

Highbrow and popular:**Liturgy, devotion and design in Santini Aichel's Nepomuk church in Zďàr**

Dirk De Meyer

Department of Architecture and Urban Planning

Ghent University

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Abstract

By the late 17th and early 18th centuries the techniques of re-Catholicisation in Bohemia and Moravia turned more subtle, after the often harsh and mostly foreign, Jesuit-led Counter-Reformation. Cistercian and Benedictine monasteries, with their century-old autochthonous establishment in the region, would be at the heart of the new approach. The abbots' prestigious publications and building campaigns complemented refined methods for promoting the resurgence of Catholicism rooted in local traditions, both liturgical and architectural.

With his hybrid architectural fusions and spatial compositions, which combine Italianate Baroque with Bohemian late-Gothic references and regional traditions, the Prague architect Johann Santini Aichel could become a principal actor of their campaigns.

In 1719, he designed the pilgrimage church of Saint John of Nepomuk for the Cistercian abbey of Zďàr (now in the Czech Republic). It expressed the abbot's determination to reinstate the medieval importance of his monastery by preserving local traditions of devotional practice as well as building typology — while incorporating his fascination with exuberant baroque allegory. At the time of a growing demand for the canonisation of the Bohemian martyr, the building's expressive forms and star form shape were intended to appeal to both erudite clerics and to large sections of the local populace.

The church is the result of an intense and life-long collaboration between the abbot and his architect. A number of eighteenth-century documents indicate that the abbot's contribution extended beyond the usual drafting of an iconographic programme into the conception of the overall form of the church. Furthermore, the sermon given at the consecration of the church, with its meticulous descriptions, is an exceptional document of liturgy and emblematic Baroque thinking in Central Europe.

Based on research in libraries and archives in the Czech Republic, and supported by various written sources, including letters, the arguments for the canonisation of Nepomuk, up to remarkable memorabilia such as chronostic birthday greetings sent by the abbots, this paper will expose the multiple layers and possible keys for an understanding of this small pilgrimage church: a formal experiment that originated in local building traditions and in an abbot's learned divertissements; that was intended to fuel a thriving Nepomuk devotion, and to captivate both erudite interest and popular imagination — for which it recycled practices taken from Counter Reformation liturgy, popular devotion and pagan traditions

Introduction

It has been widely studied how the renewal of religion, after decennia of religious conflict, has been one of the driving forces behind the architecture of the seventeenth century and, in fact, accounts for its most wondrous projects. No less than in the peninsular homeland of the Baroque, the call for buildings that could attract believers and satisfy a revised liturgy of the Church was stringent in areas such as Bohemia and Moravia, where the fault lines of the European conflicts were the most painfully felt. While liturgy was refocused on eucharistic devotion and on sermons, building practice had to accommodate mass, communion, and preaching in spaces that deployed the full repertoire of architectural and decorative effects, in order to create a theatre of salvation. In what follows I will try to expose some of the driving forces behind what may be regarded as the excessive forms of the Bohemian Baroque.

After the Catholic victory of the White Mountain, near Prague, in 1620 — so little appreciated by the Czechs even though brought about by Our Lady herself — for Rome Bohemia became the focus of an ambitious campaign to restore Catholicism, and to turn the turbulent region into — with the words of Cioran — “une nation enceinte de Dieu”.¹ In circles of Prague Jesuits and the episcopate, the idea grew of the city as a New Rome, in the middle of the newly reconquered lands. A plate in the doctoral thesis of Johann Friedrich von Waldstein, the later archbishop of Prague, showed the map of Europe with all human figures in their devotion facing Prague, which was described in the text as “... the very centre of Christianity which had earlier been tinted by the blood of martyrs”.²

