Nepomuk, canon and vicar of the Prague archbishop, murdered 1393, canonized in 1729.

Charles IV also took care of the cult of the local saint and patron, St. Wenceslas, with whom the cathedral was always connected as its original founder. Since the grave of St. Wenceslas had been a pilgrimage place for the nation, the cathedral was naturally the center for the cult of the saint. The popularity of this cult spread considerably during Charles' reign. In Peter Parler's architectural plan the Chapel of St. Wenceslas, built above the grave of the saint, was to stand out almost as a separate unit added to the cathedral. The unusually big chapel of about 100 square meters in shape is located on the southern side of the cathedral. Since Charles IV was its primary benefactor, it was probably his wish that the new chapel built over the grave of the patron saint of Bohemia would stand out not only in size and shape, but would also be more decorated than any other chapel in the cathedral (See fig. 28.).

The Czech King and the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV died in 1378 and did not see most of the construction completed. The choir was not finished and consecrated until 1385, seven years after his death. The king's second architect, Peter Parler, survived his benefactor by more than two decades and died in 1399. Peter's sons took over while their father was still alive and continued in his style and according to his plans. The older son, Wenceslas, was in charge of the construction for only about one year, 1397, and then left for

Vienna to be active on the construction of Stephansdom. His brother Jan took over in 1398 and led the workshop until his death in 1405/1406.⁵⁰ After Jan's death the workshop, led by Peter, called Petrlík, continued until the Hussite wars.⁵¹

During the first stage of construction of St. Vitus, 1344-1419 (75 years), when about one half of the cathedral was finished, three generations of architects took part in building it: Mathias, Peter Parler and Peter's sons and workshop. During this active period two distinct conceptions of form and space, as briefly mentioned throughout this discussion, are apparent in the work. Altogether the size of the cathedral by the end of the fourteenth century was about fifty-nine metres in length, being thus approximately half of the cathedral today, one hundred twenty-four meters long.⁵² Peter Parler had closed the finished part, the choir, by a temporary wall. However, he could not have predicted that this temporary wall would last for several hundred years. Yet, for the next several centuries only a relatively small portion was added, and, due to different wars and political unrest, major work was primarily in repairs and changes to the interior. The incomplete church then becomes the witness of all changes in artistic creativity and the natural and political disasters that followed. The problems that started to develop even during Charles IV's reign eventually escalated in the Hussite movement, which spread fast throughout the country after the death of Jan Hus, burned at the stake in 1415 as a religious heretic. By the time of the sudden death of Charles IV's son and successor to the throne, Wenceslas IV, in 1419, the country was at war, and this lasted throughout the major part of the first half of the fifteenth century.

Inter arma silent muse. The construction of the cathedral was stopped in 1420, when, due to wars, the Parlerian workshop ceased functioning. The cathedral then remained a "torso, beautiful and tragic, reflecting the Czech fate in history" for several hundred years.⁵³

CHAPTER THREE

FROM THE HUSSITE WARS TO THE BATTLE OF WHITE MOUNTAIN (1420—1620)

During the Hussite wars the interior of the cathedral, which before the war had sixty-seven altars, was devastated several times, and the structure itself deteriorated for much of the century. In 1420, even though he just lost a battle against the Hussites, the Emperor Sigismund, brother of the recently deceased King Wenceslas IV and son of Charles IV, entered the Prague castle and let himself be crowned as Bohemian king. After the coronation, in order to pay off his army, he had the altars, paintings and reliquaries in St. Vitus stripped of all gold, silver and precious stones. His rapaciousness did not even spare the pure gold casket in which the bones of St. Wenceslas were kept.¹ Sigismund left for Hungary with much of the cathedral treasures—the crown of St. Wenceslas and other coronation jewels among them, in order to prevent the Czechs from offering it to anybody else.² After this disaster, the iconoclasts, in 1421, finished the devastation of the interior of the cathedral of St. Vitus when the radical part of the Hussite movement tried to tear down St. Vitus as a symbol of the Catholic church and the archbishopric. Among the reasons for their animosity were the long lasting actions of the Catholic church against the Hussites that went back to 1410 and before, when, for example, the archbishop Zbyněk of Hazenburg, had

Vicleff's books burned in Prague and declared an interdict on Jan Hus. Even though the complete demolition of St. Vitus was stopped by the non-radical Hussites, the remaining altars and precious art objects were removed. Some sculptural sepulchral monuments were demolished as well.³ The archbishopric, deprived of its possessions, was vacated, and the position was not officially filled for 140 years.⁴ The coronation of the Bohemian kings during this period of sedis vacances was conducted by foreign archbishops, mainly from Hungary. For most of the fifteenth century the complex of the Prague castle was unused, as the king had moved his seat to the city location in the Old Town, where he felt safer. As a result of these events the cathedral, like the rest of the castle complex, was left to deteriorate.

Only towards the very end of the century, when the new ruling dynasty of Polish Jagiellonids (ruled 1471-1526) moved their seat in 1485 back to the castle, did new interior decoration and architectural additions appear in St. Vitus. The major addition to the existing cathedral building was the construction of the Royal Oratorium, which was built for the convenience of the ruler and connected, through a small corridor, the royal bedroom directly with the cathedral. It was built in the style of Late Gothic in 1493, and is placed between the Valdštejn Chapel and the Chapel of the Holy Cross, on the south side of the cathedral.

Of the kings that ruled the country during and after the Hussite wars, only a few were buried in St. Vitus: Wenceslas IV, who was transported to Prague in 1421, two years after his death; the young Ladislav the Posthumous, who died in Prague in 1457, even though since 1454 his permanent residence was in Hungary; and the Hussite King, the Czech George of Poděbrady (d. 1471), the

only elected ruler with no dynastic connections ever on the Bohemian throne. All three were buried in the royal crypt, alongside Charles IV and his family.⁵ No special monument was made anywhere on the main floor of the cathedral. Two successive kings who were from the Polish dynasty were buried elsewhere; Wladislaw (d. 1516), in Hungary, where he was also a king. His son and successor to both thrones, Ludvik (d. 1526), who died at the age of twenty during the battle against the Turks, was buried near the battlefield in Stoličný Bělegrad.

From the archbishops of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries only Olbram of Škvorec (d. 1402) and Zbyněk Zajíc of Hazenburg (d. 1411), were buried in St. Vitus in the floor of the Hazenburg Chapel,⁶ placed at the bottom of the southern tower. However, there are no markers today indicating their burial place.

The fifteenth century tombstones that have survived were from the cemetery surrounding the cathedral. Since they were placed on the pillars or the buttresses of the church and were done for people of lesser social importance, they were spared destruction by human hand. These simple, badly weathered, heraldic tombstones are among the first ones of this particular type that became widely popular during the following centuries and are to be found in large number throughout the cathedral of St. Vitus. Since only four date from the period discussed, a short description of each is included.

- 1462 Jan Kubík of Budkovice—heraldic rectangular tombstone made of sandstone—placed outside the cathedral on the pillar of the Chapel of St. John the Baptist. The central part is slightly sunk to show the low relief coat of arms, shield divided vertically into two parts and placed diagonally in the center. Latin inscription in Gothic minuscule is on the perimeter.

- 1473 Jiřík Hromada of Boršice—heraldic rectangular tombstone made of sandstone—placed outside the cathedral on the buttress of the Sternberg Chapel. The central part is slightly sunk to show the low relief coat of arms; a diagonally placed shield in the center. Latin inscription in Gothic minuscule is on the perimeter. Part of the tombstone is missing.
- 1489 Hynek of Švamberk—heraldic rectangular tombstone made of sandstone—found outside the cathedral, on the pillar of the Chapel of St. John the Baptist. The central part is slightly sunk to show the low relief coat of arms of a swan. A weathered Latin inscription in Gothic minuscule is on the perimeter.
- Mid- fifteenth century—Canon (?) Iacobus—badly weathered sandstone tombstone. The surviving fragment bears only the name of the deceased, written in Gothic minuscule. Hejnic reports Podlaha's statement regarding Iacobus' identity, and names several people with that spelling who were at that time members of the St. Vitus chapter. The tombstone was moved at sometime to the lapidarium of National Museum from St. Vitus cathedral.⁷

The style of these monuments, as well as the names of people for whom they were made, indicate a new trend in burial practices in St. Vitus. The cathedral ceased to be exclusively a burial place for royalty, clergy, and only a few special commoners. It gradually became more widely used, especially by noble families and court officials, both Czech and foreign. In fact the church never stopped being a special and desired place of eternal rest, even though the external depiction of the monuments changed.

During the sixteenth century central and southern Europe were much preoccupied with the wars against the Turks. On the Bohemian throne the kings changed seats five times. At the first part of the century two kings, Wladislaw and Ludwik, of the Polish dynasty of Jagiellonids, gave way in 1526 to the Austrian dynasty of Habsburgs. Three of the latter, Ferdinand, Maximilian, and

Rudolf, ruled the Bohemian kingdom throughout the rest of the century. Since all five rulers were of foreign blood, and the Bohemian kingdom was not their only and major interest—except for Rudolf who made Prague his permanent residence—they travelled between their residences, bringing a new foreign influence to the country. Each of the new dynasties brought with them a different nobility, manner, religion, fashion, and art. Of all of these rulers only Rudolf both died and was buried in Prague. Ferdinand and Maximilian died elsewhere, but were buried in Prague. The Poles died and were buried elsewhere.⁸

Because the Polish dynasty died out rather soon, before any major building project could have been completed, the idea of finishing the St. Vitus cathedral was not realized. Later in the century the thought of completing the cathedral was abandoned altogether. This was perhaps partially the result of a disaster which struck in the form of a huge fire in 1541 and damaged much of both the exterior and the interior of the cathedral. Inside the cathedral it destroyed the tombs of St. Wenceslas and St. Vojtěch, the Royal Oratorium, some of the altars, the organ and the wooden benches. Repairing the fire damage took twenty years, and the unfinished space of the cathedral, mainly what would be the nave, was turned into a cemetery.⁹ In front of the western temporary wall in the middle of the originally planned nave a central, hexagonal chapel was built in 1575-76 by the Italian architect Avostalis (Ulrico Aostalli) above the grave of St. Vojtěch (See fig. 29).¹⁰ Along the sides a covered loggia was added for the protection of the tombstones. Inside the cathedral the space along the same temporary (western) Parlerian wall was decorated by a choir loft. The royal crypt was enlarged, and above it a marble mausoleum was created for

the first rulers of the new dynasty on the Bohemian throne, placing them thus into the center of the existing church interior. Around them on the floor of the choir, on the walls and floor of the chapels, on the piers and floor in the ambulatory rose numerous tombstones and epitaphs of members of the court and of people who had some connection with the court.

Between the years 1508 and 1620 about sixty to sixty-five tombstones can be documented as either still existing in the cathedral, or as being moved to the lapidarium of the National Museum. Looking at the names of these people, a truly international society can be seen. Among these Czech, German, Italian and Spanish names predominate. Compared to the previous centuries when tombstones in St. Vitus were mainly honoring men, except for the triforium where queens are fully represented, the tombstones of the sixteenth century represent men, women and children.

Artistically the tombstones are as diverse as the people they were made for, showing many different artistic trends. However, compared to Italy and the elaborate Medici tombstones by Michelangelo, the St. Vitus monuments, including the most elaborate one, the royal mausoleum, might seem relatively simple. Even compared to many neighboring countries Prague tombstones might seem simple. The reason was that Bohemia was missing the basic feature important for the Renaissance art and that was the admiration for the physical world and especially for the physical beauty of man. Partly due to religious wars the ideal beauty of Bohemia was always in some ways connected with spirituality. The individual features of man were, therefore, seen through it.¹¹ The most frequently used language for inscriptions was Latin, which was often used by the educated classes and always used by any representative of the ecclesiastical

group no matter whether of Czech or foreign origin: for example, tombstones of both Czech archbishops, Antonín Brus of Mohelnice (d. 1580) and Martin Medek (d. 1590), the tombstone of "conciliis iudici appellationum in Bohemiae" Jiří Popel of Lobkowitz (Georgio Poppelio baroni a Lobkowitz d. 1590), or the personal doctor of Rudolf II, Krystof Quarimonio (d. 1604), or, an earlier tombstone of the royal pharmacist, Klaudius Trippet (d. 1560). Latin inscriptions also appear on a majority of tombs of foreigners like Bernhard Menesius of Toledo (d. 1560), Paul Chinardona (d. 1579), Don Antonio de Cordona (d. 1553) and his wife Mariae de Pequesses (d. 1577), and Octavio Spinola (d. 1592). On the other hand, the tomb or epitaph inscriptions of local nobility would also be in Czech: Jan Dlask of Vchynice (d. 1521), Markéta of Švamberk (d. 1540), Vilém Přeck of Čechtice (d. 1556), Vilém Muchek of Bukov (d. 1569), Lev of Rožmitál (d. 1585); or in German: Hans Gregor of Herberstain (d. 1548), Klara of Hundeck (d. 1607), Tomas Geiselhammer (d. 1610); or even a combination of Czech and German, as could be seen a little bit later on a bronze epitaph of Lev Burián Berka of Dubé and Lippé (d. 1626). Type of lettering or inscription design was more important when it became the predominant part of the tombstone. The lettering used included Latin majuscule and minuscule, along with the still popular decorative Gothic lettering, both in minuscule and majuscule.

Of the types of tombstones prevailing in the sixteenth century one can find basically three types:

- a) Figural—showing full figure, half figure, or a group of figures, with lettering on the perimeter, on a separate plate or within

the frame architecture. A separate type of figural tombstones would be formed by monuments of kneeling knights in armor.

- b) Heraldic—displaying coats of arms and inscriptions either in the upper or lower part of the tombstone, or around the perimeter.
- c) Plain epitaphic plates with lettering inscription only.

For the purpose of this study the concentration will be on figural tombstones.

Examples of the new sixteenth century type of funerary sculpture would include the red marble tombstone of Markéta of Švamberk (d. 1540), showing a simple, rectangular, figural relief monument representing an older matrona in long gown, head covered and hands crossed at the abdomen. The effigy of the woman is standardized. The inscription along the perimeter is done in Czech. The monument belongs to a relief type of tombstones visible all over the country, even in small village churches. The matrona figures have very similar facial features from one tombstone to another. Tombstones of some of the abbesses in St. George basilica at the Prague castle were done the same way. As Ivo Kořán points out, the style came from the Lutheran Saxony.¹² Even though this type of female monument is to be found fairly frequently in other Prague churches, this is the only example in St. Vitus (See fig. 30.).

Male depictions of the same type of standardized stylized relief figures would appear more frequently in St. Vitus, but only four tombstones of that kind still exist today. Like the tombstone of the woman mentioned above, they were all made of red marble and show a full figure, usually en face, of a standing man in armor, holding a sword in one hand and a helmet in the other. Below the helmet is a coat of arms. The figures stand very straight, in some cases both feet

pointing to one side or splayed. They do not show any anatomical qualities of the Renaissance figures (no contraposto position). Older men are depicted as bearded: Vilém Muchek of Bukov (d. 1569), Mikuláš Miřejovský of Miřejov (d. 1579); while the young ones are beardless, including a sixteen year old, Udalricus Mabic of Heverswerda (d. 1573). In all four cases the inscription, either in Czech or Latin, is on the perimeter (See fig. 31.).

Similar tombstones can be seen in other Prague churches and all over the country in much higher numbers. All show the same qualities: simple standardized, stylized depiction of figures—in the case of men, in armor with swords, helmets and the coat of arms and, in the case of women, long gowns, caps, or wreaths for young maidens, and hands folded on the abdomen. This would strongly indicate the use of pattern books which were either borrowed or exchanged by individual stone-cutters and improved and elaborated on by more skillful craftsmen/sculptors.

Figural effigies of the Spanish and the Italian courtiers, Bernard Menesio of Toledo (d. 1560) and Octavio Spinola (d. 1592) both show similar full figures of men in armor, with helmets in their right hands and swords in their left. Coats of arms of both men are placed below the helmet. The tombstones are also made of red marble and the figures are done in relief. The inscriptions are in Latin. However, the positioning of the bodies is somewhat different. Spinola is in three-quarters profile with his feet looking rather clumsy in full profile, while Menesio of Toledo is depicted en face in contraposto position. The latter one has an addition to his clothes—a long open gown over his armor. Ivo Kořán sees in Menesio's depiction the influence of the Netherlandish sculptor Alexander Colin¹³ and suggests that the Spanish Catholic minority had their tombstones

made under the influence of the art of Colin and later of Catholic Austria and Bavaria, while the Protestant and Lutheran part of the country was connected with the art of its northern neighbors, Saxony and Silesia.¹⁴ Faces of both figures seem to be well illustrated and sensitive portraits of the courtiers, even though they may be just effigies and not real portraits of these particular people. However, this writer considers Spinola's head and bearded face, framed in a high Spanish collar, to be one of the most successful portraits of this period to be found in St. Vitus (See fig. 32.).

The tombstones of two archbishops, Antonín Brus of Mohelnice (d. 1580) and Martin Medek (d. 1590) were both done apparently at the same time and by the same unknown artist. As the Latin inscription on Brus' tombstone indicates, the monument was ordered by his successor Medek: "Martinus successor gratae memoriae ergo F.F."¹⁵ The tombstones that are now placed on the wall of the Chapel of St. John the Baptist were originally in the floor of the same chapel. They are made of red marble, and each depicts a full figure of the archbishop in a long gown with archbishopric palium over the neck, miter on the head and a long cross in the right hand. The left hand is placed next to the cross, holding part of the gown. Both men are shown with beards, eyes closed, heads slightly turned to the right. Except for some tiny details, the figures, their gestures, body position and faces are almost identical, indicating that not a real portrait of the person was made but a standardized version of a clergyman in a high position. Tombstones of this type, especially for clergy, could be found elsewhere in the country. Ivo Kořán suggests that the example for the Prague archbishops' tombstones was the one of the Moravian bishop Vilém Prusinovský of Olomouc (d. 1572).¹⁶ (Fig. 33.)

Other rectangular tombstones represent an older bearded knight in armor, kneeling with praying hands in front of a crucifix. Included would also be the coat of arms, occasionally a skull as a symbol of death (e.g., Georg von Wartenberg), and the knight's helmet, which would mostly be placed somewhere within the frame or, less frequently, worn by the knight on his head (e.g., Iacobo Proskowski). The whole scene is placed like a picture within an architectural frame, consisting of elements of classical architecture such as pediments, broken pediments, columns, pilasters, Doric and Corinthian capitals. Differences in details depend on the skill of the executor of the monument. Out of six known kneeling-knight tombstones of St. Vitus, one is in the lapidarium of the National Museum (Georg von Wartenberg, d. 1548),¹⁷ and the rest are in the cathedral. Four are rather basic and standardized, placed within a simple architectural frame—Ludwig Tobaró of Encesfeld (d. 1553), Hans Gregor of Herberstain (d. 1548), Georg of Wartenberg (d. 1548), and Iacobo Proskowski of Proskowicz (d. 1545, but his epitaph, as seen from the Latin inscription, was ordered by Georgius Proskowski of Proskowicz in 1567). The first three have German inscriptions, the last one Latin. All four monuments are made of limestone and sandstone (See fig. 34.).

The epitaphs of two members of the important Czech family of Lobkowiczés, Jan Popel (d. 1569) and Jiří (George) Popel (d. 1590), both judges in high positions, belong to the same group of kneeling knight monuments as far as the basic motif, that is the figure of a kneeling knight placed in an architectural frame, is concerned. The execution, however, is on a much more professional level, and the material is also different. For both, red and white marble is used. The monuments are also relatively large, approximately four

and half meters high, compared to two and two and one half meters for the earlier four tombstones. Even though both show similar basic features of the same type—a kneeling and praying knight in armor—the clothing of the figures includes a high Spanish collar, typical of the Prague court fashion of the time. The architectural frame elements in these more elaborate and more magnificent monuments use the more decorative Corinthian column capitals (Lobkowicz), while the simpler monuments use Doric type architectural frames (Proskowski). The figure of the resurrected Christ, either as a single figure with a praying hand gesture (George Popel), or the whole scene of the Resurrection (Jan Popel) accompanies the monuments and so does the angel of death—either as little angels with torches (George Popel), or as baby Chronos leaning against the skull (Jan Popel).

The epitaph of Jan Popel was carved by the sculptor Vincenc Strašryba (Schreckenfish), who came to Bohemia from Wroclaw/Breslau in Silesia (now in Poland) and who settled in Louny (north of Prague). Strašryba brought the Silesian type of art which, even though still Protestant-oriented, was more acceptable to the Czech mentality rather than the descriptive and standardized orthodox art of Saxony. The epitaph of Jan Popel of Lobkowicz in St. Vitus is the only monument done by this artist within the Prague castle. It was commissioned by Jan Popel's son, George Popel, in 1581 for eighteen thousand Meissen groschen.¹⁸ Apart from the already mentioned details it includes the kneeling portrait statue of Jan Popel and standing statues of St. Peter and Paul. The inscription, done in Latin, is rather simple: "Ioanni Popel familiae baronum a Lobkowicz seniori curiae regno Boemiae iudici primo ac eiusdem regni curiae sepremo praefecto ANNO 1569 die 6 iunii aetatis vita functo grata posteritas."

Further decoration of the epitaph would include reliefs of the Holy Trinity, angels, festoons, mascarons, small lions's heads, angel-like caryatids and double columns in an architectural frame. The small child Chronos also holds hour glass, symbol of vanitas, next to which the sign says in Latin: "Hodie mihi cras tibi."

Even though there are also many elements of religious themes in the monument, the statue of Jan Popel is somewhat livelier and does not seem to show the static piety depicted on the epitaph of his son George Popel. As the Latin inscription says, George's epitaph was ordered by his brother Adam—"Adamus Gallus Poppelius fratri germano maerens posuit." It is more simple in decoration than the previous monument, stressing the kneeling figure of George and of Christ standing in Resurrection above him. All figures are done in relief. Two reclining angels with burning torches on either side of Christ symbolize the whole group's idea of hope and resurrection. The subtle symbols of death are four small angels' heads and the crucified Christ on the cross. George Popel is shown as a calm relief figure with a sword by his side and a rosary in his praying hands facing the crucifix. The Lobkowicz' coat of arms is below the cross. George's helmet is placed next to it. An interesting detail is that George is kneeling on a small pillow with fringes at the corners. The whole little scene is framed like a picture and placed in the entrance of a temple-like structure that surrounds the central motif. A bearded Christ stands on the socle in the middle of the broken pediment above it. The size of the standing Christ and the kneeling George Popel is the same, which means that the standing George Popel of Lobkowicz would be taller than Christ himself (See fig. 35.).

Another type of Renaissance monument in St. Vitus is the tomb of Vratislav Pernštejn (d. 1582), the highest chancellor of the kingdom.¹⁹ His Spanish wife, Maria Manrique de Lara, who was one of the active members of the strictly Catholic religious group in Prague, had the tomb of her late husband made in 1583. Several sources mention that the design was probably done by Jan Vredeman de Vries,²⁰ and the execution by a Prague stone-cutter of Italian origin, Giovanni Antonio Brocco.²¹ It is done in red marble, in the form of a sarcophagus with the relief figure of the deceased on the top. The figure of Vratislav Pernštejn is dressed in armor, the left hand placed on a helmet and the right one on a sword. His head and a bearded face are framed in a high Spanish collar. The feet are resting against a piece of stone, not a lion, as was the tradition used in the Gothic period. His chest is decorated by a huge chain with the order of the Golden Fleece. The same chain with the Golden Fleece repeats itself on the Pernštejn coat of arms, surrounding its major motif, the head of a buffalo with a ring in its mouth. The buffalo head is repeated several times on the sarcophagus. The whole coat of arms covers the middle part of the tomb facing the center of the Pernštejn chapel in which it is placed. There is no inscription anywhere on or above the tomb. The legs of the bottom of the sarcophagus are in the shape of lion's feet. This motif will continue later in the Baroque period (See fig. 36.).

