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Bohemian phenomenon of 'barokni gotika' as a ground breaking heritage preservation movement at the turn of the 17th century

It is assumed that preservation of monuments, first of all its theory and ideology, constitutes the work of modern times [14, p. 8], [15, chapter 2]. It was not until the 19th century that the philosophy, which ordered protection of material and non-material cultural heritage, emerged as the aftermath of complex social and cultural processes. Among the events which influenced the shape of formal protection of monuments two revolutions need to be mentioned: The Great French Revolution and the industrial revolution; Napoleonic Wars, reinforcement of national awareness in European countries as well as accidental archeological findings in Herculaneum and Pompeii in the 18th century. Preservation in the contemporary understanding was not known in previous epochs. In spite of this fact, there is evidence that the human being has always tried to preserve historically significant objects in good condition, gather goods and souvenirs from the past since the settled way of life let the human being form the first manifestations of culture. It is known that already in Assyria there was a museum where sets of maces were collected [2, p. 5–8], [3, chapter 1]. The plates which were found included information about exhibits and they had the following inscriptions: 'To be seen by all people'. Also Athens under the rules of Pericles in the 5th century B.C. developed culturally and economically so intensively that the idea of preservation of Persian monuments of Acropolis which were destroyed in wars appeared; the monuments were to be protected by means of 'Reserve' which would include destroyed sacral buildings and lapidaries as the monument of war horror [8, p. 9], [9, p. 6]. When this idea was not accepted, a partial reconstruction of the destroyed elements was made and in this way the idea, which was materially represented by a temple complex of Acropolis, was prolonged. (Parthenon from the period of Pericles is

situated in the place of the previous building called Ur-Parthenon [1, p. 96, 106–108]). During the decadent period of the Empire emperors also tried to prevent monumental objects from devastations by means of edicts (e.g. issued by the following emperors: Vespasian, Hadrian, Sever Alexander and finally Constantin the Great according to whom everybody was going to be expropriated who would destroy or remove any ornaments from monumental buildings). In fact, in the distant past it was already noticed that there were individual manifestations of efforts to maintain the continuity of non-material monument idea and to reconstruct in nature the key elements which bring to mind a collection of archetypes connected with a given object.

The history of architecture abounds with examples of modernizations which were in accordance with the current style; it is enough to indicate the project from the middle of the 15th century which was elaborated by Nicholas V the Pope and Leon Batista Alberti [10, p. 115], [14, p. 9], [15, chapter 2] the aim of which was to make Rome more beautiful by pulling down the old-Christian Basilica of Saint Peter as well as the whole Vatican district (being dirty and sordid) and to replace them with the Renaissance complex of churches and palaces. However, during the centuries various manifestations of historicism and classicism in architecture appeared. They can be divided into three categories: connection of style elements following one another, continuation of building works of the object which was built in another style than the current one and referring to the historical stylistics.

Inserting elements of the new style in the already built objects or even building objects in the style of the past epoch, which had already faded, was not an uncommon phenomenon in the history of art. It usually happened in the province where – because of ideological reasons or in connection to the habit – masters and their apprentices still used the old style for a long time although at the

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Fig. 1. Tenement house at Mittelstrasse 56, Lemgo
(photo: M. Rudnicka)

Il. 1. Kamienica przy Mittelstrasse 56, Lemgo (fot. M. Rudnicka)



Fig. 2. West gable of Town Hall, Celle (photo: M. Rudnicka)

Il. 2. Zachodni szczyt Ratusza, Celle (fot. M. Rudnicka)

same time in the main centers of art a new style was thriving. A significant number of such examples can be found in the German region of Lower Saxony in the territory of the Weser basin.

The first Renaissance object, which was built there in 1524, was the bishop residence in Neuhaus. Although it is a castle and its portals are still embellished by Gothic branch ornaments called 'astwerk', it was built on the quadrilateral plan with towers in the corners, which were equipped with typical Renaissance elements: semicircular (Venetian) tops of spire lights and rustication on the corners.

The Renaissance Weser style developed and objects such as the apartment house in Lemgo at 56 Mittel Street from 1556 (Fig. 1) or the western manneristic top of the Town Hall in Celle which dates back to 1577 (Fig. 2) were built. However, still in 1565 one of the most distinguished artists of that region Cord Tönnis built a detached alcove archive (Auslucht)¹ in Rinteln (Fig. 3) which had semicircular Italian tops but the windows were built in the curtain lintel style. Nevertheless, a more astonishing object is the apartment house at 5 Krammer Street in Lemgo, which was built even later in 1676; it has the Gothic top with pinnacles and tracery. The above examples, which show endurance of the style that was already out of fashion, are of no significance or meaning for this study and therefore, they are not going to constitute the subject of further discussions [13].

The Renaissance first of all constituted a manifestation of returning a historical style to life. Creators of the Renaissance derived many elements from the ancient patterns and they objected to the 'barbarian' art of the Medieval Ages. Even the distinguished representatives of the Renaissance (Donato Bramante) and Baroque (Christopher Wren) supported, however, the usage of other historical styles from time to time. Donato Bramante advised to continue the construction of the Milan Cathedral in the Gothic style [16, p. 505f]. In fact, this Cathedral was built in this way throughout the whole 15th century [19, p. 182]. Christopher Wren completed the construction of the Christ Church in the Gothic style as he stated before: 'a new part should be in accordance with the idea of the founder' [21].

Some unique examples of 'reintegration' of monuments, which go back to the times when this concept was not defined yet, are also known. The example of such a proto-preservation activity can constitute the phenomenon of the Bohemian Gothic-like Baroque which is originally called 'barokni gotika'. Of course, it is not the first case in the history of art that different elements are introduced into a given style. The very Gothic has several modifications. It is enough to mention *estilo plateresco* (the 16th century, Spain), *estilo mudéjar* (the 16th century, Spain) or *Manuel Gothic* (the 16th century,

¹ According to W. Koch, *Style w architekturze*, Warszawa 1996: Bay window annex: one or two storey which was placed on two or both sides of entrance to a building; found in Renaissance tenement houses in Lower Saxony.