Architecture and recatholicization

During the decennia following that Catholic victory the most important patrons were Jesuits and generals who had been generously remunerated and often recently ennobled for their loyalty to the Catholic cause. Both groups opted for a triumphal embracing of the *stile all'italiana*, preferably of the Roman type. Italian architects were invited to Prague and plans were commissioned in Roman studios such as Carlo Fontana's. Count Czernin even sent his secretary to Rome to look for an architect. But, as his secretary stated in a letter, “(in Rome) they all consider themselves Gianlorenzo Berninis, and wish to be paid accordingly”.³

Financial considerations led Czernin and many others to decide in favor of the North-Italian immigrant architects in Prague. They also provided the architectural expression of what was a thorough Jesuit takeover of the city: the establishment of the Clementinum, the gigantic Jesuit college in the Old City. In the other part of the city, Malá Strana, the college was sited ostentatiously smack in the middle of the old market square. This arrogant presence, like Jesuit literature, was not taken well by Bohemian intellectuals. The book *Věčny pekelný zámek* (The Eternal Prison of Hell),⁴ with its sickening illustrations, gave the protestant Bohemian a preview of his destiny in hell. It was branded “the most horrible of all books” by eighteenth-century Czech men of letters.⁵ These words express more than personal disgust: in the seventeenth century Bohemians still cherished memories of the previous golden age and were hardly at peace with the

obscurantism of their epoch. But the words also illustrate the deep-rooted contrast between Czech culture and the imported Counter-Reformation.⁶

That is why the recatholicisation of Bohemia alters its appearance in the final decades of the seventeenth century. Rather than making use of the well-oiled centralist and repressive Jesuit administration, more subtle and local weapons became necessary. “Jamais par la violence on n’entre dans les coeurs”, Molière wrote.⁷

Santini’s domestication of the import Baroque

By the time that the Czech architect of Italian origins **Johann Santini Aichel** started designing his major works at Zd’ár, on the border of Bohemia and Moravia, in the actual Czech Republic, he had become the favourite architect, not only of the Bohemian Cistercians, but also of the Benedictines and Premonstratensians. These orders had impressive antecedents in the Bohemian and Moravian lands, going back as far as the tenth century, but during the Counterreformation they had been marginalized by the newly arrived Jesuits and by foreign, mostly Italian bishops.⁸ Yet, by the late seventeenth century it had become clear to part of the Catholic forces at work in Bohemia that much like recatholicisation *manu militari* had proved inadequate, a predominantly Italian rhetoric in architecture and the arts did not suffice anymore. The abbots of the century-old religious communities with a strong autochthonous base, recognized the opportunity to regain the central role they had once played. Opposing enlightened patriotism to Jesuit imperialism, the Cistercians’ and Benedictines’ early-eighteenth-century writings and buildings aimed at reconstructing their core historical presence and importance. This recreation of their identity was realised both at a popular and at a scholarly level. Prestigious historical publications and building campaigns complemented refined methods for promoting the resurgence of Catholicism rooted in local traditions, both devotional and architectural.⁹

With his mixed background — his grandfather originated from the north of Italy, but Santini was integrated as well in Czech society as in the Italian artists’ community in Prague¹⁰ — and with his hybrid architectural fusions and spatial compositions, which combine Italianate Baroque with Bohemian late-Gothic references and regional traditions, Santini could become a principal actor in this clash of forces within the Roman Catholic camp. As I argued at length elsewhere, from his very first work for the Cistercians — the restoration of the abbey church in Sedlec — he acculturized the *stile all’italiana* within the Bohemian Gothic architectural traditions, complementing the ideological goals of his abbot patrons.

Designing and building the church

At Zd’ár, the construction of the church started in 1719 and was part of an extensive building campaign by the Cistercian abbot Václav Vejmluva. His middle class entrepreneurial spirit turned the waning monastery into a well-run company, and into a

basis for his artistic and would-be aristocratic aspirations. Therefore, he combined a sense of cultivated patronship with the qualities of a manager: he oversaw a large-scale farm, that bought cattle from as far as Switzerland,¹¹ and controlled various economic activities, such as lodging houses, blast-furnaces, forestry, hunting, and breweries — beer having always been a profitable business in the Czech lands.