One of the most beautiful and the most touching sepulchral monuments in St. Vitus is the bronze relief tombstone of the tutor of King Ferdinand's daughters, Ludmila Thurnová, born Berková of Dubé (d. 1558), showing a mother with two little children. The frame of this family scene is decorated by six different coats of arms, also done in relief. Her Berka family coat of arms,

crossed branches, is at the bottom left. The rectangular tombstone, almost two meters high, is placed on the wall in the Vlašim Chapel (Chapel of St. Eberhard and Otylia) and is accompanied at its bottom by a simple memorial tablet with the Latin inscription: "Ludmillae Berchae. coniugi illustri. fideq incomparabili. et Ferdinando ac Ioachimo filliis dulciss. Franciscus Turrianus comes. die XXII oct. M.D. LVIII. piis. posuit." Ivo Kořán suggests that the monument could have been ordered from the famous family foundry of Vischers of Nuremberg, who did several bronze pieces for St. Vitus earlier in the century.²² The relief portrait represents a tall figure of a mother placing hands on the heads of her two little boys, standing on either side of her. The figure of the woman is dressed in a long gown, head covered and face framed by a fashionable Spanish collar. While the figure of Ludmila Berková is portrayed in a straight, motionless position, with closed eyes and head resting on a pillow, both children, even though also dressed in long gowns, show movement and liveliness. They are portrayed standing with one leg crossed over the other and gestures of little hands and smiles on lovely faces are as if almost ready for play. The facial expression of their mother is still and as if worried. The difference in the depiction of mother and children also seems to be demonstrated by technical aspects—the mother appears to be done in a slightly lower relief than the children. Yet the obvious difference in portraying the people in the monument in such different ways—dead versus living—puzzles the viewers. It is puzzling even more so when one learns from the Latin inscription that all three died at the same time, and that it was practically a memorial of a grieved father to his family. Several books dealing with the art of St. Vitus or with Renaissance sculptural art in Bohemia mention this beautiful tombstone,²³ yet the description given by Kořán seems most

appropriate because it suggests the artist's purpose in using the unusual contrast of depicting a dead mother versus living children, while all of them were dead. "The sculptor used the unreal and impossible contrast of a dead mother and living children in playful position to demonstrate the vision of the eternal life of the deceased."²⁴ As he concludes, "in this way the artist made the piece highly ingenious and highly spiritual, one of the highlights of the sixteenth century northern Renaissance art."²⁵ (Fig. 37.) However, all of the above are the personal opinions and observations of individual art historians looking at the masterfully done monument. The impression of the family tombstone is highlighted by the natural light coming from the right side of the church window. The effect given by the expression on the children's faces depends also a great deal on this light and may change depending on the time of day and the angle of viewing. In close-up examination one sees that the children's eyes are closed, yet the faces are smiling. The placement of little hands and legs could also demonstrate the natural position of sleeping children. (See fig. 37a.) In either case, no matter whether the children were intended to be shown playing or sleeping, the artist did manage to make a beautiful, touching and very real family portrait of a mother and her two children.

Another monument involving children is the tombstone of anonymous twins, cut in a niche of the wall of the chapter library. The monument is almost three meters high (currently placed above eye level, high up in the wall) and is made of red and white marble. In the center rests a child in a long gown, head covered by a cap, hands crossed on the abdomen. The second, identical child is placed in the niche at the same level with the first one. Above the children's "bed" is a curtain held on its sides by small angels. The sarcophagus on which

the children are resting is framed by pilasters. The space supported by pilasters is empty, even though usually it is used for an inscription. All of the above are made of white marble but are framed by a second, larger set of pilasters in red marble. The top section is decorated by a small medallion-like scene of Calvary in white marble. There is no inscription indicating who the twins might be (See fig. 38.).

The whole monument has certain similarities with the tomb of Philippine Welsper, the secret wife of archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, the second and the favourite son of the Bohemian King and the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I. Her tomb is in a niche in the Silver Chapel of the Hofkirche in Innsbruck and was executed by Alexander Colin after her death in 1580.²⁶ She is dressed in a long gown, head covered by a cap, hands folded on her abdomen. Her dead facial depiction looks very realistic and might be her death mask. Since she is placed in a niche, she is somewhat hidden from sight, as she also was during her life, because she was not of royal blood and, therefore, was not socially suited for a royal marriage. Her marriage to Ferdinand was secret from the time of their wedding in 1557 until 1561, when she finally decided to break the news to the King. Maybe one of the reasons for telling her royal father-in-law was the fact that her children were always placed for adoption as "foundlings." Ferdinand I did not cancel the marriage but set conditions such that the offspring were to be denied all rights, including any claim to the title, the coat of arms and even their last name. They were to be called Austrians instead of Habsburgs. Philippine spent a considerable part of her life with her husband in Prague and Bohemia, because he was the vice-regent of Bohemia from the Bloody Diet in 1547 until 1567. Even though she was not allowed to live at the Prague castle, she lived at

any existing royal castle, and later a new castle was built for her. Philippine and Ferdinand of Tyrol had four children. Two of them, Philip and Maria, were twins, born in 1562. The twins died early on.²⁷ The present writer suggests that the tomb of the unknown twins, also called "Nostitz twins" might as well be the twins of archduke Ferdinand and Philippine Welser. The tombstone might have even been executed in Colin's workshop in Innsbruck and brought to Prague. The inscription was "supposedly" to be included later. Since the whole matter of marriage and children of Philippine and archduke was so secretive it should be supposed that their children's tombstone was left unidentified for the same reason. The name of "Nostitz twins" might suggest that the monument was at some time in the Chapel of St. Anna (also called Nostitz Chapel).

Two boys, Ferdinand (d. 1546) and Sigmund Wilhalm (d. 1554), of the Wrzesowitz family have one common rectangular relief tombstone, depicting both of them in standing position, dressed according to the contemporary court fashion. The smaller boy is holding the family coat of arms. The inscription above the figures is in German, even though the family was traditionally Czech. The inscription mentions the titles of their father, Wolff, who was a strong supporter of King Ferdinand, especially during the bloody events of 1547; one of the titles he gained was that of the highest scribe in Bohemia. The rectangular tombstone of his sons was made of red marble and belongs to the group of the figural relief tombstones described earlier. It was probably placed in the floor of the Chapel of St. Sigismund, where the Wrzesowitz family crypt was located. Today the fairly weathered tombstone is in the lapidarium of the National Museum. A detailed prosopography of the Wrzesowitz family is given by Hejnic, and so is the transcription of the text on the tombstone (See fig. 39).²⁸

One rather unusual tombstone in St. Vitus depicts a reclining figure of a child in a long gown with two symbols of vanitas next to him/her. One symbol is a skull on which the child's head is resting, and the other is an hour glass at the corner of the badly weathered tombstone. The date in Roman letters is 1566 and the barely legible Latin text above the child reads approximately as follows: "Hac v nil Brochu natus tel / lure quieseit cui cita / mors patri mon dedit es / se parem mors vita in / fauti est aeternum vive / re revita poste tincae / lo... vacant.. apius ab orbo cito est / ANNO MDLXVI." The simple tombstone is done in low relief and placed high up on the northern wall near the western (new) entrance. The condition would indicate that it originally might have been either on the floor in the trafficked area of the cathedral or outside in the former cemetery. However, even though this type of sepulchral monument could be found elsewhere in the country, it is not a very common tombstone to be seen in Bohemia in the sixteenth century. On the other hand, this type of memorial was very popular at that time in neighboring Poland—in the southern part around Cracow. In these memorials small children and babies are shown half naked—the same way the baby Christ had been depicted—in a reclining position, one arm under one's head, or resting on a skull. In the second half of the century the iconography of that particular tombstone involved a reclining half-naked child, scattered bones, skull, coat of arms, and sometimes a pillow for the little head to rest on.²⁹ Further studies would have to be done to see whether this particular type of gentle and touching sepulchral memorial came to Bohemia from Poland with some of the artists of the Wroclaw area or elsewhere. (Fig. 40.)

It was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter that the royal mausoleum, where two kings and one queen of the new ruling dynasty were

buried, was placed at the center of the choir and thus at the center of the then-existing church. The tombstones of the court members were around the rulers, so one can say that the court was thus symbolically continuing its function. From the additions to the cathedral's interior, the white marble mausoleum is considered to be one of the best examples of Renaissance sculpture not only in the St. Vitus cathedral, but the whole Prague castle. It was also the last monumental memorial done for the cathedral for the next almost one hundred and fifty years. Before more detailed description of the royal mausoleum is done, some of the pertinent historical events should be mentioned in order to make it easier to understand how and why the Catholic Habsburgs were buried in a half-Protestant country in a monument done by a Netherlandish artist.

In 1526 the Bohemian throne became empty after the last of the Polish Jagiellonids, died at the battle against the Turks in Mohàcs. Soon after the mourning for the young Ludwik in St. Vitus cathedral and elsewhere in Prague was over, the representatives of three major groups—the higher nobility, the lower nobility and the cities—were chosen to elect the new king. The following year the twenty-seven year old Austrian archduke Ferdinand and his wife, Anna, sister of the deceased King Ludwik, were crowned in St. Vitus cathedral to become the new Bohemian king and queen. The coronations were performed by the bishop of Olomouc, since the archbishop's seat in Prague was still empty.³⁰ Ferdinand and Anna did not reside permanently in Prague, because in 1527 Ferdinand also became the king of Hungary and kept moving between the two kingdoms and his Austrian family residences. Due to wars against the Turks, Ferdinand spent much time in Vienna engaged in defending Austria and Hungary against the intruder. So their first son, Maximilian, who was later to

become successor to the Bohemian throne, was born in Vienna. His godfathers, however, were Czech noblemen, one of them being Adam of Hradec, the Chancellor of the Bohemian kingdom.³¹ Since the Austrian Habsburgs were closely connected with the Spanish court, the strong catholic influence gradually grew throughout the century and in some cases was the cause of problems, as will be seen later.³²

Ferdinand was brought up and educated mainly in Spain at the court of his grandfather, the Spanish King Ferdinand of Aragon. Because of his strong Catholic upbringing he was very intolerant of any non-Catholic religion. In both of his kingdoms, Bohemia and Hungary, he had tense relations with the Estates, and it was especially intense in the question of religion. In Bohemia it escalated in 1547 in the first uprising against the Habsburgs in the event called "The Bloody Diet." Four leaders of the uprising were beheaded on Ferdinand's order and the rest were made dependents of the crown.³³ The power and privileges of the towns were taken away from them completely, and from then on their presence at the Diet became only symbolic.

King Ferdinand, even though he spoke Spanish, Italian, French, German and Latin, did not bother to learn Czech, the language of his electors and subjects. Since he was an orthodox Catholic in a country which still lived in remembrance of Hussite traditions, in 1555 he brought the Jesuit order into Bohemia, while at the same time he prohibited the local protestant religious groups. The Jesuits were much hated in Prague, but they were extremely clever in their "indefatigable propaganda" of Catholicism in the form of art, theatre and education.³⁴ In order to make the Catholic church even stronger, King Ferdinand re-established the archbishopric tradition in Prague in 1561, after one

hundred and forty years of sedis vacances. A Moravian, Antonín Brus of Mohelnice, Ferdinand's legate to the Council of Trent, became the country's ninth archbishop. (He was the fourth one to be buried in St. Vitus. A description of his tomb in the cathedral was given earlier in this chapter.)³⁵ A year later, in 1562, after the Estates agreed, the new archbishop crowned Ferdinand's first son, Maximilian and his Spanish wife, in St. Vitus cathedral as the future Bohemian king and queen.

King Ferdinand I died in Vienna in 1564 at the age of sixty-one, and about a year later was transported to Prague to be buried there. According to his last will he was buried in St. Vitus cathedral. His testament, however, was written seventeen years prior to his death, in 1547, after his wife died and was buried in St. Vitus. Since the marriage of Ferdinand and Anna was considered one of the few successful royal marriages, it may not be surprising that he wrote his testament after her death and included a description of her tomb decoration as well as his own in St. Vitus. It is, however, interesting that he wanted to be buried in a country where he resided only occasionally, and where he did not speak the native language. On the other hand, due to the Turkish wars, it was probably safer than Hungary or Vienna. Another reason for his choice of burial in Prague could have been the wish to join his wife, Queen Anna (1503-1547), who died in Prague after childbirth at the age of forty-four. She was buried rather quickly, three days after her death, in the royal crypt in St. Vitus. The burial of the queen may have been done in this manner due to the fact that the fire of 1541 caused considerable damage to the church, or due to the political and religious unrest in the country, which called the king away from Prague soon after her burial. At her funeral the tradition started in Bohemia of wearing

black dress as a symbol of mourning for a close person.³⁶ The cathedral was also decorated in black and so were the castle rooms.

Anna's main role as a queen and a woman of her time was to produce children. She was married to Ferdinand for twenty-six years, most of which was in pregnancy. Out of her fifteen children, the oldest son became the successor to his father's thrones, and her daughters were married to royal courts and noble houses of Europe. Several of her children died at young ages. But only one of her children, the Bohemian King Maximilian, was buried in Prague in the St. Vitus cathedral, next to his father and his mother. The rest of Anna's family is scattered throughout Europe, just as they were during their lifetime.

King Ferdinand did not say specifically that he wanted to have a husband-wife tomb, or a family tomb. Neither did he say that he wanted a figural tomb for himself. From his brief description, however, it is obvious that the monument was to be done from white marble. The golden lettering stating the title, name, origin and the date of death (not birth) was to be cut into the stone. Nowhere is shown any desire for an elaborate or pompous monument.

... our body (Ferdinand's) should be placed in a tin coffin,... Then put in the tomb, which should be made as quickly as possible from white marble. All along the tomb, carved in gold lettering, should be our titles, name, descent and also year and day of our death.

However, when he described the tomb for his wife—a full size figure portrait of Her Royal Highness—he was quite specific.

...On the tomb of her Royal Highness should be a female portrait done in good stone. It should be done according to the length and figure of her Highness, with royal crown on her head, royal sceptre

in her hand,... The angel at the head of her tombstone should hold the coat of arms of her Highness. An additional angel, made also of good stone, at each of four corners of the tombstone, should hold a shield, and on these shields should be the four coats of arms of Her Highness' ancestors.³⁷

However, the tombstone came into realization after King Ferdinand I's death (d. 1564). Therefore, the exact choice of size, shape, material, execution, artist, side decoration, and other details were left to the executors of his last testament. The main executor of the king's last will was his second and favourite son, the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol. He ordered a model of a joint tombstone for both of his parents, Ferdinand and Anna, from the court sculptor in Innsbruck, Alexander Colin,³⁸ who at that time was working on the tomb of their relative, Emperor Maximilian I (d. 1519). The contract with the sculptor Colin was signed in 1571 by King's Ferdinand eldest son, King and Emperor Maximilian II. The work started in 1573 and did not finish until 1589.

Because all persons involved, that is Ferdinand I himself and his two sons, Maximilian II and Ferdinand of Tyrol, saw the progress of the tomb Colin was executing for their relative in Innsbruck, it is not surprising that the Prague monument took similar shape, that is the form of a rectangular sarcophagus with a figure of the deceased on top of it and relief panels around it. Both monuments stand on a raised socle and share the idea of being surrounded by a beautiful wrought iron screen. The screen is another good example of how artistic influences and designs were shared, copied and spread. The original design of the screen was created and executed by the Prague locksmith George Schmidhammer for the first tomb of King Ferdinand's wife, Queen Anna, after

her death in 1547. Its design was then specifically requested by Ferdinand I to be included as part of the decoration of Maximilian I's tomb in Innsbruck.³⁹ A brief description of the Innsbruck monument for the Emperor Maximilian I will help to better understand the similarities and differences of both of these memorials done by Alexander Colin.⁴⁰

The white marble tomb of Maximilian I was made between the years 1561-1570. The plan of this rather pompous "tomb complex" and the whole setting around it were made by the emperor himself. It is said that he wanted to create a great monument in honor of the Habsburg empire, of which he considered himself a founder. The carefully chosen iconography became a political manifest of Habsburg ambitions and their imperialistic expansion throughout Europe and beyond.⁴¹

Maximilian's tomb was to be surrounded by thirty-four busts of the Roman emperors, statuettes of one hundred saints of the House of Habsburg and forty huge, larger than life-size statues of his famous ancestors.⁴² Even though the figures of the ancestors were holding candles in order to show piety in the funerary procession, their large size, splendor of their costumes and choice of figures themselves demonstrate Maximilian's expansive arrogance. While numerous artists and artisans worked on these figures, the sarcophagus and the statues on it were made by Alexander Colin. He made a marble tomb in the form of a high rectangular sarcophagus standing on a raised socle. On top of the sarcophagus was placed a bronze figure of a kneeling emperor, in praying gesture. He is dressed in armor, with an imperial crown on his head and a long gown over his shoulders. Around him are four female bronze figures of the Virtues:⁴³ Prudence, Temperance, Justice, and Strength (instead of the

traditional Fortitude). The Virtue of Strength documented the power the Habsburgs used when brutally conquering new territories. The sides of the tomb show scenes from the life of emperor Maximilian I, done in twenty-four alabaster relief panels, including scenes of his military exploits, personal achievements and important life events. The whole tomb is surrounded by a beautiful wrought iron screen and is placed in the Hofkirche in Innsbruck, which was built specially for this purpose. (Fig. 42.)

In Prague the tomb was to be done as a husband and wife rectangular sarcophagus, with full figures of the deceased, Ferdinand and Anna, done in high relief, lying on the top. They were to rest lying on rich brocade carpets and with their heads on silk pillows. Since details regarding the queen's attributes were expressed clearly in king Ferdinand's last will, similar style and attributes were chosen for the king himself. He is shown dressed in armor, with the imperial crown on his head—not the Bohemian crown of St. Wenceslas that was traditionally used for the coronation of Bohemian kings—the order of the Golden Fleece on his chest, the imperial apple in one hand, while the other is resting on his sword and a gauntlet. Since the attributes of Ferdinand's power are the symbols of the empire, it means that he is buried in Prague as a Holy Roman Emperor and not a Bohemian King. The work started in 1573 in Colin's workshop in Innsbruck, and most of the sculptural work was done there.⁴⁴

Before Ferdinand's tomb was completed, the royal commissioner, the Bohemian King and the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II, died suddenly—probably of a heart attack—at the age of forty-nine during the Diet in Regensburg in 1576. From there Maximilian's body was transported to Prague and buried next to his parents in the "old" royal crypt in St. Vitus. Maximilian

II's death had the result that his son and successor to the Bohemian throne, Rudolf II, made changes to his grandparents' funerary project. The original tomb was enlarged to also include his father Maximilian, reclining in full figure. (Fig. 41.)

The whole tombstone was not finished until 1589, and some parts were done in Prague in cooperation with local artists and artisans, including, for example, the facial portraits of the deceased. All three royal members are depicted as dead people, as if the sculptor did only their death masks. Compared to the earlier bronze figure of Maximilian I in Innsbruck, this would be a significant switch in attitude. Maximilian I is portrayed as a strong living, yet pious person, while his relatives and successors are shown as old people sleeping their eternal sleep. They are not shown in a gesture of piety; their hands are not in a praying position but merely touching the symbols of their earthly existence. All three are lying on rich carpets. Only the ornamental wrought iron screen of the local locksmith, George Schmidhammer, keeps their semi-privacy. Maximilian I, on the other hand, is placed high above everybody entering the church and looks down at everyone the same way he probably had during his lifetime. Everything on his monument is centered on him; on the side reliefs are depicted his marriage, his coronation, his meeting with the Pope, his military victories. The statues of people around him were made in his honor too. Essentially the whole church, built solemnly for the purpose to house the monument of this one man, is made subservient to Maximilian.

The Habsburg mausoleum in Prague is different. Even though Ferdinand I did not specify any decoration or any scenes on side panels, his grandson Rudolf, the last executor of Ferdinand's testament, had them added. It is

interesting to notice that, unlike Maximilian's personal scenes, the royal mausoleum in St. Vitus is decorated by portraits, though stylized and impersonal, of the previous Bohemian rulers, whom the Habsburgs succeeded on the Bohemian throne. Included on the side panels are King and Emperor Charles IV, his four queens, King Wenceslas IV, King Ladislav the Posthumous and the "Hussite King" George of Poděbrady. These medallion-like, square, symbolical relief effigies are each accompanied by a Latin inscription which includes the names, titles and dates of birth, coronation and death. Further decoration of the side panels includes wreathes, garlands, mascarons and putti. The monument is signed and dated by Colin. The signature—Alexa Colin 1589—is by the head of the Emperor Ferdinand I.

The whole colossal piece was transported to Prague by boat up to Linz and from there by sledge. The work on the tomb was already in progress in 1576 when it was extended for Maximilian II's reclining full figure in high relief; therefore, the marble used for his part is of a slightly darker tone. The remains of the three rulers were moved from the old crypt to the royal mausoleum in 1590, and it brings to mind the idea that Colin himself and/or the sculptors working with him could have seen the bodies in order to do death mask portraits, or perhaps used the measurements of heads or skulls for proper proportioning. To support this idea one might quote the statement regarding the facial features of Philippine Welser, whose tomb in Innsbruck was also done by Colin: "Auf dem Sarkophag liegt die Figur der toten Fürstin—porträtgetreu, im gelösten Schlaf des Todes."⁴⁵ The tomb of her husband, Ferdinand of Tyrol, was done also by Colin and his depiction strongly resembles the one of King and Emperor Maximilian II in Prague.

The main figures of the royal mausoleum in Prague are the three deceased rulers for whom it was made (from left to right)—Maximilian, Ferdinand and Anna. They are placed on top of the tomb, with a standing figure of the resurrected bearded Christ with shoulder-length hair in front of them and small angels, holding heraldic signs, standing or sitting around them. The figure of the Christ is in contraposto, right leg resting on a skull. His right hand is in the gesture of blessing, while the left is holding a flag with a sign of cross. Christ's lean, half-naked body reveals Renaissance interest in ideal physical beauty and general harmony. All three royal figures, done in high relief, have crowns on their heads. The men are dressed in armor; the queen in a contemporary long gown. Since the monument was originally planned as a husband and wife tomb, the queen is on the left side of her husband Ferdinand and their son Maximilian is on the right side of his father. This may explain why the queen is not positioned in the center between her two men. The placement of royal figures would also follow the order of succession, since the senior king is on the right and the junior on the left. As already mentioned the royal members are portrayed as dead, but the religious symbols, the small angels, and the main symbol of hope and the eternal life, Christ himself, are portrayed as real and lively.

As discussed earlier, the members of the royal court are buried around their rulers. From the shape of their tombstones it can be seen that there were more figural memorials done earlier in the century than towards its end, when a plain type of tombstone or epitaph, characterized by a coat of arms and inscription to the deceased, prevailed. With the coming of the seventeenth century figural tombstones are more rare, even though they still can be seen in

other Prague churches. For example the court astronomer, Tycho de Brahe, has a figural tombstone of a stylized standardized full male figure in armor done for him as late as 1601. In St. Vitus the last figural tombstones were done for the Lobkoviczes and the archbishops during the last decade of the sixteenth century, even though some tombstones still would show figural depictions in the form of religious figures like the Resurrected Christ or heads of small angels on children's tombstones. Generally the figural tombstones ended with the battle of White Mountain in 1620, because in the mind of the victorious Catholic party they represented the connection with the reformation movement. In order to show the supremacy of the new power, many such monuments were thrown out of the churches and destroyed.⁴⁶

The heraldic tombstones were fairly similar in depiction and primarily showed coats of arms and inscriptions about the deceased and/or the donor of the tombstone or the epitaph. An example can be seen in the tombstone and the epitaph of eight year old Johanna of Dietrichstein, buried in the Chapel of St. Sigismund. The tombstone included the inscription and the Dietrichstein coat of arms—two swords on a red and yellow field and a black-feathered helmet—and was originally placed in the floor of the chapel in which the girl was buried. The epitaph in the oval shape was dedicated to the child by her parents and included—from top to bottom—a figure of Christ on cross, a simple version of the Dietrichstein coat of arms, a Latin inscription in majuscule decorated with Renaissance flower ornaments and shells, plus the head and wings of a small angel at the bottom. The Latin dedication also explains to the outside world who the parents of the little girl were. "D.O.M.S. Iohannae puellae ingenio miribus praeter aetatem ornatissimae et venustissimae Adamus a Dietrichstein

baro comendatarius maior in Alcanicz Maximiliani II Rom: Imper: supremus cubucularius ac eiusdem filiorum Rudolphi Hungariae regis Ernestique archiducis Austriae primus aulae praefectus ac donna Margaretha De Cardona parentes filiae amantissimae ac suauiissimae monumentum hoc promunere extremo moestissimi posuerunt. Vixit annis VIII menses V dies VII hore VII obdormivit in domino III Apr. anno MDLXXV." The text is pretty typical of its type, which focuses on the social functions either of the deceased or, in case of a child, of her/his parents. Since the lettering forms the central part of the monument, the text and the design are important (See fig. 43.).