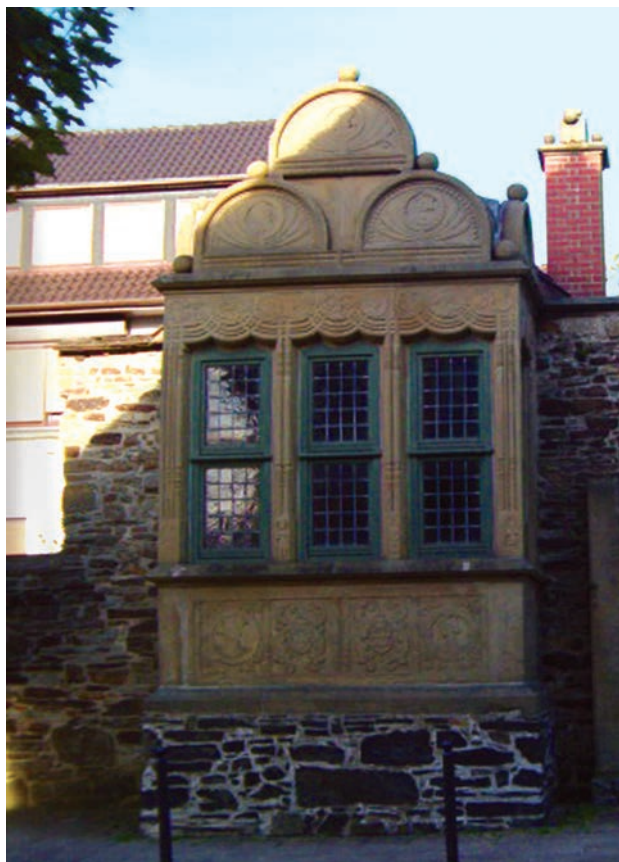


Fig. 3. Auslucht archives, Rinteln (photo: M. Rudnicka)

Il. 3. Auslucht archiwum, Rinteln (fot. M. Rudnicka)



Fig. 4. Church of St. Monica, Guadalajara (photo: O. Czerner)

Il. 4. Kościół św. Moniki, Guadalajara (fot. O. Czerner)

Portugal) – a combination of the Gothic style with Arabian elements, plant and sea motives. The very combination of the Gothic and Baroque styles is not only characteristic for the Bohemian regions. The Gothic stellar vaults can be found even in the Mexican Baroque St. Monica Church in Guadalajara (17th century) (Fig. 4) and also in the Cathedral in Cuzco in Peru (the 16th and 17th century) (Fig. 5); the European art appeared there together with the conquistadors.

It already happened in the history that the usage of the historical style in the construction resulting from propaganda motives seemed to be more appropriate politically than the usage of the current style. Thus, we can speculate that the architect Christoph Wamsem who came from Bavaria [22, p. 139] (around 1580 in Miltenberg, he died in around 1649 in Köln) and worked in Rhine Westphalia used a combination of the Gothic and Baroque styles because of this reason. At the turn of the 16th century he designed churches for Jesuit and Carmelite Orders. Jesuits as a New Order – non-resident on German lands and inseparably associated with Counter Reformation – which was brought into being only after the Council of Trent (1554–1563) did not inspire trust in the religiously divided society of the German Confederation. Therefore, Jesuits in order to get through to believers and gain their trust as well as bind people to them took advantage of the whole set of the Gothic style elements while building their churches; the Gothic style was familiar, well known



Fig. 5. Interior of the Cathedral, Cuzco (photo: R. Czerner)

Il. 5. Wnętrze katedry w Cuzco (fot. R. Czerner)



Fig. 6. Façade of the Church of the Assumption, Köln
(photo: H.P. Schaeffer)

II. 6. Fasada kościoła Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Marii Panny,
Kolonia (fot. H.P. Schaeffer)



Fig. 8. Façade of the Church of Female Carmelites: Joyful Mary
(St. Maria im Frieden), Köln (photo: H.P. Schaeffer)

II. 8. Fasada kościoła Karmelitanek Bosych Panny Marii Radosnej
(St. Maria im Frieden), Kolonia (fot. H.P. Schaeffer)



Fig. 7. Interior of the Church of the Assumption, Köln
(photo: H.P. Schaeffer)

II. 7. Wnętrze kościoła Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Marii Panny,
Kolonia (fot. H.P. Schaeffer)

and was associated with the glorious past. In this way, the Gothic Jesuit Church of the Assumption with the Gothic arch windows, tracery ornaments and ribbed vaults was built in Köln [4] (Figs 6, 7). Christoph Wamsem was also the author of the project of the Jesuit Church in Molsheim (Alsace). The church was built during the years 1615–1617 [23]; elements of two styles were combined – the Renaissance elements (inside we can find semicircular arcades, the tops at the end of transepts were built in the form of a wavy line in the Renaissance style, the tower is bell-like on the façade with a multi-level onion-shaped cupola) and the Gothic style (the nave with the vault of ogival cross-section, choir galleries, tracery ogival windows).

A similar phenomenon can be observed in the cloister church of female Carmelites: the Blessed Joyful Virgin Mary (“St. Maria im Friedel”) in Köln (Fig. 8). In this cloister church as well as in the cloister church of the male Carmelites Order ‘im Dau’ (which“ was destroyed during the war) – in spite of the fact that churches represent the examples of real Baroque with regard to their external look – stellar and ribbed vaults [20, p. 179–183], [24, p. 262–265] were used in the inner parts of churches (Figs 9, 10). Analogous solutions can be found in Jesuit churches in Belgium where the Gothic elements are combined with the Baroque ones.



Fig. 9. Interior of the Church of Female Carmelites: Joyful Mary (St. Maria im Frieden), Köln (photo: H.P. Schaeffer)

Il. 9. Wnętrze kościoła Karmelitanek Bosych Panny Marii Radosnej (St. Maria im Frieden), Kolonia (fot. H.P. Schaeffer)

References to Gothic can also be found in France, for example, in the Paris Church of St. Gerwazy and St. Protazy. In the Baroque façade which was added to a much older body, Salomon de Brosse, a tracery window was placed centrally.

