

A Bohemian Monastery: The Last Bishop of Prague (1301-1343) and the Monastery of
Augustinian Canons at Roudnice (Raudnitz) on the Elbe

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This dissertation by Alice Klima is accepted in its present form
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VITA

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INTRODUCTION

THE BOHEMIAN MONASTERY AND THE FRENCH CONNECTION

After an eleven-year exile in the papal city of Avignon, the last bishop of Prague, Jan IV of Dražice founded a new monastery in Roudnice on the Elbe.¹ The monastery introduced Augustinian canons to Bohemia and was central to the bishop's efforts to rebuild and reform the Prague diocese after his return. During the second half of the fourteenth and into the fifteenth centuries, Roudnice monastery became an influential center and the motherhouse of subsequent Augustinian houses in Bohemia and initiated a new wave of foundations of regular canons. The fortunate coexistence of the monastery's medieval spaces and the rich archival sources, including information about the monastery's main founder, the bishop of Prague, allow for an in-depth understanding of the patronage, architecture, and function of this newly founded fourteenth-century monastic establishment.

Roudnice (Rudnicz, Raudnitz) monastery has fascinated Czech scholars from the nineteenth century even though the monastery was damaged by fire and vandalism during

¹ Appendix I includes a list of important individuals and relevant name variations. The first occurrence of a name will include in parenthesis the English, Latin or German variants. Roudnice on the Elbe is a town north of Prague. In this dissertation I will also use 'Roudnice' to refer to the town Roudnice on the Elbe or the monastery in Roudnice on the Elbe. According to Pavel Vlček, Petr Sommer, Dušan Foltýn, *Encyklopedie českých klášterů [Encyclopedia of Czech Monasteries]*. Prague: Libri, 1997, p. 104, Augustinian canons in Bohemia, with the exception of Třeboň and Karlov, were priories, that is, the community superior was a prior. Třeboň and Karlov were abbeys with an abbot. I will continue to refer to Roudnice and the other houses as monasteries (apart from Třeboň and Karlov), even though they are technically priories.

the Hussite conflicts (1419-1434). Subsequent repair and rebuilding in the eighteenth century has further altered the medieval appearance, especially that of the church. The ample archival sources connected to the monastery, however, have intrigued scholars. The *František Chronicle*, in particular, relates two facts regarding the cultural context of Roudnice monastery; first, bishop Jan IV requested that only Czechs whose mother and father spoke Czech be admitted to the new monastery, and second, the same Prague bishop imported a French mason to build a bridge in the town of Roudnice.² The request for Czech speakers at the monastery has been interpreted as a sign of early Czech nationalism and a strengthening opposition to the German population in Bohemia.³ At the same time, the documented French builder at Roudnice thrilled Czech art historians, who had insisted the mason must have worked on the monastery and the bishop's residences. Such a direct French connection in early-fourteenth century Bohemia was thought to demonstrate the refined taste and artistic superiority of the patron as well as his preference for France over the German-speaking lands.

Many medieval monastic institutions throughout Europe had foundation legends that often originated at the time of foundation and were repeated in oral tradition and text throughout the medieval period. Frequently foundation legends become part of our contemporary understanding of historical sites as they are repeated to tourists and students alike. One often-cited Bohemia foundation legend accounts for the foundation of Vyšší Brod, a Cistercian house in southern Bohemia. In 1259, a Czech lord, Petr (Peter) Vok of Rožmberk (Rosenberg), fell into the flooded waters of the Vltava and was miraculously rescued. He decided to found the monastery on the location of his rescue as

² The *František Chronicle* reports the import of a French mason and Foundation document requests Czech speakers. See footnotes 36 and 47 below.

³ For example, Václav Chaloupecký, *Jan IV z Dražic [Jan IV from Dražice]*. Prague, 1908, p. 61.

a form of gratitude.⁴ Although at Roudnice the monastic foundation is not justified by miracles or heroic rescues, the story of the French mason and the Bohemian monastery was crafted and copied in its medieval form and later repeated by nineteenth-century and twentieth-century authors. Czech-speaking canons and the French mason frame Roudnice as much as the remaining architecture. This dissertation will reexamine the medieval monastery and its patronage, foundation, structure, and design in order to re-frame the cultural context and generate new views of its architecture, political and ecclesiastical context, and functions.

The Roudnice Monastery

Sources

The archival sources for the monastery and its patron include: a foundation document (1333), a plaque in the east end of the church (1340), a cartulary, a diplomacy log, the Roudnice statutes and *necrologium*, and the *František Chronicle* from the first half of the fourteenth century.⁵ These sources offer not only factual information about the foundation and building chronology but also insights into the monastery's cultural significance, such as, ways in which the monastery functioned after it was occupied by the canons and the bishop's motivations for patronage of art and architecture.

Perhaps the richest source of information on bishop Jan is the *František Chronicle*. The bishop was conscious of leaving a legacy, and during his lifetime he commissioned a chronicler, František Pražský (Francis of Prague, c. 1290-1362), to document his life and works. Two chapters, in particular, document the bishop's life and

⁴ Kateřina Charvátová, *Dějiny Cisterckého řádu v českých 1142-1420* [*The History of the Cistercian Order in Bohemia 1142-1420*]. Prague: Karolinum, 2002, p. 10.

⁵ See Appendices II-V and VIII-IX.

deeds including lists of the bishop's accomplishments, role as bishop, and his patronage.⁶ It is the *František Chronicle* that informs us about the bishop's invitation of a French mason to build a bridge in Roudnice and highlights the building of the Prague episcopal residence as well as the foundation and consecration of the Roudnice monastery and bridge.⁷ Although the bishop did not author the chronicle, we can assume that it presents his version of events for posterity. Chapter one will utilize the chronicle to reveal the bishop's motivations for patronage and gain insight on the political agenda of a fourteenth century bishop.

The foundation document from 1333 declares the initial properties given to the monastery by the bishop, the persons present at the foundation, the number of canons established at the new foundation, the election of a prior, and the recognition of anniversaries and the relationship of the house to the Prague cathedral chapter (see Appendix III). The foundation document also imposes several "burdens and limits" on the new monastery, including a unique requirement that all new canons have Czech-speaking parents.⁸ The foundation of the monastery in the context of Bohemian monasticism and the bishop's motivations for the foundation will be discussed further in chapter two.

⁶ The original is housed at the Archive of the Prague chapter (MS G5). Most recent publication and edition by Jana Záchová, *Chronicon Francisci Pragensis/ Kronika Františka Pražského, Fontes rerum Bohemicarum. Series nova, tomus I*, Prague: Nadace Patriae, Historický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 1998. Previous publication in Latin in *Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum IV* ed. Josef Emler, Prague: 1884, pp. 347-456. The Czech translation of the chronicle is found in Marie Bláhová, ed. *Kroniky doby Karla IV*. Prague: Svoboda, 1987. I will cite the chronicle as František, Book, Ch.

⁷ František, Book I, Chapter 31. See chapter 1 and 3.

⁸ The original foundation document is housed at the Žitenice archive. The Foundation document is published in the RBM III s 782 and also by Zbigniew Jakubowski, *Czeskie i morawskie fundacie kanonickie XIV—XV wieku (Studium z dziejow devotio moderna)*, Czestochowa: Wyzsza Szkola Pedagogiczna w Czestochowie, 2001, see Appendix III.

Sources that document the chronology of building at Roudnice are numerous. The consecration of the monastic church to Virgin Mary is recorded in a plaque located on the interior church east end (see Appendix II).⁹ A fifteenth-century copy recorded in MS n. 3282 (folio 18b –20a, dated 1425-1440) in the Austrian National Library, Vienna, is closely related to František's version of the foundation of the bridge and monastery including the invitation of the French mason.¹⁰ A *diplomatář*, or a list of documents pertaining to the monastery, is housed at the Žitenice archive, as is the Roudnice cartulary (*urbář*), or list of properties. Both the diplomatic log and cartulary were transcribed and published by Josef Emler in the nineteenth century (see Appendix IV).¹¹ Other single documents are found in the nineteenth-century collections of Josef Emler and Jan Gebauer now called *Prameny dějin českých* or *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum (FRB)* and include information on the consecration of Roudnice church as well as additions made to the monastery in the later fourteenth century.¹² Together these sources provide the basic timeline and building chronology of Roudnice and will be further discussed in the context of the existing architecture in chapter three.

⁹ The plaque is currently not accessible. An unpublished transcription of the plaque is stored in the Žitenice archive. See Appendix II. Transcriptions in O. Novosadová, Dobroslav Líbal, and Mojmír Horyna, *Roudnice: Kostel Narození P. Marie budova provošství, stavebně historický průzkum [Roudnice; the Church of the Birth of the Virgin Mary, the Building of the Provost; a Structural and Historical Analysis]*, unpublished manuscript, 1975, p. 2 and Bohumil Matějka, *Soupis památek uměleckých a historických v království českém, politický okres Roudnice n/L [Catalogue of Historical and Artistic Sites in the Czech Kingdom, District of Roudnice on the Elbe]*. Prague, 1898, p.159.

¹⁰ Account in MS n. 3282 is transcribed by A. Patera, "O založení kláštera Panny Marie v Roundnici n/L a o stavě mostu [About the Foundation of the Virgin Mary Monastery in Roundice on the Elbe and the Building of the Bridge]." *Památky archeologické a mistopisné* XI (1878-1881): 477-478.

¹¹ Josef Emler, "Diplomatář kláštera blahoslavené Panny Marie augustiniánů kanovníků v Roudnici n/L" [The Diplomacy Log of the Blessed Virgin Mary Augustinian Canon Monastery in Roudnice on the Elbe]: *Věstník české královské společnosti nauk*, 1893 and Josef Emler, *Decem registra censuum Bohemica compilata aetate bellum husitum praecedente, Deset urbářů českých z doby před válkami husitskými*. Prague: Královské české společnosti nauk., 1881.

¹² *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum = Prameny dějin českých*. Prague: Nákl. N.F. Palackého, 1873.

Lastly, an invaluable manuscript for the Roudnice monastery is the *Statuta et necrologium canonicorum regularium S. Augustin monasterii Rudnicensis* (MS UK XIX B3), which includes the *Regula [ad servos Dei] beati Augustin*, *Calendarium*, *Statuta*, *Martylogium*, *Necrologium*, and *tractatus*.¹³ The *necrologium* is a registry of deceased members of the Roudnice monastic community for the purpose of offering prayers on the anniversary of the member's death.¹⁴ Some entries include short biographical notes of the commemorated canons. The *necrologium* is thus a useful source for the social history and chronology of the monastery and its members. The manuscript also includes a detailed account of the foundation with an emphasis on the invitation of a French mason to build a bridge in Roudnice (folios 201r—203v) along with an illumination of a bishop, undoubtedly Jan IV, in guise of a patron holding a church [fig. 1] (see Appendix V). The statutes (folios 12r-36r), which (in addition to the rule of Saint Augustine) are a guide to the conduct and rituals of the canons, provide insight on the daily life and material culture of the monastery (see Appendix VIII and IX). Chapter four will examine both the human actions as they are recorded in the monastic customs and the architectural frame of their implementation.

Site History

Although reformed houses of regular canons were founded in Austria and Germany in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, just 50 km from the current Czech border,

¹³ MS XIX B 3 includes the Roudnice statutes and was housed in the Thun-Hohenstein Děčín castle and now resides in the National Library of the Czech Republic. The statutes were published in E. Amort, *Vetus disciplina canonicorum regularium et aecularium I Venetiis*, 1747, pp. 505-523, and R. Duellius, *Miscellaneorum liber II. Augustae Vind. et Graecii*, 1724, pp. 336-367.

¹⁴ Some entries relating to the history of art from the *necrologium* are published by Václav Chaloupecký, "Materiál k dějinám umění v Čechách," *Časopis Společnosti přátel starožitností v čechách*, Prague: Aloisa Wiesnera, 1907, pp. 101-106, and Ivan Hlaváček, "Zum alltagsleben in Böhmischen Klöstern des Spätmittelalters mit besonderer berücksichtigung der augustiner-chorherren; Die Aussagen des Raudnitzer Nekrologs" in *Klösterliche Sachkultur des Spätmittelalters; Internationaler Kongress Krems an der Donau 18. bis 21. September 1978*, Der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1978.

this reform movement did not reach the Bohemian kingdom until two centuries later [fig. 2]. The reason for this delay is not entirely clear. While Augustinian canons were initially brought to the Strahov monastery near the Prague castle, they were quickly succeeded by the Premonstratensian order, which continues to function at the site until the present day.¹⁵

Hence, the first successful Bohemian foundation of Augustinian canons was at Roudnice by the Prague bishop in the early fourteenth century. Almost immediately after his return from Avignon in 1329, the bishop set out to found a monastery for Augustinian canons, first at Prague and, when this became impossible, in the episcopal town of Roudnice, which was the property of the Prague diocese (later archdiocese) from the thirteenth century.¹⁶ The bishop's chronicler, František, wrote that after the bishop's return from Avignon, the bishop put his diocese in order, reclaimed his properties, and added new ones to the diocese. In the presence of fellow bishops and Benedictine abbots he founded a new monastery in Roudnice, described at length by František.¹⁷ I will discuss the circumstances of the foundation in chapter two.

Bishop Jan guided the construction of the new foundation from its inception until his death in 1343.¹⁸ František describes the consecration of the Roudnice monastic church to the Virgin Mary in 1340.¹⁹ After the bishop's death, building continued and was supported by later archbishops of Prague, such as archbishop Arnošt (Ernst) of Pardubice (1343 – 1364). In 1352, pope Clement VI (1291—1352), at the request of the

¹⁵ See chapter 2.

¹⁶ Zdeňka Hledíková, *Biskup Jan IV. z Dražic (1301-1343)*. Prague: Universita Karlova, Karolinum, 1992, p. 144-149.

¹⁷ František, Book I, Chapter 31.

¹⁸ František states that the foundation was in 1332, but this is commonly perceived as an error since in the same sentence he says it was four years after the return of the bishop to Prague, which would be 1333.

¹⁹ František, Book I, Chapter 31.

Prague archbishop Arnošt, permitted the completion of individual cells at the monastery.²⁰ Most of the construction, including the cloister, was completed by 1383 under prior Mikuláš (Nicholas, *Nicolaus*). The *necrologium* states that the prior was the first renovator and second patron of the monastery, the “*alter fundator*.” According to Jan Royt prior Mikuláš was also actively involved in religious reform at Roudnice and penned the new customs or statutes, “*Consuetudines Rudniceses*.”²¹

The canons fled the monastery in 1420, as it was a target associated with the archdiocese during the Hussite conflicts.²² By the mid fifteenth century repairs were underway at the site, suggesting some canons had returned. The town suffered several fires in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The canons left again in 1467 when the Hussite-sympathetic king, Jiří (George) of Poděbrady took control of the town. The *necrologium* entries end in the 1490s, and at this time the monastery was definitively disbanded. Some canons eventually resettled at Saint Mary on the Sand in Krakow (Breslau).²³

By the early sixteenth century the monastic property had been turned over to the town, which was no longer owned by the Prague diocese, but by the aristocratic Rožmberk (Rosenberg) family. After the death of Vilém (William) of Rožmberk in 1603 Roudnice had become a parish church and the property passed to the family of his wife's

²⁰ Emler, 1893, pp. 18-19.

²¹ The *Necrologium* (fol. 73) states, “*Anno Domini 1383 hora Vespri, reverendisimus et dominus Nycolaus praepositus, hic domus primus reliquiosus restaurator, qui corpus huius monasterii cum maiori parte ambitus et officinis extruxit, et libros pulchros et multos comparande, eciam bona temporalia temquam alter fundator ampliavit.*” Transcribed in Chaloupecký, 1907, p. 103. Jan Royt, “Přispěvek k ikonografii alegorie sv. kříže v Roudnici nad Labem [A Contribution to the Iconography of the Allegory of the Holy Cross at Roudnice on the Elbe].” *Umění* 33, no. 6 (1986): 492-506, on *devotio moderna* for example, E. Winter. *Frühhumanismus, seine Entwicklung in Böhmen und deren Bedeutung f.d. Kichenreformbestrebungen im 14. Jahrhundert*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1964.

²² Vlček, 1997, p. 622.

²³ Ibid.

second husband Zdeněk Vojtěch of Lobkowitz (Lobkovic).²⁴ The church suffered major fires in 1654 and 1676, which destroyed most of the church vaults and damaged the second floor library above the sacristy.²⁵ The church and monastery complex must have been in a desolate state when in 1725 Octavio Broggio was commissioned to do extensive restoration and renovation of the church. Between 1725 and 1734 he renovated the church in a “Gothic” Baroque style. The contract with Broggio requested a vault “in the old antique way” with pointed arches, lunettes, and ribbed vaults.²⁶ The renovation altered most of the façade, the church interior, and dismantled the north aisle of the cloister. The rest of the cloister was never repaired and probably served as a storage facility. In the twentieth century, the Roudnice church continued to function as the local parish church. The cloister’s second story was converted to living quarters and office space. Today the church of the Virgin Mary still serves the town of Roudnice as a parish church, and the former cloister houses the parish office and residence.

The Architecture

The Roudnice monastery complex is located on the west side of the town, originally just outside of the town walls. The site cuts into steep terrain of the Elbe riverbank [figs. 56-57]. The basilica-type church has a nave, side aisles, two towers on the west end, and a long east end with a polygonal termination and no chapels. A sacristy is off the south side of the *chevet* and was most likely the site of the pre-monastic church or chapel. Above the sacristy is a vaulted second story, which could have served as a scriptorium, monastic library, or chapel. The square two-story cloister on the south side

²⁴ Novosadová, p. 7.