Little Johanna's father, Adam of Dietrichstein, who spent his life in service to all three Habsburg kings—Ferdinand, Maximilian, and Rudolf—received special permission from the King and Emperor Rudolf II to be buried "... in the main Prague church, at the feet of His Majesty the Emperor Maximilian... between the (wrought iron) screen, which is made around the tombs... of our ancestors, the Roman emperors and Bohemian kings here resting...."⁴⁷ The permission further stated that the tombstone had to be level with the church ground, but a special epitaph could be placed on any pillar in the cathedral. As Hejnic states, the plain tombstone without any lettering or decoration was moved to the lapidarium of the National Museum in the late nineteenth century. There is no evidence of the epitaph. However, little Johanna is accompanied in the Chapel of St. Sigismund (Černín Chapel) where she was buried by her Spanish grandparents, Don Antonio de Cardona (d. 1553) and Maria de Requesens (d. 1577). An architectural, non-figural epitaph, made of sandstone and dated 1579, is placed on the wall of the chapel. The dedication is made by Adam of Dietrichstein and his wife, Margaretha de Cardona.

Because there is no existing epitaph either for Adam or Margaretha, they are remembered only through the monuments they made for their daughter and Margaretha's parents.

The King and Emperor Rudolf II (d. 1612), who gave permission to his courtiers to be buried in the cathedral and who had the royal mausoleum for his father and grandparents finished in Prague, was himself buried in a beautifully decorated tin coffin in the royal crypt, where he joined the line of the Czech kings. Just as for these kings, no elaborate monument was made for him in the cathedral. However, his body is remembered by a simple, worn tombstone in the Chapel of the Holy Relics, where his intestines were placed under the floor of the chapel and covered by a simple tombstone that shows the imperial coat of arms, the sign of the order of the Golden Fleece and a Latin inscription stating the content of the tomb. Interestingly enough it is placed at the feet of Přemysl Ottokar I, one of the last of the Přemyslids to be buried in the cathedral. Rudolf II himself was the last Bohemian king buried in St. Vitus. Since he seemed to have purposely joined the line of Bohemian kings of Czech origin, maybe that is also why the sides of the royal Habsburg mausoleum in Prague were decorated with the effigies of these kings. As already mentioned, these portraits were stylized and highly symbolical, far remote from any hint of a real portrait.

The figural tombstones completely disappeared with the new political rulers who won the unhappy battle of White Mountain, in which the Czech nation lost its freedom for the next three hundred years and, under the pressure of the foreign rulers, its religion, and was close to losing its language and culture.

AFTERMATH AND CONCLUSION

Although this monograph focuses on the Gothic and Renaissance periods, it would not be complete if at least a brief summary was not included of the periods that followed from the unhappy battle of White Mountain in 1620 until the present.

The royal funerals ended in 1612, as mentioned in the previous chapter, with Rudolf II. The Calvinist king, Friedrich the Palatine, left the country in haste after the lost battle and died and was buried elsewhere. The cathedral of St. Vitus, which for some time belonged to Calvinists and was used as their shrine, was taken over by the Catholic church. The Protestant-Calvinist religion believed in more simple church interiors, and, while in possession of St. Vitus, they removed the rich Catholic embellishment, including the altars. After they were forced to leave, the Catholics did the same: they quickly got rid of anything that was Protestant-Calvinist and replaced it with even more elaborate Catholic symbols, altars, statues and paintings. Unfortunately they were more thorough in their "cleaning" than their Protestant predecessors and threw away any tombstones that would be reminders of non-Catholic people buried in the cathedral, destroying also any possible historical and art historical documentation.

Venerunt gentes in hereditatem tuam, polluerunt templum sanctum tuum. Even though these words are part of the carving commissioned by the Catholic church in order to show the destruction of St. Vitus' interior by the Protestants, in reality this piece of propaganda is as universal as human hatred and destruction can be. In the case of St. Vitus it documents the spirit of the time—hatred, greed and utter religious intolerance. Two religious and political parties wanted the cathedral and were ready to destroy their opponents and any reminders of them in the name of God.

Following 1621 the cathedral was gradually filled with new and more glorious statues, reliquaries and altars. Noble families—some of the surviving Czech ones and many of foreign origin that came to the country with the victorious foreign army—were thanking God in this form for their power, money and property. In the seventeenth century the noble families also started to fill the cathedral of St. Vitus with their memorials in much higher numbers. They often bought whole crypts in individual chapels and filled the floor and walls of these chapels with tombstones and epitaphs. Some of the chapels, therefore, are more often referred to by the names of the noble families whose members are buried in these chapels, rather than by the names of the saints to whom they were originally dedicated. Foreign prelates, many of whom hated Czechs and never learned the Czech language, received the highest religious posts in the country, including the archbishopric, together with very comfortable residences. However, the five of the archbishops who filled the post in the seventeenth century were buried outside St. Vitus.¹

The foreign Habsburg kings on the Bohemian throne resided in Prague only occasionally, and none of them were buried there. As a matter of fact, the

only member of the ruling Habsburg family buried in St. Vitus after 1612 was one of the daughters of the Empress Maria Teresa, Maria Amalia, the Dutchess of Parma. She just happened to die in Prague in 1804 and was, therefore, buried in the Royal crypt in a beautifully decorated tin coffin. She was also the last secular person buried in the cathedral. The other Habsburgs were buried in Vienna, which also became the residence of the expanding empire.

During the whole seventeenth century the tombstones and epitaphs in St. Vitus were only in the heraldic style. They primarily show the coats of arms of the deceased, with an inscription in Latin for the noble families. Occasionally the inscription was in Czech, as in the case of one of the high courtiers of three Habsburg kings, Lev Burian Berka of Dubé and Lippé (d. 1626), or in German (Pavel Schuster, d. 1647, who used to be the personal baker of Rudolf II.) for the individual courtiers who were in the service of the pre-White Mountain kings. The majority of the monuments are standardized and vary only in the layout of the inscription and in the coat of arms. There are also several family group tombstones and epitaphs; for example, for the noble families of Žďár and Nostitz, showing elaborate, combined coats of arms and husband-wife monuments. The white marble tombstone of Sylvia Catharina (d. 1664) and Heřman (d. 1651) of Černíns depicts coats of arms for each in the lower part and a separate inscription for each in the upper part (placed on the wall of the Chapel of St. Sigismund, more commonly known as Černín Chapel).² A less standard tombstone made of red and white marble, belongs to Humbert Jan Czernin,³ who died in 1682 and whose tombstone is placed on the wall in the same chapel. This monument was done towards the end of the century and documents the change in trend. More figural features are beginning to appear

again in the form of skulls with wings, crossed bones, lion's feet and the Order of the Golden Fleece hanging on a decorative chain. The whole vertical tombstone is framed by the typical features of Baroque architecture, which uses twisted columns with composite capitals.

The figural tombstones appeared again in the eighteenth century and are best represented by the pyramidal tombstone of field-marshal Count Leopold Joseph Schlik (d. 1723),⁴ and a silver tomb of a newly canonized Czech saint, Jan Nepomuk (d. 1393, canonized 1729). The Schlik's monument was done by one of the best Bohemian sculptors of the period, Mathias Bernard Braun. Jan Nepomuk's tombstone was designed by the architect Josef Emanuel Fischer of Erlach and executed by several artists.

The Schlik monument not only includes the bust of the deceased in a typical eighteenth century wig, but also allegorical figures of War and Justice, a flying angel blowing a long tubular trumpet, and small angels holding Schlik's coat of arms at the top of the pyramid, while a lion sitting at the base of the pyramid holds a sword in his right paw. Apart from the peacefully sitting lion and the bust of the deceased, all figures are filled with movement, documenting thus the dynamism of High Baroque.

One hundred years after the battle of White Mountain and over half a century after the end of the Thirty Years War, the defeated nation had accepted its fate. The Baroque came with the foreigners and was forced on the nation, especially by the Jesuits. Appreciation for it was demonstrated by the victorious Catholic church in the form of numerous monumental religious shrines and monasteries, and by a number of Catholic foreign nouveau-riche and Czech nobility who converted to the Catholic church, in the form of spacious and

elaborate palaces. In the eighteenth century the Baroque began to take on native Bohemian features. Gradually the Baroque architecture, sculpture and church interiors became one of the most typical signs of every single town and village in the country. However, it should not be forgotten that practically all of the Baroque beauty of Prague and other places in Bohemia was founded at the expense of continuing enormous poverty for the common man.

When it came to the canonization of St. Jan Nepomuk, the whole nation was excited and ready to believe in the legends about him. This new saint and his cult swept the nation, and paintings and statues of him started to appear not only in major churches but also in chapels in every little town, as well as on bridges in every little village in Bohemia, and eventually in the whole of central Europe.⁵ The major Nepomucenian memorial was, of course, made in St. Vitus in Prague, where the saint is buried. It is a silver monument placed above the grave of St. Jan in the southern part of the ambulatory, across from the chapel bearing his name. As a figural tombstone it includes not only the kneeling figure of St. Jan, holding a cross in both of his hands, but also a number of angels, either supporting the sarcophagus on which the saint is kneeling or flying above him, holding a baldachino. The reliefs in the lower part of this elaborate and pompous monument depict scenes from Jan's life. (Fig. 47.)

Towards the end of the century, due to the danger of the plague, the reforms of the Emperor Joseph II in 1784 forbade all burials in churches and also decreased the pompousness of burial ceremonies.⁶ Crypts in many churches and monasteries were abolished. In spite of this, though, the burials in churches still went on, but, on a more limited basis. This also occurred in St. Vitus. Probably the last secular monument visible in the cathedral was done a year

before the reforms for the Count Joseph Zischkowitz (d. 1783) in the style of Classicism.⁷ Since he was a military commander, the military symbols, similar to those that can be seen on the pyramidal monument of Count Schlik one hundred and fifty years earlier, are included in the monument, which is placed on the wall of the Černín Chapel. The urn, a beautiful statue of a sitting angel extinguishing the torch (of life) and a fairly long Latin inscription together with the count's coat of arms are also part of the tombstone.

In the times that followed, the burials in the cathedral of St. Vitus, at least from what is visible on the tombstones, were exclusively for the members of the chapter and the high clergy: especially archbishops who still had monuments made and continued to be buried there until the present time. The tombstones or epitaphs of most of the archbishops who were buried since 1793 in the Pernštejn Chapel (which came to be known as the Archbishops' Chapel), are non-figural and mostly include the sign of the archbishopric and important personal data of the deceased in Latin. A few tombstones also have urns; for example, the tombstone of archbishop Antonín Petr Příchovský of Příchovice, who died in 1793.⁸ During the whole eighteenth century, before the reforms of Emperor Joseph II were applied, the archbishops were buried in the floor of the cathedral in front of the main altar without any elaborate or visible tombstones or epitaphs.⁹ After the reforms, which, among other things, were intended to decrease the ever increasing power of the church and to increase the power of the state, the Prague archbishopric started to place expensive monuments in St. Vitus.¹⁰ These were made out of either metal or stone, and were placed in visible places in the church. It almost looks like the archbishopric was trying to show to the nation that it was either exempt from any reforms obligatory for any

citizen of the country, or that it did not intend to pay attention to any orders of a secular, imperial power.

Archbishop Schwarzenberg (d. 1885)¹¹ had a larger-than-life, kneeling statue of himself made of bronze and placed in a prominent place in the ambulatory, across from the chapel where he was buried and where he also had an epitaph. The beautifully made, realistic figure of the cleric was the work of one of the best Bohemian sculptors of the period, Josef Myslbek. The size and the placement of the statue raises questions as to whether it was intended as a gesture of a rich, ambitious and religiously powerful man, making a statement in relation to the secular power of the emperor. Also positioning the huge statue in front of a large woodcarving showing the Bohemian Protestant-Calvinist king and his entourage leaving the country after the battle of White Mountain brings to mind the question of whether the Catholic church and the archbishop himself did not want to demonstrate the victory of the Catholic church over the Protestant nation. It is known from the history books¹² that many Protestant Bohemian nobles had to leave the country due to their religion, and a large number of foreign, Catholic families came to the country and obtained the wealth of the Protestant Czechs in the form of cheap purchases or gifts for their services to the victorious party. The family of the above mentioned archbishop was among the newcomers. The metal statue of the cleric was placed in the church at the same horizontal level as the metal statue of St. Jan Nepomuk mentioned earlier. (See fig. 21.) The proportions were made larger than any statue of the kings buried in the cathedral.

Rarely were non-clerics allowed burial rights at St. Vitus, even though the busts of three major architects who were responsible for finishing the

construction of the cathedral in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Josef Kranner, Josef Mocker and Kamil Hilbert, were included in the new part of the triforium, together with the archbishops and other clerics. By the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries the cathedral became the primary burial place for the higher clergy and some members of the chapter.

Architecturally the building of St. Vitus cathedral in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries ended where Parler's workshop left it in 1420. The efforts of the Renaissance to continue construction were interrupted by a major fire in 1541. The ambitions of the Baroque period to add a Baroque church to the Gothic one failed twice. In the first case this was due to the expense of wars with the Turks, and later due to war with Prussia and its bombing of Prague and the cathedral in 1757, which resulted in heavy damage and lengthy repairs. However, the idea of completing the most important church of the country never died out. It was picked up again in the nineteenth century, and, finally, the three architects, who worked on its construction consecutively for over sixty years (1860-1929), brought the St. Vitus cathedral to its opening. During the finishing work a variety of archeological research was conducted and repairs were made. One of the projects was the new arrangement of the Royal crypt done in 1928, and the placement of the remnants of the most important people buried there in new granite sarcophagi.¹³ Only two original coffins were kept: the highly decorative tin coffin of the King and Emperor Rudolf II (d. 1612) and the tin coffin of the Archduchess of Parma, Marie Amalie (d. 1804). In this new layout the sarcophagi are arranged in a "reversed 'U' shape," with the Bohemian King and Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV presiding in the center (of the 'U' shape)

and the Bohemian King and Holy Roman Emperor Rudolf II right behind him. On the front left side is a sarcophagus of King George of Poděbrady; behind him the four wives of Charles IV—on the same level with Charles' coffin. On the front right side is placed young King Ladislav Pohrobek; behind him is Charles' son and successor, King Wenceslas IV. At the very back row are sarcophagi containing remnants of the remaining royal members buried in the crypt. The entrance to the crypt area is protected by an iron screen with the heraldic symbol of the Bohemian kingdom, the lion, guarding it.

The unique position of St. Vitus in the history of the country appears again during these sixty years of construction. It was necessary to collect a great deal of money to finish the enormous project, in which half of the present cathedral was to be constructed and archeological research and repairs to the old part had to be conducted. Neither the Habsburg rulers nor the Catholic church were willing to finance it the way the earlier Bohemian kings did. Therefore, in order to do the work, different institutions (banks, insurance companies, etc.), factories and other enterprises, whole cities and private individuals all over the country, regardless of their religious, ethnic or political conviction, sent donations for the completion of the cathedral. This was not just a one time donation but continuous support that lasted for over sixty years. And, as the construction took three generations of architects to work on the cathedral, it also took three generations of donors to support it.

The cathedral of St. Vitus, architectonically the dominant feature of the Prague castle and of the country's capital, was opened to the public in its completed form on the 28th of September, 1929, in a ceremony commemorating

the millenium of the death of its original founder, the patron saint of Bohemia, St. Wenceslas.¹⁴

The cathedral, through its special geographical placement and the history surrounding it, was never considered to belong exclusively to the Catholic church. Since it has always been a place closely connected with the Bohemian history and the nation, people have felt that it is their cathedral, even if they have never prayed in it. The cathedral of St. Vitus, therefore, received special status as a national church, belonging to the whole nation, regardless of the religious beliefs of its users, even though it has been used for religious services primarily by the Catholic church. In the last half of the twentieth century, while still used basically by the archbishopric, the cathedral was placed, because of its special status, under the direct care of the presidents; and all functions dealing with its upkeep, repairs, research, etc., were financed from taxes paid by all of the country's citizens.

There is controversy today about who should be the owner of the cathedral. The majority of people, together with many leading intellectuals, argue that the cathedral should keep its status as a national church and that the Catholic church should continue as a tenant. On the other hand, the Catholic church, after its new rise to power, wants to be the sole owner and has brought legal action against the state. The president is indecisive. The newspaper is full of pros and cons, often expressed in the form of letters to the editor and containing both logical reasoning and emotional outcry. The court sessions will take a long time. In the meantime, nobody is paying for repairs, and an entrance fee is being charged to visitors for access to the major chapels.

Regardless of who wins the dispute, the fact that legal action over a medieval church is taking place in a nation at the very end of the rational, industrial, spaceship and computer-research-oriented twentieth century, documents well the special position of this particular building in the history of the country and in the feeling of its people. It is the sincere hope and belief of this writer that the problem will be solved wisely and that this beautiful, centuries old and history-filled building that dominates the panorama of Prague will continue its function as a national symbol.

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER ONE

- 1- The name is sometimes translated as St. Guy. In Czech he is known as St. Vít, Vítus being the English version of the name. See figure 1 for placement of the St. Vitus cathedral within the complex of the Prague castle nowadays. See figure 2 for the reconstructed plans of the pre-Romanesque rotunda, the Romanesque basilica and the Gothic cathedral and how each previous structure fits into the subsequent one.
- 2- Václav Ryneš, "Dom svatovítský - Národní české pohřebiště," Metropolitní chrám svatého Víta, Zdeněk Wirth, František Kop and Václav Ryneš (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1945), 93.
- 3- This claim is based on statistics the present author made after summarizing a number of important Czech saints, rulers and their family members, bishops, archbishops, nobility and court officials buried in St. Vitus and compared with those buried in other churches.
- 4- In the Czech language his name is Václav (earlier spelling was Váceslav), Wenceslas being the English version, based on Latin Wenceslao. St. Wenceslas is known to the English speaking world through the Christmas carol "Good King Wenceslas."
- 5- The number includes only bishops actively performing their office. While the list also mentions people who were nominated to be bishops but for some reasons did not take the office, they are not included numerically among the twenty-seven. The last bishop, Arnošt of Pardubice, is not included because, shortly after he took the office, the bishopric was raised to the status of an archbishopric; he is consequently counted here as an archbishop.
- 6- Václav M. Pešina, Krátké popsání královského chrámu Páně, pražského sv. Víta (Praha, 1854), IV. The monastic brothers of St. Adalbert: Benedict, Mathias, Isaac, Jan and Christian, who probably all died in the late tenth century.
- 7- Bohemia, Bohemian is derived from the Latin word Boemiae. It refers to the territory which was part of the lands belonging under the Czech Crown. For example, in the tenth century Bohemia was the main territory of the Czech state,

which consisted of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, southern Poland, Galicia and Slovakia. Czech, on the other hand, refers to people and nationality. Therefore, we can speak of Czechs in Bohemia and Czechs in the Czech State. The term Czech Kings usually means kings of Czech nationality; the truly Czech Kings were only the Přemyslids and later, in the fifteenth century, George of Poděbrady. (Charles IV was half Czech and half Luxembourg.) Bohemian Kings were sometimes of foreign birth; the term refers more to the main territory, Bohemia. Since in the Czech language the same one word is used both for the territory and the nationality (Čech v Čechách = Czech in Bohemia), it is often translated either way: Czech or Bohemian. However, more scholarly books, like The Cambridge Medieval History, use the differentiation discussed above; see, for example, volume 8, pages 63, 83, 85.

8- František Palacký, Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a na Moravě, Vol. I, Od pravěkosti až do roku 1253 (Praha: Kvasnička a Hampl, 1939), 185.

9- Some authors state that he was transported to Prague in 932, based on the date of his murder to be 929; Rudolf Rouček, Chrám sv. Víta, dějiny a průvodce (Praha: Universum, 1948), 79. According to Palacký it would be 938, since he states the date of Wenceslas' death as September 28, 935. See František Palacký, 184-5.

10- František Palacký, 185-6. The full version of the text in Czech is slightly abbreviated and translated by the author of the present work. "Václav pobožný a spravedlivý, utrpěvši konečně za svou horlivost o náboženství, považován a vyhlášen jest od veškerého lidu hned po smrti své za mučedníka svatého. Dříve než věk minul, ano pokud ještě bratrobijce seděl na trůnu, roznesla se pověst o zázracích u hrobu jeho zběhlých až do dalekých zemí. Avšak Čechové sami ctili památku jeho co nejsvětěji; ano úcty k němu v jejich vlasti přibývalo vždy po celá staletí. Národ vzýval ho jakožto "dědice země české," jakožto předního přímlyvce a orodovníka u Boha za všechny věrné Čechy. Knížata i panovníci kladli obraz jeho na peníze, pečet a korouhve své; množství chrámův i oltářův postaveni v čest jeho jména po všech krajích. Ano konečně vše, co národ náš chtěl ve cti míti jako své vlastní, to až podnes "svato-Václavským" nazývati obvykl. Takž samo jméno výtečného panovníka tohoto, jako před stoletími, ještě i nyní nepřestává buditi v milionech srdcí českých city a oumysly nábožné."

11- Palacký, 196. Also Ivan Borkovský, Svatojiřská bazilika a klášter na Pražském hradě (Praha: Academia, 1975), 142.

12- Borkovský, 27 and footnote 38 on the same page. Vratislav, father of St. Wenceslas, built the first church of St. George. Boleslav II built a new church of St.

George. The breviary of St. George from the fourteenth century states: "Obiit Boleslaus pius dux secundus fundator."

13- Borkovský, 5, 29. Together with the church, Boleslav II also built the first female monastery of Benedictines in Bohemia, of which his sister Mlada was the foundress and the first abbess.

14- The importance of finding the grave of a ruler untouched for a thousand years gave an opportunity to gain information regarding the funerary rituals of the highest class of the period. As Borkovský states in his report regarding the excavations and research in the early 1960's, the research of such a grave was especially important for the fact that St. George's basilica was the only place where such untouched graves of rulers were found. Borkovský, 141. In St. Vitus, for example, the grave of St. Wenceslas was not moved from its original location for a thousand years, but the body itself was moved several times.

15- Borkovský, 30. Borkovský does not give any explanation, but the conclusion this author made is based on his book.

16- The founding of the the Prague bishopric made Prague the center of the main religious institution of the Czech principality, giving it thus independence from the German Regensburg. However, it was still subordinated to the archbishopric of Mainz. See Palacký, 198-9.

17- The statement is based on a summary the present author did of pros and cons of both churches, St. Vitus and St. George, becoming the bishopric seat.

18- Borkovský, 29-30, 143. Boleslav II officially requested that a bishopric be founded in Prague. In relationship to this he assumed a bigger church would be needed. The new church would, therefore, also include the baptistry, which at that time was built only in bishopric churches. Borkovský speculates that Boleslav built the bigger church of St. George when he already knew that the request for the bishopric would be granted. Everything in the church was set up for the bishop, including the baptistry. However, when the Pope named for the the Prague bishopric the church of St. Vitus, the baptistry in St. George became obsolete because it was not to be used. Therefore, soon after its construction it was filled with dirt, and only recent archeological excavations revealed it was once there.

19- Palacký, 180-181. Ludmila was the wife of the first Christian Bohemian prince, Bořivoj, who ruled within the years 871 to 894. Ludmila survived her husband and

her two sons, Spytihněv and Vratislav, who were successive rulers in Bohemia. After the death of the latter one, she was in both political and religious conflict with her daughter-in-law, Drahomíra, who was power hungry and a convinced pagan. Due to Drahomíra's doing, Ludmila became unpopular within some circles for spreading Christianity and having bad influence on her grandson Wenceslas, who was only a young teenager and was to become a ruler one day. In order to get Ludmila out of her way, Drahomíra ordered her to be murdered in her seat in Tetín near Prague. Ludmila was strangled by her own veil while praying, on September 15, 927. (Some old chroniclers and historians give dates 921, or even 932, but Palacký concludes it was 927.) Since Ludmila died for Christianity, she became a martyr, and her attribute became the veil by which she was killed. Her body was later transported by her grandson, Wenceslas, to Prague and buried in St. George basilica, where his father, Ludmila's son (and founder of St. George), was buried. Wenceslas was responsible for spreading and cultivating her cult as a saint. As a saint she was also given special treatment, and a separate chapel was built for her body. The body stayed at the same location, even though in the fourteenth century a new chapel in the Gothic style was built over her grave, and a new Gothic sarcophagus replaced the old one. As Professor Cibulka states, "The graves of the saints were not moved unless for a special reason; and even during architectural additions and changes the original burial place was kept." See Josef Cibulka, Kostel sv. Jíří na hradě Pražském (Praha, 1936), 48, cited by Borkovský, 66, footnote 108. The same parallel regarding the body of Wenceslas, who also became a martyr and saint, could be seen in St. Vitus. (Ludmila was really the first Czech saint, and, had she been of male gender, her influence and fame would have been probably much greater.)