Referring to historical styles, which appeared in art earlier than in the 19th century, constitutes a broader phenomenon in the European art and is not a specific feature of Bohemian regions. The uniqueness of 'barokni gotika'



Fig. 10. Interior of the Church of Female Carmelites: Joyful Mary (St. Maria im Frieden), Köln (photo: H.P. Schaeffer)

Il. 10. Wnętrze kościoła Karmelitanek Bosych Panny Marii Radosnej (St. Maria im Frieden), Kolonia (fot. H.P. Schaeffer)

and the need of its analysis are based first of all on the accompanying philosophy which influenced the appearance of this style and later its sudden disappearance.

This phenomenon appeared out of expediency resulting from suppressing the Bohemian people's awareness by the monarchy of the Habsburgs. The enormity of material destructions caused by the Thirty Years' War and trauma caused by a progressing dependence of the Bohemian nation on the Austrian emperor aroused the need of coming back to the glorious (idealized) past of the Bohemian nation. In spite of the fact that the phenomenon of 'barokni gotika' in Bohemia remains a marginal episode in the history of architecture, the reasons of its shaping (similar to the factors which had an influence on the shaping of the contemporary preservation of monuments) predestinate it to be considered in the category of preservation activities and not to be regarded as a whim of one artist. In order to prove the above thesis, we must indicate the above mentioned factors and to analyze a historical background which lead to the formation of 'barokni gotika'. Religious wars and the drive towards independence of the Bohemian nation which was more and more politically dominated and whose territory was absorbed into the sphere of Austrian Habsburgs supremacy constitute the basis for understanding the whole phenomenon.

Historical background of style phenomenon shaping

The 16th century was a period of religious unrest. The religious and political crisis in Europe increased. *Reformation, apart from economic and social changes, geographic discoveries and a cultural breakthrough, belongs to the most significant events of the 16th century; the events created a new époque and showed new directions of a development. Similarly, as many other phenomena of this type in the whole history, reformation found numerous interpreters who were diametrically opposed to each other in their opinions* [127, p. 171]. At that time, a membership in a given religious group was not only a question of the outlook but also, to a considerable

degree, constituted a political tool. First of all, a common religion was the way to subordinate central European monarchies by an emperor anointed by the Pope (the only exception constitutes the period connected with *sacco di Roma* in 1527). Since the social and political system existing at that time was legitimated by the Vatican, the attack on this system turned also against the Church. Under contemporary conditions in which education and the whole ideology were full of religious contents, mainly clergymen struggled ideologically in a written form, which usually led to a theological argument or heresy [27, p. 173]. Due to such a mutual support, the emperor and

the Pope cooperated in extending a common sphere of returns and profits. This dependence of interests between the authority and faith began to appear also on lower levels of the feudal and church hierarchy. Church dignitary officials treated possessions and goods subordinate to them as *latifundia* and they fought against each other for the spheres of returns. The commandment of poverty was totally forgotten and it was replaced by private fortunes owned by prominent clergymen. Accumulation of such wealth was possible thanks to the contacts with rich feudal vassals as well as thanks to new church customs. In spite of the fact that a deepening crisis of the outlook led to the moral decline among magnates both secular and clergymen, the fear of God's punishment still remained. People tried, if possible, to 'compensate' the loosening of moral standards by means of doing good deeds. Absolution and getting cleared of guilt were possible after having paid the Church appropriate contributions for noble causes which were called 'indulgences'. Tributes of this type were paid by both upper and middle class people. The popularity of such a form of penance led to the increase of its value. All in all, it turned out that only the richest were able to afford it. The increase of church wealth also led to the deterioration of life conditions among peasants. Cloisters made enormous profits from taxes which were imposed on people who cultivated crops on the terrains belonging to cloister *latifundia*. *And thus, in Germany those profits reached the sum of 450 thousand ducats a year while in France 300 thousand livres* [27, p. 173].

Dissatisfaction with such a state of affairs was increasing among circular circles as well as among clergymen. The result of this frustrating legal *status quo* was the appearance and speech of the monk-thinker Martin Luther in Wittenberg in 1517, which started the Reformation. Apart from the doctrines of philosophical and theological nature, which partly freed believers from mediation of priests in the dialog with God, Luther also demanded a liquidation of cloisters and depriving the Church of all possessed properties. These ideas quickly gained popularity and publicity all over Germany because all political and social groups pinned all their hopes on improving their existence by putting those ideas into practice. Secession from the Church meant for princes the strengthening of their positions against the emperor of Austria; for the knighthood – a hope for taking over church wealth; for the middle class and peasants – lowering their financial obligations.

The situation in the Bohemia Kingdom still developed in a much more complicated way. All social and political antagonisms of the *époque* concentrated in this area. Firstly, the Bohemian society was already religiously divided into Catholics and Protestants (heresy of Jan Hus) before the Reformation. Secondly, the society was also torn apart between two political fractions: supporters of close relations with the emperor and supporters of becoming self-dependent, but political opinions were not always in accordance with the religion. In this complicated situation the Counter Reformation movement started, which resulted in the second dependence on the Empire and the introduction of foreign political influences in the form of aggressive missionary and educational activities of newly established cloisters such as the Jesuits [6, p. 162–172].

The above factors of political nature led to the outbreak of religious wars in the countries of the German Reich and later these wars gave rise to the Thirty Years' War which spread in most of the countries of Europe. At the beginning of the 16th century among the European countries and societies two opposite camps were formed whose fight seemed to be unavoidable. Antagonisms which existed between them were of a rather complicated nature because they concerned religious, political and social issues. Against this powerful and united Catholic and Habsburg block which comprised Austrian Habsburgs, Spain, Catholic Reich Princes League established in 1609 (under the leadership of the Prince of Bavaria) and Poland, another block was formed – although with weak relations and having different interests but united in hostility against the Habsburgs. This block consisted of the Netherlands, England, Protestant Union of German Princes (which was also established in 1609), Sweden and France [5, p. 156]. In such circumstances, Defenestration of Prague II in the Royal Castle in Hradčany in Prague took place on 23 May 1618. The Catholic Camp – represented by royal plenipotentiaries and supported by the Emperor – tried to press a liquidation of two Evangelic churches in Hroby and Broumov [5, p. 156]. Bohemian protestant members of parliament flew into a rage because of the Emperor Maciej policy and in a protest they threw out of the window two plenipotentiaries (Martinitz and Slavat) as well as their secretary (Fabricius). This event was a direct reason of the Thirty Years' War [27, p. 354–358].