²⁵ Ibid. p. 8.

²⁶ Matějka, p. 161, and Vlček, 1997, p. 622, Novosadová, pp. 9-14.

of the church has a chapter room off the east aisle. The upper story includes the current parish offices and apartment, and a lavatory on the north end. There is also a large space above the west cloister aisle with a wooden ceiling.

The church layout, sacristy, library, cloister, chapter room, and second-story library most closely preserve their fourteenth-century appearance. Architectural descriptions of medieval Roudnice begin in the late nineteenth century.²⁷ A thorough architectural analysis was conducted in 1975 by a group of scholars, and Petr Macek conducted additional studies on the church east end and the cloister east aisle in the 1990s.²⁸ Chapter three will engage these studies and re-evaluate the proposed building chronology. I will also discuss the architecture in terms of style and design within the local, regional, and foreign contexts with a focus on the overarching program set by the patron.

Bishop Jan IV of Dražice

Bishop Jan (also, von Drashitz or von Drazhick, c. 1252-1343, Prague bishop 1301-1343) is a fascinating figure in Czech medieval history and history of art. Although today many of his works are no longer preserved, he was probably the most important Bohemian art patron in the first half of the fourteenth century, equal to and sometimes surpassing the king.²⁹

²⁷ For example, Matějka and Josef Braniš. *Dějiny středověkého umění v Čechách*. Prague: Höfer a Klouček, 1892.

²⁸ Novosadová and Petr Macek. *Roudnice nad Labem, Východní rameno ambitů bývalého augustiniánského kláštera při proboštském kostele Narození Panny Marie, Hloubkový průzkum interiéru*, unpublished manuscript, 1998.

²⁹ The primary biographies of the bishop are by Chaloupecký, 1908 and Hledíková, 1992.

We are not sure of bishop Jan's exact birth year, but at the time of his election as bishop of Prague in 1301 he was probably almost fifty-years-old.³⁰ He had been a canon at the Saint Jiljí (Gall) collegiate church in Prague at the time of his election.³¹ His predecessor, Tobyáš of Bechyně, was from the upper nobility and became a powerful personality in the dioceses and at court. Jan IV of Dražice was from the lower nobility although his father, Řehník, worked at the court and other members of his family were canons.³² A former bishop, Jan III, was probably also Jan IV's relative. When the cathedral chapter and the king approved Jan as bishop of Prague the choice may have been seen as safe, a counter to the powerful bishop Tobyáš.³³

The bishop's tenure was not without controversy, and as it turns out bishop Jan became an equal personality to Tobyáš. Due to conflicts with the mendicant orders and the local nobility, bishop Jan was accused of heresy and simony and spent the next eleven years in the papal city of Avignon. Upon his return to Prague the almost seventy-year-old bishop set on a new program of building and reform in his diocese. I will discuss the Bohemian political landscape and the bishop as patron in chapter one.

The French Connection

Bishop Jan first traveled to France in 1311 in order to participate in the Vienne council (1311-1312). His most pronounced connection, however, to France was formed during his eleven-year stay in Avignon from 1318-1329. The stay was not entirely his choice; in 1318 the bishop departed to Avignon in order to resolve an accusation of

³⁰ Chaloupecký, 1908, pp. 54-58.

³¹ Vlček, 1996, pp. 84-86.

³² Chaloupecký, 1908, pp. 55-58, Hlediková, 1992, pp. 17-23.

³³ Hlediková, 1992, p. 20.

heresy. Although we have few sources that discuss the bishop's stay in Avignon, authors have assumed that this time at the new papal court influenced the bishop both artistically and spiritually.³⁴ The bishop was already a patron of art before his departure, and the southern French exposure must have expanded his interest in patronage. The bishop's extended stay in Avignon undoubtedly left an impression, as evidenced by the number of years he lived there and the objects (manuscripts in particular) he brought back with him to Prague. In chapter one I suggest that the bishop's desire to connect his new monastery to Avignon may have been linked to his political and spiritual aspirations more than his artistic inspiration.

Bishop Jan also invited the French mason to build a bridge for him in Bohemia.³⁵ According to František, seeing the dangers of the Elbe River, and out of simple kindness, the bishop also built the Roudnice bridge for the benefit of the town. The mason named William (Vilém, Guilhelmus) and three helpers came from Avignon to Roudnice, built two pillars and an arch of the bridge, and then returned to France the following year, leaving the local Czech masons to finish the job.³⁶ This information is repeated in a manuscript (MS 3282) in the Vienna library and the Roudnice statutes and customary

³⁴ Hledíková, 1992 and Chaloupecký, 1908.

³⁵ Hledíková, 1992, p. 123, 144, 148.

³⁶ František, Book I, Ch 31, *Unde ipse videns multa in Albea flumine pericula et hominibus et maxime pauperibus evenire dampna et incommoda, misericordia motus ibidem in Rudnicz pontem fieri disposuit ultra flumen. Et quia magistros ad tale opus peritos in regno Boemie nec in vicinis provinciis potuit reperire, unde misit ad curiam Romanam pro magistro Guilhemmo, optime in huiusmodi arte perito. Cum quo dominus episcopus, cum adhuc ibidem stetisset, de hac material fuerat locutus, cui promisit ad regnum Boemie ad suam instanciam se transferre. Unde visis nunciis et litteris domini episcopi assumptis tribus sociis mox sine omni dilacione ad ipsum est profectus. Et anno Domini MCCCXXXIII, anno vero ordinacionis eiusdem domini episcopi XXXII, in festo sancrī Bartholomei apostolic cum reliquiis sanctorum et magna devocione ac solempnitate in medio fluminis Albee pro fundamento aptatos et magnos lapides posuerunt. Prefatus quoque magister cum suis complicitibus duos pilares pontis et unam testudinem perfecerunt. Et anno sequenti una cum suis copiose a domino episcopo remuneratus et honoratus ad propriam partem est reversus. Dominus vero episcopus per alios artifices gentis nostre, qui ab illis advenis complete fuerant informati, de lapidibus solidis et dolatis ipsum pontem cum maximis sumptibus et expensis excellenter et laudabiliter complevit.*

from the late fourteenth century (MS XIX B 3, fol. 201r—203v). The Vienna manuscript copy is most likely based on František, but the Roudnice statutes description is different and includes a lengthier discussion of the bridge and a brief mention of the foundation of the Roudnice monastery.³⁷ These sources do not state that the mason worked at the monastery, nor any other buildings in Bohemia. Nevertheless, Czech scholars have been quick to attribute numerous buildings linked to the bishop, including parts of the Roudnice monastery, to master William.³⁸

Václav Mencl, a prominent Czech scholar of medieval architecture, advocated most clearly in 1941 that the French mason invited to build the bridge also built part of the monastery.³⁹ Mencl argues that the monastery was built in three building phases and that the second phase, mainly the east cloister aisle, was built by the visiting French mason [fig.]. It is tempting to attribute the eastern part of the cloister to an outside source since it is difficult to find stylistic parallels in Bohemia, although finding a conclusive French source has proven equally difficult. While Mencl tried to find direct stylistic similarities to Roudnice in southern France, he also found similar trends in the central European context.⁴⁰ Klára Benešová has discussed Roudnice in the local context, and further comparisons are warranted.⁴¹ In chapter three, I will discuss the possibility of the French mason working at the Roudnice monastery and consider to what extent the patron,

³⁷ Summary and transcription by Patera, pp. 477-478.

³⁸ Václav Mencl. "Biskup Jan IV. z Dražic v dějinách architektury [Bishop Jan IV from Dražice in the History of Architecture]." *Stenčovo Umění XIII* (1941) 101-122.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Václav Mencl, "Poklasická gotika jižní Francie a švábska a její vztah ke gotice české," in *Umění*, XIX, 1971 p. 217-254.

⁴¹ Fischerová (Benešová), Klára. *Francouzští mistři a architektura první poloviny 14. století v českých zemích*. Dissertation at the Department of the History of Art Philosophy Faculty, Charles University, 1974, "Pramen ideální podoby kapitulního chrámu sv. Petra a Pavla" in *Kralovský Vyšehrad II*, Praha 2001, and "Slohové souvislosti vrcholné gotické přestavby Sázavského kláštera (1315-1420)" in *Historia Monastica I Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia 3*. Praha 2005. ed. Dušan Foltýn, Kateřina Charvátová and Petr Sommer. Praha, Centrum mediévistických studií, Filosofia, 2005.

rather than a foreign mason, influenced the design. While the possibility of the French mason has dominated the discussions on Roudnice by Czech scholars I will suggest that the focus on the mason is misplaced and more attention should be placed on two other questions: the reasons the bishop might have wanted to link his patronage to southern France, and monastic functions. I will argue that whether or not the French mason participated in the building or design of Roudnice, certain stylistic peculiarities such as the round arches in the cloister and archaic capitals in the chapter room warrant a more critical discussion.

Bohemian Gothic Architecture

French Gothic architecture –and especially cathedrals—has dominated scholarly attention. The diversity of medieval structures—secular and ecclesiastic—has often been overlooked. Since the medieval kingdom of Bohemia had a single cathedral, Czech scholars have been obligated to examine a broader range of building types.

Dobroslav Líbal perhaps best codified the evolution of Gothic architecture in Bohemia. According to Líbal, thirteenth century French Cistercian workshops brought the French style, originating in Burgundy, to Bohemia. Around 1260 French classical Gothic features appeared in Bohemia, mostly through a variety of articulations rather than a consistent style of an entire site.⁴² One conspicuous example is the chapel at Horšovský Týn Castle (c. 1260), which belonged to the diocese of Prague and was built

⁴² Líbal, Dobroslav. "Gotická architektura [Gothic Architecture]." in *Dějiny českého výtvarného umění; od počátku do konce středověku [The History of Czech Fine Arts; From the Beginning to the End of the Medieval Period]*, I/2. Prague: Academia, 1984. p. 157, "V padesátých letech převládala dosud cisterciácky plně ovlivněna raná gotika, avšak již okolo roku 1260 se objevují ohlasy francouzské gotiky klasické."

by bishop Jan's predecessor. The unique vault combines two French five-part chapel vaults and adds an additional rib in the corners [fig. 3].

Around 1290 Bohemia experienced an abrupt change to high Gothic.⁴³ The pinnacle in the evolution of Gothic architectural style, according to Líbaľ, occurred with the invitation of Mathias of Arras, a southern French mason, to build the Prague Saint Vít (Vitus) cathedral in 1344.⁴⁴ While in the thirteenth century examples of French influence are few and far between, Roudnice was long thought to be one of the first firmly documented French connections. Hence, the work of bishop Jan's master William at Roudnice has been understood as an important stepping-stone on the road to full French Gothic expression in the kingdom of Bohemia.

It is widely accepted that France was influential in art and architecture throughout medieval Europe, and that French Gothic often spread to other regions—although not always directly. Jiří Kuthan, for example, has argued that while Cistercian gothic from Burgundy did reach Bohemia and other east European regions, it was often mediated through other regions such as Bavaria, Austria (along the Danube), Saxony and even Silesia (Southern Poland).⁴⁵ He also warns that a transfer of style was not a simplification of French originals or a one-to-one transfer. Rather, the transmission of French cathedral style and technique instigated its own artistic transformation and adaptation in local context.⁴⁶ This is clearly demonstrated at the Horšovský Týn chapel where a cathedral east end chapel vault was transferred to a small castle chapel. More

⁴³ Líbaľ 1984, p. 167.

⁴⁴ Líbaľ 1984, pp. 177-178.

⁴⁵ Jiří Kuthan, *Počátky a rozmach gotické architektury v Čechách k problematice cisterciácké stavební tvorby*, Prague: Academia, 1983, especially pp. 19-51.

⁴⁶ Kuthan 1983, pp. 40-41, "Proces, který v umění střední Evropy probíhal, nelze interpretovat jako pouhé zjednodušení francouzských vzorů. ... odkaz francouzské katedrální gotiky nebyl tu přejímán mechanicky, ale byl transformován a tvůrčím způsobem rozvíjen."

common are details of articulation such as window tracery, moldings, rib profiles, and so on. Chapter three will further discuss architecture circa 1300 in Bohemia as more recent scholarship has demonstrated a diversity of French building styles in the early part of the fourteenth century.

Although influence from France in Bohemia is undeniable, influences from other regions, including Central Europe, the German lands, Poland, and even from Italy and Hungary are also significant and have yet to be fully explored. In addition to sorting out stylistic influence, I believe it is important to question the reasons behind the styles. Would the patron in the early fourteenth century request a French style? Was it the result of the mason's expertise, or were other reasons the source of the influence? Specifically, if the bishop wished to have a French mason at Roudnice, why did he also wish at the same time to have only Czech-speaking monks inhabit this new French space?

For Czechs Only

Roudnice is not only privileged in Czech historiography for its French connection, but also its exclusive Czech membership. In the foundation document to the new monastery at Roudnice from 1333, the bishop Jan IV of Dražice made an unusual condition for the Roudnice monastery of Augustinian canons that only Czechs (whose mother and father spoke Czech) be admitted to the new monastery.⁴⁷ This somewhat unusual request for its time was observed throughout the bishop's lifetime. In 1349

⁴⁷ *Nequaquam tamen ad prefatum collegium victi cenobii alterius nacionis aliquem recipi admittimus, nisi sit Bohemus de vtroque parente idiomate bohemicum ortum trahens, comodo et tranquillitati monasterii eiusdem nec non et personarum ex transactis temporibus et presentibus informati in futurum in hoc providere cupientes; nam magistra rerum experientia nos docuit, quod eidem bohemicæ genti aliæ nationes opido [sic] sunt infeste, quod sicut duo contraria in vno subiecto simul esse non possunt, sic nationes sibi contrarie in uno monasterio nequaquam esse possunt.* See full text and translation of foundation in Appendix III.

however, the archbishop and emperor Charles requested a reversal of this rule.⁴⁸

According to Jaroslav Kadlec, the Czech character was nevertheless maintained even after the dissolution of the mandate.⁴⁹ In his obituary to the bishop, František wrote that the bishop was “*gentisque Boemice fidelis zelator ac indefessus propagagor*,” proclaiming the bishop a tireless friend and defender of the Czech people (kingdom).⁵⁰

Based on František and the foundation document, nineteenth- and twentieth-century Czech scholars heralded bishop Jan as a national hero and Czech patriot since he single-handedly established a Czech monastery in the sea of German-speaking houses. The case of bishop Jan was not singular, and authors such as Václav Chaloupecký and František Palacký wrote accounts of emperor Charles IV (“father of the country”) and Jan Hus (1369-1415) as pro-Czech heroes and defenders of the Czech nation.⁵¹ Czech academic circles from early nineteenth century were influenced by nationalist sentiments. From 1526 until the end of World War I (1918) the Czech lands and much of Central Europe were under the rule of the Austrian Habsburg dynasty with central authority in Vienna, Austria. Palacký, for example, wrote a six-volume history of the Czech nation, the first modern history to isolate the Czech peoples that covered the medieval period up to the year 1526 at which point Palacký believed the Austrian Habsburgs compromised

⁴⁸ Emler, 1893, p. 14.

⁴⁹ Jaroslav Kadlec. *Kláster Augustiniánských kanovníků v Třeboni*. Prague: Karolinum, 2004, p. 63 and Hledíková, 1992, pp.149-151.

⁵⁰ František, Book III, version B, Chapter 16, *Ex hiis et supradictis, quam pius benefactor, consolator et pater cleri extiterit populi clemens et providus rector, gentisque Boemice fidelis zelator ac indefessus propagagor*.

⁵¹ Marta Filipová, “The Construction of a National Identity in Czech Art History” in *Centropa* 8, 3, September 2008, p. 261.

sovereignty.⁵² Consequently nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars looked back to the medieval period for the origins of Czech nationhood.⁵³

While modern Czech scholars used the medieval past to authenticate modern agendas, Bohemian medieval identity was more fleeting. Early fourteenth-century Bohemia witnessed complex political struggles that involved the new king, local nobles, mendicants, and ecclesiastics including the last bishop of Prague. Although the early fourteenth century saw the introduction of literature in the vernacular, language use and ethnicity were not always linked.

It is tempting to interpret František's writing and the bishop's wish for Czech canons as part of a new national identity. It is necessary, however, to place the bishop's aspirations in the context of medieval Bohemia. As in other parts of Europe, the first vernacular text in Bohemia originates in the early fourteenth century. As Alfred Thomas points out, some of the most important literary works during the first half of the fourteenth century were the *Alexandreida* (1290-1300) and the *Dalimil Chronicle* (1314—1318). They were written in the vernacular and authored by anonymous noblemen.⁵⁴ These texts, the *Dalimil Chronicle* in particular, introduce questions about medieval national identity in Bohemia and at the very least indicate a growing awareness of language use and ethnicities. Often interpreted as a pro-Czech sentiment, the *Dalimil Chronicle* certainly reflects tensions in the kingdom. The conflicts between different classes, however, are highlighted rather than nationalities. Chapter one will further

⁵² František Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a v Moravě*, Prague: Kvasnička a Hampl, 1939, the original was published from 1848-1876.

⁵³ Filipová.

⁵⁴ Alfred Thomas. *Anne's Bohemia; Czech Literature and Society, 1310-1420*. Vol. 13 Medieval Studies, ed. David Wallace. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1998.

discuss the political context of the bishop's tenure, which includes politics of the court and territorial disputes between mendicant orders and parish priests.