20- Palacký, 106, 118, 119. Bořivoj and his wife, Ludmila, accepted Christianity in 873- 874 in Velehrad in Moravia.

21- The church became the pilgrimage place centered around the grave of St. Wenceslas. However, the original shape of the tomb is not documented. The splendid tomb for the saint was made during the reign of Charles IV in the fourteenth century.

22- Chronicler Kosmas, cited by Jiří Burian, Katedrála sv. Víta (Praha: Odeon, 1975), XIII.

23- Spytihněv's successor and the actual builder of the church, Vratislav II, was buried elsewhere; so also was Vratislav's brother and successor, Konrád I of Brno.

24- Borkovský, 141.

25- František Kop, "K slavnému jubileu národní svatyně české," Metropolitní chrám svatého Víta, Zdeněk Wirth, František Kop and Václav Ryneš (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1945), 48. The first coronation was in St. Vitus in 1085; the last one on 1311.

26- Zdeněk Míka, ed., Dějiny Prahy v datech (Praha: Panorama, 1988), 33. Only a few walls in the underground are left of this church of the Virgin Mary, which was located on the second courtyard, near the present castle gallery.

27- An asterisk (*) placed next to individual centuries stresses the fact that in that century the royal funerals took place in St. Vitus.

28- Ryneš, 95.

29- Kop, 70. Also Borkovský, 7.

30- Ryneš, 97.

31- Borkovský, 7, 140. Discoveries from the most recent excavations in the basilica of St. George are described throughout Borkovský's book Svatojiřská bazilika a klášter na Pražském hradě. The research in the basilica was done between the years 1959 and 1962.

32- Rudolf Rouček, Chrám sv. Víta, dějiny a průvodce (Praha: Universum, 1948), 79-80. Also Ryneš, 94-98.

33- Borkovský, 26-27, 142. The Czech version of the text used in the quote is a slightly moderated translation done by the author of the present work. "Boleslav II byl pohřben podle slovanského zvyku v rakvi z dlabaného kmene a oděn v brokátovém šatu. Zvířecí kosti a skořápky z vajec svědčí o tom, že ještě v době Boleslavově bylo dovoleno klást na víko rakve nad hlavu mrtvého obětiny."

34- Borkovský, 27, 142. Some other graves, dating from the same period and excavated at the same time, contained sacrificial items like stones and pieces of bread.

35- Borkovský, 31.

36- Borkovský, 91-92; early abbesses in St. George were buried in the Chapel of Virgin Mary. Starting in the seventeenth century they were buried in the nave of the basilica, in front of the tombs of the Přemyslid princes. See Borkovský, 142-144.

37- Emanuel Poche and Josef Janáček, Prahou krok za krokem (Praha: Orbis, 1965), 150.

38- Poche and Janáček, 152.

39- Rouček, 80. Also Ryněš, 97-98.

40- For more details regarding bishop Ondřej, see Palacký, 370-374.

41- For more details on Jindřich Břetislav see Palacký, 377-389.

42- Chronicle Gerlaci, cited by František Palacký, 389-90.

43- Pelhřim (Pelegrin), see Palacký, 419-20.

44- Except for St. Vojtěch (Adalbert), who was the second Prague bishop.

45- It seems probable that Dětmar (d. 982) might be buried in Levý Hradec, to the north of Prague, where the first Czech Christian church was founded by Bořivoj I (d. 894) and where the new bishops of that time were elected.

The second bishop, who also became one of the Czech patron saints, St. Vojtěch (Adalbert), was murdered on a Christian mission abroad and was, half a century later, transported to Prague. See Palacký, 236. His body was moved several times to different locations within the cathedral, and the shape of his tomb kept changing with each move. There is no document showing the shape of his original tomb, neither in the pre-Romanesque rotunda nor in the Gothic cathedral, where he was moved in the fourteenth century. It is known, though, that in the sixteenth century a Renaissance chapel was built above his resting place. It was changed in the style of the Baroque in the seventeenth century, and in the nineteenth century eliminated altogether. The body of St. Vojtěch was then "temporarily" put into a reliquary and placed on the altar in the Chapel of St. Jan Nepomuk. See Ryněš, 96. Also Rouček, 79. The location for a new monument was chosen shortly after World War II but has not yet been realized.

46- Most of the information regarding the bishops was taken from František Palacký's Dějiny národu českého (History of the Czech Nation), Vol. I and Vol. II.

47- Palacký, 345-366.

48- Ryneš, 97-98. Altogether fourteen bodies were identified. Beneš Krabice of Weitmile (Beneš de Weitmil) claimed that he himself identified eight bodies and another six were identified by conjecture and the help of other (not clearly specified) sources.

49- Architect Kamil Hilbert was the last of the nineteenth century architects whose task it was to finish the construction and the restoration of the St. Vitus cathedral. He started his job in 1899 and continued until his death in 1933. Within this time frame, but most likely after World War I, the tombstones of the kings and the bishops were newly arranged. See Kop, 73-74. Information obtained at the Prague castle archive states the date as 1928, but the present author did not see the document containing this information.

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER TWO

1- Barbara Tuchman, A Distant Mirror (New York: Ballantine Books, 1978), 14.

2- Most people and places appearing throughout the discussion of each chapter have names in Czech, Latin, German and often also English versions. Since the difference in some cases could be confusing to the reader, the English version, if commonly known, is going to be used in the text. The following is the list of names of people and places in this chapter. The explanatory pattern is: Czech/English. The names marked with * will appear in the text with their English version. Praha/Prague*; Sv. Vít/St. Vitus*; Karel IV/Charles IV*; Čechy/Bohemia* (country); Češi/Czechs* (people); Arnošt/ Ernest of Pardubice; Jan Lucemburský/John of Luxembourg; Jan Jindřich/John Henry; Václav/Wenceslas*; St. Ondřej/Andrew; St. Vojtěch/Adalbert; Jan Jenštejn/ John of Jenzenstein; Jiřík/George* of Poděbrady; Ladislav Pohrobek/Posthumous*; Ludvik/Louis/Lewis; Stoličný Bělehrad/ Royal Beograd; Volfram/Olbram of Škvorec; Valdštejn/Wallenstein Chapel; Matěj/Mathias of Janov; Jan/John Nepomuk; Jan Hus/John Huss.

3- Beneš Krabice of Weitmile, Kronika, Book Three, 1344. Cited by František Kop, "K slavnému jubileu národní svatyně české," Metropolitní chrám sv. Víta, Zdeněk Wirth, František Kop and Václav Ryneš (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1945), 44.

Free translation of the Latin text: "The new Prague archbishop, together with the Bohemian king Jan, and his two sons, Charles and Jan, and many prelates and nobles went out of the Prague church (the old basilica) to the place prepared for the new foundation (fundamento novo preparatum).... There the Bohemian king Jan, with the agreement of his sons, donated a tenth of the income from the (silver) mines of Kutná Hora (montis Chutne) for the construction of the Prague church, and confirmed this gift by a written document (patentibus litteris roboravit)."

Beneš Krabice of Weitmile (d. 1375) was among the important figures connected with the cathedral and the politics and religion of the country in the fourteenth century. He was canon and chronicler and also one of the directors of the construction of St. Vitus. By order of the archbishop Jan Očko in 1374, Beneš Krabice was also responsible for finding, identifying and moving the bodies of bishops from the Romanesque basilica to the Gothic cathedral, and for their burial in the vicinity of the tomb of St. Vitus in the ambulatory. He himself was also

buried in the cathedral, and his portrait can be seen among the twenty-one busts in the triforium.

4- Charles IV was son and successor to the throne of Jan of Luxembourg in 1346.

5- Vita Caroli. Životopis Karla IV, ed. Karel Kuchyňka (Praha: Orbis, 1978).

6- Fact known from many sources. For example, Karel Stejskal, Umění na dvoře Karla IV (Praha: Artia, 1978), 207.

7- Later, on the other hand, the influence of the Prague style could have spread abroad the same way, through artists leaving Bohemia as part of the entourage of Charles's daughter, Anne of Bohemia, the first wife of Richard II of England. See Stejskal, 205-206.

8- Even though relatively little is known about the life of Master Mathias, the time he worked on St. Vitus (1344-1352) and the date of his death are mentioned in every source dealing with the construction of St. Vitus cathedral. As an example, in chronological order by date of publication, could be mentioned books by Antonín Podlaha and Kamil Hilbert, Soupis památek historických a uměleckých v království českém. Metropolitní chrám sv. Víta v Praze (Praha: Archeologická kommise při české akademii císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1906), 6, 30-32, 124-129, 151-154; Rudolf Rouček, Chrám sv. Víta. Dějiny a průvodce (Praha: Universum, 1948), 81; Emanuel Poche, ed., Kniha o Praze (Praha: Orbis, 1964), 123; Jiří Burian, Katedrála sv. Víta na Pražském hradě (Praha: Odeon, 1975), XVIII; Karel Stejskal, Umění na dvoře Karla IV (Praha: Artia, 1978), 166.

9- The life of the second architect of the St. Vitus cathedral in Prague, Master Peter Parler, is relatively well documented and discussed in many a source. Description of individual members of the Parlerian masons' dynasty and a summary of the older literature can be found in the article by Otto Kletzl, "Parler," Thieme-Becher Künstler Lexikon, XXVI, (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1932), 242-248. The older and the more recent Czech literature dealing with the topic includes all books mentioned in the previous note in connection with Master Mathias, along with a two volume book of Czech art from its beginning until the end of the Middle Ages by Rudolf Chadraba, Vladimír Denkstein and Josef Krása, eds., Dějiny českého výtvarného umění od počátku do konce středověku (Praha: Academia, 1984), 238-248.

10- Zdeněk Wirth, František Kop and Václav Ryněš, Metropolitní chrám sv. Víta (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1945), 27.

11- Josef Hejnic, "Náhrobky v lapidáriu Národního Musea v Praze," Sborník Národního Musea v Praze, Acta Musei Nationalis Pragae, Vol. XIII, No. 4 (1959), 159.

12- Stejskal states that around 1400 three tombstones identical in style were made for Mathias, Parler and Oswald, who were buried in St. Vitus. He further claims that the canon Beneš Krabice of Weitmile, who was also one of the directors of the St. Vitus workshop, paid much attention to the production of this workshop in his chronicles. See Stejskal, Umění na dvoře Karla IV (Praha: Artia, 1978), 168. Since the writer of the present article did not have access to the original sources, that is the chronicles of Beneš Krabice, it should be concluded that Stejskal drew his information from there, even though he does not say so.

13- Hejnic, 159; Stejskal, 168, 194, 197. Also Zuzana Kotíková, "Katedrála sv. Víta, Architektura a plastika," Poklady národního umění XXIII-XXIV (Praha: Výtvarný odbor Umělecké besedy, 1948).

14- The tombstone was probably moved from St. Vitus cathedral to the lapidarium of the National Museum. See Hejnic, 159. According to Hejnic it is not known when or from which exact location it was moved; but it is supposed that the tombstone was at one time in St. Vitus.

15- The difference in the use of majuscule vs. minuscule lettering on these tombstones is explained by Hejnic: see Hejnic, 155-6, tab. IV. At the time Abbot Bohuslav's tomb was made, the use of majuscule was no longer common, since minuscule was increasingly in use. The tombstones of both St. Vitus' architects and the painter are somewhat later and, therefore, have their Latin inscription in Gothic minuscule lettering.

16- Hejnic, 159.

17- Rouček, 81.

18- The first archbishop, Arnošt of Pardubice, chose to be buried in Klodsko (today in Poland), the city he founded, and in the church he had built there. The third archbishop, Jan of Jenštejn, died in exile in Rome, due to unfavorable political

circumstances that developed after Charles IV's death, during the reign of his son Wenceslas IV.

19- Master Oswald, according to Stejskal, was a "protege" of the cardinal Jan Očko and decorated his chapel with frescos relating to the cardinal's life. See Stejskal, 193-197. The Vlašim Chapel (like most chapels in St. Vitus) is also known by two other names—as the Chapel of St. Eberhard and Otylia (referring to the names of the two saints it was originally dedicated to) and as the Chapel of St. Jan Nepomuk (referring to the saint whose grave was in the vicinity of the chapel). The word "Vlašim" in the cardinal's name indicates the Bohemian town his family came from. "Očko" literally means "little eye" and relates to the fact that the man could see only with one eye.

20- Stejskal, 193.

21- The translation of the Czech word "opuka" is cretaceous marly limestone. See Bohumila Kloudová and others, eds., Czech-English Technical Dictionary (Praha: SNTL, Nakladatelství technické literatury, 1972), 439. "Opuka," because it was easy to work with, was used especially during the Middle Ages, in Romanesque and Gothic architecture and in Gothic sculpture. See Oldřich Blažíček and Jiří Kropáček, Slovník pojmů z dějin umění (Praha: Odeon, 1991), 147.

22- Stejskal, 181. Also Emanuel Poche, Kniha o Praze, 131.

23- Albert Kutal, České gotické sochařství 1350-1440 (Praha: SNKLU, Státní nakladatelství krásné literatury a umění, 1962), 241-244. Also Stejskal, 181; Emanuel Poche, Kniha o Praze, 136-137.

24- Stejskal, 170, 181. Also Kotíková.

25- Bořivoj II and Spytihněv II were not kings. During their time the country was a principality, not a kingdom yet. Therefore, on their tombstones they are shown in their princely caps, while Přemysl Ottokar I carries a crown on his head.

26- Petr Hora, Toulky českou minulostí, Vol. I (Praha: Práce, 1985), 170-171.

27- Hora, 175-177.

28- Stejskal, 181.

29- Ottův slovník naučný, Vol. IV, (Praha: Jan Otto, 1891), 644.

30- Ibid., 644-5.

31- Ibid., 645.

32- František Palacký, Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a na Moravě, Vol. II, Od roku 1253 až do roku 1403 (Praha: Kvasnička and Hampl, 1939), 3-142.

33- Emanuel Vlček, Jak zemřeli (Praha: Academia, 1993), 66.

34- Vlček, 35-44.

35- Joan Evans, ed., The Flowering of the Middle Ages (London: Thames and Hudson, 1966), 214.

36- Ibid., 215.

37- Stejskal, 170.

38- Ibid., 188.

39- This particular phenomenon can be best observed by looking at the statues and studying them from above, standing on a stool and looking straight down. However, the monuments were intended to be looked at from the side, at eye level only.

40- Stejskal, 181.

41- A sufficient amount of literature deals with the attribution of individual portraits; therefore, there is no need to discuss each portrait further here. See, for example: Stejskal, 188-9; Poche, 130-131; Albert Kutal, České gotické umění (Praha: Obelisk, 1972), 55-57.

42- For example, Kazimierz the Great of Poland has a beautiful sculptural monument in the cathedral in the Wawel castle in Cracow done for him within the years 1370-1382. See Alexander Giesztor and others, Polska tysiącletnia (Warszawa: Interpress, 1975), 51. It shows Kazimierz' reclining figure in a long, buttoned gown, with royal insignias in his hands. The bearded face is framed with below-shoulder-length, curled hair and royal crown on the head, which rests on a larger pillow. The body is in a slight "s" curve, rather than in the straight "standing"

position used at that time. Another example could be the well-known elaborate tombs of the Burgundian dynasty in the Chartreuse de Champmol, France. These monuments were decorated/surrounded by whole groups of so-called "mourner" figures, usually placed at the base of the tomb. See Erwin Panofsky, Tomb Sculpture (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1992), 62.

43- Arnošt of Pardubice in Klodsko, Jan Očko of Vlašim in Prague, Jan of Jenštejn in Rome.

44- Charles' second son, Sigismund (d. 1437), was buried in Hungary in an elaborate tombstone he had done for himself.

45- In Italy the more compact monuments would cover one wall or a part of it, rather than be spread throughout the church. Example: Tomb of Henry VII (d. 1313) in Camposanto, Pisa, where the seated figure of the ruler is surrounded by four of his standing councilors. See Panofsky, 86. Or, tomb relief of Guitone Sinibaldi in Pistoia Cathedral dating from 1360's and showing the law professor among his pupils. See Evans, 187, 352. His figure is made much larger than the rest of the group and is placed in the centre of the relief group depicted. However, the scale of the whole group is rather small within the church.

46- Panofsky, 31.

47- Ibid., 156.

48- J. R. Tanner, C.W. Previte-Orton and Z.N. Brooke, eds., The Cambridge Medieval History. Vol. VII. Decline of Empire and Papacy (New York: The MacMillan Company and Cambridge, England: University Press, 1932), 138.

49- Rouček, Chrám sv. Víta, Dějiny a průvodce, 79. Present altar with the statue of the saint dates from the seventeenth century.

50- Josef Janáček and others, Dějiny Prahy (Praha: Panorama, 1988), 64-65. Also Thieme-Becher Künstler Lexikon, XXIV, (Leipzig: E. A. Seeman, 1932), 245-246.

51- Janáček, 66.

52- The basic dimensions of St. Vitus at the end of this first period were the following:

- a. length of the high choir 20.5 metres
- b. width of the high choir 12.3 metres
(chapels and ambulatory not included)
- c. height of the church to the vault 33.24 m
- d. width of the church, i.e., choir, ambulatory and chapels included,
60 metres (transept as such was built later)
- e. height of the inner triforium 14.3 m
- f. one side of the square St. Wenceslas Chapel 10.9 m
- g. height of St. Wenceslas Chapel 14.15 m

See Zdeněk Wirth, František Kop and Václav Ryneš, Metropolitní chrám sv. Víta (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1945), 105-6.

53- Rudolf Rouček and Jan Čep, Chrám sv. Víta v obrazech Jiřího Jeníčka (Praha: Universum, 1947), 9.

ENDNOTES

CHAPTER THREE

1- František Palacký, Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a na Moravě. Vol. III. Od roku 1403 až do roku 1431 (Praha: Kvasnička and Hampel, 1939), 318.

2- Palacký does not mention the Czech crown being taken from St. Vitus by Sigismund to Hungary. On the other hand, Jiří Burian claims that, apart from other treasures, Sigismund took with him the crown of St. Wenceslas, so that the Czechs could not offer it to anybody else. Burian further mentions that Sigismund did not even take into consideration the provision of his father, Charles IV, and the bull of the Pope, that the crown had to be placed forever on the head of St. Wenceslas (except for the occasions of royal coronations). According to both provisions the taking of the crown was punishable by the strictest religious penalties. See Burian, XXIV.

3- Poche claims that the monument of Jan IV of Dražice was destroyed in 1421 during the Hussite wars. See note 37 and 38 in chapter one. Another tombstone possibly destroyed at around 1421 could be the one of the queen Guta (d. 1297), wife of the king Wenceslas II (d. 1305), done by Master Tilman in Parler's workshop in 1377. Tilman was probably one of the "wandering" craftsman, since he is mentioned in the accounting books of the workshop only for that year. See Stejskal, 193. It has been known that the tombstone of queen Guta was destroyed at some time. Whether it was really as early as the Hussite Wars is only a speculation.

4- Officially—meaning with the blessing of the Papal court. Two archbishops who kept the position during this particular period of sedis vacances = empty seat, 1421-1561, were not, for their political conviction, officially accepted by Rome. Konrád of Vechta (d. 1431) was excommunicated by the Papal court for joining with the Calixtins, and Jan Rokycana (d. 1471) was unacceptable to the Papal court for being a foremost Hussite theologian. Both of them are buried elsewhere. See Zdeněk Míka, ed., Dějiny Prahy v datech (Praha: Panorama, 1988), 78-94. Also Josef Janáček, Dějiny Prahy, 65-94.

5- Nowadays the bodies of all three mentioned rulers are placed in granite coffins on the side of Charles IV, whose coffin is in the center of the crypt. The present royal crypt was made accessible in the twentieth century for public viewing by stairs leading down through the Chapel of the Holy Cross. It is located past the walls of

the original rotunda and the basilica. People who were buried there during the fourteenth century include: the Bohemian King and Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV (d. 1378) and his immediate family—his four wives, three of his children, who died at young ages, his son and successor to the throne Wenceslas IV (d. 1419) along with his first wife Johanna and Charles' youngest son, Jan of Zhořelec. They were followed in the fifteenth century by the King Ladislav Pohrobek (d. 1457) and the King George of Poděbrady (d. 1471). Present coffins date from the twentieth century.

6- Ryneš, 98 and Rouček, 80. Also Emanuel Poche and Josef Janáček, Prahou krok za krokem (Praha: Orbis, 1965).

7- Hejnic, 162.

8- Wladislaw died and was buried in Hungary, which he made his permanent residence after 1590. His son and successor to both thrones, Ludwik, at the age of twenty, lost his life in an unhappy battle of Mohács in 1526. He went to fight, with an army of 24,000 young men like himself, the huge army of 200,000 Turks of sultan Suliman. Hardly any Turks lost their lives, while about 15,000 young Christians perished. Ludwik himself, trying to flee the lost battle, fell into mud under his horse and, due to his heavy armor, was not able to help himself out. His body was later recovered, and he was buried in Stoličný Bělehrad. Marek Bydžovský z Florentina, Svět za tří českých králů. Výbor z kronikářských zápisů o letech 1526-1596, ed. Jaroslav Kolár (Praha: Svoboda, 1987), 15. (Chronicle of Marek Bydžovský of Florentino.)

9- Zdeněk Wirth, "Svatovítská katedrála," Metropolitní chrám sv. Víta (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1945), 28-31.

10- In 1879 the chapel was torn down while the cathedral was being finished to its present shape. Antonín Podlaha and Kamil Hilbert, Soupis památek historických a uměleckých v království českém. Metropolitní chrám sv. Víta v Praze (Praha: Archeologická kommisise při české akademii císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1906), 102.

11- Ivo Kořán, 116, citing Blažíček. See Ivo Kořán, "Renesanční sochařství v Čechách a na Moravě," Dějiny českého výtvarného umění. Od počátku renesance do závěru baroka, Jiří Dvorský and others, eds., 2 vols. (Praha: Academia, 1989).

12- Kořán, 118.

- 13- Colin's work in St. Vitus will be discussed later in this chapter.
- 14- Kořán, 129-130.
- 15- Podlaha, 175.
- 16- Kořán, 130.
- 17- Hejnic, 166-167.
- 18- Information regarding the sum was obtained from the evidence-list of the Prague castle. And also from the article by Jiří Svoboda, "Materiálie k životu a dílu kameníka Vincence Strašryby," Umění, XVI, No. 6 (1968), 627-631. Since the sculptor Strašryba died in 1582 and his workshop, run by his sister, Maria, did not finish the work until 1594, it is difficult to judge how much work was done by Strašryba himself and how much by other artists. See Kořán, 126. More detailed description of the monument, especially of the architectural parts, is also given by Podlaha, 172.
- 19- There are only few known monuments of this type in the country, one being in Telč in Moravia for Zachariáš of Hradec.
- 20- Kořán, 130. Also evidence-cards of the Prague castle.
- 21- Pavel Preiss, Italští umělci v Praze (Praha: Panorama, 1986), 67.
- 22- Kořán, 117.
- 23- Podlaha, 278; Rouček, XVI-XVII; Kořán, 117.
- 24- Kořán, 117.
- 25- Ibid.
- 26- Elisabeth Scheicher, Das Grabmal Kaiser Maximilians I. in der Innsbrucker Hofkirche (Wien: Verlag Anton Schroll & Co., 1986). Also Erich Egg, Das Grabmal Kaiser Maximilians I., (Innsbruck: Kunstverlag Hofstetter, Ried i. l., 1993).

27- Ottův slovník naučný, Vol. IX, (Praha: Jan Otto, 1895), 103.

28- See Hejnic, 167-173.

29- Helena Kozakiewicz and Stefan Kozakiewicz, Renesans w Polsce (Warszawa: Arkady, 1976), 145.