Santini's collaboration with Vejmluva spanned nearly his entire career. He started working for the abbot in 1709 and continued to do so until his untimely death, aged 46, in 1723. His commissions for the Zďár abbey included new monastic buildings, restoration work for the abbey church, a school for young aristocrats with luxurious stables, a grave yard for the monks, a farm in the form of a *lyra*, various parish churches, and a lodging house on a W-shaped plan — the first letter of the abbot's name in its then spelling, and a first indication of the man's fascination with cryptic meanings and of his fixation on his own name.

Two large coloured drawings, showing plan and façade, document the original project of the church, but hardly any document covers the later stages.¹² We do know that, once the groundwork was finished, the first stone was laid in 1720, even before the beatification of the patron saint, in 1721. The volume was ready by 1722. The finishing of the interior decoration, and the construction of the highly expressive outer walls of the site, all following Santini's design, were to continue to John of Nepomuk's canonisation in 1729.¹³

The reasons for the establishment of the chapel are clear. In the previous years the Nepomuk cult had successfully expanded in Bohemia, and by 1719 the process of beatification of the medieval martyr had started. Clearly, Vejmluva did not want to miss the chance to identify his abbey with John of Nepomuk, a thirteenth-century Cistercian from the monastery that had once founded the colony in Zďár. According to popular belief, Nepomuk had been thrown off the Charles Bridge into the Moldau after he had refused to speak to the reputedly godless King. When the Bohemian demand for canonisation necessitated a miracle, Nepomuk's grave was opened. Rather remarkably, not only his skeleton was found, but also his tongue... imbued with lifeblood and prosperously red. Confronted with the wondrous, illustrated reports of this finding, Rome remained somewhat sceptical, yet, finally, there was good tactical reason to canonize this most popular object of Bohemian folk devotion.

It was most probably the abbot himself to elaborate the overall shape of the building: a five-pointed star, the Nepomuk symbol par excellence, with five oval volumes embedded between its points. One of the five ovals serves as the entrance porch. In the interior, the five points create four curved triangular chapels and the altar space. A number of eighteenth-century documents indicate that Vejmluva's contribution went further than the usual drafting of an iconographic programme.¹⁴ Tenacious Nepomuk symbolism was to extend even beyond the church walls: a commemorative publication published in 1735, on the occasion of the five-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Zďár, mentions that Vejmluva wanted to see the church built "like a star in the midst of five other stars".¹⁵

The church is indeed surrounded by a double undulating wall of which the outer shell has ten sharply protruding corners, which come across as the built equivalent of spear points. Internally, this construction forms a cloister with five chapels on a pentagonal plan and five smaller square chapels, one of which serves as the entrance porch. The pentagonal chapels project the five-pointed plan of the church outward, while the square ones echo the five-lobed structure of the oval chapels and entrance porch. The presence of the protective wall follows the tradition of the *Gnadenburg*, a defensive medieval typology for religious complexes that the frequent changes of religion in the area had kept alive well into the seventeenth century. Although still astonishingly expressive, if not expressionist, the current cloister is a weakened version of the original design, which was severely damaged by fire. This is in particular the case for the hyper complex roof forms of the chapels: truncated five-sided pyramids on pentagonal bases. They were holding large five-pointed stars and were crowned with statues and large obelisks. These in turn supported sizable metal structures of three-dimensional six-pointed stars.¹⁶

An abbot's exuberant iconographies

A star as the basis for a ground plan was not entirely unusual in Bohemia: one of the earliest examples had been the star-shaped Renaissance-style hunting lodge on the White Mountain near Prague — also designed by an amateur, Archduke Ferdinand II. Yet, what makes the star-shape at Zďár out of the ordinary is the obsessive resort to the star in every part both of plan and elevation of the building, of its surrounding walls, of structure and decoration. The five-, six-, eight- and ten-pointed stars all have complementary meanings, referring to Nepomuk, Marian and Cistercian iconography.¹⁷