While a sense of ethnic, rather than national, identity was part of the medieval consciousness; identity was not necessarily connected with language. That is, a medieval patron would not think that the language he spoke was related to a geographic region group, or country in the modern sense. The Bohemian kingdom in the fourteenth century included Czech- and German-speaking people. The study of language development in Bohemia centers on names of people and locations in order to determine language use. According to Emil Skála, Czech-speaking territories expanded in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In the thirteenth century the German-speaking territory increased and reached its peak, and began to decline by the fourteenth century. The German expansion fanned out from the central part of Bohemia (Prague) and northern Bohemia to southern and western regions. By the fourteenth century, German-speaking territory increased on the borders of the Bohemian kingdom.⁵⁵ There is little evidence that there was conflict between German- and Czech-speaking people in medieval Bohemia; rather, as Peter Demetz writes, conflicts were much more likely to arise between the merchant class and the nobles, or between the Jewish and non-Jewish populations.⁵⁶

Czech Monasteries

The study of language use in monasteries is also primarily founded on the names of monks and abbots. Monastic language use is not a frequently discussed subject in the

⁵⁵ Emil Skála, "Jazyková situace v Čechách v rozmezí let 993-1322," in *Milenium (993-1993) břevnovského kláštera*, Praha 1993, pp. 165-169.

⁵⁶ Peter Demetz, *Prague in Black and Gold; Scenes from the Life of a European City*, New York, Hill and Wang, 1997.

study of European monasticism. Liturgy was performed in Latin, and for the most part silence was enforced in many monasteries. In Bohemia, the study of language use in monasteries has been conflated, perhaps necessarily so, with ethnicity. While German was a common language in the Bohemian kingdom, and monks from the German lands heavily influenced Bohemian monasticism, the ethnicities and language use of some monastic orders are not easy to determine. Cistercians, although credited with bringing French gothic architecture, came from German-speaking lands (current Germany or Austria) almost exclusively and did not admit Czech-speaking monks to their monasteries.⁵⁷ Many orders in Bohemia were also offshoots from the German-speaking lands and continued to affiliate with their founding monasteries. For example, the Premonstratensians at the Strahov abbey (near the Hradčany or Hradschin castle) came from Steinfeld, near Köln on the Rhein in Germany. Many mendicants also came from the German-speaking lands, such as the first Dominicans at Saint Klement (Clement) in Prague. As Zdeňka Hledíková writes, Cistercian monasteries did not abolish a German (or German-speaking) prerequisite until the second half of the fourteenth century, hence confirming that until then they had accepted only German-speaking members.⁵⁸

Few sources tell us about which monasteries, if any, preferred Czech speakers. There are few documents to demonstrate the nationality of Benedictine monks. The Saint Jiří convent at the Hradčany (Hradshin) castle was thought to house Czechs since it was linked to the ruling Premyslides (Přemysl), although the Premyslide family connection with Germany through marriage has been understated.⁵⁹ Mendicant orders were also frequently connected to other German monasteries. The exception was the Saint Anežka

⁵⁷ Hledíková, 1992, p. 150.

⁵⁸ Hledíková, 1992, pp.149-151.

⁵⁹ Skála, p. 164.

(Agnes) convent, a royal foundation, in the Old Town. The Dominicans at Saint Klement came from Germany, and the Dominican Kolda of Koldice, advisor to Abbess Kunhuta (Kunigunde, Cunigunde, 1265-1321), was a German mystic. Comprehensive studies on language and national cohesion at monastic institutions, however, are lacking. Thus it is difficult to have a balanced picture of language use and nationality in Bohemian monasteries since the focus. To some degree focus has been placed on the German-speaking population.

It is also possible that the bishop's motivation was as simple as stated in the foundation document, and that he wished for a cohesive house. Some studies indicate that national cohesion was useful in a monastic setting. Jürgen Sarnowsky writes that internationalism in some military orders led to internal problems. "Problems arose between members of varying origins living together in the orders' houses and among different regional or 'national' groups within the orders, and it is likely that these increased with the growing 'nationalism' of the later medieval period."⁶⁰ Although Sarnowsky indicates a growing sense of 'nationalism,' or ethnic awareness, in the late medieval period, there is no evidence that nationalism was connected specifically with language use at this time. According to Hledíková, bishop Jan did not so much wish to create an exclusively Czech monastery as to counter the large number of monasteries with German-speaking monks, especially the mendicants.⁶¹

It is easy to see why nineteenth-century Czech scholars, at the time of national sensitivity, wanted to see bishop Jan as a Czech patriot. The bishop's wish to include only Czech speakers at Roudnice must have resonated with nineteenth-century

⁶⁰ Jürgen Sarnowsky. *Mendicants, Military Orders, and Regionalism in Medieval Europe*. Aldershot, Hants, England: Ashgate, 1999, p. 5.

⁶¹ Hledíková, 1992, pp. 150-151.

intellectuals who were attempting to revive Czech culture and language. In my analysis of the foundation in chapter two, I will argue that the bishop chose regular canons for his new monastery for several reasons, including the wish to reform his diocese and the intention to counter mendicant preachers. If the canons were to serve the population, as I believe there is ample evidence to suggest, it would have been useful to speak Czech with the local population. Viewed in this way the bishop's choice of language use at the monastery would have been more due to practical reasons rather than to an anachronistic sense of nationalism.

Historiography: Czech Medievalism and Art History

National Awakening

At the very onset of investigations on Roudnice, especially given the coexistence of purported Czech character of the Roudnice monastery and the French architectural influence, special attention should be given to influences on the study of art history in the Czech lands (formerly Czechoslovakia and currently the Czech Republic). The formation of art history as a field coexists in many European countries with a surge of nationalism and national identity building in the nineteenth century.⁶² The Czech lands are no exception. From the sixteenth through the early twentieth centuries the Habsburg Dynasty dominated Central Europe. By the end of the nineteenth century ethnic regions such as Bohemia were in strong opposition to the Habsburg Empire with distinct pro-Czech (and at the same time anti-German) nationalist factions. Czech nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars constructed a nationalist discourse on language, literature, history, art, and architecture to solidify and authenticate a Czech identity, separate from

⁶² Filipová, pp. 257-71.

their Habsburg overseers, and later from a new sense of independence after the establishment of Czechoslovakia in 1918.

Patrick Geary has outlined the impact of such nationalist approaches on history. He states that modern history is a poisoned landscape, based on a fabricated sense of nationalism, which needs cleaning,

Modern history was born in the nineteenth century, conceived and developed as an instrument of European nationalism. As a tool of nationalist ideology, the history of Europe's nations was a great success, but it has turned our understanding of the past into a toxic waste dump, filled with the poison of ethnic nationalism, and the poison has seeped deep into popular consciousness. Cleaning up this waste is the most daunting challenge facing historians today.⁶³

As nineteenth-century historians were determined to define a new sense of Czech identity through culture and language, art and medieval history were used to “promoted wider nationalist ideals, rather than producing art history.”⁶⁴

Nineteenth-century scholars looked back to the medieval period (primarily fourteenth through fifteenth centuries) in part to establish, or “reawaken” a Czech identity under the perceived Habsburg oppression. In the nineteenth century a connection between language and ethnicity began to emerge, especially since the German language was associated with the Habsburg regime, and Czech was actively suppressed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. There was a belief that Czech people would revive a lost sense of identity by reviving the Czech language as well as reconnecting to Czech folk culture. The past, especially periods of time that seemed to exemplify a Czech nationhood such as the medieval period, was also a center of focus.⁶⁵ By the end of the

⁶³ Patrick Geary, *The Myth of Nations: Medieval Origins of Europe*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002, p. 15.

⁶⁴ Filipová, p. 258, also see Marta Filipová, *The Construction of National Identity in the Historiography of Czech Art*, dissertation, university of Glasgow, 2008.

⁶⁵ Filipová, p. 261.

nineteenth century, art historians actively searched for examples of ‘purely’ Czech art (as opposed to German) and formulated arguments to demonstrate Czech qualities in art as well as define characteristics of a national style based on ethnic stereotypes.⁶⁶

As discussed above, the Czech-German dichotomy is not necessarily accurate in the medieval context. German and Czech ethnic cultures were intertwined throughout Czech history. Hence, Czech art historians interested in establishing an independent Czech national identity in the nineteenth-century worked to deny and suppress German (and Austrian) art and German influences and at the same time ignore texts by German historians.⁶⁷ Marta Filipová argues that these nationalist tendencies continued under the newly-formed Czechoslovakia, at which point scholars were under pressure to demonstrate the worth of a newly formed state.⁶⁸

Unfortunately, the independence of 1918 was short-lived. World War II heightened the dislike of Germany and German speakers in Czechoslovakia, and after the war the Beneš decrees (the expulsion of the German population on the Czechoslovak border regions) deepened animosity on both sides. Although Czechoslovakia was occupied by Nazi Germany from 1938, Czech scholarship continued under the “Protectorate” until 1942. In fact, Mencl published his article on Roudnice in 1941. After the assassination of the Prague SS commander Heyndrich in 1942, the Czech protectorate was essentially under marshal law. After 1945 a group of Czech art historians focused their attention again on medieval art and architecture. Despite the general hostility toward Germany, and in the more distant past Austria, Czech post-war art historians continued the traditions of the Viennese school of art history, including

⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 263.

⁶⁷ Ibid., p. 263.

⁶⁸ Ibid., pp. 263-269.

close formal analysis to reveal hidden structures and evolution of style that explained fundamental notions of culture.

For Czech scholars such as Mencl, who was taking on the Viennese tradition, style was inherently linked to nationhood, or ethnicity. One of their aims was to link form (or stylistic analysis) with nations and ethnicity. In Mencl's 1941 article on Roudnice, for example, he devotes the first half of his study to a description of the evolution of Bohemian style, especially as it relates to French gothic. Mencl states this most clearly in his book *Czech Architecture of the Luxembourg Period*, where the Czech style of a "sensual character which, when compared to the German trend shows a secularizing tendency, and as against the French it tends to individualism."⁶⁹ Here we have a distinct impression that Mencl connects ethnic characteristics with artistic style. As Filipová states, frequently Czech character is described by nineteenth century scholars as 'poetic' or 'lyrical.'⁷⁰ However, for Mencl style is not just a link to national character, but also a brand of philosophical thinking. Hence, Mencl explains, "In art, sensualism appeared as a result of an increased certainty in the external, that is, sensual knowledge;" he contrasts this to "French rationalism." For Mencl, philosophy as art is also understood on nationalist terms, each country having distinct characteristics.⁷¹

In 1948, instead of reveling in a post-war freedom, Czechoslovakia fell under a totalitarian regime that compounded the deep-rooted nationalism under the presumption of unification of nations. As the Soviet satellite states became isolated, Eastern European

⁶⁹ Mencl, 1955, p. 18.

⁷⁰ Filipová, p. 263.

⁷¹ Mencl, 1955, p. 18.

scholars had limited exchange with the West.⁷² Out of necessity, scholars in Czechoslovakia dwelled out of necessity on Czech material without full comparisons to non-Czech examples. Although art historians focused on medieval art, methodology greatly stagnant. Hartmann argues that while under the communist regime there was initiative to ‘rewrite’ history under Marxist ideology, in reality this attempt was not successful. It was not practical to fully control the output of historians; at best censorship limited topics and theories considered unacceptable by censors.⁷³ Hence nationalism only intensified during the twentieth century and left a distinctive imprint on Czech scholarship. As a result Czech art historians throughout the second half of the twentieth century produced numerous catalogs listing all medieval sites in the kingdom of Bohemia, and for the most part they repeated histories and information already established in the nineteenth century.

Recent Literature

Recent scholarship on Bohemian architecture has made strides to place Bohemian gothic architecture within its European context. Paul Crossley and Zoë Opačić have studied Bohemian architecture of the Luxembourg period (primarily the second half of the fourteenth century). Opačić writes, for example, that the stylistic tendencies during the second half of the fourteenth century were marked by hall church design combined with a reductionist style, which included abstracted forms, plain wall surfaces, capital less responds, and sparse architectural decorations.⁷⁴ Nicola Coldstream describes

⁷² Eva Schmidt-Hartmann, “Forty Years of Historiography under Socialism in Czechoslovakia. Continuity and Change in Patterns of Thought,” in *Bohemia* 29 (1988) pp. 300–325.

⁷³ Schmidt-Hartmann, pp. 322-324.

⁷⁴ Zoë Opačić, “Reduktionsgotic or ‘Anti-Gothic’? Hall-church development in fourteenth century Prague”

“Reduced Gothic” as exemplified by “preaching churches built in the (Holy Roman) Empire by the mendicant orders, with plain, simple structures and little ornament.”⁷⁵ In Bohemia, mendicant orders picked up on the reductionist style, although as S. Adam Hindin points out in the Bohemian context these establishments, often associated with the royal family, may not have appeared as austere as in other parts of Europe.⁷⁶

According to Opačić, it is not just the mendicants who engaged the reductionist style, as the Cistercian royal abbey at Zlatá Koruna is a prime example of this style [fig. 4]. Opačić highlights the parallel activity of Silesian workshops especially in Wrocław in the first half of the fourteenth century that could have been a source of influence and interchange with Bohemian sites. Parts of the Polish Silesia was incorporated with the Bohemian kingdom from 1319, and enjoyed a strong building tradition during this period.

Benešová has been engaged in discussions on medieval Bohemian architecture of the first half of the fourteenth century. Her focus has been on French (Rayonnant) stylistic influence at several sites in late thirteenth and early fourteenth century Bohemia, most notably the Benedictine monastery at Sázava, the Vyšehrad collegiate church, the Cistercian monastic church at Sedlec, and the House at the Stone Bell on the Old Town

in *Current work in Architectural History: Papers read at the Annual Symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain 2004*. Draper, Peter ed. *Current work in Architectural History: Papers read at the Annual Symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain 2004* [Great Britain]: Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, 2004, pp. 11-18, also see Opačić, “Emauzy a Nové Město pražské: slovanská tradice, císařská ideologie a veřejný ritual v Praze 14. Století,” in Benešová, Klára, and Kateřina Kubínová. *Emauzy: benediktinský klášter Na Slovanech v srdci Prahy : soubor statí věnovaných znovuotevření chrámu Panny Marie a sv. Jeronýma benediktinského kláštera Na Slovanech, Opatství Emauzy 21.4.2003*. Prague: Academia, 2007, pp. 32-60.

⁷⁵ Nicola Coldstream, *Medieval architecture*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 40, also “reductionist” architecture discussed by Norbert Nussbaum, *German Gothic Church architecture*, New Haven : Yale University Press, 2000, Wolfgang Schenkluhn, *Ordines studentes : Aspekte zur Kirchenarchitektur der Dominikaner und Franziskaner im 13. Jahrhundert*, Berlin : Gebr. Mann, c1985, and *Architektur der Bettelorden: die Baukunst der Dominikaner und Franziskaner in Europa*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2000. Richard Krautheimer, *Die Kirchen der Bettelorden in Deutschland*, Berlin : Gebr. Mann, 2000.

⁷⁶ S. Adam Hindin, “Gothic Goes East Mendicant Architecture in Bohemia and Moravia, 1226-1278,” in *Bettelorden in Mitteleuropa: Geschichte, Kunst, Spiritualität : Referate der gleichnamigen Tagung vom 19. bis 22. März 2007 in St. Pölten*. Heike Specht ed. St. Pölten: Diözesanarchiv, 2008.

Square in Prague.⁷⁷ Most recently she claims that while under king Václav II French style failed to get a wide foothold, Rayonnant designs flourished under John of Luxembourg in the first half of the fourteenth century. For example, Sedlec was designed on a French cathedral model [fig. 5], with radiating chapels on the east end. Another notable example is the tracery design of windows and portals on the House at the Stone Bell [fig. 6-7].⁷⁸ Fragments of high quality architecture of the early fourteenth century display a continuity of royal style from the Přemysl dynasty to the Luxembourg era. In many instances, a French style or design incorporated in these buildings is mixed with other styles associated with Central Europe including German and Polish regions.⁷⁹

Dissertation Summary

It is easy to see why in the nineteenth century, at this time of a national sensitivity, Czech scholars wanted to see bishop Jan as a Czech patriot and at the same time were excited about placing a French mason at the Roudnice monastery. They heralded the bishop as a kind of national champion for establishing a Czech monastery in the sea of German speaking houses.⁸⁰ At the same time the French connection enticed Czech scholars as first, not German, and second, as linked to the superior French Gothic style.

⁷⁷ Fischerova, Klára and Benešová, “Architecture at the Crossroads: Three examples from Bohemia circa 1300” in Gajewski, Alexandra and Zoë Opačić. *The Year 1300 and the Creation of a New European Architecture*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2007, and Benešová 2001, 2005.

⁷⁸ The House of the Stone Bell is at the center of the exhibit catalogue. Klára Benešová, *Královský sňatek Eliška Přemyslovna a Jan Lucemburský-1310*, Gallery: Prague 2010 (also in English as *Royal Marriage*).

⁷⁹ In fact, such a mixture of styles is perhaps first discussed by Paul Crossley, *Gothic Architecture in the Reign of Kasimir the Great: Church Architecture in Lesser Poland, 1320-1380*. Kraków: Ministerstwo Kultury i Sztuki, Zarząd Muzeów i Ochrony Zabytków, 1985.

⁸⁰ Chaloupecký, 1908 p. 60-61.