30- Marek Bydžovský z Florentina, Svět za tři českých králů. Výbor z kronikářských zápisů o letech 1526-1596, ed. Jaroslav Kolár (Praha: Svoboda, 1987), 17.

31- See Marek Bydžovský, 19. Other children of Ferdinand and Anna were born in Innsbruck (2), Linz (2), Vienna (5), Neustadt (1), Prague (4), because Ferdinand liked to take his wife on his travels with him. If the number of childbirths indicated the frequency of royal visits, the king and his wife spent more time in Vienna than in Prague. None of the children were born in Hungary, however, probably due to the closeness of the danger of Turkish armies.

32- The enclosed graphic depiction of Habsburg family interrelations (and also relation to previous Bohemian kings, the Polish Jagiellonids), should give some clue as to influences that started to spread on to the Czech nation, which was still living in remembrance of the Hussite wars.

Maximilian I, Holy Roman Emperor

Filip I, King of Spain

Charles V (Karl V), emperor
wife: Isabella, daughter
of king of Portugal

Ferdinand I
wife: Anna, sister of Ludwik Jagiellonid
daughter of Wladislaw Jag.

Maria
husband: Ludwik Jagiellonid
(she later became
vice-regent in the Netherlands)

three children
(Isabella died during the
birth of the 4th one, who
died soon after her) d.1539

fifteen children
(Anna died after the birth of
the 15th one), d. 1547

no children
(Ludwik died too soon)
d. 1526

Filip II, King of Spain
Maria, wife of Maximilian II
Johanna, wife of King of Port.

Elizabeth, Queen of Poland
Maximilian II, Bohemian king, Hungarian king,
Holy Roman Emperor
Anna, Countess of Bavaria
Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria
(executor of the last will of Ferdinand I)
Maria, Countess of Julis
Magdalena, d. at age of 7

Katherina, Queen of Poland
 Leonora, Countess of Ferrara
 Margaret, d. single
 Jan, d. at age of 2
 Barbara
 Karl, Archduke of Austria
 Ursula, d. at age of 2
 Helena
 Johanna (after her birth, the queen died)

33- Zdeněk Míka, ed., Dějiny Prahy v datech, (Praha: Panorama, 1988), 86-87, 104-105. Also Cambridge Modern History, Vol. III, The Wars of Religion, 147. The tragic event happened in the year queen Anna died. Some chroniclers say that had she been alive those people would not have lost their lives, because she always sympathised with the oppressed and the poor and convinced the king to change his mind when necessary. See Chronicle of Marek Bydžovský.

34- Cambridge Modern History, Vol. III, The Wars of Religion, 148. For more details regarding the Jesuits' activity, see Ivo Kořán, "V odlesku cizích světél," Čtvero knih o Praze, ed. Emanuel Poche and others (Praha: Panorama, 1988), 156-156. Also to be found in "Renesanční sochařství v Čechách a na Moravě," Dějiny českého výtvarného umění, Vol. I. Od počátku renesance do závěru baroka (Praha: Academia, 1989), 118-119.

35- Antonín Brus of Mohelnice was at the council since its beginning in 1546 and was eventually the only Czech present among 291 bishops of mainly Italian (187) or Spanish (31) origin and another 140 theologians of different nationalities. See Marek Bydžovský, 91. At this council "the efforts of this prelate [Brus] and his colleagues were directed to obtaining for the Emperor's Bohemian subjects the concession of the Cup, by means of which he still hoped to bring about a reunion of Utraquists and Catholics. In the last years of Ferdinand's life this concession was granted to Bohemia by Pope Pius IV." (Cambridge Modern History, Vol. III, The Wars of Religion, 147-148.)

36- Marek Bydžovský, 66. The royal insignia—the crown, the scepter and the apple were carried in the procession by the Czech noblemen who walked in front of the queen's coffin, while the king and his family walked behind it.

37- Partial quotation of Ferdinand I's last testament was obtained at the Prague castle, from Petr Chotěbor's unpublished short article about Colin's mausoleum in St. Vitus. The abstracts were in Czech from which they were translated by the present author. The full and/or original version of the testament was unavailable.

38- Alexander Colin, b. 1526 in (now Belgian) Malin, d. 1612 in Innsbruck. When Colin set his workshop in Innsbruck, he brought his staff from the Netherlands with him. He died in Innsbruck and was buried in the tomb he did for himself. Ottův slovník naučný, Vol. V (Praha: Jan Otto, 1892), 26.

39- Emanuel Poche, "Renesanční umělecké řemeslo v Čechách," Dějiny českého výtvarného umění. Od počátku renesance do závěru baroka, Jiří Dvorský and others, eds., 2 vols. (Praha: Academia, 1989), 141-142, and endnote 71 on p. 148, citing sources in archives in Prague, and in Innsbruck.

40- Colin was called to Innsbruck in 1563 by the King and Emperor Ferdinand I, in order to finish the tomb of the Emperor Maximilian I. Colin then became the court sculptor for the Habsburgs and did several funerary monuments for them. Apart from the tomb of Maximilian I he also did the tomb of Ferdinand I (d. 1564), Anna (d. 1547), and Maximilian II (d. 1576) in Prague, and the tomb of the archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol (d. 1595) and his wife Philipine of Welser (d. 1580) in Innsbruck. Thus he accidentally took care of the tombs of three generations of Habsburg rulers and their families.

41- The tomb in Innsbruck is still empty, because Maximilian I remains buried in Wiener Neustadt since his death in 1519, even though plans to transport his body to Innsbruck were made several times. This is rather interesting because the emperor had planned his own funeral in 1500.

42- Out of the planned one hundred statues of saints only twenty-four were made; and out of forty ancestors twenty eight were executed. See Egg, 4- 5.

43- For these figures Colin did the modelling only; the casting was done in different places later. The four statues of the virtues were cast in 1570 in Munich by Hans Lendenstreich, while the statue of the emperor was done in 1584 in Sicily by Ludovico de Duca. See Egg, 49-50.

44- Some sources say that the whole project was done between the years 1564-1589, some say 1566-1589. See Ottův slovník naučný and Thieme-Becher Lexikon.

45- Egg, 58.

46- Kořán, 123.

47- The partial quote of Rudolf II's letter is given by Hejnic, together with some prosopographic information pertaining to Adam of Dietrichstein. See Hejnic, 181-182.

ENDNOTES

AFTERMATH AND CONCLUSION

1- Václav Ryneš, "Dóm svatovítský - Národní české pohřebiště," Metropolitní chrám svatého Víta, Zdeněk Wirth, František Kop and Václav Ryneš (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1945), 101.

2- The name of Cernin/Černín is not mentioned on Sylvia Catharina's monument but rather her maiden name—Marchioness of Baden and Hohberg. A list of all of her earthly possessions is also included.

3- The same family name now spelled differently.

4- By this time the name Šlik is Germanized to Schlik. This was one of the signs of the progressing Germanization of the country.

5- Josef Pekař, "Tři kapitoly z boje o sv. Jana Nepomuckého," O smyslu českých dějin (Praha: Rozmluvy, 1990), 275-310.

6- Antonín Novotný, Malostranský hřbitov (Praha: Státní technické nakladatelství, 1955), 4.

7- Maria Amalia of the Habsburgs was buried in the crypt in 1804, but no visible monument was placed in the cathedral.

8- Příchovský had the crypt for the archbishops set up in the Pernštejn chapel; seven were buried there. See Ryneš, 102. Archbishop Příchovský was also responsible for the construction of a huge palace for the Prague archbishops, built next to the seat of the secular power, the Prague castle. See Ottův slovník naučný, Vol. XX, 1903 (Praha: Jan Otto, 1891-1903), 682.

9- See Ryneš, 102.

10- During the reforms many churches and monasteries were closed or transformed into secular institutions like hospitals, schools, old people's homes, factories or barracks. Many religious orders were abolished.

11- He was of a Catholic family of foreign origin that came to the country after the battle of White Mountain.

12- Josef Bílek, Dějiny konfiskací (Praha, 1933); Josef Pekař, "Bílá Hora," O smyslu českých dějin (Praha: Rozmluvy, 1990), 174-232.

13- The new arrangement was done by architect Kamil Roškot within the years 1928-1935. See Ryneš, 98.

14- Even though the majority of historians, including František Palacký, believed that St. Wenceslas died in 935, the earlier date was chosen by those who had the decisive word in determining the date of the millenium.

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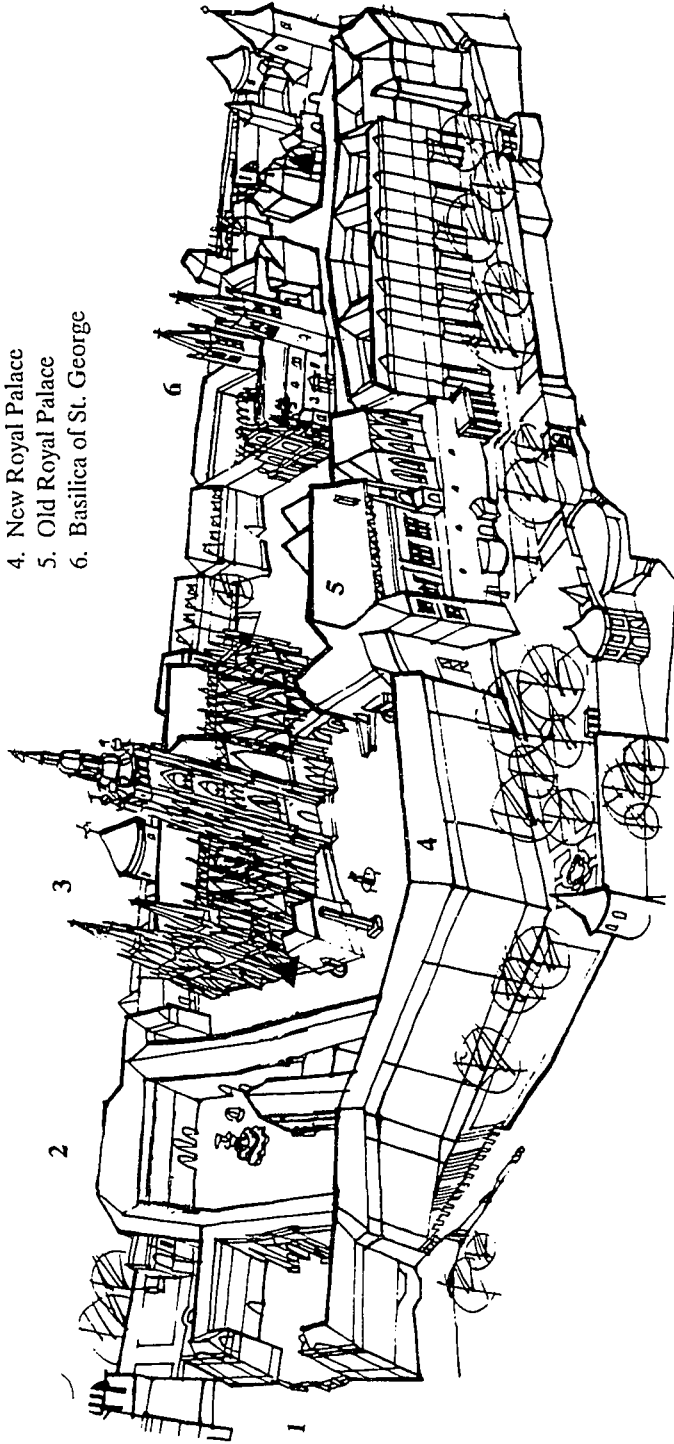
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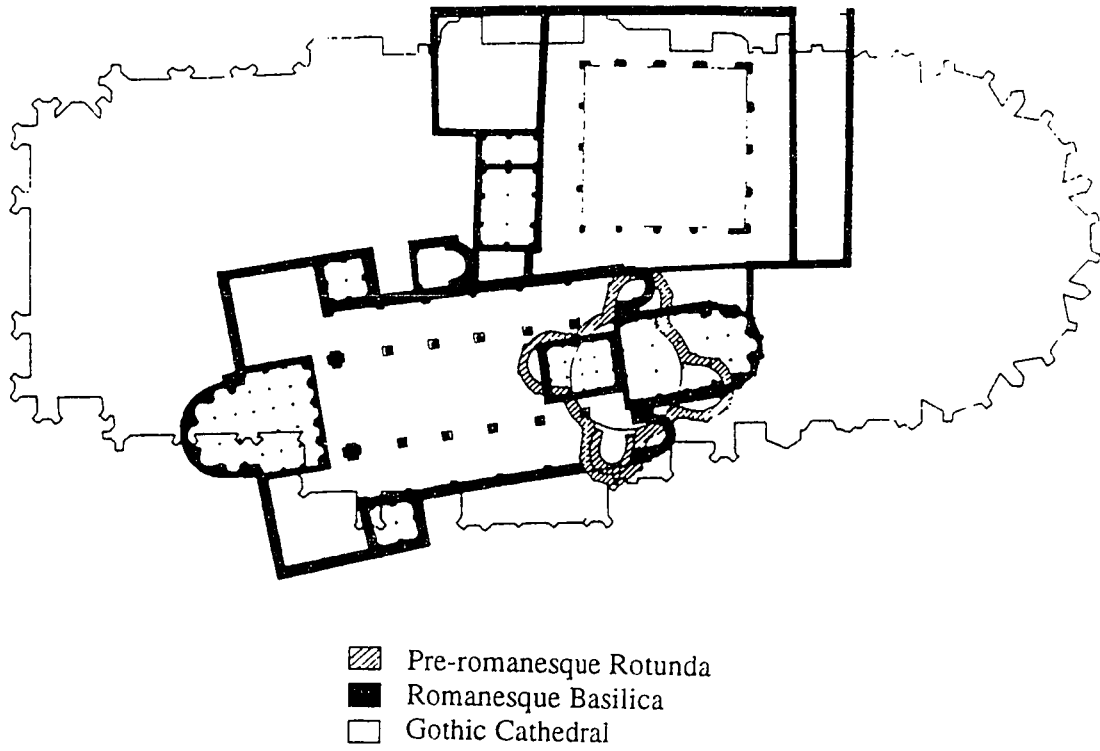
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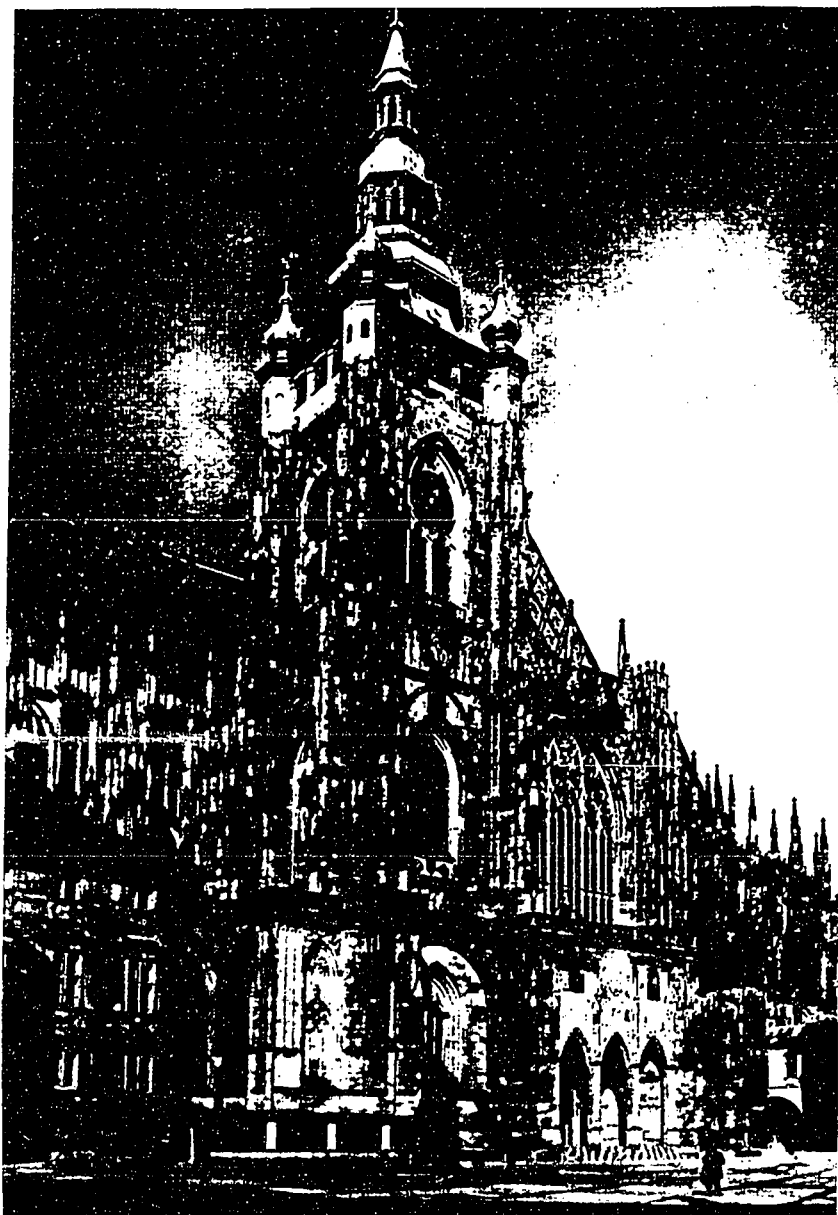
1. Main entrance to the Prague Castle complex
2. Picture Gallery (formal stables)
3. St. Vitus cathedral
4. New Royal Palace
5. Old Royal Palace
6. Basilica of St. George



1. The Prague Castle complex with the St. Vitus cathedral.



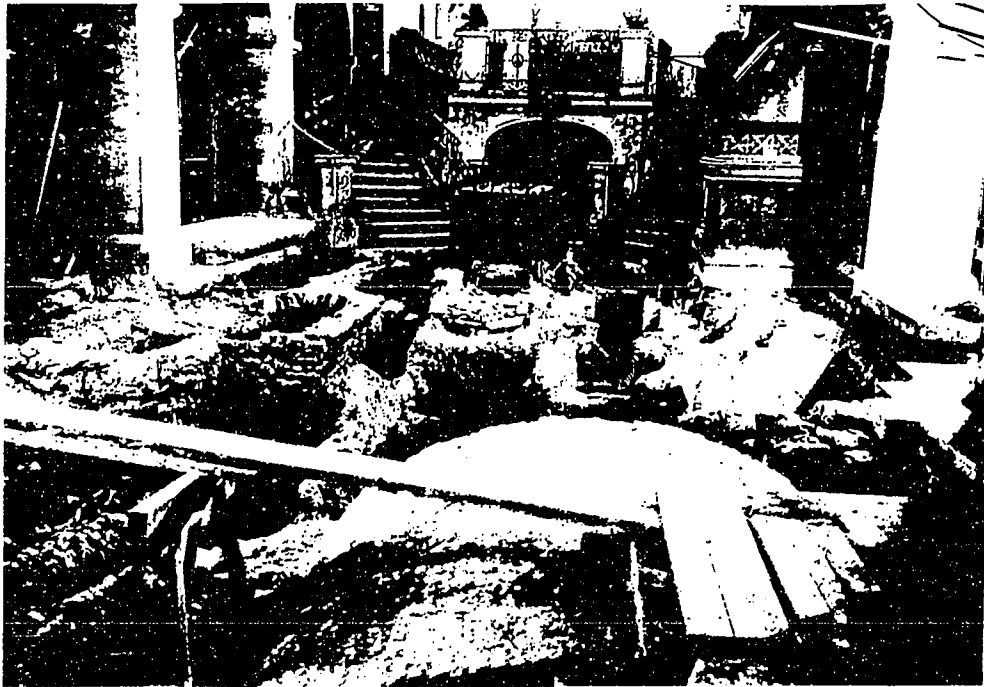
2. Plan of the three structures of St. Vitus: Pre-Romanesque rotunda, Romanesque basilica and Gothic cathedral.



3. St. Vitus cathedral: View from the south.



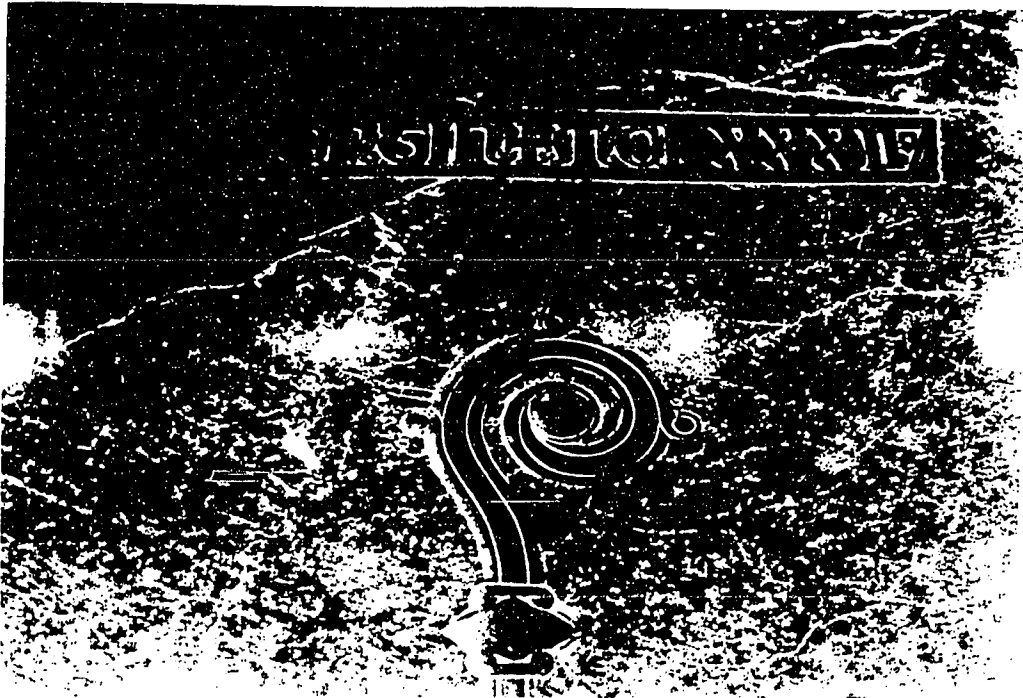
4. St. Vitus and the city.



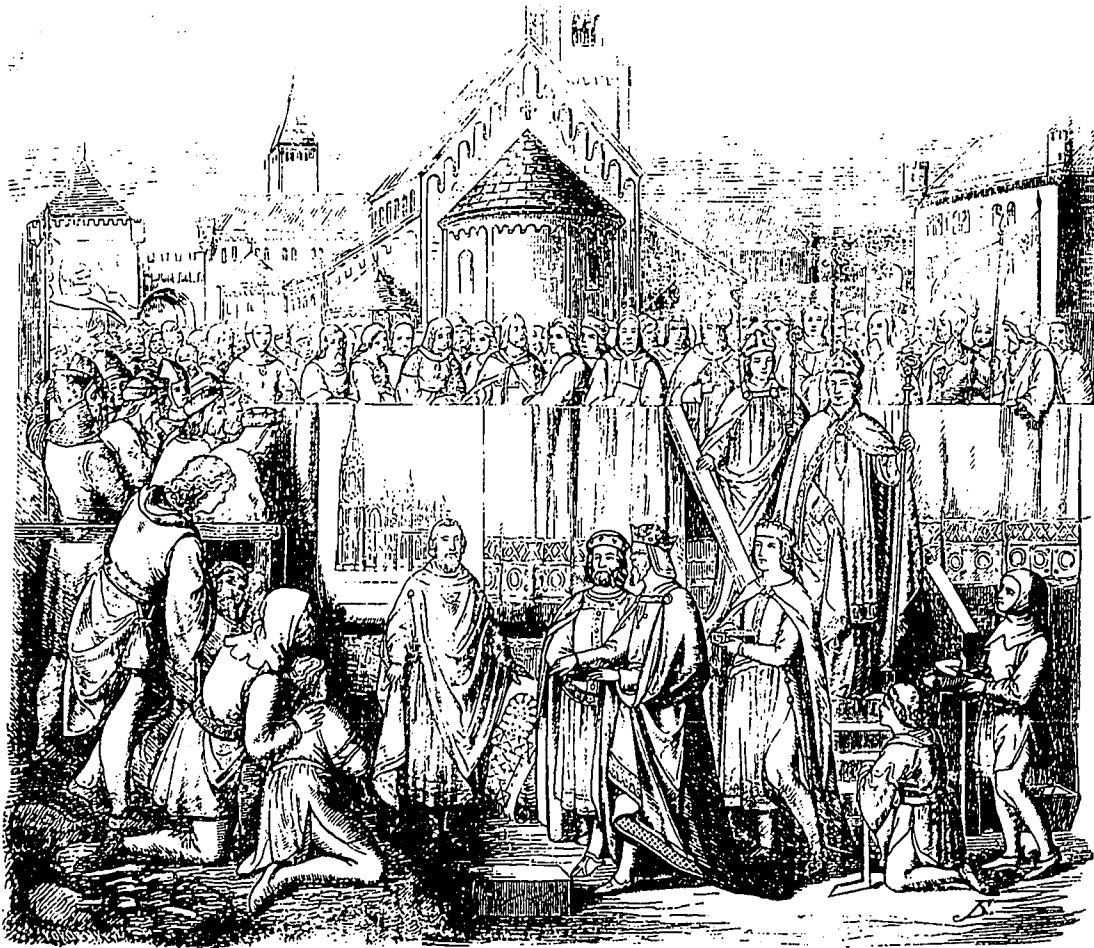
5. St. George: Tombs of Boleslav II and Vratislav.