The essence and sources of historicism in art

Bohemia suffered irreparable losses during this war. Fights between the Catholic League and Bohemian Protestants as well as peasants' insurrections caused enormous material losses in the complex of historic objects, most often among churches in the territory of the Czech Crown. The insurrection was already put down after two years in the Biała Góra (White Mountain) battle, which caused subordination of the whole country to the Emperor and the Catholic religion. The result of

the war was pacification of Bohemia and then the distribution of lands taken from Protestants to German settlers. This fact led to the Germanization of the country and brought a final decisive blow. The most important moment of the war – for the present study – happened in the year 1632 when the Swedish armed forces invaded Prague and seized the Bohemian lands. Bohemia, which was subordinate to the Habsburgs, did not become the ally of the Evangelic Union but its opponent. This situ-

ation resulted in plundering and destruction of many Catholic churches and cloisters by the Protestant army of invaders. Many valuable works of art were destroyed, stolen or taken away and architectural objects were brought to ruins. 'The Swedish took away many works of art as well as books and manuscripts from Bohemia at that time; these documents are still in Sweden and among of them there is one of the most precious manuscripts of the Mediaeval Ages – the famous *Codex argenteus* [5, p. 164]. However, even the ending of warfare did not mean that the Bohemians were supposed to come back to normal life. This normalization was stopped along with the outbreak of a new ground swell of social dissatisfaction. *The 16th and 17th centuries abound with violent demonstrations of the Bohemian peasantry* [6, p. 162–172 and p. 183–190], [27, p. 360–381]. From 1656 to 1693 – when the country was not in such serious unrest any longer – enormous insurrections were launched and violent riots broke out which ended in issuing further imperial patents concerning corvée – the last one from 1738. For almost one hundred years (1546 – the outbreak of the first Schmalkaldic War) of continuous fights the culture and art of Bohemia suffered heavy losses [5, p. 156–172], [6, p. 162–172 and p. 183–190], [27, p. 360–381].

In spite of the fact that the position of Austria in the territory of Germany became weakened as a result of the Thirty Years' War, it was strengthened in Hungary and Bohemia. *After the Thirty Years War the Counter Reformation was in its prime. [...] Cleaning of the country' imposed on people only the Catholic religion all over Bohemia and other religions were forbidden* [5, p. 175]. Nevertheless, it was very difficult to observe this ban during the period of war because the political situation was not stable yet. It was not until 1650 that a regulation, which concerned the exile from the country of all people who were not going to convert to the Catholic religion, was issued. A part of the Protestant nobility did not subordinate to this new order and left the country. Their places were taken by native and foreign Catholic nobility: German, Italian, French and Walloons.

In the postwar absolutist and centralized politics of the Habsburgs, fighting with other religions constituted a very significant aspect. The power of the Counter Reformation Movement was built upon foreigners who were brought to Bohemia. *During this period, patrons of the arts were, on the one hand, church institutions – mainly the Order of Jesuits who got richer in a very quick time – and, on the other hand, magnates* [5, 182]. New Baroque trends were brought to Bohemia by foreign people who demanded architecture which would be similar to the one that was used in the countries they and the builders came from. The Baroque architecture was characterized by monumentality and the richness of interior and exterior decorations. Such richness was used on purpose in order to emphasize the power of church institutions and magnates to whom these buildings belonged. The splendor of the Baroque architecture was supposed to liven up people's superficial religious-

ness. Pompous liturgies, which attracted crowds of people to churches by means of their theatrical and splendid ceremonies, constituted – apart from being a direct obligation – the basic method of conversion of believers of different faiths and, moreover, the way of confirmation in faith. The projects of the Italian architect Carlo Lurago (for example, Collegium Clementinum) constitute examples of a unique beauty.

Reconstruction of Catholic cloisters was undertaken, to some extent, in opposition to this building movement. The fratricidal Thirty Years' War as well as the repressions imposed on the Bohemian nation after the War ended were invariably associated with the ideas of the Counter Reformation and with the Habsburgs who were responsible for its military introduction to the Bohemian territories. Affiliation to the Catholic Church was not equivalent with the choice of the emperor's authority. The cloisters, which could be proud that they had a residency from before the 16th century in Bohemia, tried to underline their origin and differentiate from associated with foreigners the Counter Reformation churches. The splendor of Baroque churches, which was appreciated by some people, was at the same time associated with the reasons of the Counter Reformation by others, i.e. depravity of clergymen and the contrast between the extreme poverty of the society and the wealth of the Church. Thus, it happened that while reconstructing and building extensions of cloisters and churches destroyed during the war the church dignitaries took care of those buildings, which belonged to them, in order to return them to their former glory. They demanded the continuity of styles with the remaining elements of the buildings which were reconstructed by architects. Instead of succumbing to the influence of the Baroque style, architects came back to the original shape of the object; it was usually Gothic which had good associations in the minds of believers. In such cases, a specific reintegration of objects was made in a combined style of Baroque and Gothic. Building works in such objects were not only connected with reconstructing and following the original Gothic pattern and, therefore, from this point of view, it may not seem justified to look for 'proto-preservation' undertakings in them. But we should still have in mind the fact that at that time the theory of monuments preservation was not known and even if it had been known, there is no certainty that its rules would have been the same as the modern ones. Thus, the very usage of Gothic as the leading style of reconstruction as well as the ideology – trials to reconstruct the Gothic character of the object – constitute a sufficient reason to qualify these reconstructions as peculiarly understood preservation. The form in which they were designed represents a unique combination of the Baroque dynamism with stylish details and also with constructional systems originating in the Gothic style. In this way – along with re-Catholicization of the Bohemian lands – the Bohemian 'barokni gotika' appeared.