While Czech scholars have considered French art and architecture as the source of Jan's inspiration, in chapter one I will reconsider bishop Jan as an art patron in the context of his political position in the kingdom and diocese. My discussion will not argue that the bishop was responsible for a specific transmission of style or a unique workshop. Rather, I will use the František chronicle as a guide to gather insight into the bishop's patronage and to examine the significance of his French connection. I will also discuss the reasons events that led up to the bishop's exile in Avignon and the opposition he faced by mendicants and the nobility. It was these factions, not German-speaking people in general, that the bishop opposed.

In chapter two, I will detail the foundation of Roudnice monastery and discuss monastic orders in Bohemia at the time of the foundation. In the early fourteenth century, Prague and Bohemia had numerous orders and monastic institutions. Many reflected monasteries in Western Europe including the Benedictine, Premonstratensian, Cistercian, and Mendicant orders. Before the fourteenth century, however, there were no houses of regular canons established in Bohemia. This chapter will examine the reasons bishop Jan chose the Augustinian canons for his new monastery.

Chapter three will delve into the surviving medieval architecture of the monastery and discuss the possibility of a French mason working at the site. This chapter will include a detailed architectural description of the site and stylistic comparisons to discuss whether the architecture at Roudnice reflects local or French styles. Rather than insist on placing the French mason at Roudnice, I will argue that under the bishop's guidance the architecture at Roudnice reflected a combination of local building traditions linked to the

Bohemian court and archaic elements that intended to project a sense of authority and long-standing legitimacy.

Finally, chapter four will look beyond traditional analysis of style and utilize the Roudnice statutes as a source to generate meaning of the monastic community. I will strive to animate the architecture through its function as well as its structure.

In the end the visual appearance of Roudnice monastery may not be overtly French, yet it still demonstrates a form of monasticism inspired by the bishop's stay in the papal city. The bishop clearly highlighted the French connection in his biography. The wish for Czech speakers may not reflect so much a sense of Czech national identity, but a demonstration of ecclesiastic authority and spiritual functionality.

CHAPTER 1

THE LAST BISHOP OF PRAGUE AS PATRON

For bishop Jan IV of Dražice, the year 1318 was a crucial turning point. The almost seventy-year-old bishop had already outlived most of his contemporaries after seventeen years as bishop of Prague.¹ He had witnessed a great deal of change in the kingdom, including many changes of his own making, including his diocesan reforms. It is unlikely that he would have predicted that his greatest accomplishments were yet to come. In 1318, however, bishop Jan had been accused of heresy and simony. These accusations were no doubt politically driven, but led to his suspension and an eleven-year exile in the papal city of Avignon.² However, bishop Jan was vindicated, reappointed, and returned to Prague in 1329. Since its creation in 973 the Prague diocese, which spanned the boundaries of the Bohemian kingdom, had been subordinate to the archdiocese in Mainz, Germany. As the last bishop of Prague, before the diocese was elevated to an archdiocese in 1344, bishop Jan embarked on an ambitious spiritual and artistic program as pastor of his diocese.

¹ Václav Chaloupecký. *Jan IV z Dražic [John IV from Dražice]*, Prague, 1908, p. 57 states that the bishop was born 1252 or a little earlier, hence circa 1250. Jan became a sub deacon by 1274, for which he needed to be at least twenty-two-years old.

² The papal court moved from Rome to Avignon in 1305 and remained there through the Great Schism until 1423.

Bishop Jan was at the forefront of the growing international movement in fourteenth century Europe and became one of the most important art patrons in the kingdom of Bohemia. Political instability in the first half of the fourteenth century resulted in fewer significant art commissions by the royal court. For instance, king John of Luxembourg (1310-1346) was often not in Prague for much of his reign and was deeply entrenched in political struggles with local lords.³ Hence, bishop Jan became, especially after his return from Avignon, the major art patron in Bohemia. In many ways, his patronage of art and architecture as well as his sponsorship of a monastic foundation foreshadowed the works of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles (Karel) IV (1346 – 1378) and the first archbishop of Prague Arnošt (Ernst) of Pardubice (1343 – 1364). Like bishop Jan, these men were familiar with France, Italy, and other parts of Europe as they had lived or studied in these regions.⁴ However, while there are many monuments surviving from Charles and Arnošt, the bishop's works were rebuilt in later periods or completely destroyed. Today only incomplete examples of the bishop's commissioned works are visible in the Prague urban landscape.

In part, this chapter strives to reconstruct the bishop's artistic landscape and speculate that his patronage was motivated by the complicated political circumstances that had led to his departure as well as his personal aspirations after reinstatement. Bishop Jan, more than previous Czech bishops, was exposed to a wider European

³ Other names for John of Luxembourg include, John of Bohemia, John the Blind, Jang de Blannen, and Johann der Blinde von Luxemburg, and Jan Lucemburský. Due to the numerous names in a variety of languages, I will refer to him as king John.

⁴ Paul Crossley and Zoë Opačić, "Prague as a New Capital," in Boehm, Barbara Drake, and Jiří Fajt. *Prague: The Crown of Bohemia, 1347-1437*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005, p. 59, also Dobroslava Menclová, *České hrady [Bohemian Castles]*. Prague, 1972, comments on the bishop as a role model for Charles IV, p. 35.

context. In Avignon the bishop arranged for a French mason to go to Roudnice and build a bridge. Rather than disseminate a new French style in Bohemia, however, he looked to France as a model for his building campaign in Prague, which included, charitable works, references (textual and visual) to Avignon, import of up to date technology such as bridge building, and a coherent and recognizable building program that reinforced a distinguished urban layout. Each of his endeavors was clearly marked, not just with the heralds of the diocese, but also his personal family crest [figs. 10, 16, 31, 44, 45]. Clearly the bishop wanted to reestablish his authority after his long absence from Prague, but additional evidence suggests that the bishop also sought to elevate Prague to an archdiocese.⁵ The bishop's efforts were rewarded; Prague became an archdiocese within a year of his death in 1343.⁶ I believe that the art and architectural patronage of the Prague bishop was intricately connected to his political efforts and the link to France and especially the papal court in Avignon can be understood as a deliberate statement of artistic and political independence from the Mainz archdiocese.

My discussion of the bishop's art patronage and political role in the Prague diocese is informed by primary sources, especially chronicles. The fourteenth century, especially under Charles IV, saw a surge of chronicle writing, most focus on dynastic and courtly politics with only occasional references on bishop Jan. The *Zbraslav Chronicle*, written by abbot Peter of Zbraslav and other Cistercian monks is a unique historical text, which chronicles the history of the Zbraslav and Sedlec Cistercian monasteries as well as

⁵ Zdeňka Hledíková, *Biskup Jan IV. z Dražic (1301-1343)*. Prague: Universita Karlova, Karolinum, 1992. goes so far as to suggest that the bishop wished to fill the power vacuum in the absence of John of Luxembourg and his son Charles IV, p. 145, 147.

⁶ On April 30th, 1344 Pope Clement VI approved Prague as an archdiocese with Olomouc and the new diocese of Litomyšl as its subordinate, Archive of the metropolitan chapter at Saint Vít (Prague), sg. 157.

politics of the court. Other chronicles in the Czech lands include *Chronicle of the Prague* and the *Chronicle of Jan Marignola*, an Italian Franciscan.⁷ All chronicles were composed in Latin with the exception of the *Dalimil Chronicle*, the first historical text written in Czech.⁸

The source most directly connected to the bishop is the *František (Francis) of Prague Chronicle*, commissioned by the bishop toward the end of his life (roughly 1340-43).⁹ František's Chronicle was intended as the continuation of the first written history of the Czech lands, the *Cosmas Chronicle* (1120-1125), written by several canons of the cathedral school in Prague, including Cosmas dean of chapter.¹⁰ Jana Záchová's claims that while František based much of his work on the *Zbraslav Chronicle*, he is less precise with chronology and details.¹¹ He is also a less skilled writer, especially in comparison to the contemporary *Zbraslav Chronicle* and his distinctly pro-bohemian perspective must be taken into account when interpreting the bishop's involvement in Bohemian politics.

Záchová also claims that the František chronicle was not as successful as some of its

⁷ Translations in Czech in Marie Bláhová, ed. et. al., *Kroniky doby Karla IV.* Prague: Svoboda, 1972.

⁸ Jiří Daňhelka, et al., *Staročeská kronika tak řečeného Dalimila*, Prague: Academia, 1988.

⁹ The original text written under bishop Jan is Book I. František added to the chronicle c. 1350, and rededicated it to Charles IV, this text is known as Book II and III. The original is housed at the Archive of the Prague chapter (MS G5). Most recent publication and edition by Jana Záchová, *Chronicon Francisci Pragensis/ Kronika Františka Prazského, Fontes rerum Bohemicarum. Series nova, tomus I*, Prague: Nadace Patriae, Historický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 1998. Previous publication in Latin in *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum = Prameny dějin českých, IV*. Prague: Nákl. N.F. Palackého, 1873, pp. 347-456. The Czech translation of the chronicle is found in Marie Bláhová, ed. *Kroniky doby Karla IV.* Prague: Svoboda, 1987.

¹⁰ Záchová, p. VIII, also known as *The Chronicle of the Czechs* and *Chronica Boemorum*. In Czech by Marie Bláhová, ed. et. al., *Kroniky doby Karla IV.* Prague: Svoboda, 1972, and now in English, by Lisa Wolverton, *The chronicle of the Czechs; Cosmas of Prague*; translated with an introduction and notes by Lisa Wolverton, Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2009, in Latin edited by Bertold Bretholz and Wilhelm Weinberger, *Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag Cosmas, of Prague*; München: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1980.

¹¹ Záchová, p. VIII-X. *Zbraslav Chronicle*, written at the Sedlec Cistercian monastery, is held as a more thorough source. *Zbraslavská kronika: Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, translated by František Heřmanský, with Rudolf Mertlík, introduction by Zdeněk Fiala, 2nd ed. Prague: Svoboda, 1976.

contemporaries, since few copies have survived and Charles IV asked Beneš Krabice of Weitmil to rework the text.¹² It is of course possible that Charles had issue with the content rather than the quality of the work.

For many scholars, including myself, a close reading of František's work reveals insight on the bishop's motives, reforms, politics, and patronage. Two Czech scholars, Václav Chaloupecký and Zdeňka Hledíková, have written biographies that rely heavily on the *František Chronicle* to reconstruct bishop Jan's biography.¹³ Writing in 1908, Chaloupecký takes at face value František's pro-bohemian stance and interpreted this as an anti-German sentiment.¹⁴ Chaloupecký created a comprehensive list of the bishop's deeds, which closely follows František's writing and lays the groundwork for contemporary study on the bishop and his era. In the 1990s, Hledíková reinterpreted the bishop's life. Her painstaking historical study incorporates additional archival sources into her discussion on the bishop, such as documents on the bishop's synods and Vatican sources. She also qualifies Chaloupecký's anti-German sentiment and states that conflicts existed among different social groups rather than among national lines. My discussion of the courtly and church politics relies on Hledíková's research. Recently, David Mengel has also added to the discussion on conflicts between mendicants and parish priests in Prague.¹⁵

¹² Záchová, p. X.

¹³ Chaloupecký, 1908 and Hledíková, 1992.

¹⁴ Hledíková, 1992 writes that the *František Chronicle* was probably one source for Charles IV to learn the history of Bohemia, p. 154-55.

¹⁵ David Mengel, *Bones, Stones, and Brothels: Religion and Topography in Prague Under Emperor Charles IV (1346-1378)*, Dissertation, Notre Dame, Indiana, 2003.

In this chapter, I will first discuss the politics of the church and court to establish the context of the bishop's tenure as the last bishop of Prague. Next, I will discuss the bishop's art patronage both before and after his departure to Avignon. I will focus on the *František Chronicle* as a means for further insights on the bishop's patronage. Finally, I will suggest how the elevation of Prague to an archdiocese may have influenced the bishop's art patronage. Two of the bishop's manuscripts depict him as a patron. In the *Dražice Missal* [fig. 47] the bishop is kneeling in a votive position at the foot of the cross and in the *Statuta and necrologium* of the Roudnice monastery bishop Jan is portrayed standing, as a founder of the monastic institution holding a church, framed by an architectural setting [fig. 1]. While the first image is a typical image of a medieval patron, in a pose of devotion, the second is less typical. The bishop is acting independently and fully conscious of himself as a patron. This chapter will consider bishop Jan as a patron.

The Political Landscape

Jan's tenure as bishop of Prague, which spanned the greater part of the first half of the fourteenth century, was shaped in part by power struggles both within the ecclesiastical and secular realms. Conflicts between mendicants and parish priests were felt throughout Europe and included the Czech lands. The political landscape in fourteenth-century Bohemia was dominated in large part by the strength of the lords, which had a significant impact on the clergy as well as the court. The politics of the court, local lords, and the parish priests led to the bishop's exile to the papal court in Avignon for eleven years. It appears the bishop's exile was not mandatory. During his

time in Avignon the bishop could have possibly returned to his diocese, yet he stayed in Avignon to settle the dispute.

The Bishop and the Court

The beginning of the fourteenth century in Bohemia was a time of significant political change. The first half of the fourteenth century saw a rapid series of political changes; a coronation followed by an assassination, two short-lived successors, and one ousting all of which preceded the introduction of the Luxembourg dynasty to Bohemia in 1310. Bishop Jan was not only a witness to these events, but played an important role in the transition of the Bohemian throne from the local Přemysl to the Luxembourg dynasty. Prior to the better-known Charles IV era, local nobles (*páni*) asserted their power and engaged the king and his allies, including the bishop, in numerous power struggles.

At the time of Jan of Dražice's consecration as bishop in 1301, the Přemysl dynasty was at the height of its power. King Václav II (Wenceslas, 1278 – 1305) ruled Bohemia and Poland and although he had lost some of the territory from his father's reign (Otakar II. 1233-1278), the Kutná Hora mines made Bohemia a wealthy kingdom. There was only one glitch. Václav II was the only Přemysl heir and from his numerous children only one son, Václav III (Wenceslas, 1289 – 1306), survived him upon his death. Hence when the heirless young Václav III was assassinated a year into his reign there

were divided opinions on who should fill the empty throne. The first two replacements failed within a few years and a more permanent solution was needed.¹⁶

As described by Hledíková, Václav II's appointment of Jan IV of Dražice as bishop was a safe choice. In the thirteenth century, bishop Tobiáš (Tobias) of Bechyně (1278-96) had done much to change the role of the Prague bishop. He was from the upper nobility and became a powerful figure in Bohemia. Tobiáš was the first to have an independent military force, which he used as a service to the king; he organized the diocese properties, fortified towns, and generally had an independent public role.¹⁷ Tobiáš secured the town of Roudnice as a property of the diocese, for instance.¹⁸ Subsequently, Václav II may have found Jan's predecessor too threatening. Bishop Jan was from the lower nobility, but with a family history of service to the king and church. Hledíková argues that before 1306, bishop Jan dutifully fulfilled his role as an ally to the royal court.¹⁹

The bishop's role gained more prominence after Václav III's death, at a time when all concerned were invested in finding a replacement.²⁰ At this point, the episcopal property had grown and was second only to the king's. Although the property was part of the king's treasury, the bishop managed it independently, which allowed him a

¹⁶ The first kingly replacement was Rudolf Hapsburg (1281-1307), son of Emperor Albrecht I Hapsburg (1255-1308). Unfortunately, Rudolf died in 1307 and hence was in power for only a year. The second king was Henry of Carinthia (Jindřich Korutanský also known as Korutanec 1265-1335). He had married Anne sister to King Václav III and Eliška Přemyslovna (Elisabeth of Bohemia) and had been first in line for the throne in 1306 only to be pushed out by Rudolf.

¹⁷ Hledíková, 1992, pp. 17-18, repeated recently by Klára Benešová, "Pražský biskup Jan IV. Z Dražic" in *Královský snatek Eliška Přemyslovna a Jan Lucemburský-1310*, Gallery: Prague 2010 (also in English as *Royal Marriage*), p. 510.

¹⁸ Hledíková, 1992, p. 21.

¹⁹ Hledíková, 1992, p. 19-20.

²⁰ Chaloupecký describes the relationship of bishop Jan to the Czech kings, pp. 133-139.

considerable amount of power in the kingdom. This was especially true when the kingdom found itself without a king. Thus bishop Jan, although from the lower nobility, grew to enjoy the standing of a powerful feudal lord.

The Prague bishop came to play an important role in political negotiations. For example, the diet (*sněm*) to determine the successor of the short-lived Rudolf Hapsburg (1306-7) in 1307 was held at the bishop's residence.²¹ The heated meeting turned violent and a chancellor to the court was murdered.²² The result of the election was not unanimous, and František writes that "some" called on Henry of Carinthia (Jindřich Korutanský, sometimes referred to as Korutanec, 1307-10) to be their king.²³

Unfortunately Henry of Carinthia also disappointed the nobles. The chroniclers report that Henry did not know the customs of the land and overstepped his powers, especially with regard to several wealthy monastic institutions and the diocese.²⁴ In 1308, Holy Roman Emperor Albrecht I Hapsburg (1255 – 1308) was murdered and replaced by Henry VII of Luxembourg (1308 – 1313).²⁵ The Czech nobles and clergy, including bishop Jan and the archbishop of Mainz Peter Aspelt (1306 – 1320), turned to the new emperor for help.²⁶ The result was the marriage of Eliška Přemyslovna (Elisabeth of Bohemia, 1292-1330), sister of Václav III, and count John of Luxembourg,

²¹ František, Book I Ch 20 and Bláhová, *Chronicle of Beneš Krabrice of Veitmile, I*, year 1306, p. 465-466.

²² Ibid. According to František, the offending issue was the suggestion that King Václav's sister, Eliška Přemyslovna, marry a commoner who would become king.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Kapičková, Božena, *Eliška Přemyslovna: Královna česká*, Prague: Vyšehrad, 2003, p. 24 and Hledíková, 1992, p. 161.