6. St. Vitus: Chapel of St. Wenceslas with the tomb of the saint as uncovered by Kamil Hilbert in 1911.



7. St. Vitus: Detail of a tombstone of one of the fourteen bishops (Bishop Valentin, d. 1182) in the ambulatory.

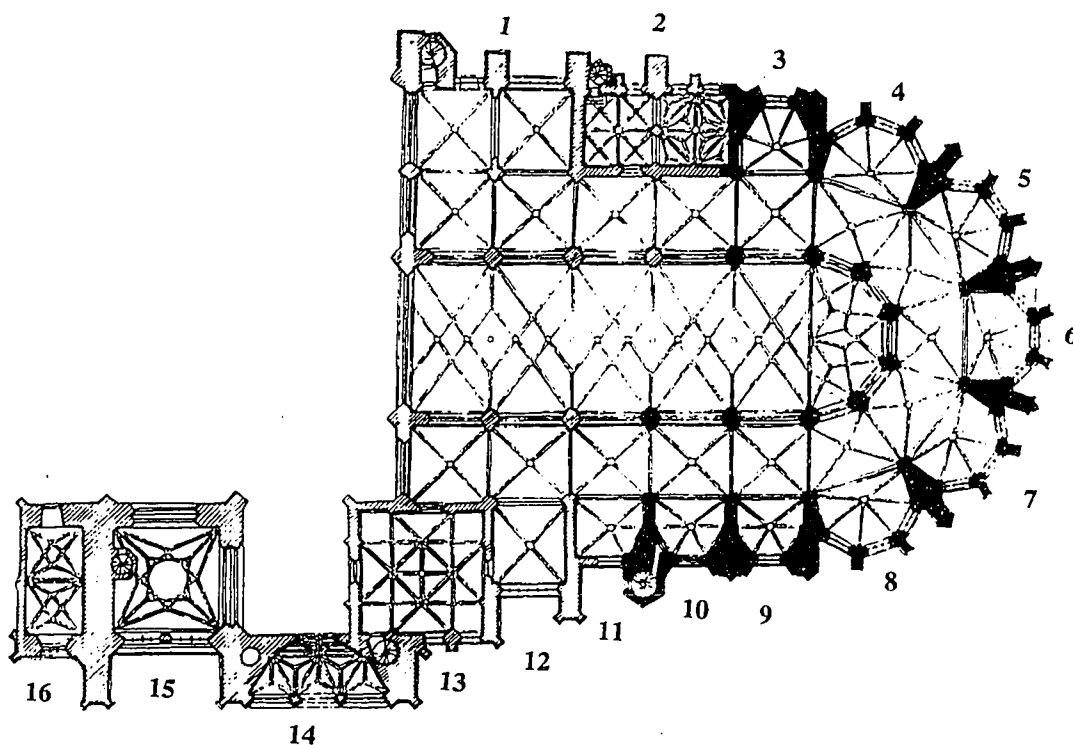


8. Laying the Foundation Stone. Drawing by F. L. Pokorný.

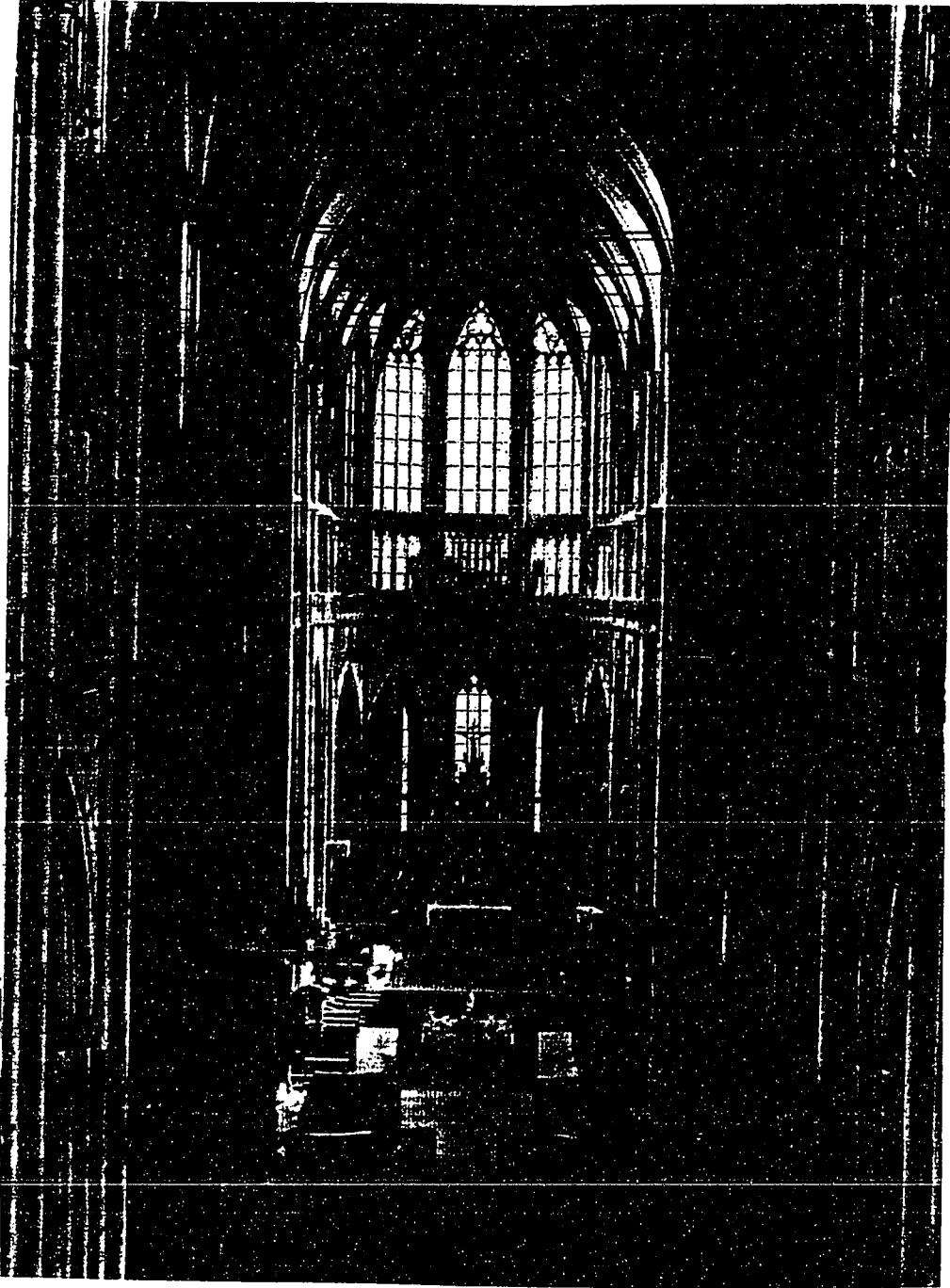
List of Chapels in St. Vitus Cathedral

(From left to right in the original part of the cathedral done by Mathias and Peter Parler.)

- 1- Chapel of St. Sigismund/Černín Chapel
- 2- The 'Old' Sacristi
- 3- Chapel of St. Anna/Nostitz Chapel
- 4- The 'Old' Archbishops' Chapel/Pernštejn Chapel
- 5- Chapel of John the Baptist/Arnošt of Pardubice Chapel
- 6- Chapel of the Virgin Mary/Imperial Chapel
- 7- Chapel of the Holy Relics/Saxonian Chapel/Šternberg Chapel
- 8- Chapel of St. Eberhard and Otylia/Vlašim Chapel/Chapel of St. Jan Nepomuk
- 9- Chapel of Mary Magdalen/Valdštejn Chapel
- 10- The Royal Oratorium
- 11- Chapel of the Holy Cross/descent to the Royal Crypt
- 12- Chapel of St. Ondřej/Chapel of St. Silvester/Martinic Chapel
- 13- Chapel of St. Wenceslas
- 14- Porta Aurea
- 15- Hazenburg Chapel/ascent to the southern tower
- 16- The St. Vitus Chapter Library



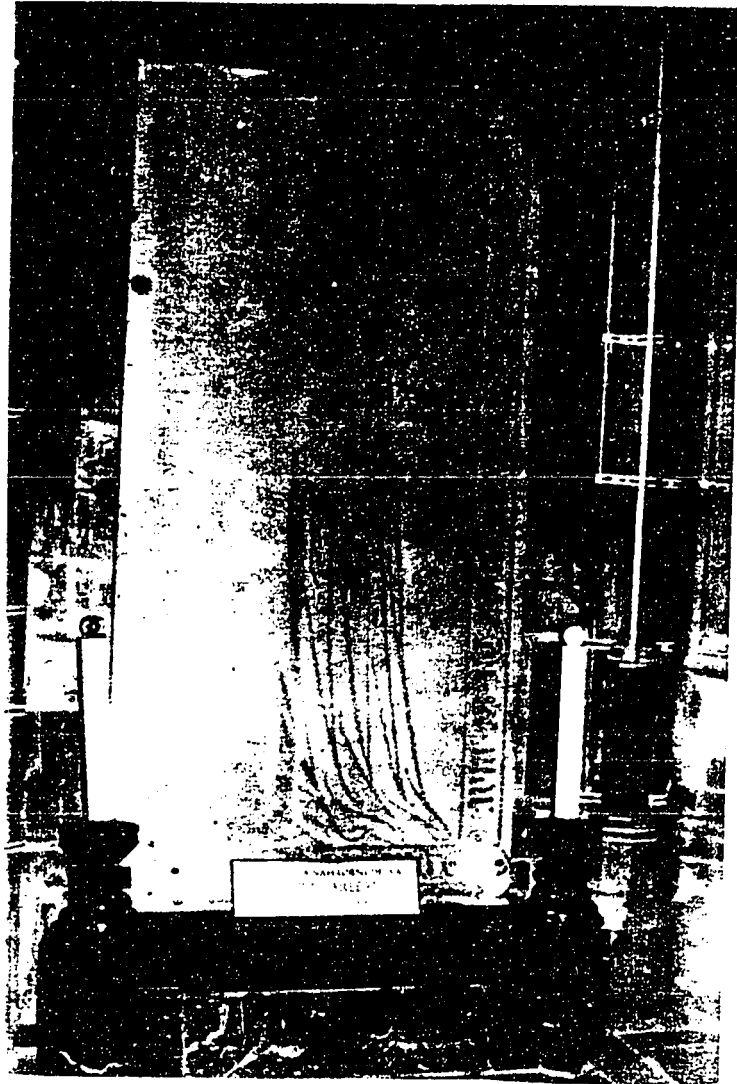
9. Plan of the 14th century cathedral with the list of chapels.



10. Choir of St. Vitus with the main altar and the Royal mausoleum.



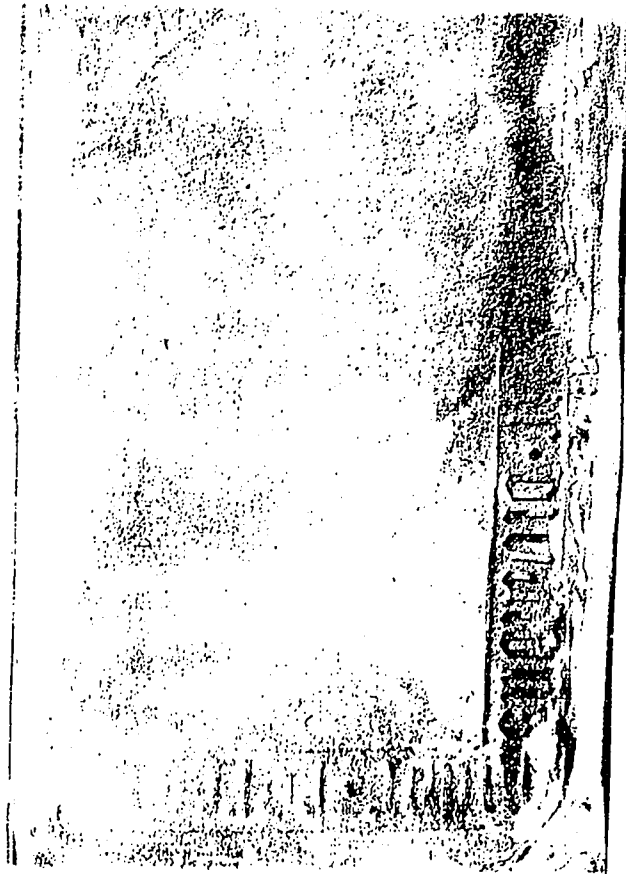
11a. Tombstone of Mathias of Arras.



11b. Tombstone of Peter Parler as it looks today in St. Vitus.



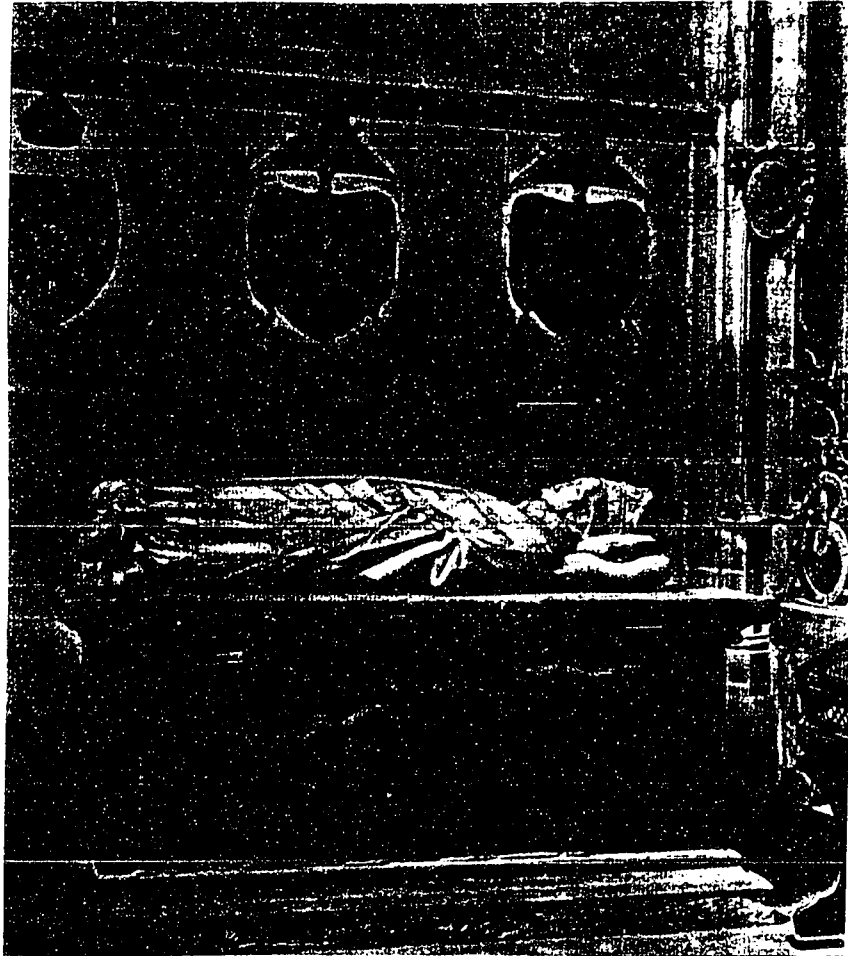
12. Tombstone of Hugues Libergier, Reims cathedral, France.



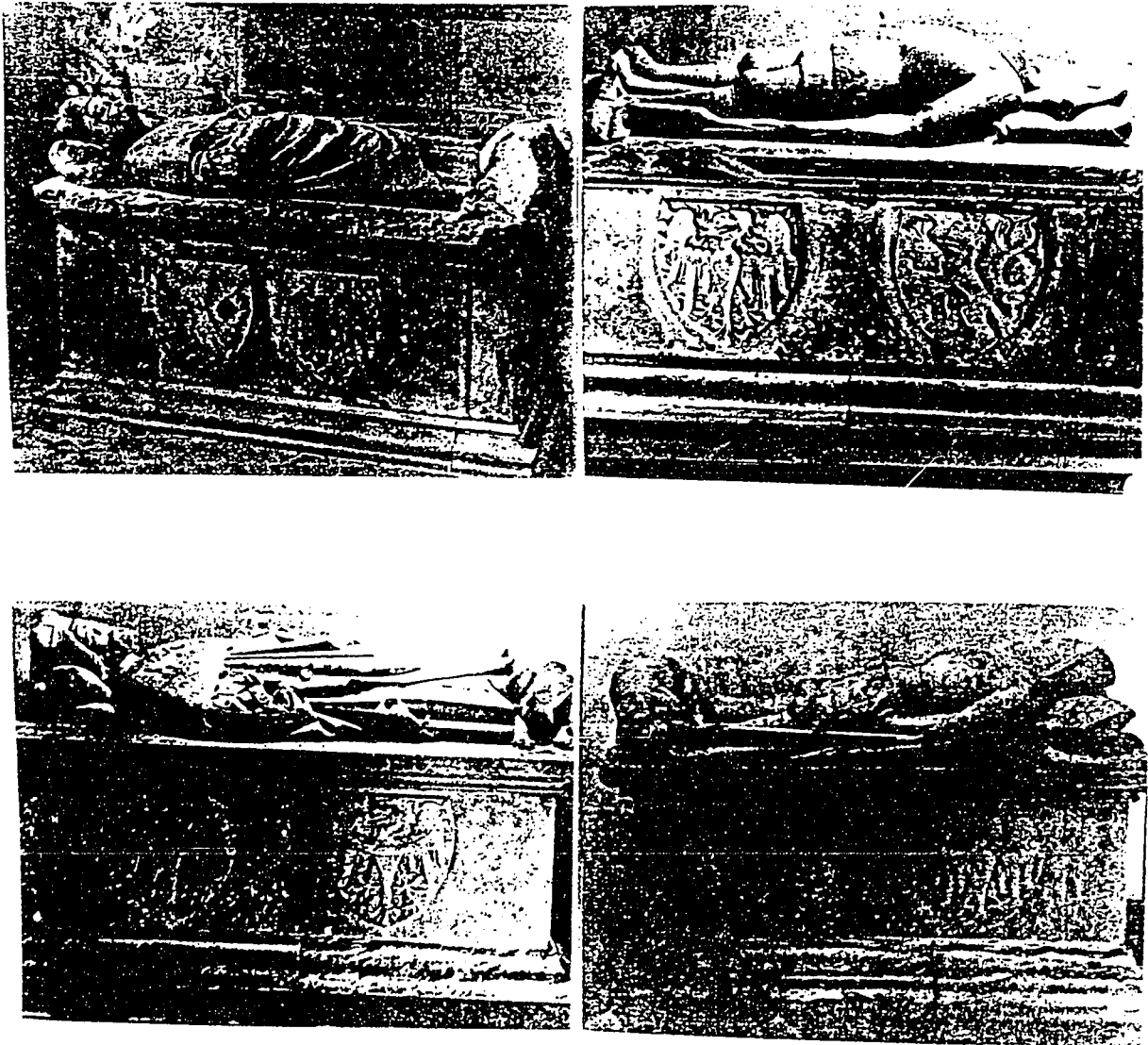
13. Remains of tombstone of painter Oswald in the lapidarium of the National Museum.



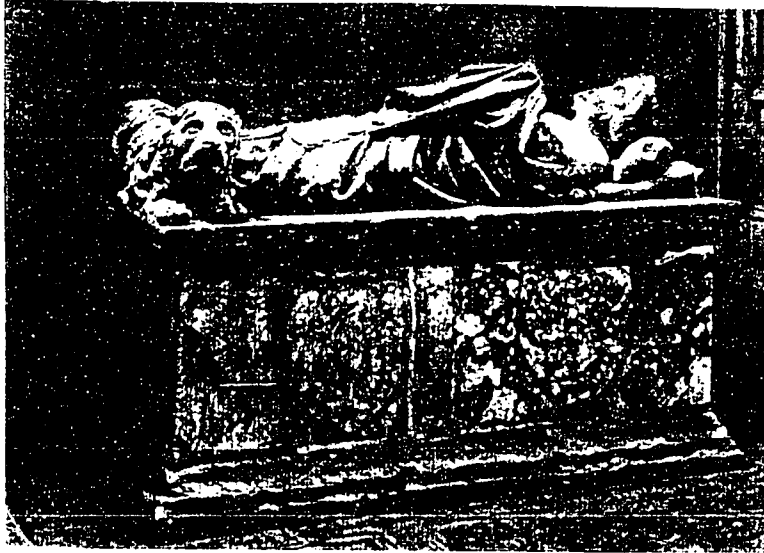
14. Tombstone of Abbot Bohuslav.



15. Tomb of Jan Očko of Vlašim and the detail of the dog at his feet.



16. Tombs of the kings: Bořivoj II, Břetislav II, Spytihněv II and Břetislav I.



17. Přemysl Ottokar I and Přemysl Ottokar II.



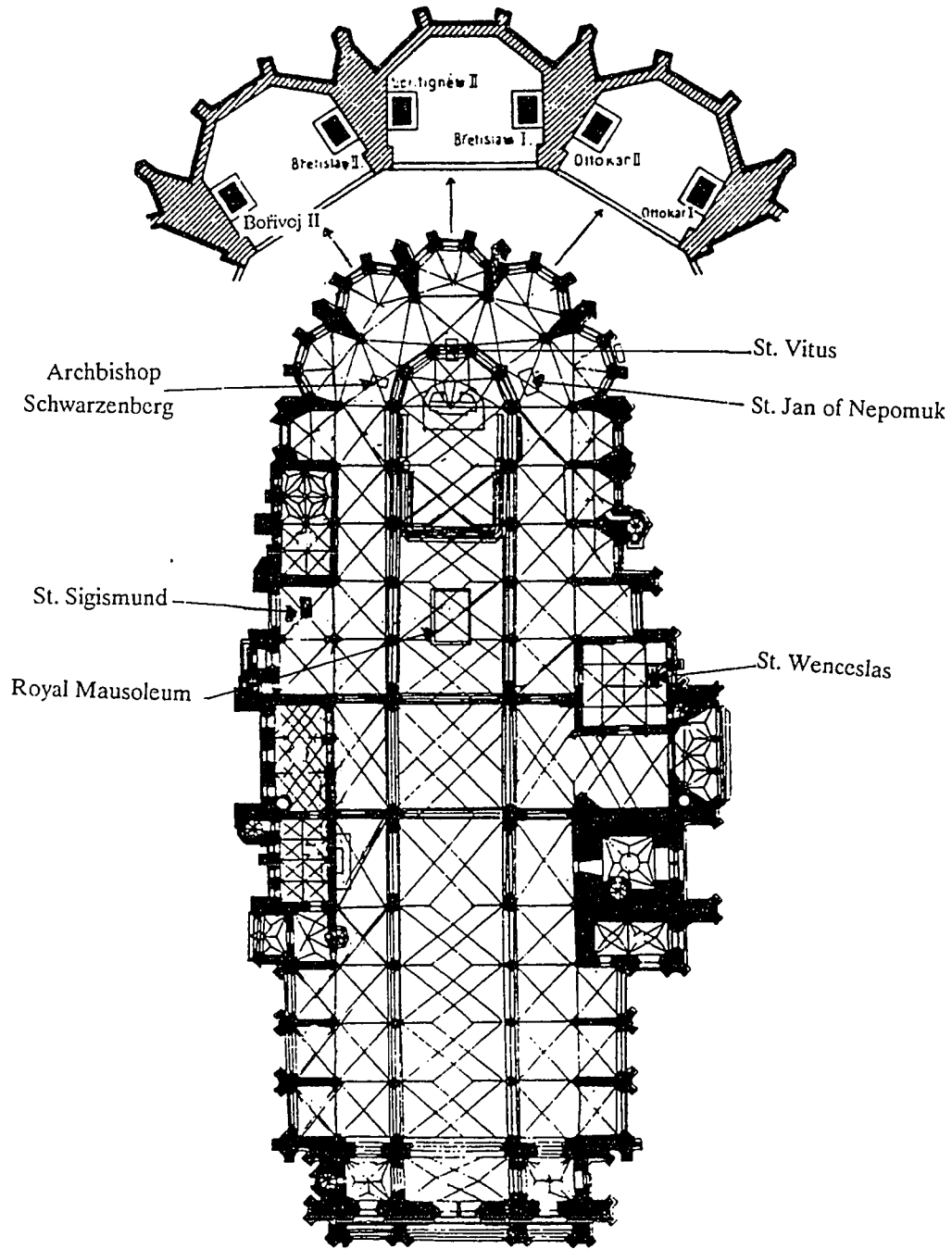
18. Přemysl Ottokar II, detail of head.