A certain characteristic feature of the Bohemian architecture – liveliness of the Gothic style – should be mentioned here. *In comparison to Italy – cradle of the*

Renaissance – the Bohemian culture was incomparably deeper steeped in the tradition of Gothic which was still used there in the 16th century. [...] The Renaissance as a new style brought from abroad was not able to supplant the Gothic which was regarded as a national style at that time. The late Gothic was superseded by the Renaissance only in major artistic centers but both styles were still combined and in this way a peculiar symbiosis was made the example of which can be seen in the Cathedral of St. Vit in the form of the Musical Choir; it has the late Gothic structure, whereas decorations are made in the Renaissance style. In the native environment in some domains of art – especially in handicraft – the late Gothic existed in the awareness and national works of art as a major trend and it even reached modern times; the Gothic was only entirely supplanted by the Baroque [18, p. 147]. Almost no monumental sacral buildings were built during the Renaissance in Bohemia and it was not until the Baroque that this gap was filled in excess. The Renaissance architecture, which was based on a new and anthropocentric esthetics, was supposed to meet practical needs of the whole new society. While in the Gothic époque sacral architecture was dominant, in the Renaissance period it was supplanted by sacral architecture. The explanation of this situation can also be connected with the fact that in the Gothic period a lot of large sacral buildings were built in the territory of today's Czechoslovakia (sic!) and even though they were built in the Renaissance period they were still built in the Gothic style which was considered to be a Christian style. Thus, the presbytery of the St.

Cross Church in Prošćiejowice still had a Gothic vault which was built during the years 1586 – 1588 and it was built by the local builder Petr Vlacha; whereas, the Town Hall with a magnificent portal from 1538 was built in a 'Pernštejn' building trend in the Renaissance style [18, p. 148]. Gothic not only outlived Baroque but it also was a dominant style in the province at the time when first Baroque churches were built. In the immediate neighborhood of the Olomouc Cathedral, Saint Anna Chapel with a Gothic buttress and polygonal closure was built in 1614. However, the interior of the chapel and its southern façade have a Renaissance and Baroque character. The Renaissance idea, which put a stronger emphasis on the secular side of life, gave its greater attention to the residential culture and personal comfort also in architecture. The Renaissance became a style which was willingly used by Protestants (e.g. community of Bohemian Brothers in Mlada Boleslav). Hence, the Gothic was explicitly associated with Catholic architecture, the events which took place before the Counter Reformation, ancient times and the glorious times of Carol IV. Whereas the Baroque – because of its nature – was supposed to achieve theatrical effects. No other style ever used set design, illusions and delusions. Therefore, in the case of this style it was a very successful idea to make it older and to give more dignity to it by means of enriching it with features of ancient styles. 'Gothicizing Baroque' is based on a completely different principle than the 'Baroquizing Gothic'; it constitutes a homogeneous combination of both styles which form an organic entirety.

The most significant works of art of 'barokni gotika' as examples of attempts to maintain a continuity of the ideas represented by a monument

In this way, plenty of reconstructions in the style of the above mentioned historicism – Gothicizing Baroque – were built in Bohemia in the first thirty years of the 18th century. Jan Błażej Santini Aichel (1667–1723), who was also called Giovanni Santini, was the creator and the most important representative of this style. Jan Aichel was born as the son of Italian stone-masons (Auchel) who settled in Prague. His father and grandfather took part in the construction works of Saint Vit's Cathedral and therefore, Santini had a perfect knowledge of the Gothic architecture and constructional systems. As he was physically disabled, he was not able to continue his father's and grandfather's profession. Innate talents of the artist let him study architecture. He was a distinguished individuality among the creators of the Bohemian Baroque because he took advantage of the late Gothic building forms. The basis of his style was the Baroque (with reference to the stylish change worked out by Borromini and Guarani) which was ornamented with the late Gothic style elements interpreted by the author. In his designs he often used lightweight and elegant stellar vaults. This Baroque historicism did not concern the essence of the old style which was used only ornamentally by Santini. In spite of this, he made such original achievements that he

can be regarded as a creator of the unique Baroque stylish change which did not appear in any other country. This manner, which was continued by his apprentices for a short time (Matěj Ondrej Kondel in Plasy and František Witinhofer in Ždar) disappeared already in the 18th century along with the decline of ideological demands for objects in this style.

Santini studied painting until the year 1696 and then he started his scientific travel all over Europe. When he returned from abroad he started his professional career in the domain of architecture. He worked very little in Prague because he did not belong to the guild of the Prague stone-masons. In the capital city Santini created designs only for those investors who were not subordinate to the orders of the guild, e.g. aristocracy and clergymen. Thanks to those established relationships he also worked for this group of clients outside of Prague.

Thus, in this way, in 1700 Santini got a contract concerning the reconstruction of the Cistercian cloister in the small town of Zbraslav near Prague. The abbots: Wolfgang Lochner from Zbraslav and first of all Jindřich Snopek from Sedlec were among the first investors of Santini.

Thanks to this cooperation, a work of art was built which, quoted after Zdeněk Wirthem [26, p. 122–155,



Fig. 11. Interior of the Cathedral of the Assumption and St. John the Baptist in Sedlec (photo: O. Czerner)

Il. 11. Wnętrze katedry Wniebowzięcia Dziewicy Marii i Świętego Jana Chrzciciela w Sedlcu (fot. O. Czerner)

202–219], should be mentioned in the first place in the study concerning the Gothic Baroque in Bohemia: the Cathedral of the Assumption and the Cathedral of Saint John the Baptist near the former Cistercians cloister in Sedlec which is situated near Kutna Hora. The cloister in Sedlec was the first seat of this cloister in Bohemia (its members arrived in Bohemia as early as in 1142). During the period of the greatest prosperity, the decision to build a cathedral near the cloister was made. It was the first cathedral in Bohemia (its construction lasted from 1280 to 1320) and at the same time it was the greatest Bohemian church until the Cathedral of Saint Vit in Prague was built.