²⁵ The year 1308 was a busy time. As the emperor was replaced, the archbishop of Mainz, Peter of Aspelt began negotiations with the Bohemian court and directs a visitation of the Prague Diocese, Hledíková, 1992, pp. 29-30 and pp. 36-38).

²⁶ Cistercian abbots were a part of this diplomatic mission. František writes that the bishop gave gifts to the future queen upon her departure, František, Book I Ch 21.

the son of emperor Henry VII, in 1310. The marriage allowed for the election of John of Luxembourg as king of Bohemia; however, the new king had to use military force to oust the old.²⁷

During king John's reign, the bishop of Prague again supported the king. He accompanied him on numerous military actions, including his initial entry into Bohemia to gain the control of Kutná Hora and Prague. He also accompanied the king to the imperial diet in Nürnberg in 1313 and again in 1315, the king appointed him lord high chamberlain (*hejtman*) in his absence.²⁸

The young Luxembourg king was challenged in many respects in his newly adopted land.²⁹ His position and ability to rule deteriorated further after his father, emperor Henry VII died, in 1313. Several nobles conspired yet again to replace the Luxembourg.³⁰ The chronicler František of Prague wrote that in 1317, king John was called back to Bohemia from his travels in order to resolve conflicts amongst the nobles.³¹ The bishop was a key component in these negotiations.³² However, the situation escalated into military conflict and divided the king's supporters.

In 1318, a crucial year for bishop Jan, king John negotiated with the nobles at the Domažlice diet, which resulted in the Domažlice agreement between the king and Czech

²⁷ Recent exhibition and catalogue staged in 2010 focuses on this political union and engages the cultural arts and context of the marriage. Klára Benešová, 2010.

²⁸ Chaloupecký, 1908, p. 137.

²⁹ The main biographies on King John of Luxembourg include, Josef Šusta, *Král cizinec [King Foreigner]*, Prague: J. Laichter, 1939 and Jiří Spěváček, *Král diplomat (Jan Lucemburský 1296-1346) [The Diplomatic King (John of Luxembourg 1296-1346)]*, Panorama: Prague, 1982.

³⁰ Chaloupecký, 1908, p. 137a.

³¹ František, Book II Ch 1.

³² Chaloupecký, 1908, pp. 136-137.

nobles.³³ The king was a skilled diplomat and attempted a compromise, nevertheless after the agreement the king had to step back from his direct involvement in Bohemian affairs. From this point on the king resolved to leave the Bohemian internal affairs to the local nobles and continued to engage in international politics. Hence during his long absences, mostly to avoid the local tensions, the estates held much of the political power. King John returned to Bohemia only to collect taxes to fund his international missions.

This time of the king's detachment from Bohemia coincides with the accusation of bishop Jan by Jindřich Schönburg from Litoměřice (Henry, also Schaumburg and in Czech Šumburk). During the 1318 negotiations the bishop had been explicitly on the side of the king. He issued a decree that called on the nobles to cooperate with the king and threatened excommunication if they did otherwise.³⁴ Up to this point the king rewarded the bishop's support. The king's increasingly weak role in the kingdom, however, created a vacuum of support for the bishop within the domestic scene. The bishop had opposed many of the nobles, including Jindřich Schönburg. The nobles in turn either did not support the bishop, or wanted to limit his powers within the kingdom. With the removal of the bishop and the king's absence for long periods of time, Bohemia was primarily in the hands of secular lords, leaving the kingdom without a central kingly or ecclesiastical power.

³³ Hugh LeCaine Agnew, *The Czechs and the lands of the Bohemian crown*. Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 2004, p. 30 sums up the key points of John's reign. Chaloupecký, 1908, pp. 136-137.

³⁴ Chaloupecký, 1908, p. 138.

The Ecclesiastical Climate

The bishop's position was less bleak at the beginning of his reign. According to Hledíková, in the first decade of his tenure, the bishop had to establish his standing in the diocese.³⁵ He acted, given the complicated political circumstances, in a conservative manner befitting his office, at the same time; he did not shy away from conflict. Specifically, František noted the bishop's interest in reforming his diocese from the onset; the bishop "saw how priests and rectors acted as merchants, not pastors, from which follows a great danger for the souls" [*videlicet quia plebani et rectores ecclesiarum errant quasi mercenarii, non ut pastores, ex quo sequebatur ingens periculum animarum*].³⁶ The first reforms were centered on a specific cultural practice within Bohemia which allowed local nobles (*baronibus*) influence over their parishes. According to Hledíková, it had been customary for local patrons of churches to select parish priests under yearly agreements and replace them at their will without the approval of the bishop.³⁷ Bishop Jan sought to gain sole authority over the appointment of parish priests and excommunicate those he did not ordain. František highlights the bishop's success with the nobles,

Thereafter, at the suggestion of the patrons he properly and rightfully confirmed parish priests, as is fit for the bishop's office and rank, so that they [the priests] continued their work on the care of the souls at the bishop's authority, celebrated the divine office and administered church sacraments. (*Deinceps ad presentationem patronorum plebanos ad ecclesias rite et legitime confirmavit, sicut spectat ad officium et episcopalem dignitatem, ita ut amplius curas*

³⁵ Hledíková, 1992, pp. 26-35, summarizes the bishop's actions, based on a surviving synod statute (1308).

³⁶ English translation is my own. František, Book I Ch 16, and discussed in Hledíková, 1992, p. 27-28.

³⁷ Hledíková, 1992, p. 27.

*animarum sibi commissas auctoritate domini episcopi sollicite gubernarent, officium divinum licite celebrando et sacramenta ecclesie populo ministrando.)*³⁸

Hledíková has verified from separate sources that bishop Jan excommunicated priests not officially confirmed and hence established his authority.³⁹ Hledíková argues that the bishop's success was probably due to paying of the nobility, and Jindřich of Lipé in particular, who became the most powerful lord especially after his alliance with the former queen Elizabeth Rejčka (Richeza, king Vaclav II's widow, 1286-1335).⁴⁰ The bishop gained greater authority over the parishes in turn for a monetary arrangement and political influence. The successful maneuvering of the bishop resulted in the opportunity for holding his first synod meeting in 1308, the first Prague synod in many years.⁴¹

The Vienne Council

The bishop's growing success from 1308 to 1318 is further demonstrated by the invitation to the Council in Vienne, France (October 1311 – May 6th, 1312).⁴² The archbishop of Mainz, Peter Aspelt did not attend the Council since he was in Prague as part of John of Luxembourg's court.⁴³ It is possible that the Prague bishop was the archbishop's representative at the Council.⁴⁴ No doubt the bishop's attendance would have provided a glimpse into the politics of the clergy across Europe. Hledíková has documented that after

³⁸ František, Book I, Ch 16.

³⁹ Hledíková, 1992, p. 28.

⁴⁰ After 1319, Jindřich of Lipé became the lord high chamberlain (hejtman) of Bohemia.

⁴¹ Hledíková, 1992, pp. 28-35.

⁴² Vienne is near Lyon, a city king Philippe took by force in 1310. František Book I, Ch 16.

⁴³ Hledíková, 1992, p. 35, Peter of Aspelt was an important and influential figure in Prague politics. He most likely helped orchestrate the marriage of John of Luxembourg to Elizabeth of Bohemia (1310) and became one of John's advisors. He stayed in Prague until 1315.

⁴⁴ Hledíková, 1992, p. 42. King John was elected in 1310 and his link to France as duke of Luxembourg could have also influenced the bishop's presence at the Vienne Council.

the Vienne Council, the bishop asserted greater authority in his diocese. Before the Council we have no documentation of parish priest appointments, whereas after the Council twelve ordinations are documented.⁴⁵

The Vienne Council had three main points on its agenda: the matter of the Templar Knights, the organization of a crusade to the Holy Land, and clerical order, reform, and morals. Two issues had an impact on European monasticism including the Bohemian kingdom: the abolition of the Templars and the reinstatement of the *Super cathedram* bull.⁴⁶

The Templar Knights were not central to the council itself, but they had a lasting effect on European monasticism. Against the agreement of the Council, pope Clement V (1305-1314) eliminated the order under the pressure from French king Philippe IV. All across Europe the Templars were disbanded, many were ordered arrested, and their property was turned over to the Hospitallers. Although the issue was the result of French politics, the repercussions were felt even in Prague where the Templar church of Saint Lawrence was given to the Hospitallers. They in turn sold it to the Dominicans. With the support of queen Eliška Přemyslovna, the Dominicans founded the convent of Saint Anne in its place in 1314.

As part of its discussion on priestly reform, the Council addressed a controversy over the jurisdiction of parish priests and mendicant friars. In the thirteenth century, the pope extended privileges to the mendicants in regard to preaching, hearing confessions,

⁴⁵ Hledíková, 1992, p. 69.

⁴⁶ Chaloupecký p. 139. The topics discussed at the Vienne Council are discussed at length by Hledíková, pp. 40-55. Also Edward Müller, *Das Konzil von Vienne, 1311-1312; seine quellen und seine geschichte*. Münster in Westfalen: Aschendorff, 1934.

and administering funerals.⁴⁷ The mendicant friars became popular with city populations and competed with city parishes.⁴⁸ In Prague, some guilds decided to bury their members in mendicant churches.⁴⁹ Understandably, parish priests did not appreciate the competition and depletion of income. Already in the thirteenth century and into the fourteenth, tension between the friars and the clergy often turned into open conflicts.⁵⁰

In 1300, pope Boniface VIII (1294 – 1303) had issued the *Super cathedram* bull. It stated that mendicants could hear confessions only with the agreement of the diocese or parish priests. They could preach, but not at the same time as the parish priests and they had to give a quarter of their income from burials to the parishes. This bull was reversed only a few years later, but the Vienne Council under the guidance of pope Clement V reinstated it. The bull was intended as a compromise between the monk preachers and the parish priests, but neither side was content with the arrangement. Some advantage, however, seemed to be on the side of the parishes.

The Council also redefined the relationship between inquisitors, who were often Dominicans, and local bishops. Since the Lateran Council of 1215 inquisitors were part of papal efforts to reform the church. Dominicans were trained as teachers and preachers with a keen interest in theology, especially distinctions between heresy and devotion. They were supported as inquisitors by popes and allowed privileges without jurisdiction of their local diocese. At the Council additional provisions redefined the relationship

⁴⁷ Chaloupecký, 1908, pp. 140-1.

⁴⁸ Mengel, pp.70-176.

⁴⁹ Chaloupecký, 1908, p. 141, claims that the butchers buried their members at the Saint James Minorite monastery in Prague.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 1908, pp. 140-2. A similar controversy was ensuing in England and Italy in the fourteenth century.

between inquisitors and local bishops. In all instances the inquisitors were to cooperate with bishops during proceedings.⁵¹

Upon his return from the Vienne Council in 1312, the bishop held a synod in Prague. Among several issues addressed by the bishop, many no doubt inspired by the Vienne Council's proceedings, the bishop announced the dissolution of the Templar Knights and the reinstatement of the *Super cathedram* bull.⁵² This was not welcomed by the Prague mendicants, who argued that the stipulations did not apply to them.⁵³ Bishop Jan added incentives to the laity in the form of indulgences for those who chose burial at parish churches over mendicant ones.⁵⁴

The role of the inquisitors soon became a point of contention in the Prague diocese. In Bohemia, inquisitors were not appointed on a regular basis in the thirteenth century. King Otakar II (1253 – 1278) and bishop Jan III (1258-1278) requested the appointment of inquisitors, and at this time the pope appointed Dominicans.⁵⁵ When John of Luxembourg became king, he asked the bishop to form an inquisition.⁵⁶ Sometime in 1315, inquisitors sentenced a group of heretics without the bishop's approval.⁵⁷ Among the accused was a doctor, Richard of Pavia. The bishop Jan released the doctor and a few others against the

⁵¹ Ibid., 1908, p. 140.

⁵² Only fragmentary documentation on the 1312 synod exists but Hledíková has analyzed this documentation in the context of other sources, pp. 57-61.

⁵³ Bláhová, *Zbraslav Chronicle*, p. 302.

⁵⁴ Hledíková, 1992, p. 63.

⁵⁵ Chaloupecký, 1908, p. 151.

⁵⁶ Chaloupecký, (on Palacký) p. 147, and p. 151.

⁵⁷ Chaloupecký, 1908, p. 151, Alexander Patschovsky, *Die Anfänge einer ständigen Inquisition in Böhmen: Ein Prager Inquisitoren-Handbuch aus der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts*, Berlin, 1975. Zbraslav Chronicle, states this occurred in 1315. The heretics were imprisoned at the Dominican monastery (Reg. III n. 41, p. 175).

wishes of the inquisitors.⁵⁸ Fourteen others were burned at the stake. The bishop's intervention in this manner caused him additional enemies amongst the Dominicans and was used as evidence, against the bishop in the accusation of 1318.⁵⁹

The Accusation

For bishop Jan, the conflicts with the nobles, the friction between mendicants and parish priests, and his issues with the inquisitors all came to a head in the year 1318. Jindřich Schönburg, the bishop's accuser, had an additional personal gripe against the bishop.⁶⁰ While the bishop was away in Vienne, Schönburg became the provost of Litomeřice probably through a papal provision and without the bishop's approval.⁶¹ When the bishop returned from Vienne in 1312, he replaced Schönburg with a member of his chapter. In addition, he ousted 18 priests from the local parishes and 150 scholars associated with the cathedral chapter.⁶²

Schönburg became the perfect spokesperson for the orders and the disgruntled nobles.⁶³ As early as 1316 Schönburg crafted an accusation against the bishop.⁶⁴ The first complaint was addressed to the archbishop, who promptly excommunicated the bishop.⁶⁵ The excommunication was eased after only half a year, so Schönburg took his complaints to

⁵⁸ Patschovsky, pp. 80-82.

⁵⁹ The inquisitors gained a third of the property of the accused, Chaloupecký, 1908, p. 152.

⁶⁰ The accusation is discussed in several sources. Discussion of the accusation in František, Book I, Ch 31 and *Zbraslav Chronicle*, Book II Ch 4. Transcribed by Patschovsky, p. 80-89.

⁶¹ Chaloupecký, p. 138.

⁶² Chaloupecký, 1908, p. 153 also discussed in a recent dissertation by Mengel.

⁶³ Chaloupecký writes that the Litomeřice Dominicans and Minorites specifically had disagreements with the bishop, most likely over the *Super cathedram* bull.

⁶⁴ Chaloupecký, p. 148 and p. 153, the suspension in Bohemia was executed by two Cistercian abbots, from Osek and Sedlec. *Zbraslav Chronicle* discusses the accusation in 1318.

⁶⁵ The Archbishop of Mainz was Peter Aspelt.

the pope. The papacy took this matter seriously and suspended the bishop while they reviewed his case.⁶⁶

The actual accusation stated that the bishop aided heretics, committed simony, and disobedience to the church.⁶⁷ It was probably the inquisition, which above all resonated with pope Jean XXII (John, 1316-1334) and on April 1st, 1318 the pope issued a suspension. The heresy accusation no doubt refers to the bishop's intervention in the heresy trials of 1315, when the bishop released the doctor Richard of Pavia. King John appealed to the pope, but with no success, since his hands were tied on April 23rd in the above-mentioned Domažlice agreement.

From 1318, or after the bishop's suspension, the pope was responsible for appointing the inquisitors in Bohemia.⁶⁸ On May 1st, 1318 the job was given to two Dominicans, Kolda of Koldic and Hartman from Plzeň.⁶⁹ On May 10th the bishop left for the papal court, then in Avignon, to resolve the accusation in person. At his departure, he probably did not expect he would stay in Avignon for eleven years. In the wake of his departure the bishop's supporters, at least for a time, imprisoned Schönburg.⁷⁰

The Avignon Exile and the Glorious Return

The reasons for bishop Jan's extended stay in Avignon are not easily explained. Few sources describe his time in southern France. For several years, the bishop's legal

⁶⁶ Chaloupecký, 1908, p. 154.

⁶⁷ Patschovsky, pp. 80-89 and discussed in Hledíková, 1992, pp. 82-89.

⁶⁸ May 1st 1318, Patschovsky, p. 80-89.

⁶⁹ Patschovsky, pp. 191-193. Kolda of Koldic was connected to the Saint Jiří convent and abbess Kunhuta and probably authored part to the abbesses so-called *Passional* manuscript.

⁷⁰ Bláhová, *Zbraslav Chronicle*, p. 441.

appeal was at a standstill and there are virtually no known references on the bishop during this time.⁷¹ Pope Clement V, who died in 1314, had influenced many of the provisions concerning inquisitors and mendicants at the Vienne Council and perhaps would have been more sympathetic to bishop Jan's difficult position. As bishop Jan's stay in Avignon coincided with pope Jean XXII's tenure, however, the pope immediately issued a statement to ensure that the inquisition would continue in Prague, despite the bishop's absence.⁷²

The low point of the bishop's stay in Avignon must have been in 1323 when a request came from king John to replace bishop Jan with Jindřich Schönburg, the bishop's accuser.⁷³ Pope Jean XXII refused this motion, on the grounds that the episcopal seat in Prague was not empty. Chaloupecký speculated that the Bohemian nobility forced the king to request the replacement and it may indicate the absence of a bishop was a general problem for the kingdom.⁷⁴

By 1325, there was some progress on the bishop's case. A witness testified at the papal court and king John made a plea for the bishop. Then almost miraculously, the process moved quickly and on June 2nd, 1329 the bishop was back in Prague and fully exonerated. What brought about this change? It is hard to say since there are few sources. The ongoing inquisition in Bohemia might have been a factor. From 1318 to his death in

⁷¹ Apparently, the Prague bishop was not the only dignitary stuck at the papal court in Avignon, others including a bishop from Zagreb suffered a similar fate.