Apart of the stars it is the saint's tongue that is most manifest: the believer enters the church over a stepstone in the form of a tongue and, once inside, discovers it manifestly in the summit of the central vault. This presence is elucidated in the consecration sermon of the church, which was pronounced by Jakub Pacher, a priest and friend of Vejmluva's. Its meticulous descriptions make this text an exceptional document of liturgic and emblematic Baroque thinking in Central Europe. The author explains: "Through the tongue, which did not allow itself to be moved to speak, and, hidden in the mouth, did not reply to the question of the godless king, St. John triumphed", and Pacher also describes the tongue as "a sharp, two-edged sword, which was not, however, drawn from the scabbard."¹⁸

The ogival forms of Santini's gothicising windows in the gable ends above the access porches appeal to the pious imagination: the window has the same relationship to the gable end as a sword to its scabbard.¹⁹ The principal object of the cult and also the saint's spiritual weapon — the tongue as a heavenly sword — is determinedly monumentalised in the building of the chapel. This is in accordance with the importance which is ascribed to it within Bohemian devotional practice — an exceptional importance, as is evident from Pacher's rhetorical question: "If the sword of David was brought into the holy place as an eternal memorial, and was kept there as a precious treasure together with the cloak and tunic of the King, amongst the holy objects, how

many times more is the same treatment deserved by that secret sword — the most holy tongue of our glorious conqueror, St. John.”²⁰

However, the abbot’s appetite for symbolisms went even further. In the same sermon Pacher explains: “I will only point this out: Wejmlvwa contains five Vs. Five Vs and five points symbolize the five rays of a star which, when they are linked together, form a five-pointed star. So in fact his family name itself forms a star.”²¹ And a figure has been inserted in the text in order to make this even more obvious: ‘VVeimlVVVa’ written in a circle forms a five-pointed star. Hence, the overall form of the church is equally an exuberant heraldic fantasy of an abbot who had previously added Nepomuk stars to his own coat of arms.²²

Even by the standards of the early eighteenth century, in the rest of Europe this might have come across as somewhat outdated pastimes. Yet it shows us a glimpse of the world to which these abbots belonged. We need to understand this background in order to grasp more fully the meaning of such a building, and of learned Central-European Baroque culture in general — in the last days before its crumbling under Enlightenment rigor. These clerics belonged to the last generation that strived for a major erudite reform through the Christian cabbala, before this enterprise blended into occultism. Their aspiration of a symbolically even more richer and more mystical interpretation of Christianity, using aspects of the Judaic Kabbalah, had been cherished in Europe and especially in the German lands, including Bohemia, throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries by humanists, theologians and natural philosophers such as Johannes Reuchlin, Cornelius Agrippa von Nettesheim and Christian Knorr von Rosenroth. After the exacting repression by the Counter-Reformation, it had revived specifically in circles of Central-European Cistercians. The German translation of John Dee’s *Monas Hieroglyphica* of 1680, for instance, had been dedicated to Bernardus Rosa, the Cistercian abbot of nearby Grussau, in Silesia, then under the Bohemian Crown. Vejmluva’s interest in the cabbala is supported by the presence of several cabbalistic texts in the monastery library. Research into the monastic archives revealed the peculiar custom among these abbots of sending each other chronostic birthday greetings with cabbalistic symbols.²³ In what seems most like a surprising baroque variant of the poetry of Van Ostayen or Marinetti, the verses are bent into circles, a mitre, a six-pointed star and a five-leafed flower.