The builders of this cathedral were undoubtedly inspired by the northern-French Gothic style. The cathedral was built in the form of a five-nave basilica with three-nave transepts on the project of the Latin cross with a high presbytery, yard and several chapels around. In connection with strict requirements of the Cistercian architecture, the body was deprived of towers, stained-glass windows and ornaments. In 1421 the object was plundered and burnt by the Hussites and it was left in ruin – without a roof truss, vaults and finally without the western façade – for 250 years. Only the abbot Jindřich Snopek decided to carry out a complete renovation in 1693. Originally, Pavel Ignac Bayer was employed to carry out this renovation and after him in 1703 Santini took over the construction works and carried out the

renovation – starting from the reconstruction of vaults until the total completion in 1708.

The activities of this architect can certainly be called 'proto-preservation' works. In order to reconstruct the original character of the object Santini used a whole range of Gothic elements which had already been forgotten. There are network vaults, blind triforium around the presbytery and finally tracery and astwerk (late Gothic) ornaments. It must be admitted that the selection of vault types as well as the way of ornaments' usage (a very modern stylization) leave a lot to be desired from the viewpoint of the 21st-century conservator. Santini often took advantage of the late Gothic vaults to reconstruct the early Gothic object and he enriched its exterior with Baroque elements. Probably, style nuances had no meaning for the contemporary people; thus, such a selection of means of expressions which were used by the architect did not result from his lack of knowledge but from his conscious choice.

Thanks to the fact that the accent was placed on the network vaults and regularity of walls by means of 'dosserets' (French) (Fig. 11) Santini managed to break the image of dehumanization of the object scale caused by proportions of height and depth. The Counter Reformation philosophy, which was programmed in order to attract believers, was quite different from the mediaeval philosophy which, in turn, aimed at causing the feeling of humbleness and paltriness in the audience.

Santini's attitude to the cover of aisles and the entrance zone was less rigorous (he used there elliptic mirror vaults – probably seen in Guarino Guarini works) (Fig. 12). Santini used a large Gothic window in the front façade and



Fig. 12. Cathedral of the Assumption and St. John the Baptist in Sedlec (photo: Illek a Paul, [24])

Il. 12. Katedra Wniebowzięcia Dziewicy Marii i Świętego Jana Chrzciciela w Sedlcu (fot. Illek a Paul [24])

built an inconspicuous entrance in front of it; it was ornamented with sculptures which were included in the pinnacle top of the porch cover – a combination of the Gothic elements with the Baroque stylistics. The whole work is complemented by a modern stylization of branch ornaments and balustrades of small galleries above the western and northern porches and also the organ's prospect above the southern porch. The Gothic elements of the interior are connected with the Baroque details of the interior and elevation and in this way they form a uniform whole. The works of the objects were finished and it was consecrated again in 1708.

It cannot be denied that the construction works, which were carried out in this way in order to reintegrate the whole object, made the building look like an ancient one and let a certain group of features materialize again; these features, which unambiguously brought archetypes of freedom and independence to mind, were associated with the period of the Gothic dominance in the Bohemian art. In this way, the object was again used for social purposes and secondly, it regained the ability to influence the recipients ideologically. Thus, we can say that the object underwent a successful process of renovation.

The knowledge of stylistics and architecture of the Gothic cathedrals, which Santini acquired in Sedlec, constituted for him a source of permanent inspiration. Thanks

to this fascination, the combination of the Gothic and Baroque became the main element of his creative activity.

The abbots from Zbraslav and Sedlec appreciated the artistry of the architect and recommended him to the abbots of other cloisters of the same observance: Eugen Tyttel from Plasow and Vaclav Vejmluv from Ždar upon Sazavou where Santini carried out the reconstruction of the cloister church of the Assumption as well as the building works of the pilgrimage church. This church is going to be discussed later.

Santini received a prestigious contract – most probably thanks to the abbot Vejmluv – for reconstructing the premonstratensian parsonage in Zabrdovice, the pilgrimage church in Krtiny near Brno as well as reconstructing and extending the Benedictine parsonage in Rajhrad. Finally, Maurus Fintzguth the abbot of the Benedictine cloister in Kladruby near Stribro – who was influenced by the spreading reconstruction trend – also invited tenders to do the project of reconstructing the cloister church of the Assumption and the saints Benedict and Wolfgang.

Originally, it was the late Romanesque basilica from the beginnings of the 13th century (consecrated in 1233). The Hussites burnt the object in 1421. Since then, it was left in ruin without a roof truss and vaults. In the époque of the Renaissance in 1504, the church was covered again and consecrated. However, damp walls were excessively burdened with the roof truss and they could collapse; therefore, a decision concerning the next reconstruction was made. After the Thirty Years' War, in accordance with the political line of the Counter Reformation, a young abbot Maur Fintzguth managed the cloister. Since the very first day of his management, the young abbot ruled with an iron hand; as a result of such policy, the cloister did not have any financial problems even during this difficult postwar period and, moreover, it was possible to start a reconstruction and building works concerning a new part of the convent. The abbot invited two architects who took part in the competitions: Krzysztof Dientzenhofer and Jan Błazej Santini. In February 1711, a decision concerning the realization of a more expensive and more extended project by Santini was made. The building works started on June 3, 1712 when – according to the abbot's chronicler – a corner stone was put under the western façade. The church was consecrated in 1726.

In Kladruby Santini was supposed to carry out quite a different task from the one which he accomplished successfully in Sedlec. The church was in good condition. However, the abbot was not satisfied with the ascetic appearance of the exterior, which was limited by plain walls with *lésène* (French – flat and vertical projection); he was also not satisfied with the altar space formed by a small apse. He expected the object to be reconstructed in order to achieve a monumental character of the building in the style in which the Gothic church in Sedlec was built. The usage of the Gothic and Baroque forms did not result from 'purism' but from the desire to maintain the character, ancient elements and dignity of the building. The Gothic forms were simply accepted as appropriate for cloister churches and because such churches were built during the Baroque period, nobody saw anything wrong in 'smug-



Fig. 13. Façade of the cloister church of the Assumption and Saint Benedictine and Wolfgang in Kladruby (photo: O. Czerner)

Il. 13. Fasada kościoła klasztornego Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny i Świętych Benedykta i Wolfganga w Kladrubach (fot. O. Czerner)



Fig. 14. Façade of the cloister church of the Assumption and Saint Benedictine and Wolfgang in Kladruby (photo: O. Czerner)

Il. 14. Fasada kościoła klasztornego Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny i Świętych Benedykta i Wolfganga w Kladrubach (fot. O. Czerner)



Fig. 15. Interior of the cloister church of the Assumption and Saint Benedictine and Wolfgang in Kladruby (photo: O. Czerner)

Il. 15. Wnętrze kościoła klasztornego Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny i Świętych Benedykta i Wolfganga w Kladrubach (fot. O. Czerner)

gling' such elements to this style, even if the reconstruction was carried out in a Romanesque trend.