⁷² From 1323 pope Jean XXII had disagreements with Emperor Louis of Bavaria. He also had an ongoing controversy over the question of the Beatific Vision. In 1329, pope Jean condemned Meister Eckhart.

⁷³ Hledíková, 1992, p. 118.

⁷⁴ Chaloupecký, 1908, p. 157.

1327, Kolda of Koldic had been active as inquisitor in Bohemia.⁷⁵ He even placed an interdict on the city of Prague from 1319-1320, which coincided with minimal progress in the bishop's case at the papal court. Hledíková writes that in 1327, the bishop's case was essentially resolved, leaving the bishop plenty of time to plot his next actions.⁷⁶ This date corresponds to inquisitor Kolda's death. It seems possible that the easing of the inquisition in Bohemia coincided with the resolution of the bishop's case in Avignon.⁷⁷

Whatever the case may be, the almost eighty year-old bishop was free to return to Prague, where he was welcomed from at least a contingent of the church and court. František writes that the bishop was greeted with a procession of prelates, canons, parish priests, as well as lords, townsfolk and many others.⁷⁸ Although there are few sources to inform us about the bishop's activities during his stay in Avignon, we know that he returned to Prague from southern France with manuscripts and most likely a connection to a French mason. On his way back he may have also traveled through Pavia, Italy, where it was thought he obtained the customs for the Roudnice monastery, although Jaroslav Kadlec later reversed this.⁷⁹

In addition to reestablishing his office and placing his diocese in order, the bishop encountered problems he faced before his departure. The bishop also resumed his support

⁷⁵ Patschovsky has printed an inquisition handbook from this period. Interdict is discussed p. 46-55. There Kolda is cited numerous times between 1318 and 1327. pp. 93-231.

⁷⁶ Hledíková, 1992, p. 164.

⁷⁷ By 1327 the pope also had other worries for example open conflicts with Louis of Bavaria.

⁷⁸ It is not surprising that František writes glowingly of the bishop's return Book I Ch 31. However, even the *Zbraslav Chronicle* describes a rejoicing upon the bishop's return Book II Ch 12.

⁷⁹ Jaroslav Kadlec, "Začátky klátera augustiniánů kanovníků v Roudnici," *Studie o rukopisech*, 21, 1981, pp. 65-83, Kadlec argues that the bishop most likely obtained the customs at Saint Ruf in Avignon. Originally Ignac Zibermayer believed bishop Jan acquired the customs from Pavia in "Zur Geschichte der Raudnitzer reform," *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Instituts für Geschichte forschung t. XI Innsbruck: Ergänzungsband*, (1929) 323-353.

of the king, for instance: he supported the king's military action in 1331.⁸⁰ Jindřich of Schönburg was appointed as provost in Litomeřice and the inquisition continued at the pope's insistence.

The disagreements between the mendicants and the clergy had continued during the bishop's absence. In 1334, bishop Jan read and reasserted the *Super cathedram* in a Prague church. In response a violent fight broke out. According to Augustin Neumann, the city folk, presumably the merchants, sided with the monks, while the common people sided with the parish priests. According to František, the incident was the talk of the town.⁸¹ The bishop prohibited all contact between the laity and the mendicants, threatening excommunication. The deep animosity lasted for six months when a negotiation between the bishop, who represented the clergy, and Schönburg who represented the mendicants, established some order.⁸² The bishop did not sway the laity away from the monks. The status quo became the *Super cathedram*, yet again, but the issue continued to resonate in Bohemian monasteries and parishes throughout the fourteenth century.⁸³

The Bishop as Patron

By all accounts the bishop was a dominant patron of art and architecture in Bohemia in the first half of the fourteenth century, especially after his return from

⁸⁰ František, Book II, Ch 22.

⁸¹ Bláhová, *Merigold Chronicle, Zbraslav Chronicle* and Augustin Neumann. *Prameny k dějinám duchovestva v době předhusitské a Husově [Sources for the history church history during the prehussite and Hussite period]*. Nakladem matice cyrilometodějské, Olomouc, 1926, pp. 19-20.

⁸² Chaloupecký, 1908, p. 150.

⁸³ Mengel, p. 175, Mengel discusses *Super cathedram* controversy and the inquisition on pages 170-176.

Avignon.⁸⁴ In fact, many scholars believe that the bishop's stay in France inspired the elderly bishop to transfer the cultural glory of French medieval art to Prague. This notion that the French setting inspired the bishop probably stems in part from Chaloupecký's biography but no doubt coincides with the strong belief that all-important culture came to Eastern Europe from the West. In 1908 Chaloupecký writes,

“Jan's long stay abroad—Avignon the new Rome—had a decisive influence on the bishop. His life gained purpose. He developed a profound understanding for culture, art, and refined his style. What he saw abroad, he tried to reproduce at home: he built beautiful buildings, often with impressive dimension, and he indulged his artistic interests. [*Janův dlouholetý pobyt v cizině, Avignoně—v tomto novém Římě, měl na něho vliv rozhodující. Život jeho tím dostal směr. Vyvinul se v něm hluboký smysl pro kulturu, umění, jeho vkus se vytříbil. A co viděl v cizině snažil se napodobiti i doma: prováděl nádherné stavby, často imponentních rozměrů, hověl svým uměleckým zálibám.*]”⁸⁵

In the 1972 Dobroslava Menclová echoes Chaloupecký almost exactly,

The long stay in southern France, steeped in rich culture, was so captivating that as soon as his return to Bohemia, [the bishop] exerted all of his inexhaustible energy to make in his native land and in the shortest possible time, at least an inkling of the environment that surrounded him in the busy city of white marble spread out on the banks of the green river Rhone. [*Dlouholetý pobyt v prostředí francouzského jihu prosyceném bohatou kultúrou byl tak podmanivý, že sotva se vrátil do Čech, napnul celou svou nevyčerpatelnou energii k tomu, aby v době co možná nejkratší vykouzil v rodné zemi alespon zdání toho prostředí, jež ho obklopovalo v rušném městě z bílého mramoru, rozloženém na březích sivě zelených vod Rhonu.*]”⁸⁶

⁸⁴ M. Papík, *Architektura dražického okruhu [Architecture of the Dražic Circle]*. Prague: Dissertation at the Department of the History of Art Philosophy Faculty, Charles University, 1972 compiled the buildings and assessed the so-called Dražice workshop. Tomáš Durdík, “Hrady pražského biskupství (arcibiskupství),” in *Archæologia historica* 21 (1996) 291-306, has investigated the bishop's castles, while Max Dvořák, “Knihovna kláštera augustiniánů konovníků v Roudnici [The Library of the Roudnice Augustinian Monastery].” *Český časopis historický (ČČH)* VI (1900) 118-131, and to some extent Václav Chaloupecký, 1908, have looked at the manuscripts in the Roudnice library collection.

⁸⁵ Chaloupecký, 1908, p. 60.

⁸⁶ Menclová, p. 36, similar sentiment is found in the work of Václav Mencl for example, “Biskup Jan IV. z Dražic v dějinách architektury [Bishop Jan IV from Dražice in the History of Architecture].” *Stenčovo Umění* XIII (1941).

Chaloupecký reflects nationalist sentiments of the nineteenth century. Menclová, on the other hand, was writing in the communist era of the 1970s, but she repeats and solidifies the established lines of thought from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁸⁷ While Menclová and Chaloupecký reflect cultural biases of their time, this mode of thought continued to influence art history into the late twentieth century and still influences scholars in the twenty-first century.

Although the eleven-year stay in Avignon must have been a profound influence on the bishop, we should closely examine the motivations for the bishop's patronage and reasons for a connection to Avignon and France without the nationalist lenses. Upon examination I believe that the bishop looked to his time in Avignon as a model, consisting of a set of ideas concerning appropriate patronage choices, for the purpose of elevating his diocese to an archdiocese, rather than a wish to disseminate a new French style in Bohemia. In fact, influences from France were already present in Prague well before the bishop's return from Avignon. Recent work by Benešovská suggests that during the reign of Václav II a new style of architecture influenced by France began, but did not flourish in Bohemia, especially at Cistercian monasteries such as the Cistercian abbey at Sedlec (1282-1320).⁸⁸

⁸⁷ Marta Filipová, "The Construction of a National Identity in Czech Art History" *Centropa* 8, 3, September 2008 and Eva Schmidt-Hartmann, "Forty Years of Historiography under Socialism in Czechoslovakia. Continuity and Change in Patterns of Thought," *Bohemia* 29 (1988): 300–325.

⁸⁸ Klára Benešovská, "Architecture at the Crossroads: Three examples from Bohemia circa 1300" in Gajewski, Alexandra and Zoë Opačić. *The Year 1300 and the Creation of a New European Architecture*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2007.

Even though we lack many of the bishop's works, we have in their place primary sources, especially chronicles, which inform us of the bishop's works and patronage. In particular, the *František Chronicle* details the bishop's deeds and discusses his patronage. Many scholars have applied this chronicle to document the bishop's chronology, life and his deeds. I will certainly do the same, as František is a valuable source and beyond the essential facts, the chronicle offers untapped sources of information on the bishop's priorities and motivations that have not been fully exploited by scholars. The chronicle was also a work intended for a specific audience of learned clerics, members of the court, and nobles. As such, it demonstrates the diversity of the bishop's patronage both in form and ideal. It is unique in that it is both a commissioned work, hence an example of his patronage, but also a reflective view onto the patronage itself. In this chapter I will use František as a guide to the bishop's works, as I believe he best reflects the motivations of his patron.

František details the bishop's tenure in two chapters.⁸⁹ Chapter sixteen describes the time of the bishop's tenure from his ordination through the Vienne Council and return to Prague. Chapter thirty-one describes the accusation, departure to Avignon, and glorious return to Prague. While the chronicle unabashedly aggrandizes the bishop, many of František's statements are verifiable by other sources. Although the bishop did not write the chronicle himself, it is the closest source on his thoughts and motivations for his patronage and can reveal the way in which the bishop wished to portray himself and in

⁸⁹ František, Book I, Chs. 16 and 31.

turn his diocese.⁹⁰ The chronicle reveals a program that aimed at a greater visibility, literally and symbolically, within the kingdom, and was manifest in a variety of ways and addressed different segments of the population through buildings, churches and residences, manuscripts, chronicles, and other liturgical furnishings and objects. We can surmise that the bishop's work was a program of art patronage meant to display the importance and independence of both the Dražice family and the Prague diocese.

The Architectural Landscape

While the bishop became a dominant patron of art in Bohemia, second or even equal only to the king, his patronage activity did not begin after his return; rather, there is ample evidence that he was an invested patron throughout his tenure. There has been some attempt to identify a Dražice workshop, or a group of masons who would have worked exclusively for the bishop to produce his residences and work at churches and other sites.⁹¹ Such a workshop could have worked at the discretion of the bishop or merely represented a workshop frequently employed by the bishop. Such attempts have not been successful as the bishop's residences and churches show a great variety of styles and techniques. This does not mean that the bishop lacked a building program, but that he likely employed different building groups for the variety of his building projects.

František indicated that already early in his reign the bishop built and repaired churches in his diocese, František lists the bishop's patronage among other actions taken by the bishop after his return from Vienne in 1312. The bishop held a synod, supported

⁹⁰ This is not unlike the role of abbot Suger at Saint Denis documented in his writings.

⁹¹ Papík, 1976.

the king in a military campaign, offered many charitable works, and "...built many churches in his diocese and especially at his episcopal residences and established fortifications, various residential and agricultural buildings. [*Ecclesias quoque plures in sua diocesi et precipue in episcopatu construxit, municiones ac varia commoda et edificia instaurando.*]"⁹²

Of course the most important ecclesiastical building to the bishop and the city of Prague was the cathedral at the Hradčany hill. During the bishop's tenure the cathedral was the Romanesque basilica of Saint Vít, Václav, and Vojtěch (Vitus, Wenceslaus, and Adalbert) built during the eleventh century and consecrated on April 14,th 1096.⁹³ The gothic cathedral visible today was rebuilt in the second half of the fourteenth century by emperor Charles IV and archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice as the new seat of the archdiocese of Prague.⁹⁴ Part of the excavated crypt is the only remaining part of the eleventh century building. Archeological excavations have determined that the basilica was slightly misaligned relative to the gothic cathedral [fig. 8].⁹⁵ Most likely the cathedral had two apses on the east and west ends of the cloister building, two towers on the west end, and a nave with a columnar arcade. A few remnants of the building were uncovered during restorations in the nineteenth century and include a column and capital

⁹² František, Book I, Ch 16.

⁹³ Dobroslav Líbal and Pavel Zahradník, *Katedrála svatého Víta na Pražském hradě*, Prague Unicornis, 1999, pp. 11-14, cites *Cosmas Chronicle* and in English Jan Frolík, "Prague Castle in the Early and High Middle Ages in the Light of Archaeology" in *Quaestiones medii aevi novae/ Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*, 4 (1999) p. 184.

⁹⁴ Founding stone was laid on November 21st, 1344. The fourteenth century cathedral extends from the east apse to the choir. In the nineteenth century the cathedral was finished according to the fourteenth century plan.

⁹⁵ The first excavations were conducted by Josef Mocker and Kamil Hilbert at the time of the nineteenth century building of the Saint Vít cathedral.

heads with low relief carvings [fig. 9]. Although, as Jan Frolík points out, the complex could have been adapted and rebuilt between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries.⁹⁶

The cathedral complex included a two-story building on the southwest end of the basilica, which housed the cathedral chapter of canons and originally the bishop (house number 48).⁹⁷ Remnants of the Romanesque structure are visible on the east exterior wall [fig. 10].

No significant changes to the cathedral are documented during bishop Jan's tenure. Saint Vít Cathedral had a conventual complex including a cloister and refectory and several yet unidentified spaces already in the late twelfth century, with documented repairs throughout the thirteenth.⁹⁸ In 1280 rain damaged the vaults of the cloister and the refectory walls shifted. Repairs were done, but the dating is not certain and may have not occurred until the beginning of bishop Jan's tenure in 1301.

Remnants of the cloister are currently visible in the cathedral crypt and others part of excavations on the north side of the cathedral [figs. 8 and 11].⁹⁹ Based on archeological evidence Durdík et al. believe the south and west aisles had Romanesque features with thick transverse arches and most likely a timber roof, while the east and north aisle had more gothic features, including four-part rib vaults and compound pier

⁹⁶ Frolík, 1999, pp. 177-195.

⁹⁷ Klára Benešová, *Architektura romanská, Deset Století Architektury*, Správa Pražského Hradu, Prague, 2001, p. 59.

⁹⁸ Tomáš Durdík, Petr Chotěbor, and Jan Muk, "Klášter kostela pražského na Pražském hradě." *Archaeologica Pragensia* 5 (1984) pp. 113-124. Also noted in Klára Benešová, "Pramen ideální podoby kapitulního chrámu sv. Petra a Pavla" in *Vyšehrad*. Ed. Bořivoj Nechvátal and Alois Kleibl. Praha: Odeon, 1976. p. 93, fn 23 and Benešová, 2010, p. 511.

⁹⁹ Durdík, Chotěbor, Muk 1984, have tried to compile all the existing evidence.

profiles.¹⁰⁰ One fragmentary compound pier with pear-shaped ribs survives in the south aisle of the cloister in the southeast corner visible today in the Saint Vít crypt [fig. 11]. Durdík agrees with Líbal that this fragment reflects a high quality of workmanship and reflects advanced Gothic forms.¹⁰¹

As befitting a bishop, Jan dedicated new altars at the cathedral, provided new furnishings and liturgical objects as necessary, and established his final resting place. František wrote that in 1305, the bishop established the Saint Sylvester altar at the cathedral.¹⁰² František adds that this patronage was funded from bishop Jan's private funds as a charitable gift. The Saint Sylvester altar is again mentioned in the *Beneš Chronicle* in 1329, after the bishop's return from Avignon, along with the foundation of a second altar dedicated to Saint Martha.¹⁰³ While still in France, the bishop had visited Marseille where he acquired a hymn for Saint Martha that he asked to be sung in Bohemia.¹⁰⁴ František describes the bishop's final resting place in detail. The tombstone with Saint Vojtěch was gold and silver and decorated with extraordinary sculptures and engravings that were unfamiliar in the Czech context. The bishop also procured a gilded bronze statue of a priest to be placed on the tomb.¹⁰⁵ According to Benešovská, the

¹⁰⁰ Durdík, Chotěbor, Muk 1984. Durdík also documents a window, which he claims is unique in the Czech context, but it is not illustrated.

¹⁰¹ Durdík, Chotěbor, Muk 1984, "počin špickové kvality" p. 122.

¹⁰² František, Book III Ch 4, and Hledíková, 1992, illustrations.

¹⁰³ Bláhová, *Chronicle of Beneš Krabice of Weitmile*, year 1329.

¹⁰⁴ Hledíková, 1992, p. 123.