In the same consecration sermon that I quoted before, gematria is scarcely restrained. Gematria was the secret teaching of the cabbalists, which interprets numbers as words and words as numbers, and which establishes a relationship between words with identical numerical equivalents. We learn how “through cabbalistic calculation, the expression *Adornas Weymluwa*” equals 1722, the year of the consecration of the church and of the canonisation of St John of Nepomuk.²⁴ At various instances Pacher’s sermon is pervaded by that number: “In te (beate NEPOMVCene) speraVI, Vt non ConfVnDar” is a chronogram which yields the number 1722. Elsewhere in the text, the typography of Pacher’s exclamation “VIVe DIV wenCesLae wejMLVwa!” is stretched to obtain the blessed number once again.²⁵

Elite esotericism and popular belief

On the Green Hill near Zdár, looming semiotic indigestion is avoided by means of a tightly restrained composition. Overcharged with iconography and personal ambitions, the final architectural form, however, is a most direct, simple form that appeals not only to small circles of erudite clerics, but also to large sections of the local populace. In order to penetrate to that popular reading of the building — which is, we should not forget, a pilgrimage church — there is at least one given that should not be ignored. Even as late as the eighteenth century, in Bohemia, “that wondrous land through which you must pass but where you must not tarry, lest you be enchanted, bewitched, doomed”,²⁶ as Apollinaire would write, folk religion was still full of ghosts and magic.

Driving out demons, by, among other things, honouring household-saints, was still a common practice in Bohemia and Moravia.²⁷ That could be the case because there was a well-defined relationship between these daily practices, devotion, and the Christian cabbala. The function of the caballa was not only to provide for the highest supercelestial magic, but also to ensure, at all levels, the protection of the celebrant against demons. As Frances Yates wrote, “it (was) an insurance against demons.”²⁸

A Bohemian pilgrim came to visit the church at Zdár not merely to honour his beloved saint: he was also seeking protection from him against evil forces. As is mentioned in the sermon, Nepomuk would “be the enemy of your enemies, and the torturer of your torturers”. We can now grasp a further reason for the peculiar shape of the church. In this religious context the five-pointed star was perfectly appropriate: the pentagram, originating from druid and magical culture, and perpetuated into Christianity by Christian cabbalists, had stood since time immemorial for protection against evil, bewitching forces.²⁹ The chapel acts as a giant *Drudenfuß*, or pentacle.

Epilogue

Crucial to this building are its multiple layers and possible keys of lecture: Santini’s small pilgrimage church at Zdár is a formal experiment that originated in local building traditions and in high brow divertissements; it fused old forms of belief with new liturgic practice. It was intended to captivate both erudite interest and popular imagination. Its design referred to two worlds, two traditions: to the remnants of a medieval, fanciful tradition linked to Gothic and geometrical proportions, as well as to the persuasive, rhetorical post-Tridentine visual culture of Baroque allegory. Both worlds came together in a new ideological context. Something of this kind was able to happen because the status of language had undergone drastic transformations in the previous century. “Meaning was not enshrined but manufactured; it was made, remade, and unmade by the competing wills of independent minds who also favoured the vernacular.”³⁰ The abbots diligently loaded architecture with meanings which reflected both liturgic shifts and zestful erudition, but which above all met their strategic concerns and therefore imply the possibility of a popular reading. The visual culture of this dense network of Catholic devotion, which impregnates the Bohemian landscape with its countless chapels and places of pilgrimage, is tailored to the sophisticated desires of the monastic clerks, but also to the bigotry of the middle and lower middle classes in towns

and villages, and to the popular myths of the rural population. The ecstatic sanctuaries of Bohemia are far distant from the metaphysical Renaissance domes under which, according to Wittkower, “a Barbaro could experience a faint echo of the inaudible music of the spheres”:³¹ the heavenly harmony is shot through with dissonances and with the Stravinskian rhythms of folk music.³²

Notes to the editor:

in the notes in Czech: **red** = diacritics should be added!

z = z+ tsjarka (= inverted *accent circonflex*); — Zd'ar should or be changed throughout the text, or kept in the Western way (as I did in this text)

c = c + tsjarka

e = e + tsjarka

s = s + tsjarka

y = y + *accent grave*

¹ E.M. Cioran, *Des larmes et des saints* (1937), in *Oeuvres*, Paris, Gallimard, 1995, p. 315.

² Statní knihovna CSR v Praze, thesis sheets, no. 463. (1661)

³ Z. Kalista, *Korrespondence císaře Leopolda I s Umprechtem-Janem Cernínem z Chudenic*. Prague, 1936.