The Romanesque church in Kladruby had three naves with a transept, three apses which constituted the end of the naves, whereas on the sides of the body there were prismatic towers which, in turn, constituted the arms of the transept. The chapel, which is situated next to the choir, was built during the Gothic reconstruction – it has been Gothicized in a modern style recently – as well as a small sacristy from the end of the 17th century. In spite of the fact that the western façade was completely changed and despite the fact that 'three-club' choir was added Santini created an impression of a Gothic elevation, especially by means of introducing a buttress system around the whole object, then by Gothicizing the portal and finally by enriching the windows with Gothic arches. He transformed the towers on both sides of the main nave into the arms of the transept by adding a central cupola which, in turn, emphasized the crossing (Fig. 14). The space, where naves cross, is illuminated by a lantern and windows situated in the cupola and it creates a dominant accent of the interior (Fig. 15). Visitors fix their eyes on this place and do not pay much attention to the presbytery which is situated in the far interior. The main nave was shortened in this way and the interior got more humanitarian proportions.

The reconstruction of the object was carried out in stages. During the first stage the naves were reconstructed, a transept and a Gothic-Baroque cupola at the crossing were added. The original closure of the body in the form of three apses was pulled down and replaced by a three-club one. During the next stage the building works were connected with elevations. At that time an entrance portico was built – stylistically Baroque but it was ornamented with Gothic elements, mainly with pinnacles (Fig. 13). The most favourite ornaments which were used by the architect of this construction were pinnacles. The groups of pinnacles appear on the façade as well as on the portico and also on the cupola which was added in the 18th century.

It is possible that also on somebody's recommendation Santini received a contract which comprised a reconstruction of the Premonstratensians (the Norbertines) Cloister in Želiva and which was destroyed in a fire. The Cloister in Želiva along with the church were founded in 1139 for the Order of the Benedictines. In 1149 the Benedictines were replaced by the Premonstratensians. During the years 1420–1424 the cloister complex was plundered by the Hussites. After a partial reconstruction of the church and cloister the objects still functioned till the year 1688; then, the whole complex was reconstructed in the Baroque style. In 1712 the church was burnt in a fire and the abbot of the Premonstratensians Jeronym Hlina asked Santini to reconstruct it. The object was reconstructed from 1714 to 1720.

This time, the task Santini was supposed to carry out in Želiva considerably differed from the one he performed in Sedlec and Kladruby where the remains of the



Fig. 16. San Lorenzo in Miranda (photo: O. Czerner)

Il. 16. San Lorenzo in Miranda (fot. O. Czerner)

object were of good quality and quantity. In Želiva the architect found a three-nave church with a priestly longitudinal choir which was burnt and the western tower façade which was completely destroyed in a fire. Santini's task was to build a totally new body of the church and to connect it with a renovated presbytery.

Side elevations of the church as well as the back one form a simple combination of the Gothic part (up to the height of the final cornice) – high Gothic arch windows and flat, vertical projections in the wall (*lisénè*) – and also the Baroque mansard roof. However, the façade constitutes an example of 'barokni gotika': corners of the towers are emphasized by rustication in the plaster; the lower parts are ornamented with *lisénè*-like forms which are placed under a right angle. The Gothic arch windows are situated on the axes of the towers.

The interior of the church was designed in a very complicated way. The whole Santini's project was based on the least destroyed element – the choir gallery. Santini elevated the height of the side naves up to the height of the main nave and he covered the whole with network vaults which were supported by three pairs of pillars. In order to preserve the old character of the object he designed musical choir galleries above the side naves and in this way he lowered the space of the side naves' basement up to the height of the porch. A musical choir gallery – the element which is immediately associated with the mediaeval churches – was subordinate to another significant element here – the light. Passages leading to the side naves form huge arcades which correspond to arch-like reverses in the vault above the side naves situated along the wall and

which let the light come in through high Gothic windows in the side elevations. Such an arrangement bears a resemblance to the pure Baroque architecture, on the one hand, in the range of light and shadows effect and, on the other hand, in the range of construction. In this case, Santini used the Baroque measure of illusion. The vaults of the naves constitute cradles on which – only in order to make them look apparently Gothicized – ribs made of artificial marble forming a picture of the network vault were put. In the details the whole range of the Baroque patterns was used: numerous decorative details, cornices and small consoles. The line of vaults is very interesting and consists of crossing curvilinear elements and the cross. However, above the side naves under the musical choir gallery the picture of ribs lost its ideal resemblance to the Gothic one and formed – in the central part – an ellipse which had the shape of a spherical *plafond* filled with artificial marble ornaments. Extraordinary usage of hanging vault keystones which Santini placed between pillars in order to suggest denser, Gothic arch holes similar to the Gothic ones proves how much the creator really cared about the general Gothic impression of the interior.

Since the original condition of the object constituted the Gothic and Baroque stratification, in this case using the Gothic Baroque – from the point of view of the architect – seemed to be more accurate than in Sedlec and Kladruby.

Santini was not the only creator who designed in the 'barokni gotika' style. Also he was not the only Bohemian creator of this period who carried out proto-preservation activities. Such activities were also performed by many other architects², among others Frantisek Kaňka or Oktavian Broggio.