19. Lions from the tombs of Přemysl Ottokar I and Přemysl Ottokar II. Details.



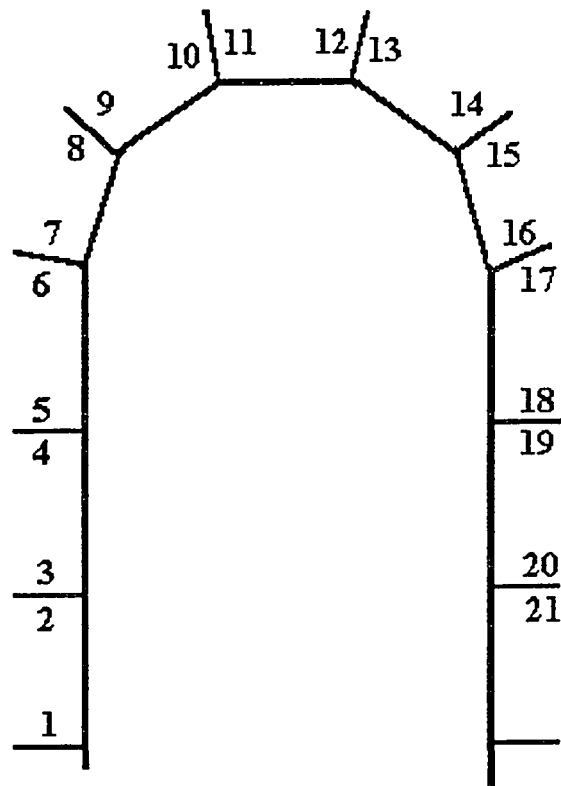
20. Two warrior kings, Břetislav I and Přemysl Ottokar II.



21. Plan of the cathedral today. Included are three central chapels where the Přemyslids are buried and the location of some other important tombstones.

Twenty-One Bust Portraits in the Lower (Inner) Triforium of St. Vitus
(From left to right)

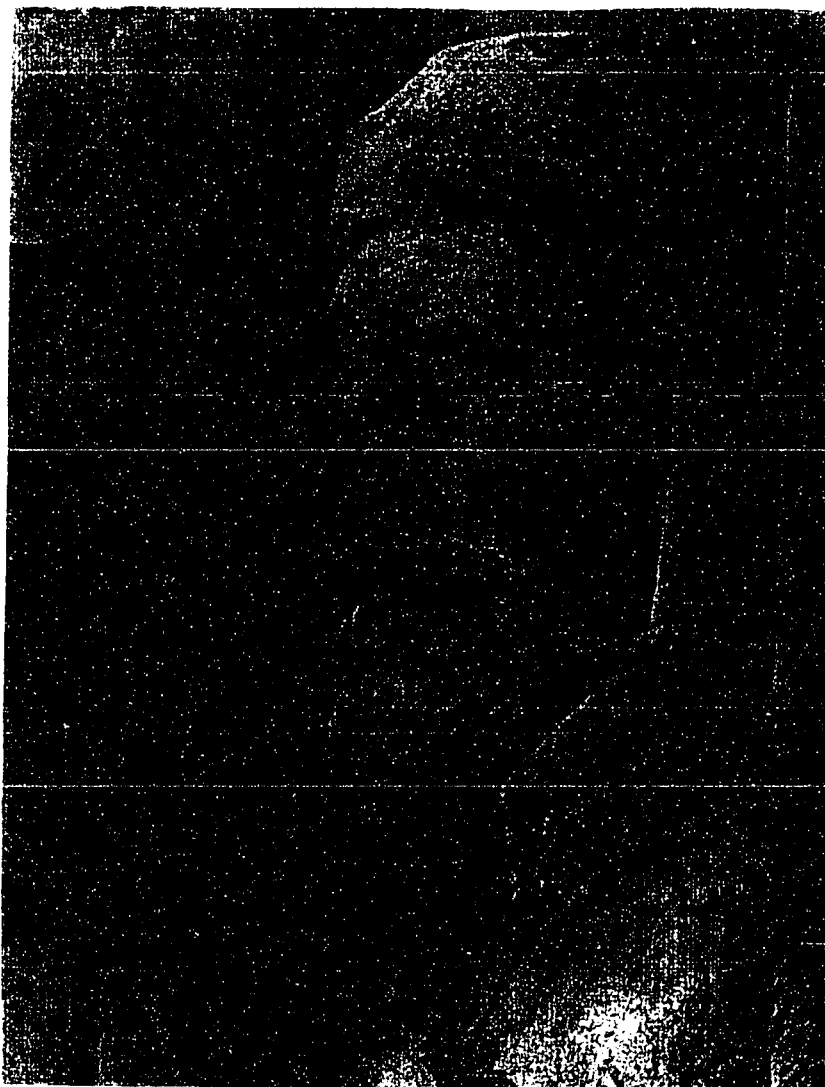
- 1-- Canon Wenceslas of Radeč
- 2-- Master Mathias of Arras
- 3-- Master Peter Parler
- 4-- Canon Ondřej Kotlík
- 5-- Canon Beneš Krabice of Weitmile
- 6-- Wenceslas of Luxembourg
- 7-- Jan Jindřich of Moravia
- 8-- Queen Blanche de Valois
- 9-- Queen Anna of the Pfalz
- 10- Queen Anna of Swidnitz
- 11- Queen Elizabeth of Pomerania
- 12- King and Emperor Charles IV
- 13- King Jan of Luxembourg
- 14- Queen Elizabeth of Přemyslids
- 15- King Wenceslas IV
- 16- Queen Johanna of Bavaria
- 17- Archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice
- 18- Archbishop Jan Očko of Vlašim
- 19- Archbishop Jan of Jenštejn
- 20- Canon Mikuláš Holubec
- 21- Canon Leonard Bušek



22. Plan of the inner triforium.



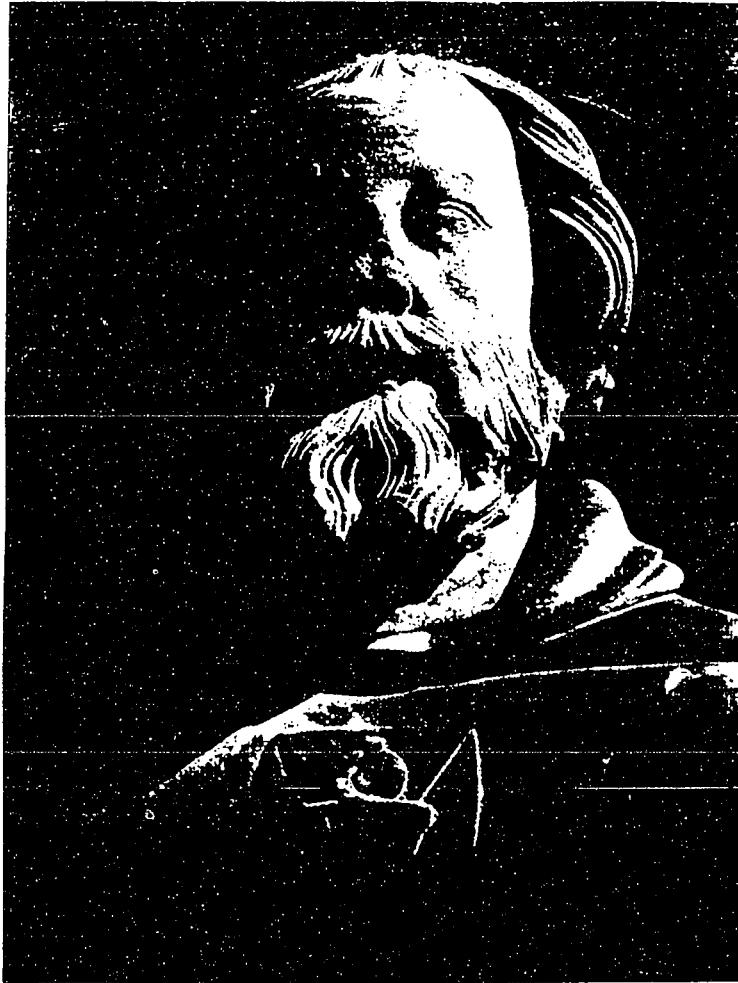
23. The inner triforium with the bust of Peter Parler.



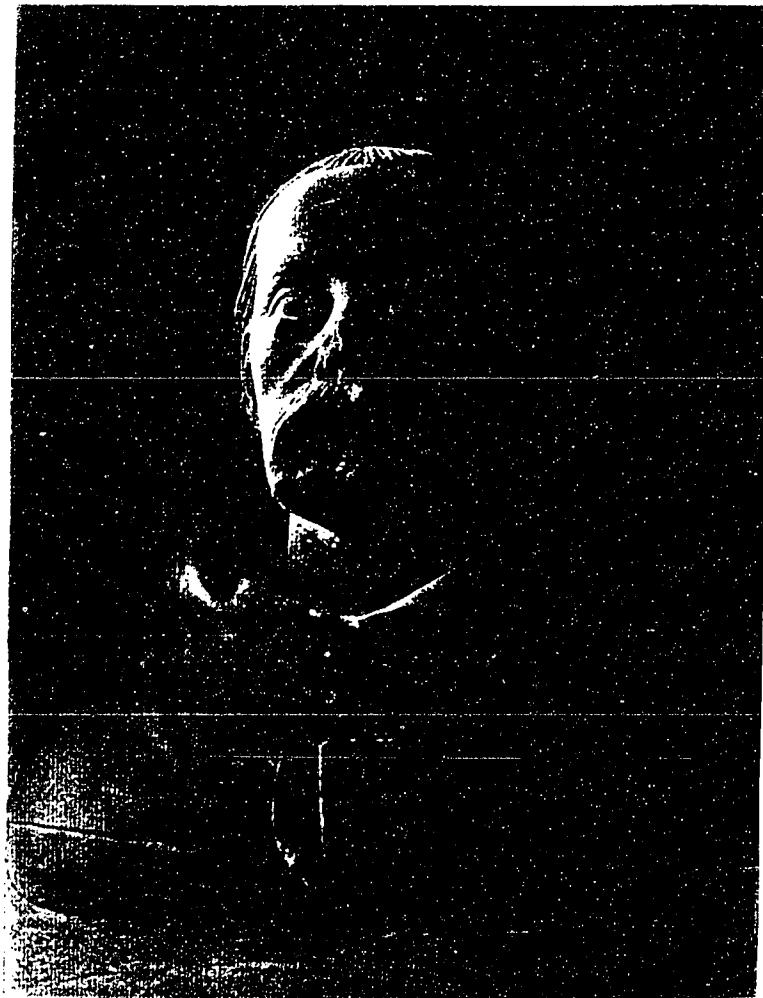
24. Bust of the King and Emperor Charles IV in the triforium.



25. Bust of Anna of the Pfalz, the second wife of Charles IV.



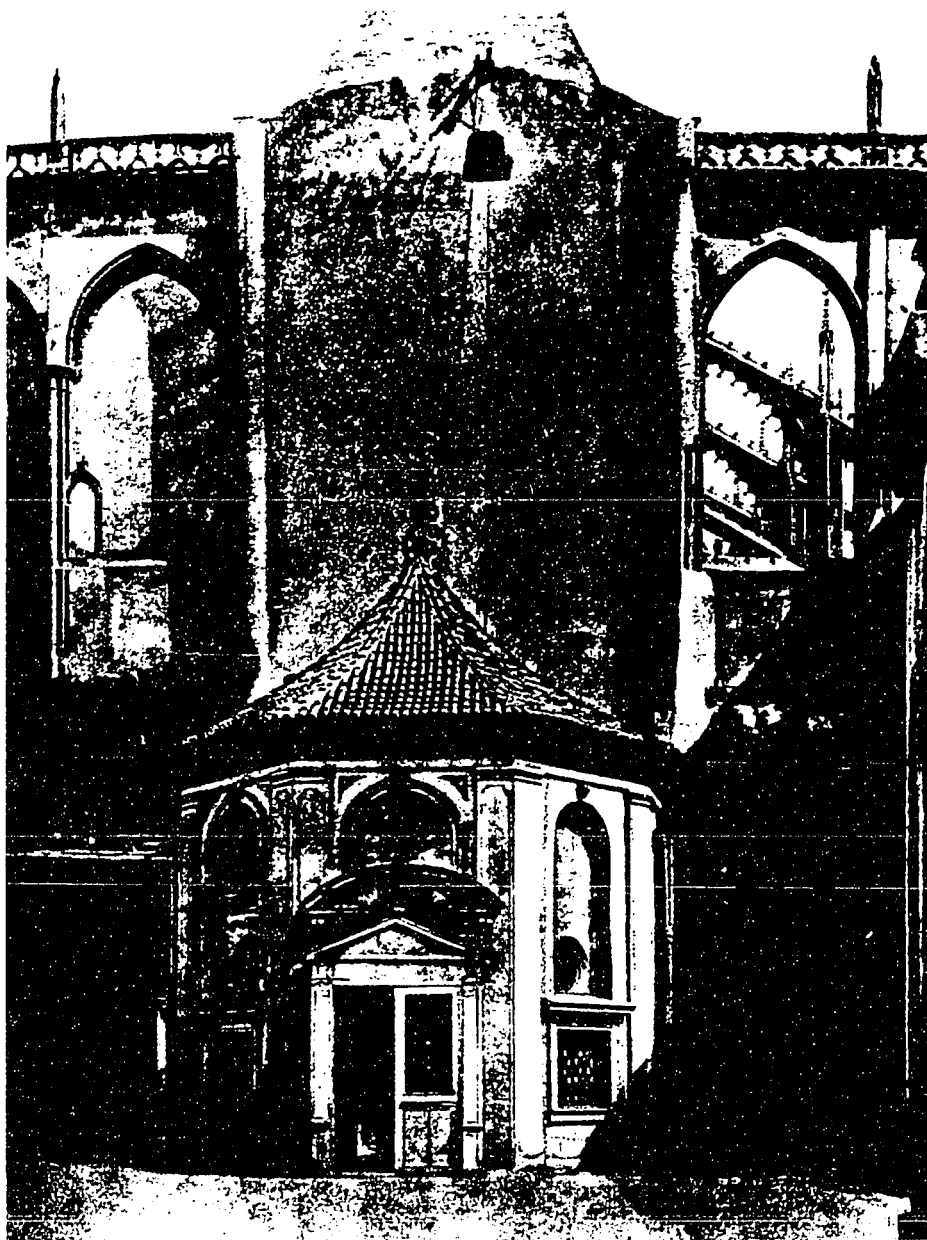
26. Bust of Master Mathias.



27. Bust of Master Peter Parler.



28. Chapel of St. Wenceslas with the tomb and statue of the saint.



29. Now non-existent Chapel of St. Vojtěch, built 1575-75 in front of the western temporary wall. It was torn down in 1879 in order to make space for the nave of the cathedral.



30. Matrona figure type of tombstone.



31. Tombstone of Vilém Muchek of Bukov.

Full view and a detail.

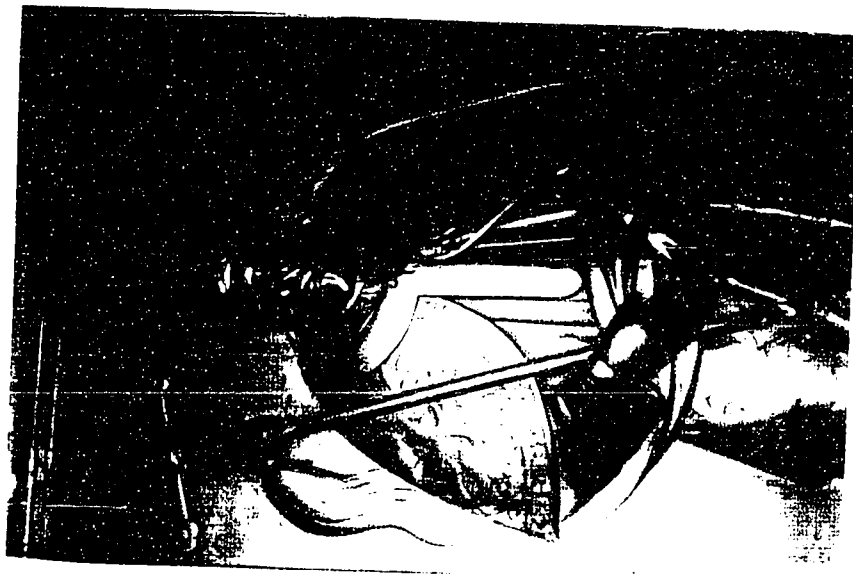




32a. Tombstone of Octavio Spinola.



32b. Tombstone of Octavio Spinola. Detail.



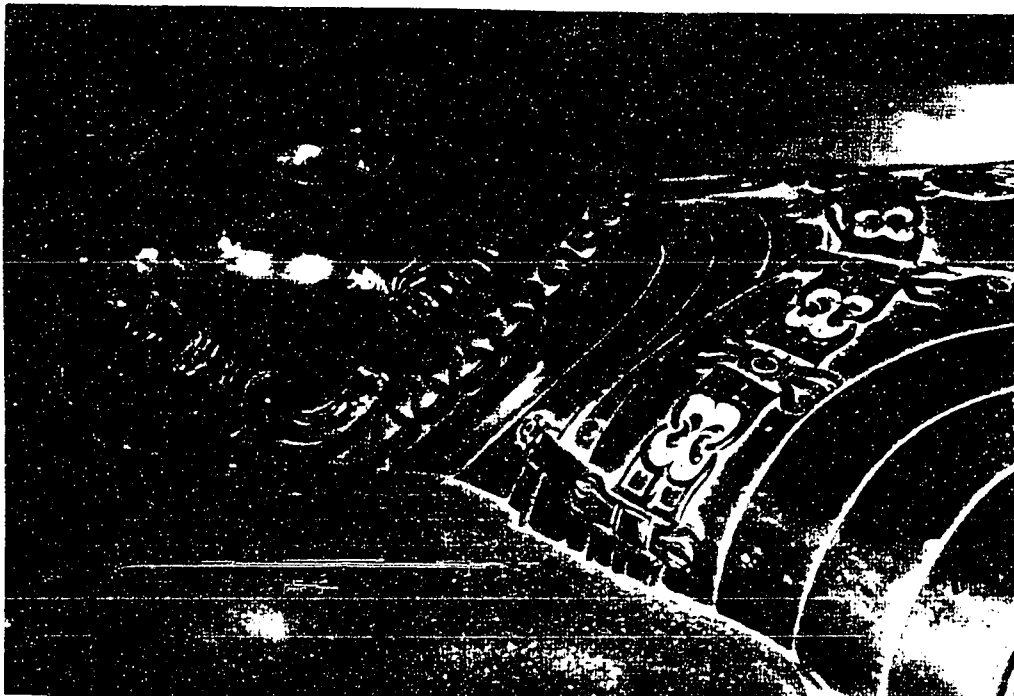
33. Archbishops Antonín Brus of Mohelnice and Martin Medek, details.



34. Ludwig Tobaró of Encesfeld.



35. Jiří (George) Popel of Lobkowitz.



36a. Vratislav of Pernštejn. Detail.



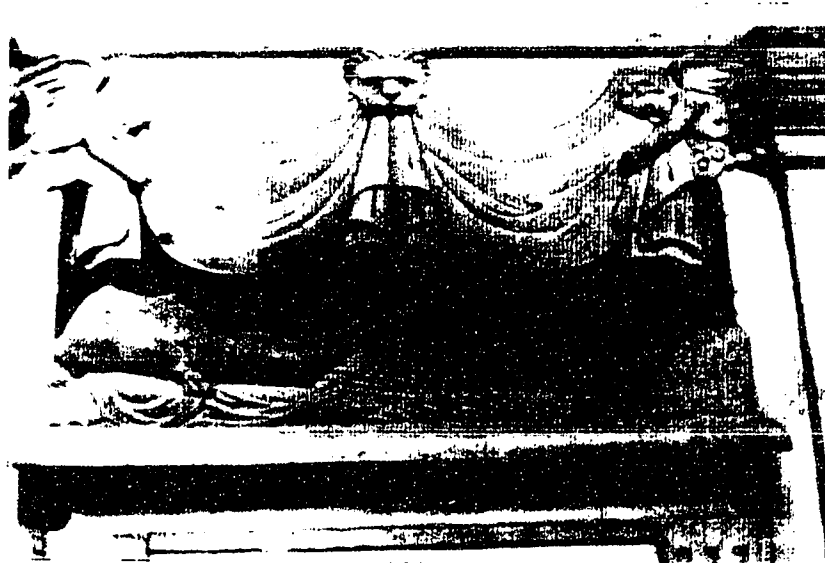
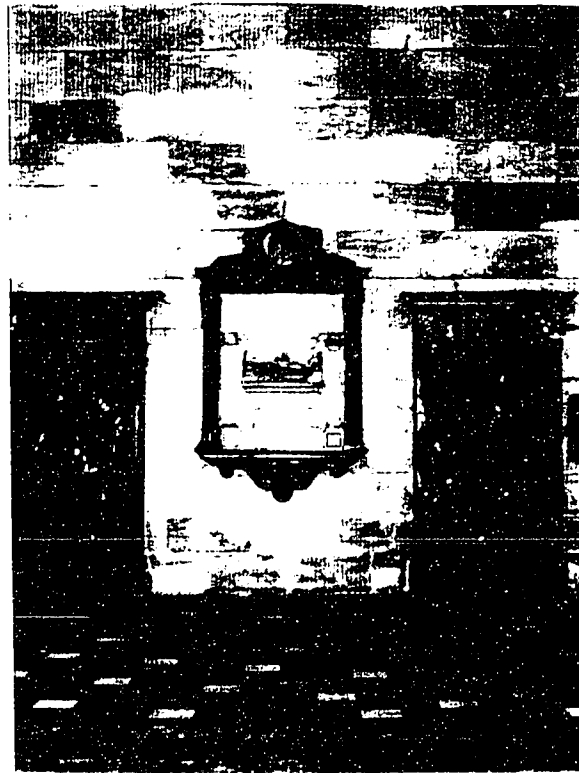
36b. Pernštejn coat of arms.



37a. Tombstone of Ludmila Thurnová-Berková.



37b. Detail of a child on the left.