¹⁰⁵ František, Book III, B, Ch 16.

bishop's tomb was placed at the aforementioned Saint Sylvester altar.¹⁰⁶ Although the tomb does not survive it is recorded in the cathedral's inventory from 1355-1387.¹⁰⁷

Other than the cathedral, the bishop was associated with the collegiate church of Saint Jiljí (Gall) in the Old Town, as he was a canon at this institution when he became bishop in 1301 [figs. 12-15].¹⁰⁸ As bishop he would have had jurisdiction over the church although the church's building history is not clear, nor has it been thoroughly examined. Bishop Jan contributed funds for rebuilding in 1313 and again in 1316.¹⁰⁹ The church was not consecrated, however, until 1371 by archbishop Jan Očko of Vlašimi. Perhaps the delayed consecration was due to the bishop's departure to Avignon, then again, we may be missing documentation on the original consecration. Nevertheless, the bishop's link to this church is clear since the west end advertizes the Dražice family crest as well as the heralds of archbishop Arnošt and the Prague archdiocese [fig. 13].

The church is a hall-type with two towers on the west end, a square east end and no distinction between the choir and nave [fig. 14]. The interior has been altered since the medieval period especially on the interior; however, the plan and exterior masonry of finely cut stone including the towers and buttresses, and a portal on the south side of the church are intact [fig. 15].¹¹⁰ Recently uncovered frescos in the west end are dated to the early fourteenth century. Despite the lack of an east end, Saint Jiljí is an impressive

¹⁰⁶ Benešová, 2010, p. 514.

¹⁰⁷ Václav Ryneš, "Poslední Pražský Biskup Jan IV. z Dražic, Ctitel Zemských Patronů", in *Tisíc let Pražského biskupství (973-1973)*, Rome křesťanská akademie, 1973, pp. 77-78, and Katedrála sv. Víta (Prague, Czech Republic), Adolf Patera, and Ant Podlaha. *Soupis rukopisů Knihovny Metropolitní kapitoly pražské. Sest. Ad. Patera a Ant. Podlaha*. Prague, Nákl: České akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1910, p. 50.

¹⁰⁸ Líbal, 2001, p. 366-367. Benešová, 2010, pp. 511-512.

¹⁰⁹ Vlček 1996, p. 84, Líbal 2001, p. 366.

¹¹⁰ The top stories of the towers were rebuilt later.

building and its height would have competed with the numerous mendicant churches in the Old Town. The lack of an east end has been attributed to the thick fabric of the urban landscape, rather than a statement in opposition to mendicant style churches.¹¹¹ Although it is possible that the bishop and later archbishop would have extended the building east given the opportunity. Benešovská points out the stylistic similarity of the south portal articulation to the House at the Stone Bell at the Old Town Square, which indicates a similar building timeframe for at least this portion of the building [figs. 15 and 7]. If the house is indeed built between 1310-1315 for the purpose of housing John of Luxembourg and his new bride, then it is likely that this part of Saint Jiljí was built at the same time and included masons connected to the royal court.¹¹²

Apart from church foundations, the bishop built and repaired several episcopal and family residences. We know from František that after his return from Avignon, the bishop purchased two castles, Kyšperk and Hernštejn, in western and northern Bohemia.¹¹³ We have little other information about these sites, and they most likely were not significantly rebuilt in the fourteenth century. The Dražice family owned two other residences; a castle in Dražice and a residence in Litovice, near Prague, both had significant building campaigns in the fourteenth century.¹¹⁴ In addition to the family

¹¹¹ Benešovská, p. 511.

¹¹² Ibid., pp. 511-512.

¹¹³ Hledíková, 1992, pp. 140-143, František, Book I Ch 16.

¹¹⁴ In his dissertation, Papík has compiled all of the sites associated with the bishop under a Dražice workshop. This work unfortunately only catalogues the works and supporting material and does not provide a synthesis of its findings.

properties, the bishop was also in charge of episcopal residences including the town of Roudnice, Horšovský Týn, and Prague in the Lesser Quarter (Malá Strana).¹¹⁵

Earlier literature claims that the Litovice residence near Prague was probably the first residence of the Dražice family and that the site was originally built during the thirteenth century and rebuilt in the fourteenth century under bishop Jan [fig. 16-18].¹¹⁶ Řehník, bishop Jan's father, who was a courtier at the king's court, mentions the site in 1266.¹¹⁷ Today the exterior walls survive, but the building has been mostly gutted as it was used as an agricultural storage facility in the twentieth century, however some window articulations remain, as well as portals and fireplace mantels, and a spiral staircase. The Dražice crest is visible above the north stairway portal [fig. 17].

Recent architectural analysis by Michael Rykl indicates that the entire site was built in one phase, sometime in the first half of the fourteenth century.¹¹⁸ Both Rykl and Tomáš Durdík believe that Litovice represents a unique building in the Czech context, both in terms of the layout of the entire structure and the portal and window details. Benešová describes the site as a French 'manoir' and I think further comparison to southern French residences of the fourteenth century would be warranted.¹¹⁹ The possible French influence as well as the fact that the residence was built in one phase

¹¹⁵ Literature on Czech castles must mention Menclová, pp. 34-43 (Vol. II), more recently Tomáš Durdík, *Encyclopedia českých hradů*, Prague, Libri, 2005, and "Hrady pražského biskupství (arcibiskupství)" in *Archæologia historica* 21 (1996) pp. 291-306.

¹¹⁶ Hledíková, 1992, p. 19, Benešová 2001, p. 205, Libal 2001, p. 238, Menclová p. 42-43, Tomáš Durdík and Petr Chotěbor, "Projevy přímého působení francouzské stavební huti v české architektuře feudálních sídel 14. století." *Archæologia historica* 18 (1993), pp. 225-237.

¹¹⁷ Menclová, p. 42

¹¹⁸ Michael Rykl, "Litovice hloubový průzkum tvrže" in *Průzkumy památek* I, (1995).

¹¹⁹ Benešová, p. 512

suggests that this site was built after bishop Jan's return from Avignon.¹²⁰ While Rykl agrees that the design and articulation indicate a foreign mason, he also admits that the mason may have supplied only templates and plans and local mason could have completed the work.¹²¹

Unlike Litovice, building at the Dražice family castle in northern Bohemia likely went on in the early fourteenth century in several phases [fig. 19-21]. Earlier authors such as Menclová and Líbal place the rebuilding in the 1330's.¹²² Bishop Jan's father, Řehník, probably built the residence and it is first recorded as a "*castrum*" in 1264.¹²³ Today the site is romantic looking ruin, but originally had two tracts one on north and second on southwest side of the complex surrounded by fortifications [figs. 20-21]. The surviving building reveals the interior of the south tract and includes a fireplace shaft and window and portal articulations [figs. 21]. While the first building phase was probably conducted during the end of the thirteenth century, a majority of the castle was rebuilt under bishop Jan in the first half of the fourteenth century. Durdík confirms rebuilding at Dražice began in the early fourteenth century as dendrochronological analysis of a lintel in the western part of the castle dates to 1307.¹²⁴ Durdík also points to French influence, primarily in the details of portal and window articulations.¹²⁵ However, there is little similarity between Litovice and Dražice and while Litovice is built of stone, Dražice is a

¹²⁰ Most recently confirmed by Rykl, p. 66, Durdík, 1993, pp. 233-236.

¹²¹ Rykl, pp. 49-72.

¹²² Líbal, 2001, p. 86 states rebuilding began in 1335. While Menclová, pp. 35-40, claims that building at Dražice continued from 1302-18, was finished in 1335, yet rebuilding continued after the bishop's return from 1333-1343.

¹²³ Menclová, pp. 136-138, Tomáš Durdík and Petr Chotěbor, 1993, pp. 225-237.

¹²⁴ Durdík, 2005, p. 27, and 122-124.

¹²⁵ Líbal, 2001, p. 86, Durdík, 2005, p. 27.

rare example of medieval brick and mortar building in Bohemia with only portal and window articulations executed in stone. It is again difficult to pinpoint precise sources, and again as in Litovice local masons could have worked from of templates.

Above all, from the first phase of the bishop's tenure, František described most elaborately the Prague episcopal residence in the Lesser Quarter. Originally on the Hradčany hill, the residence had been moved from the cathedral complex to its site near the bridge sometime in the twelfth century.¹²⁶ Today the residence is barely visible in the current fabric of the city [figs. 22-25]. In the fourteenth century, however, the fortified residence would have been in a strategically significant position near the Saint Judith Bridge [figs. 26]. The tower with remaining gothic arches is today a hotel, but the Dražice heralds are still in plain view on the tower above the original pointed arch entrance to the complex [fig. 23-25].

Where we lack stone and mortar we have text. František discussed the residence at length, still chronologically before the bishop's departure to Avignon, which indicates that the bishop began renovations before his departure. František wrote that the bishop had a grand palace and chapel built of finely cut stone to replace the mostly timber residence.¹²⁷ The refectory hall was decorated with moral and didactic verses and coats

¹²⁶ Durdík, 2005, p. 64.

¹²⁷ Full text in František, Book I, Ch 16. *Specialiter curiam suam circa pontem Pragensem venustissime reformavit; nam prius porta eius de rudi opere cum lignis et septis et alia commoda intrinseca facta fuerunt, ipse vero in porta turrim de lapidibus sectis et dolatis fortissimam erexit et granaria usque ad turrim pontis cum aliis pluribus edificiis valide perfecit, lateribus ea firmiter tegendo.* Although, according to Durdík, a portion of this residence would be built of stone in the thirteenth century. Durdík 1996 p. 291.

of arms of knights, lords and nobles of the kingdom.¹²⁸ The chapel had beautiful paintings and images of former bishops. “*Capellam pulcherrimis picturis depingi procuravit, in qua ymagines omnium episcoporum Pragensium secundum ordinem sunt situate.*” The *ymagines* of bishops have been often compared to the Peter Parler portrait busts in the later Saint Vít cathedral by Peter Parler and could have been the inspiration for such a tradition; however, they could have also been paintings as František is not clear.¹²⁹ In fact, frescoes of two bishops (Jan and Tobias of Bechyně) and the archbishop Arnošt are a prominent feature of a small church on the outskirts of Prague in Kyje and could indicate a similar cycle of paintings as the Prague residence. The Saint Bartoloměj (Bartholomew) fresco’s were restored in the late twentieth century and are dated to 1330s or 1340s [fig. 27].¹³⁰

František’s last description of the interior is most interesting, “In particular, [the bishop] decorated with various paintings and symbols of prophets and apostles with their own figures in the best proportion, and texts, he brought the aforesaid verses from the roman papal court. [*Speciale vero commodum suum variis ymaginibus fuit decoratum et symbolum prophetarum et apostolorum cum suis propriis figures et scripturis exstat signatum in optim proporcione, quod de curia cum prefatis versibus attulit romana.*]”¹³¹

¹²⁸ František, Book I, Ch 16. *Palacium vero sive cenaculum scripturis et picturis extat repletum, multi quidem versus doctrinales et morales sunt ibi notati, et multi clipei principum, baronum ac regni nobelium sunt decenter depicti.*

¹²⁹ František, Book I, Ch 16. The Parler portraits are in the cathedral triforium and include portraits of the Emperor, his wives as well as the archbishop and even the master mason himself. Also mentioned by Crossley, Paul and Zoë Opačić, “Prague as a New Capital,” in Boehm, Barbara Drake, and Jiří Fajt. *Prague: The Crown of Bohemia, 1347-1437*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005, p. 59.

¹³⁰ Zuzana Všecková, in Benešová 2010, pp. 178-181 and 129-130.

¹³¹ Bláhová translates the first part of this section as “Especially, the bedroom of the bishop was decorated with various paintings.”

František clearly indicated the bishop's choice of the papal court as a model for the Prague residence. The reference is a slight conflation of events, as the bishop does not depart for Avignon until a later chapter; František nevertheless emphasized the bishop's interest in the papal court as a model for his new home. It is likely the bishop began building in Prague after his return from the Vienne Council. The bishop could have added to his residence, even built or repaired parts of it after his long absence from Prague. Writing in the 1340s, František may not have been aware which parts of the bishop's residence were built before the bishop left for Avignon.

Overall, chapter sixteen underscores the bishop's role in the kingdom as a supporter of the king and reformer of his diocese. The bishop's patronage of churches and buildings, especially the Prague episcopal residence, are presented as charitable works with a moral function. The bishop's connection to the papal court is emphasized, even if sacrificing chronological accuracy.

Roudnice: The New Avignon

A separate chapter in the chronicle, chapter thirty-one, František detailed the bishop's conflict with Jindřich of Schönburg, departure to Avignon, and glorious return to Prague. Again František followed the bishop's travels with descriptions of his patronage in his home diocese. Sequentially after the return, František stated that the bishop regained control of his properties and set out to repair and fortify properties

damaged during his absence. He also purchased new properties, including a castle in Herštejn and Kyšperk, and founded new churches where there were none.¹³²

Perhaps one of the churches founded by bishop Jan after his return was near the town of Dražice and the Dražice castle. The small parish church, now greatly rebuilt, but no doubt supported by the bishop, was dedicated to Saint Ludmila (now Saint Martin) church and has been dated by Dobroslav Líbal to pre-1338.¹³³ The church is built of bricks with architectural details carved in stone, similar as the Dražice castle.

But, according to František, the bishop's main focus in his final years turned to the episcopal town of Roudnice some 60 km north of Prague. The bishop built a bridge, hospital, chapel and a new monastery [fig. 28]. Overall, the bishop aimed to transform Roudnice, a town with a square and a small parish church, into a grand episcopal site accessed by one of the few stone bridges in the kingdom. It is hard to miss the visual parallel to the new papal town of Avignon [figs. 29-31]. The foundations, according to František, were for the glorification and salvation of mankind and most specifically to help the people of Roudnice. Through these generous gifts the bishop hoped to be recognized as a compassionate and caring leader with "eternal glory."¹³⁴

Although the episcopal residence in Roudnice would have been a prominent feature on a hilly outcropping next to the river Elbe overlooking the small town, František does not mention it, however it is likely some renovations took place if not a major rebuilding [fig. 32]. Today, the medieval complex is almost completely obscured

¹³² Also known as Bishop's mount for some time, František, Book I, Ch 31.

¹³³ Líbal, 2001, p. 87. Václav Mencl also sees a stylistic similarity to the first part of Roudnice monastery. The building phases of Roudnice monastery will be discussed in Chapter 3.

¹³⁴ František, Book I, Ch 31.

by the seventeenth-century palace begun by Francis Caratti in 1653. Bishop Jan IV's predecessor, bishop Jan III (1258 – 1278), built the episcopal residences at Horšovský Týn and Roudnice.¹³⁵ The first medieval phase of the Roudnice castle is dated to 1180.¹³⁶ Portions of the Romanesque ashlar stone foundations are visible in the western part of the palace foundations [fig. 33]. The medieval building is documented in a drawing from 1640 by Kryšpín Fuk and shows a single tract with a large round tower on the eastern side [fig. 29].¹³⁷ There is also evidence of a large two-bay hall with ten four-part bays and a chapel situated in the apse of a round tower. Archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice built a new tower and chapel in the second half of the fourteenth century.¹³⁸ Documentation for bishop Jan's contributions to this sequence of building and remodeling is sparse. Durdík believes that based on local comparisons, the round tower on the east end of the palace is original to the twelfth century, possibly first half of thirteenth century.¹³⁹ Whether the medieval castle was primarily built in the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, or as Menclová suggested, rebuilt by bishop Jan in the fourteenth century, is debatable and primarily based on the extant architecture and the Caratti plan and seventeenth century drawing.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁵ Bishop Jan's other predecessors are bishop Tobiáš of Bechyně (1278-96) and bishop Řehoř Zajíc z Valdeka (1296–1301). Building at Horšovský Týn was probably completed by Jan III in the thirteenth century.

¹³⁶ Durdík 1996, p. 293.

¹³⁷ Durdík, pp. 482-483, Durdík 1996, pp. 293-295, Menclová, pp. 79-82.

¹³⁸ Durdík 1996, p. 301.

¹³⁹ Durdík 1996, p. 295.

¹⁴⁰ Menclová, pp. 79-82.

As described in the introduction, the bishop invited a French mason to build the bridge in Roudnice.¹⁴¹ According to František, the concerned bishop seeing the dangers of the Elbe River and out of his kindness built a bridge for the benefit of the people of Roudnice. In 1333, the bishop invited a mason from Avignon, named William (Guilhelmus or Vilém) to build the bridge in Roudnice. The mason and three helpers came to Roudnice, built two pillars and an arch and returned to France the following year, leaving the local Czech masons to finish the job.¹⁴²

A stone bridge across the Elbe was a huge undertaking and probably the most challenging of the bishop's projects. In the early fourteenth century there were few stone bridges in northern Europe and certainly a rarity in Bohemia. A much smaller stone bridge was built in Písek (2nd half of 13th c.) and in Prague the old Saint Judith Bridge connected the Old Town with the Lesser Quarter (destroyed by floods in 1342) [fig. 34].