We can see the examples of their activities in the renovation of the Benedictine church and cloister in the Gothic and Baroque style in Třebiča carried out by Kaňka, and the cloister church in Roudnice upon Elbe carried out by Broggio at the beginning of the 18th century.

The verity of the thesis concerning the activities of proto-preservation roots carried out by Santini in Kladruby, Sedlec, etc. can be proved by the uniqueness of these activities among all objects renovated and reconstructed by him. Although the Gothic and Baroque style was a characteristic feature of Santini's artistic creative activity and he designed even completely new objects in this style (Žďár), it did not become a fixed rule for him (Mariánska Týnice, Chlumec upon Cidlinou, Krtine etc.). The penitential church in Žďár cannot be classified explicitly either. Although it cannot be regarded as a reconstruction – it is a completely new object – it was built on the basis of the same philosophy.

The pilgrimage church of Saint Jan Nepomucen on Zelena Hora near Žďár was supposed to deepen the above mentioned superficial religiousness connected with the worship of a new Bohemian saint Jan Nepomucen who was canonized in 1729. The abbot of the nearby

² Viktor Kotrba [12] mentions them in his complex analysis of the Gothic Baroque.

cloister commissioned the building of a new object in 1720. The leading motive of the object is a five-arm star composition (the church is built on the projection of the star, has five entrances, there are five stars and five angels above the main altar). Although the basis of the building constitutes intermingled projections based on regular geometric figures (Guarini's pattern), the interior was covered by means of network vaults and the windows were ended with Gothic arches.

It is also really worth emphasizing that all of these 'proto-preservations', which were mentioned earlier in this study, took place at the time when in Rome – the heart of the civilized world – a lot of Gothic or even Roman buildings were pulled down or transformed with no hesitation at all!

It is enough to mention the early-Christian basilica of San Clemente which originated from the 12th century. In 1719 Carlo Stefano Fontana, the nephew of Carlo Fontana, also performed 'Baroquizing' building works – he added a new façade of the object as well as new vaults in the naves. On no account did he refer to the original style of the object in his creative artistic activity. Nowadays, the basilica constitutes a complex of buildings situated around the original body. The main nave, which is in the Romanesque style up to the height of the final cornice,

suddenly undergoes a metamorphosis and is transformed into the Baroque ceiling which is ornamented with illusion paintings.

The Church of San Lorenzo in Miranda, which is almost 2000 years old, seems to constitute an even more shocking example. Originally, it was dedicated to Divine Faustina in 141 C.E. but later it underwent the process of secularization and rebuilding in 1429 or 1430. The church was partially pulled down in 1536. The side chapels were removed which, in turn, were added again after 1430. During the years 1601–1602, Orazio Torriani was entrusted with restoring the church function of the object which he reconstructed in the Baroque style. The pillars of the classic sacral building were preserved; similarly, the dedication to Antonius and Faustina written down on the architrave was also preserved. DIVO ANTONINO ET / DIVA FAUSTINAE EX S(ENATUS) C(ONSULTO) – *To the Divine Antonius and Divine Faustina by the decree of the senate*. The façade was changed in Il Gesu image; however, the ancient pillars and architraves remained in the original style (Fig. 16). Such procedures seem to be barbarian in comparison to the well thought-out way of performing activities and the care of preserving a uniform character of churches reconstructed by Santini.

Summary

In the general opinion, historicisms are regarded as the works of art of the 19th century – which seems to be a wrong judgment. People and events from the past function in the collection of archetypes of each nation; we miss them and try to recall them by means of art. Before the 19th century, we can find many examples of recalling the past

times in artistic creative activities: 'felix temporum reparatio'. Among those manifestations of historicism some individual activities can be found, which nowadays are defined as proto-preservation activities. A detailed examination of these phenomena will allow for a more precise forming of doctrines of the contemporary theory of preservation.

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Czeski „barokni gotika” jako pionierskie zjawisko protokonserwatorskie na przełomie XVII i XVIII w.

W powszechnym mniemaniu teorię konserwacji i opieki nad zabytkami zawdzięczamy XIX wiekowi. Jednak jeszcze na długo przed narodzinami historyzmu i sformalizowanej ochrony starożytności odnaleźć można w sztuce na różnych terenach Europy przykłady odwołania do stylów minionych. Te efemeryczne zjawiska mają zazwyczaj bardzo ograniczony obszar występowania i wynikają ściśle ze społeczno-gospodarczej potrzeby przywołania w pamięci zbiorowej „złotego okresu”. Wśród tych przejawów historyzmu odnaleźć można także pojedyncze działania, które dzisiaj określilibyśmy jako działania konserwatorskie.

Takim też był bez wątpienia pojawiający się w Czechach w pierwszym trzydziestoleciu XVIII w. „barokni gotika” – barok gotycyzujący. Jest to maniera, która w odróżnieniu od zbarokizowanego gotyku stanowi homogeniczne połączenie obu stylów, tworzących organiczną całość. Bratobójcza wojna trzydziestoletnia oraz represje narzucone czeskiemu

narodowi po jej zakończeniu kojarzone były nieodmiennie z hasłami kontrreformacji i odpowiedzialnymi za jej zbrojne wprowadzenie na ziemiach czeskich Habsburgami. Niejako w opozycji do kontrreformacji prowadzona była odbudowa klasztorów katolickich należących do zakonów przedreformacyjnych. „Barokni gotika” zrodził się z potrzeby odróżnienia nowo powstających świątyń związanych z rekatolizacją od odbudowywanych po zniszczeniach wojny trzydziestoletniej kościołów zasiedziały w Czechach zakonów katolickich. Żądano od architektów utrzymania ciągłości stylowej z zachowanymi elementami zniszczonych budowli, zamiast uległości wobec obowiązującego baroku.

Twórcą i najważniejszym przedstawicielem tego stylu był Jan Błazej Santini Aichel. Maniera ta, krótko kontynuowana przez jego uczniów, wygasła już w XVIII w. wraz z zanikiem ideologicznego zapotrzebowania na obiekty w tym stylu.

Key words: „barokni gotika”, historic and cultural context, history of architecture

Słowa kluczowe: „barokni gotika”, kontekst historyczno-kulturowy, historia architektury