38. The twins. Full view and a detail.



39. Ferdinand and Sigmund Wilhalm of Wrzesowitz.



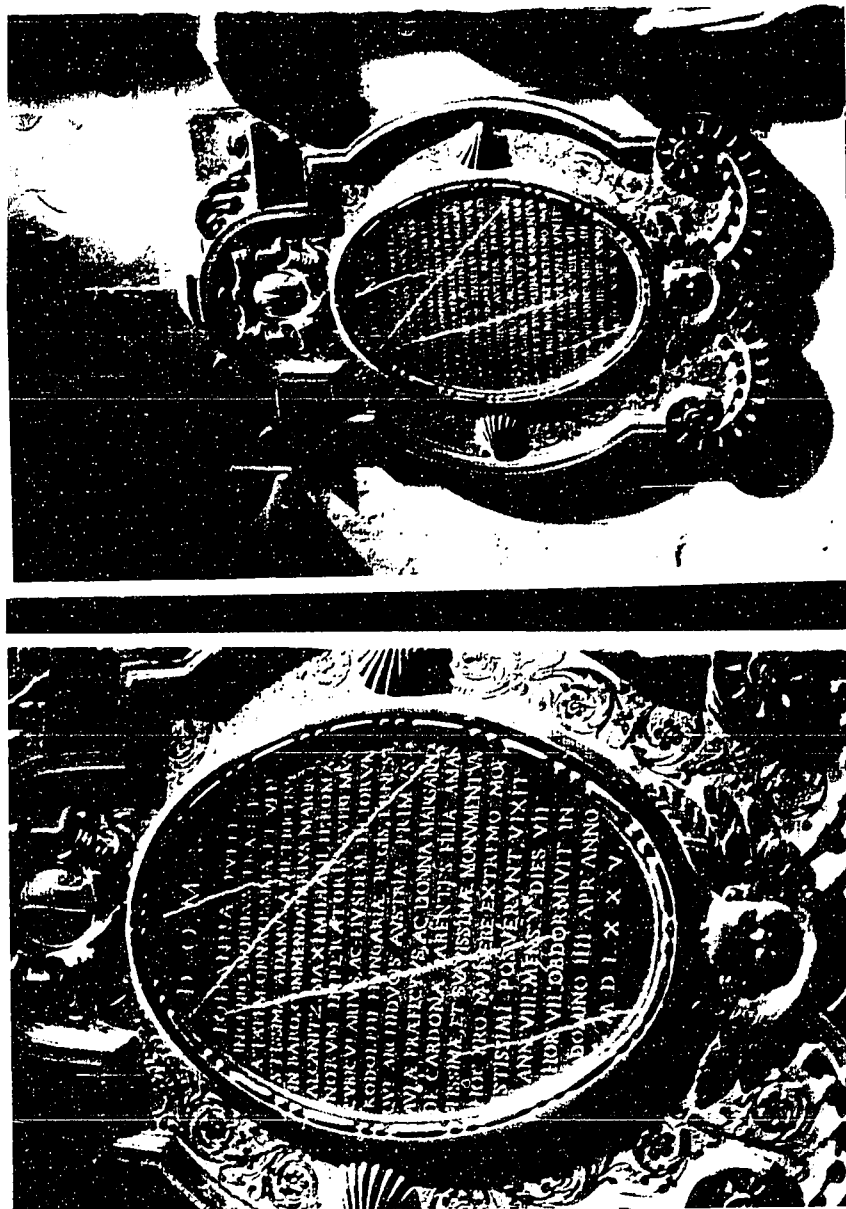
40. Kaśia Piłeczka. Piłica, Poland.



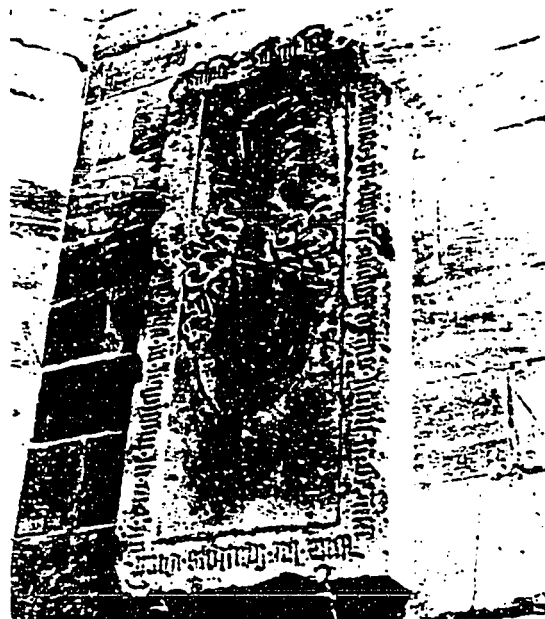
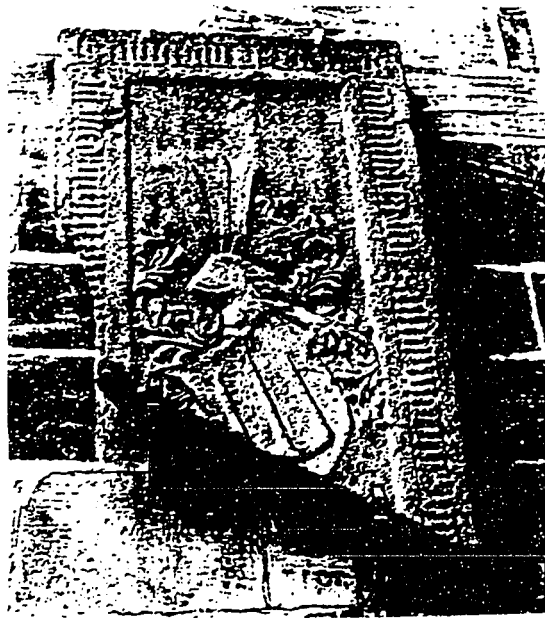
41. Royal Mausoleum in St. Vitus.



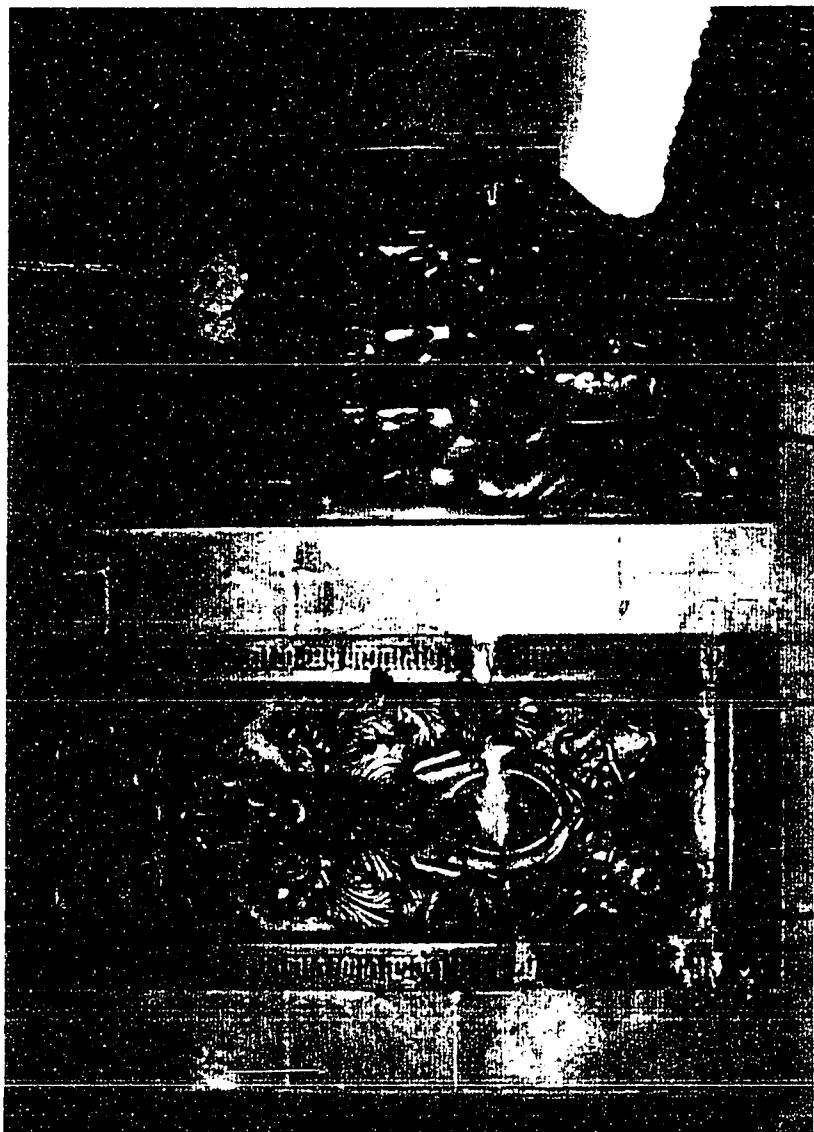
42. Tomb of Maximilian I in the Hofkirche in Innsbruck.



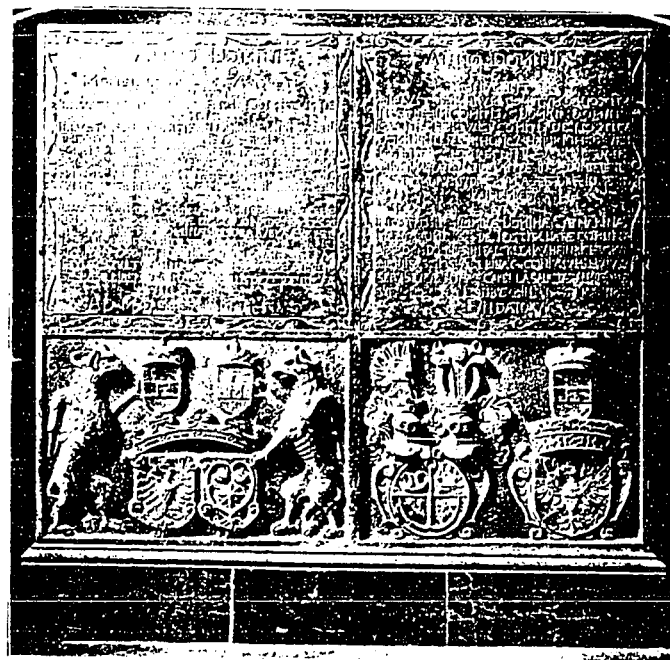
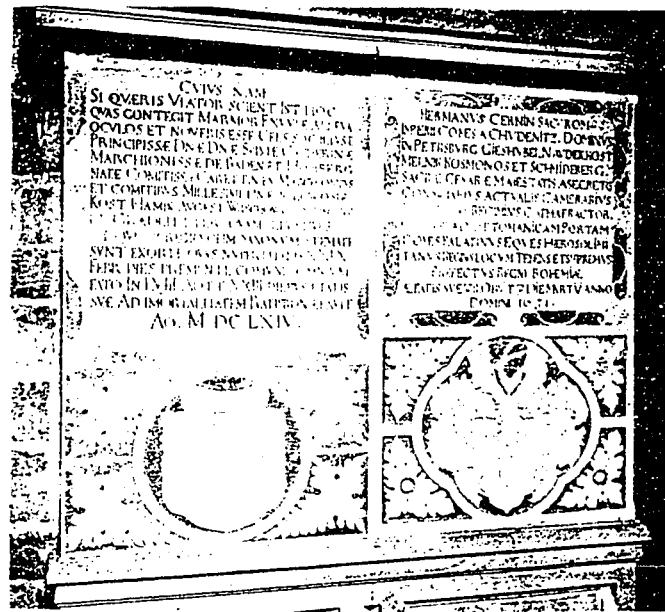
43. Epitaph of Johanna of Dietrichstein.



44. Fifteenth century heraldic tombstones.
Jiřík of Boršice (above), Jan Kubík of Budkovice (below).



45. Sixteenth century heraldic tombstones.



46. Seventeenth century heraldic tombstones and epitaphs. The Černín family (above). The Žďár and Nostitz family (below).



47. Silver monument of St. Jan Nepomuk.

APPENDIX ONE

THE PRINCES AND THE KINGS OF BOHEMIA

| | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Bořivoj I | 871 - 894, buried in St. George |
| Spytihněv I | 895 - 912, probably buried in the Virgin Mary |
| Vratislav I | 912 - 921, buried in St. George |
| St. Václav/Wenceslas | 921 - 929 (935 according to Palacký and other historians), buried in St. Vitus |
| Boleslav I, the Brutal | 929 - 967, probably buried in St. George |
| Boleslav II, the Pious | 967 - 999, buried in St. George |
| Boleslav III, the Red-haired | 999 - 1002, no mention of where buried |
| Boleslav the Gallant | 1003 - 1004, no mention of where buried |
| Jaromír | 1004 - 1012, buried in St. George |
| Oldřich | 1012 - 1034, buried in St. George |
| Břetislav I | 1034 - 1055, buried in St. Vitus |
| Spytihněv II | 1055 - 1061, buried in St. Vitus |
| Vratislav II | 1061 - 1092, buried at Vyšehrad |
| Konrád I, of Brno | 1092 (eight months), probably buried at Vyšehrad |
| Břetislav II | 1092 - 1100, buried in St. Vitus |
| Bořivoj II | 1100 - 1107, buried in St. Vitus |
| Svatopluk | 1107 - 1109, no mention of where buried |
| Vladislav I | 1109 - 1125, buried in Kladruby |
| Soběslav I | 1125 - 1140, no mention of where buried |
| Vladislav II | 1140 - 1189, no mention of where buried |
| Soběslav II, the "Peasant prince" | 1173 - 1178 (d.1180) |
| Bedřich | 1178 - 1189, buried in St. Vitus |
| Konrád Ota, of Znojmo | 1189 - 1191, buried in St. Vitus |

| | |
|--|---|
| Přemysl Ottokar I | 1192 - 1193, 1197 - 1230 Buried in St. Vitus |
| Jindřich Břetislav | 1193 - 1197, buried in Doksany |
| Vladislav III | 1197, no mention of where buried |
| Wenceslas I, (the king) | 1230 - 1252, buried in the Old Town |
| Přemysl Ottokar II | 1253 - 1278, buried in St. Vitus |
| Wenceslas II | 1278 - 1305, buried in Zbraslav |
| Wenceslas III | 1305 - 1306, buried in Zbraslav |
| Rudolf I, the Habsburg (Kaše) | 1306 - 1307, buried in St. Vitus |
| Jindřich of Corinthia | 1307 - 1310 (d. 1335, according to Palacký.) |
| Jan of Luxembourg | 1310 - 1346, buried in Luxembourg |
| Karel (Charles) IV | 1346 - 1378, buried in St. Vitus |
| Wencesla) IV | 1378 - 1419, buried in St. Vitus |
| Sigismund | 1436 - 1437, buried in Hungary |
| Albrecht II (Habsburg) | 1437 - 1439, buried in Austria |
| Ladislav the Posthumous | 1440? - 1457, buried in St. Vitus |
| George of Poděbrady | Buried in St. Vitus |
| Administrator of the kingdom | 1452 - 1458 |
| The "Hussite king" | 1458 - 1471 |
| Wladislaw II (Jagiellonid) | 1471 - 1516, buried in Hungary |
| Ludwik (Jagiellonid) | 1516 - 1526, buried in Stoličný Beograd |
| Ferdinand I (Habsburg) | 1526 - 1564, buried in St. Vitus |
| Maximilian II | 1564 - 1576, buried in St. Vitus |
| Rudolf II | 1576 - 1612, buried in St. Vitus |
| Mathias | 1612 - 1619, buried in Vienna |
| Friedrich the Palatine, the "Winter king" | 1619 - 1620 |

ALL OF THE FOLLOWING HABSBURG RULERS WERE BURIED IN AUSTRIA:

| | |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| Ferdinand II (Habsburg) | 1619 - 1637 |
| Ferdinand III | 1637 - 1657 |
| Leopold I | 1657 - 1705 |
| Josef I | 1705 - 1711 |
| Karel (Charles) VI | 1711 - 1740 |
| | |
| Maria Theresa | 1740 - 1780 |
| Josef II | 1780 - 1790 |
| Leopold II | 1790 - 1792 |
| | |
| Franz II | 1792 - 1835 |
| Ferdinand V, the Good | 1835 - 1848 |
| Franz Josef I | 1848 - 1916 |
| Karel (Charles) I | 1916 - 1918 |

(List of the rulers and information regarding their burial place is based primarily on František Palacký, Dějiny národu českého, Vol. I through Vol. VI (Praha: Kvasnička and Hampl, 1939).)

APPENDIX TWO

PRAGUE BISHOPRIC : 973 - 1343 LIST OF TWENTY SEVEN (27) PRAGUE BISHOPS

The Prague bishopric was founded in 973, during the reign of Boleslav II the Pious (967-999), the nephew of St. Wenceslas. Prince Boleslav not only influenced the founding of the bishopric but was himself a founder of the first three monasteries in Bohemia and the ruler of the largest territory ever belonging to the Czech state. Bohemian territory at those times included, in the north, part of present Poland (up to Wroclaw) and, in the east, the whole of Moravia and Slovakia and part of the Ukraine (up to Lvov). In 968 when the archbishopric of Magdeburg was established by the emperor Oto I for the eastern countries belonging to the empire, the powerful Czech ruler made sure his country became religiously independent from the bishopric of Regensburg. He had to wait for several years, however, before his wish was realized and had to pay a high price in property to St. Wolfgang, the then bishop of Regensburg. In fact Boleslav had to wait for the death of Bishop Michal of Regensburg, who was strongly against the founding of a new bishopric. And since Bohemia was still counted under the bishopric of Regensburg, it needed his permission for independence. The Prague bishopric was confirmed by the emperor Oto I (with both prince Boleslav II the Pious and bishop St. Wolfgang present) shortly before the emperor's death and was to be subordinate to the archbishopric of Mainz. The geographic territories subordinate to the Prague bishopric were to include the whole of the above mentioned Czech principality, i.e., the whole of

today's Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, southern Poland, Galicia (up to Lvov) and Slovakia.

The first bishop was of foreign origin (Saxony) and was nominated by prince Boleslav himself. He was then elected by the clergy and the people. Investiture was made by the emperor Oto I, as was the custom of the period. He was consecrated by the archbishop of Mainz, probably in Prague.

Of the bishops described below, bishops no. 6, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26 are buried in the ambulatory of St. Vitus cathedral, between the Chapel of Virgin Mary and the altar/tomb of St. Vitus. Their individual graves are marked by the sign of the staff, each bishop's name and date of death. (See illustration for grave markers.)

1. Detmar (Thietmar), 973 (d. 982)
2. St. Vojtěch (Adalbert), 983 (d. 997); buried in St. Vitus.
[Strachkvas (Christian), brother of the ruler, was nominated as the third bishop of Prague. However, he died in Mainz, Germany, during his investiture.]
3. Thiddag (Bohdal), 998 (d. 1017); no mention of where he was buried.
4. Ekkard (Helicardus), 1017 (d. 1023); no mention of where he was buried.
5. Izzo (Hizzo), 1023 (d. 1030); no mention of where buried.
6. Šebíř (Severus), 1030 (d. 1067); buried in St. Vitus, on the left of the St. Vitus altar.
7. Jaromír Přemyslovec, 1068 (d. 1090); buried in St. Vitus.
8. Kosmas, 1091 (d. 1098); buried in St. Vitus.
9. Herman, 1099 (d. 1122); no mention of where buried.

10. Menhart (from Utrecht), 1122 (d. 1134); buried in St. Vitus.
11. Jan I., 1134 (d. 1139); buried in St. Vitus.
12. Ota, 1140 (d. 1148); no mention of where buried.
13. Daniel I, 1148 (d. 1167); buried in St. Vitus.
 [Gotpolt (Hotart) was to be the next bishop but died before his consecration in 1168.]
14. Bedřich, 1168 (d. 1179); buried in St. Vitus.
15. Valentin, 1180 (d. 1182); buried in St. Vitus.
16. Jindřich Břetislav, 1182 (d. 1197); buried in a monastery church in Doksany.
17. Daniel II, 1197 (d. 1214) (first name Milik); no mention of where buried.
18. Ondřej, 1214 (d. 1224); buried in St. Vitus. His head is buried in St. Vitus, in the St. Wenceslas Chapel. His body is buried in Velehrad.
19. Pelhřim (Peregrin), 1224, was forced to retire by order of Pope Honorius III, in 1225.
20. Budilov, 1225 (d. 1226), canon, died in Rome after receiving his consecration.
21. Jan II., 1227 (d. 1236), is buried in St. Vitus (historically no reliable documents survived).
22. Bernart, 1236 (d. 1240), buried in St. Vitus.
23. Mikuláš of Újezd, 1241 (d. 1258), buried in St. Vitus.
24. Jan III of Dražice, 1258 (d. 1278); buried in St. Vitus.
25. Tobiaš of Bechyně, (d. 1296); buried in St. Vitus.
26. Řehoř Zajíc of Valdek, (d. 1301); buried in St. Vitus.

27. Jan IV of Dražice, (d. 1343); buried in St. Vitus, in the Chapel of St.

Silvester. The elaborate tombstone that was made during his lifetime was later destroyed.

The last person to be elected bishop of Prague was also its first archbishop, Arnošt of Pardubice. He became bishop after the death of Jan IV in 1343; but the following year, in 1344, when the archbishopric was founded, he was made the first archbishop.

(List of the first twenty-four bishops—Detmar through Jan III of Dražice—is from František Palacký, Dějiny národu českého, Vol. I, Od pravěkosti až do roku 1253 (Kvasnička and Hampl, 1939), 581. List of the last three bishops is from Zdeněk Wirth, František Kop and Václav Ryněš, Metropolitní chrám sv. Víta (Praha: Vyšehrad, 1945), 96-98. Most of the information regarding the bishops is from František Palacký's Dějiny národu českého, Vol. I and Vol. II.)

APPENDIX THREE

PRAGUE ARCHBISHOPRIC : 1344 - PRESENT

| | |
|--|-------------------------|
| 1. Arnošt /Ernest of Pardubice | 1344 - 1364 |
| 2. Jan Očko of Vlašim* | 1364 - 1378 (abdicated) |
| 3. Jan of Jenštejn | 1379 - 1396 (abdicated) |
| 4. Volfram (Olbram) of Škvorec* | 1396 - 1402 |
| 5. Zbyněk Zajíc of Hasenburg* | 1402 - 1411 |
| 6. Albík of Uničov | 1411 - 1412 (abdicated) |
| 7. Konrád of Vechta | 1413 - 1431 |
| 8. Jan Rokycana | 1435 - 1471 |
| PERIOD OF (OFFICIAL) SEDIS VACANCES | 1421 - 1561 |
| 9. Antonín Brus of Mohelnice* | 1561 - 1580 |
| 10. Martin Medek* | 1581 - 1590 |
| 11. Zbyněk II Berka of Dubé* | 1592 - 1606 |
| 12. Karel, count of Lamberg | 1607 - 1612 |
| 13. Jan III Lohelius | 1612 - 1622 |
| 14. Arnošt Adalbert, count of Harrach | 1623 - 1667 |
| 15. Jan Vilém, count Liebstein of Kolowrat | 1667 - 1668 |

| | |
|--|-------------------------|
| 16. Matouš Ferdinand Zoubek of Bielenberg* | 1668 - 1675 |
| 17. Jan Friedrich, count of Wallenstein* | 1675 - 1694 |
| 18. Jan Josef, count of Breuner | 1694 - 1710 |
| 19. Ferdinand, count of Khuenburg | 1710 - 1731 |
| 20. Daniel Josef Mayer of Mayer | 1731 - 1733 |
| 21. Jan Adam, count Vratislav of Mitrovice | 1733 |
| 22. Jan Mořic Gustav, count of Manderscheid | 1733 - 1763 |
| 23. Antonín Peter, count Příkladovský of Příkladovice* | 1763 - 1793 |
| 24. Vilém Florentin, prince Salm of Salm | 1793 - 1810 |
| 25. Václav Leopold Chlumčanský, knight of Přestavlky* | 1814 - 1830 |
| 26. Alois Joseph, count Krakowský of Kolowrat* | 1830 - 1833 |
| 27. Ondřej Alois, count of Ankvic* | 1833 - 1838 |
| 28. Alois Joseph, baronet of Schrenk* | 1838 - 1849 |
| 29. Bedřich Joseph, count of Schwarzenberg* | 1849 - 1885 |
| 30. František de Paula, count of Schönborn* | 1885 - 1899 |
| 31. Lev Skrbenský of Hřiště | 1899 - 1916 |
| 32. Paul de Huyn | 1916 - 1918 (abdicated) |
| 33. Dr. František Kordač* | 1919 - 1931 (abdicated) |
| 34. Dr. Karel Kašpar* | 1931 - 1941 |

| | | |
|---------------------|------------------------|-------------|
| DURING WORLD WAR II | Vicar Opatrný | 1941 - 1945 |
| 35. | Dr. Josef Beran | 1945 - 1949 |
| 36. | Dr. František Tomášek* | 1978 - 1992 |

(List of the archbishops is based on Zdeněk Míka, ed., Dějiny Prahy v datech (Praha: Panorama, 1988), 338-339. An asterisk (*) placed next to individual names stresses the fact that the person was buried in St. Vitus.)