⁴ J. Manni, *Věcny pekelný a zalá*. Prague, 1701 Czech translation of: J. Manni, *La prigione eterno dell'inferno*. Venice, 1673.

⁵ "...das schrecklichste aller Bücher", J. Dobrovsky, *Geschichte der böhmischen Sprache und Literatur*. Prague, 1791-92. Recent ed.: *Dějiny české reci a literatury*. Prague, 1936; p.164.

⁶ Even for many Bohemian Catholics it was impossible to consider the period after 1620 without seeing in it the unpalatable humiliation of their own nation. To the eighteenth-century Bohemian the previous century was one of obscurantism, after the classicist, humanist sixteenth century, to which the adjective 'golden' had been granted. "Die schlacht am Weissen Berge 1620, lähmt und entkräftet die ganze böhmische Nation am Leib und Seel," wrote Dobrovsky; *ibid.*, p.160.

⁷ Molière, *Le dépit amoureux*.

⁸ For an example of a Jesuit take-over of a crucial part of Prague, see: Dirk De Meyer, *Il ponte Carlo e la controriforma a Praga*, in: Donatella Calabi e Claudia Conforti, (a cura di), *I ponti delle capitali d'Europa; dal Corno d'Oro alla Senna*. Milano, Electa, 2002; pp. 130-141.

⁹ For a more detailed analysis of the abbots' publications and strategies, see De Meyer 1997, esp. pp. 173-283.

¹⁰ Cf. on the Santini family: Dirk De Meyer, *I Santini-Aichel un caso di migrazione di architetti nella Praga barocca*, in: Stefano Della Torre, Tiziano Mannoni, Valeria Pracchi (a cura di), *Magistri d'Europa; eventi, relazioni, strutture della migrazione di artisti e costruttori dai laghi Lombardi*. Como, NodoLibri, 1997; pp. 237-248. And, more in general, on the Italian architects' community in Prague: Dirk De Meyer, 'Patria est ubicumque est bene': les architectes italiens à Prague au XVIIe et au début du XVIIIe siècle, in: *Les étrangers et la ville*. Paris, Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 1999; pp. 345-357.

¹¹ Cf. a letter of abbot Tyttl of Plasy, 1725, cit. in Michael Young, *Santini-Aichel's Design for the Convent of the Cistercian Monastery at Plasy in Western Bohemia*. East European Monographs, Boulder / Columbia University Press, New York, 1994; p. 10.

¹² Brno, Moravská Galerie, drawing collection, coll. Grimm, B14 812 and 813.

¹³ Metoděj Zemek and Antonín Bartusek, *Dějiny Zďáru nad Sázavou II/2, 1618-1784* (The history of the city Zďár nad Sázavou, vol. II/2; 1618-1784). Brno/Zďár nad Sázavou, Musejní spolek/Město NV ve Zďáre, 1970; p. 345. For a more detailed building history, see: De Meyer 1997, p. 327 ff.

¹⁴ Vejmluva's contemporary, Karl Cerný, the dean of Caslau, commented on the church in a sermon and described it as the work of the "erfinderischen Scharfsinns", the inventive acumen of Vejmluva. And in 1783, the last abbot of Zďár, in a report on his investigations in the since lost monastery archives, confirmed that Vejmluva "worked out, with his own hands, the design for a church in the form of a five-pointed star, which was later erected under the meticulous supervision of the experienced architect Santini." Cf. Otto Steinbach, *Diplomatische Sammlung historischer Merkvürdigkeiten aus dem Archive des graeflichen Cisterzienserstifts Saar in Mähren*. Prag/Wien/Leipzig, 1783; p.

302.— For Cerný's preachings, see: Bohumír Lífka, *Minulost a přítomnost knizní kulury ve Zd'áře nad Sázavou*. Brno, 1964; p. 70.

¹⁵ Alberik Rebmann, *Sara Pět set let stará* (Zd'ár five hundred years old). Litomyšl, Jan Kamenický, 1735.

¹⁶ No drawings of the wall by Santini have survived, but an engraving and two sketches that date from before the fire of 1784 show the convoluted shapes. It is unclear whether all decorative elements, especially those on the engraving, were permanent. For a detailed description, see: De Meyer 1997, 352-356.

¹⁷ For a more detailed discussion, see: De Meyer 1997: 333-344.

¹⁸ Jakub Felix Jan Pacher, *Risus Sarae sive gaudia dedicationis ecclesiarum... dedicata*. Brunæ (Brno), 1723. Reprint in: Alois Pichta (ed.), *Slavnostní rec k svěcení kostela sv. Jana Nepomuckého na Zelené hore blíz města Zd'áru dne 27.9.1722; Ze sborníku 'Risus Sarae' z r. 1723 prepsal, upravil, předmluvou a poznámkami opatřil Alois Plichta*. Zd'ár nad Sázavou, 1968; p. 24.

¹⁹ Cf. also J. Neumann, *Das ikonografische Programm der Wallfahrtskirche St. Johannes Nepomuk auf dem Grünen Berg*, in *Imagination und Imago. Zum 65. Geburtstag von Kurt Rossacher und zum zehnjährigen Bestandjubiläum des Salzburger Barockmuseums* (red. Netopil en Wagner). Salzburg, Verlag der Salzburger Barockmuseums, 1983; p. 253.

²⁰ Pacher 1723 [1968]: 32.

²¹ Pacher 1723 [1968]: 38.

²² Vejmluva seems to have been aligning himself with exquisite Roman Baroque experiments, such as the unbuilt church of Pietro da Cortona in honour of the Chigi Pope Alexander VII in the form of the Chigi *monte paschi*, or some of the artistic production of the Barberini pontificate.

²³ The original cards have since been lost, but transcriptions by abbot O. Steinbach survive in: Brno, Archív města Brno (City Archive of Brno), sbírka Mitrovského [Mitrovsky coll.], cf. Bohumír Lífka, *Minulost a přítomnost knizní kulury ve Zd'áře nad Sázavou*. Brno, 1964; pp. 68 and 140, note 109.

²⁴ Pacher 1723 [1968]: 38.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Guillaume Apollinaire, *L'Otmika* (1903), in *L'Hérésiatique et Cie* (1910). Published in: *Oeuvres complètes* (M. Décaudin, ed.). Paris, 1965; vol. I, p. 156. My translation.

²⁷ In an eighteenth-century guidebook, the British author expressed amazement over the fact that these religious practices, which are “normally typical of ignorant simpletons of the lowest order”, were here spread across all layers of society. Cf. Moore, *Lettre d'un voyageur anglais*. Fr. ed., 1781; pp. 347-350. My transl.

²⁸ Frances A. Yates, *The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age*. London, Warburg Institute, 1979. I consulted the French transl.: *La philosophie occulte à l'époque Élisabéthaine*. Paris, Dervy, 1987; p. 74.

²⁹ In plate III of his *Amphitheatrum Æternæ Sapientiae*, Heinrich Khunrath shows the five-pointed star and adds the following caption: “Behold the SIGNACULUM which vanquishes and makes the enemies flee! The wondrous PENTACULUM of the five hieroglyphs.” H. Khunrath, *Amphitheatrum Æternæ Sapientiae*. Hanau, 1609. Cf. Matila C. Ghyka, *Le nombre d'or; rites et rythmes pythagoriciens dans le développement de la civilisation occidentale*. Paris, Gallimard, 1931; vol. :II, pp. 73-74.

³⁰ Giancarlo Maiorino, *The Cornucopian Mind and the Baroque Unity of the Arts*. University Park/London, Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990; p. 157.

³¹ Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, in 'Studies of the Warburg Institute', (London) 1949, vol. 16. Revised ed.: London, Academy Ed., 1988; p. 129.

³² For the reference to Stravinsky, and much more, I am indebted to Gerard van Zeijl.