While the Roudnice Bridge was destroyed by the attacking Hapsburg army in 1620, Michal Panáček and Michal Cihla have conducted a careful reconstruction and

¹⁴¹ František, Book I, Ch 31, *Unde ipse videns multa in Albea flumine pericula et hominibus et maxime pauperibus evenire dampna et incommoda, misericordia motus ibidem in Rudnicz pontem fieri disposuit ultra flumen. Et quia magistros ad tale opus peritos in regno Boemie nec in vicinis provinciis potuit reperire, unde misit ad curiam Romanam pro magistro Guilhemmo, optime in huiusmodi arte perito. Cum quo dominus episcopus, cum adhuc ibidem stetisset, de hac material fuerat locutus, cui promisit ad regnum Boemie ad suam instanciam se transferre. Unde visis nunciis et litteris domini episcopi assumptis tribus sociis mox sine omni dilacione ad ipsum est profectus. Et anno Domini MCCCXXXIII, anno vero ordinacionis eiusdem domini episcopi XXXII, in festo sancti Bartholomei apostolic cum reliquiis sanctorum et magna devocione ac solempnitate in medio fluminis Albe pro fundamento aptatos et magnos lapides posuerunt. Prefatus quoque magister cum suis complicitibus duos pilares pontis et unam testudinem perfecerunt. Et anno sequenti una cum suis copiose a domino episcopo remuneratus et honoratus ad propriam partem est reversus. Dominus vero episcopus per alios artifices gentis nostre, qui ab illis advenis complete fuerant informati, de lapidibus solidis et dolatis ipsum pontem cum maximis sumptibus et expensis excellenter et laudabiliter complevit.*

¹⁴² Summary and transcription also found in A. Patera in "O založení kláštera Panny Marie v Roudnici n/L a o stavě mostu [About the Foundation of the Virgin Mary Monastery in Roudnice on the Elbe and the Building of the Bridge]." *Památky archeologické a mistopisné* XI (1878-1881): p. 477-478. This information is repeated in a manuscript (MS 3282) in the Vienna library, and the Roudnice Statutes and Customary from late fourteenth century (MS XIX B 3, fol. 201r—203v)

analysis of the bridge structure based on surviving maps, plans, photographs of the remaining arch from the early twentieth century, and even original beams and stones dredged from the river [figs. 36-39].¹⁴³ Based on this evidence Cihla and Panáček state that the bridge had seven pillars and round-arches with barrel vaults supporting a bridge length of 220 and width of 6.4 meters [fig. 37].¹⁴⁴ The spacing of the pillars was slightly irregular as was the actual thickness of the supports and the bridge road had a slight incline ending with a rectangular stone bridge tower. Cihla and Panáček suggest that the Roudnice bridge tower could have been similar to the Limburg an der Lahn in Lahnbrücke (1315-1341) or the Moret-sur-Loing (fourteenth century) [fig. 35].¹⁴⁵ A large stone block with the Dražice family coat of arms dredged from the river was certainly part of the bridge tower [fig. 38-39].

Cihla and Panáček have confirmed the uniqueness of the Roudnice Bridge in early fourteenth-century Bohemia and demonstrate new technologies of bridge building presumably from Southern France, confirming František's statement that the bishop could not find local builders. One of the characteristics of the Roudnice Bridge, which connects it to southern France is the rusticated masonry found on the bridge pillars a trait that was common in southern France, but not found on other bridges in Bohemia.¹⁴⁶ Southern France, would have been an ideal location to search for a bridge builder with more advanced technologies, since the region had a long standing tradition with bridge building dating from the Roman times. Cihla and Panáček even speculate that Master

¹⁴³ Michal Cihla and Michal Panáček, "Středověký most v Roudnice nad Labem," in *Průzkumy Památek II* (2006) p. 8.

¹⁴⁴ Cihla and Panáček, pp. 19-20.

¹⁴⁵ Cihla and Panáček, pp. 30-31.

¹⁴⁶ Cihla and Panáček, pp. 23-24.

William could have been part of the '*fratres pontifices*' or Avignon bridge-building brotherhood. Bridge-building workshops or brotherhoods did not exist at this time in Bohemia.¹⁴⁷

A new bridge in Roudnice, across the large span of the Elbe would have led to economic prosperity for the town, not just through tolls but also through the increase and efficiency of access to the town and its markets.¹⁴⁸ The new bridge would have also created competition and possibly diverted trade from Litoměřice, a town north and upriver from Roudnice and also the residence of Jindřich of Schönburg, the bishop's accuser. Downstream from both Roudnice and Litoměřice is Prague which no doubt was the center of trade in the kingdom.

Near the bridge, bishop Jan also founded a hospital and chapel. The chapel of Saint Václav, near the bridge tower, is discussed by Kučera and visible on historical maps [fig. 28].¹⁴⁹ The small church situated on a flood plane next the Elbe and dismantled in 1848 could have been another of the new churches mentioned by František. It had already been rebuilt after the massive fire, which effected the whole town in 1665. No archeological studies have been conducted, but based on historical maps and drawings Kučera speculates that the medieval building was a single nave church with a three-sided polygonal east end.

¹⁴⁷ Cihla and Panáček, pp. 9-10. It is possible that some of the builders trained at the Roudnice bridge worked at the Charles bridge.

¹⁴⁸ Cihla and Panáček discuss the economic situation pp. 10-11.

¹⁴⁹ František Kučera, *Dva nejstarší kostely v Roudnici n. Labem* [Two of the Oldest Churches in Roudnice on the Elbe]: Unpublished, typed manuscript in Žitavice archive, 1948.

Roudnice Monastic Art

Lastly, František described the foundation of the new monastery. While I will discuss the monastery foundation in the chapter two and the architecture in chapter three, here I would like to focus on František's description of the new foundation.¹⁵⁰ František recorded that the monastery was built of evenly cut ashlar stone, with sturdy walls and decorative vaults. The windows had beautiful tracery, stained glass, paintings and polychromatic sculpture decorated with silver and gold. František emphasized the bishop's generous endowment to the monastery, including properties (land), furnishings, and liturgical objects, including chalices, ornate objects, and books. According to František, the bishop was involved in all aspects of the new foundation, from the construction of the site to the canon's library.

František's description indicates a richly decorated interior, with colorful windows, statues, and many gilded objects. This opulent interior has to be considered when evaluating the overall appearance of the church interior, since what can seem austere can turn festive with the right color scheme. Today only three remaining wall paintings remain *in situ*, but originally the interior walls were also extensively painted.

There are three remaining frescoes in the monastic complex, none in the church itself, but the sacristy, library and cloister preserve fragmentary wall paintings. In addition, the chapter room has geometric patterned frescos, which most likely covered all

¹⁵⁰ František, Book I Ch 31, "...et deinde construxit lapidibus quadris et dolatis, muros in altum erigendo et testudine solida et decora ipsos continuando. Fenestras quoque miris et artificiosis celaturis celte sculptis, Vitris pulcherrimis decoravit...Ipsumque decoravit ymaginibus lapideis excellenter, artificialiter sculptis, auro et argento decorates ac coloribus preciosis et picturis variis ac delicatas multipliciter distinctis. ... Et pretaxate ecclesie due et dominis ibidem donavit libros varios, calices et ornatus diversos et preciosos et omnia necessaria eis lautissime ministrando."

of the walls, but today are most visible on the west wall.¹⁵¹ The sacristy fresco is above the entry to the church east end (on the north wall) [fig. 40]. The imagery is unclear, but there is a semicircle visible on the left hand side that could have been a medallion or possibly a mandorla. A painting on the west wall of the second story library and represents canons receiving the rule from Saint Augustine and Saint Jerome [fig. 73]. This fresco is dated to the late fourteenth century.

The most complete painting is found in the northern most bay of the east cloister alley [fig. 41]. Originally the painting extended onto the vaulting webs, and included images of angels. The wall image of Christ on the tree of life is flanked on the left by the Virgin, the three Mary's, Longinus in the distance, and Saint Augustine (or possibly the patron bishop) with a group of kneeling canons. To the right is Saint John the Evangelist, Saint John the Baptist, a centurion with a shield, and two additional canons. Mary Magdalene is at the foot of the cross. While Royt dates the cloister fresco to 1345, or after the bishop's death, more recently Všecková believes that it was likely commissioned by the bishop and dates it to 1340, or directly after the completion of the east cloister aisle.¹⁵²

Unfortunately, none of the liturgical objects or other furnishings at Roudnice survive nor do we have an inventory of the items. Only one small fragment remains, of the initial interior furnishings of the Roudnice church; the so-called *Roudnice predella* [fig. 42]. The fragment was originally thought to be part of a predella, but more recently

¹⁵¹ Recent report by restoration report by Petr Bareš and Jiří Brodský, 2008, dates the wall paintings to the fourteenth century.

¹⁵² Jan Royt, Příspěvek k ikonografii alegorie sv. Kříže v Roudnici nad Labem, in *Umění*, 31:6, (1985) pp. 492-506 and Zuzana Všecková, in Benešová, 2010, pp. 140-142.

other options have been considered such as a choir screen or a fragment of a reliquary.¹⁵³

This small example is dated to 1340 or 1343 and represents the earliest medieval panel painting in Bohemia. Its fine painting style and opulently gilded background verifies the richly decorated interior from the František description.

While the paintings at Roudnice are fragmentary, we have volumes of information on an important aspect of the monastic institution—the library. The manuscripts, now housed in the Library of the National Museum in Prague, and are easily identified by distinct bindings and inscription.¹⁵⁴ The manuscripts were moved from Roudnice in 1421 during the Hussite conflicts to Vratislav. The Sadská Augustinian monastery library manuscripts were also at this location in the fifteenth century.¹⁵⁵ The monastic libraries were moved to Březnice at some point, and given to the Czech National Museum in 1819.¹⁵⁶ According to Max Dvořák, the library at Roudnice has parallels to the monastic library at the Třeboň abbey of Augustinian canons, which was catalogued in 1386.¹⁵⁷ Other Augustinian monastic libraries were at Sadská, Karlov, and Jaroměř.

The manuscripts were of several types and included legal works, theological treatises including Saint Augustine and Saint Anselm, and devotional texts.¹⁵⁸ Some of the manuscripts were bought or commissioned by the bishop while in France and brought to Bohemia on his return. Not many have elaborate illuminated programs, but often

¹⁵³ Hana Hlaváčková, in Benešová, 2010, p. 518.

¹⁵⁴ Catalogued in Pavel Brodský, *Katalog iluminovaných rukopisů knihovny Národního muzea v Praze*, Prague: KLP, 2000. Most also include the inscription *iste liber est monasterii canonicorum regularium in Rudnicz or Sadská*. Roudnice did not have its own scriptorium, rather the monastery employed outside scribes as referenced in the monastery scriptorium.

¹⁵⁵ Sadská is an canon house founded in the later fourteenth century.

¹⁵⁶ Pavel Brodský, 2000.

¹⁵⁷ Dvořák, 1900, p. 121, pp. 118-131, p. 122.

¹⁵⁸ Described also in Chaloupecký, pp. 189-194

include filigree decorative initials. Some of the manuscripts are on canon law and were no doubt purchased to facilitate the bishop's defense in Avignon. One such example, which has an impressive illuminated program, is the *Franciscus Gratianus de Garratoribus: Decretum* (XII A 12). The manuscript originates from mid-thirteenth century Bologna [fig. 43].¹⁵⁹

Others, such as the thirteenth century *Byblia Fundatoris* (XV A 6) was purchased in France.¹⁶⁰ Although the illuminations are not the highest quality, this bible played a significant role in Bohemia as it was most likely later used for the first Czech translation of the bible [figs. 44-45].¹⁶¹ The bishop most likely brought a second French bible to Bohemia. The *Jaroměř Bible* (XII A 10) may not have been part of the Roudnice monastery, but was owned by the Augustinian canons at Jaroměř, a foundation inspired by Roudnice.¹⁶² This manuscript has numerous decorated initials and is likely a product of the French court style.¹⁶³

The *Dražice Missal* (XIII B 9) also commissioned by the bishop was most likely produced in Bohemia [fig. 46].¹⁶⁴ The manuscript has several ornamental initials one on folio 57r displays in vivid color and gold an ornamental initial W with the Dražice family crest. On folio 65r is a full-page canon page that differs in style from the rest of the manuscript [fig. 47]. In fact the page was pasted into the missal and hence produced by a separate workshop. The scene of Christ on the cross with John the Baptist on the right

¹⁵⁹ Pavel Brodský, 133-115.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 214-216.

¹⁶¹ Pavel Freitinger, "Otázky kolem vzniku první české bible," in *Kostnické jiskry* 65, 15/1980.

¹⁶² Pavel Brodský, p. 104-111.

¹⁶³ Ibid., p. 111.

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., pp. 169-170, Hana Hlaváčková, in Benešová, 2010, pp. 518-519.

and Virgin Mary is framed by ornamental foliage. Below the Crucifixion is a lower register with a kneeling bishop (obviously Jan IV of Dražice) in the center. The Dražice coat of arms and the herald of the Prague diocese are prominently displayed on either side of the bishop.

Hana Hlaváčková writes that several canon pages of this type are found in Bohemia and were perhaps produced by the same workshop.¹⁶⁵ It is possible that a workshop made the line drawings and another finished the illuminations. A very similar canon page is pasted into the *Chotěšov Missal* made for the Premonstratensean nuns at Chotěšov. The composition is similar to the *Dražice Missal*, although there is no lower register [fig. 48]. Instead an unknown donor kneels at the foot of the cross and holds an inscribed banner ‘*Dominus propicius esto michi peccatori.*’ The style seems less refined and precise, although this could be due to a less precise illumination.

Overall the manuscripts associated with Roudnice are a collection from various sources, France, Bohemia, and Italy, and reflect the bishop’s ecclesiastical and legal needs. Bishop Jan purchased some manuscripts while abroad, while others were commissioned in France or after his return to Bohemia. The collection of books became the foundation of the Roudnice monastery. The Dražice canon page, the *Roudnice predella*, and the wall painting in the Roudnice cloister all have stylistic similarities and are worthy of examination as a group. These works indicate the rich visual culture associated with the monastery in Roudnice.

¹⁶⁵ Hana Hlaváčková, in Benešová, 2010, pp. 518-519.

The Prague Diocese

Finally, it is important to reflect upon why the bishop might have been interested in linking his tenure to France, and the papal court in particular. Although a connection to the papal court is on one hand obvious for any diocese, for bishop Jan in the first half of the fourteenth century, this link had additional significance.

Indeed, the bishop's motivations for patronage may have had a political and ecclesiastical agenda. In light of the conflicts, which led to the bishop's departure to Avignon and the long stay at the papal court, the bishop must have looked for ways to strengthen his position in his diocese. Upon his return the bishop may have returned with a mission, for greater autonomy and authority in the form of a new archdiocese. While Prague was subordinate to the archdiocese in Mainz, Germany since 973, attempts to raise the see were attempted already under king Otakar I (1107 – 1230). This attempt was not successful because the political climate did not favor it.

The turmoil of the early fourteenth century in Bohemia focused on the election of kings rather than developing the archdiocese. In return for his support during his campaign for the title of King of Bohemia, John of Luxembourg and the kingdom were indebted to Peter of Aspelt (1306 – 1320), archbishop of Mainz. Therefore, negotiations for a new archdiocese were certainly not possible until after the archbishop died in 1320. The political relationship of the Mainz archdiocese to the Prague diocese continued unabated, especially since bishop Jan was in Avignon. In 1328, however, pope Jean XXII appointed the unpopular Heinrich III of Virneberg (1328 – 1337) as archbishop of Mainz. The chapter countered the pope's decision and elected Baldwin the archbishop of

Trier (1307 – 1354) to administrate the archdiocese of Mainz.¹⁶⁶ As the brother of king John of Luxembourg, Baldwin of Trier supported the Luxembourg rulers in Bohemia, which provided a window of opportunity to establish the archdiocese in Prague.

Officially, the Prague archdiocese was established on April 30th, 1344.¹⁶⁷ Nevertheless, preparation for the new archdiocese must have begun earlier, well before the death of bishop Jan in 1343. On October 10th, 1341 king John of Luxembourg allotted funds to replace the Romanesque cathedral at the Hradčany castle in Prague.¹⁶⁸ In November of that year bishop Jan was relieved of his obedience from the Mainz and allowed full rights to crown the king of Bohemia.¹⁶⁹ This clearly indicates the first step towards creating the new archdiocese in Prague, a move supported by the bishop, king John, and his son, the margrave of Moravia (and later the Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV). The final approval for the new Prague archdiocese was administered by Pierre Roger, Charles IV's teacher and from 1342 pope Clement VI (1342-1352).

Conclusion

Hledíková and Chaloupecký conclude that the bishop's role in the kingdom changed substantially after his return from Avignon. Hledíková writes that after the bishop's return to Prague the bishop acted more independently and less as the king's

¹⁶⁶ Heinrich continued to function until his death in 1353 as a bishop, but it is unclear as to who was in charge of the archdiocese. Some sources state that the archdiocese was vacant from 1337 – 1346.

¹⁶⁷ Mengel, p. 2, *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia*. Ed. Ladislav Klicman et al. 7 vols. Prague, 1903-1998, 1.209-211 no. 363; 217-22 no. 367.

¹⁶⁸ Katedrála sv. Víta (Prague, Czech Republic), Adolf Patera, and Ant Podlaha. *Soupis rukopisů Knihovny Metropolitní kapitoly pražské. Sest. Ad. Patera a Ant. Podlaha*. Prague, Nákl: České akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1910, sg. 152

¹⁶⁹ Pavel Kalina and Jiří Kotatko, *Praha 1310-1419 [Prague 1310-1419]* Libri, Prague, 2004, p. 167.

delegate. Chaloupecký describes the shift as one from a diplomat and politician to a philanthropist and patron of the arts.¹⁷⁰ It is clear that the bishop's involvement in politics at the king's court and within his diocese led to a suspension from his post. It is also clear that the bishop was interested in reform within his diocese throughout his time in office. František's indicated that the bishop's involvement in politics and reforms are connected to his role as active patron. In both chapters sixteen and thirty-one František linked the bishop patronage with the papal court. In the first instance, the episcopal residence is decorated with examples from the Roman curia and after his second return from Avignon, the bishop invites a French mason to build a bridge, again from the papal seat.

The *František Chronicle* testifies on behalf of the bishop and demonstrates that he was not just interested in French architecture and art, rather the bishop's patronage was part of an overall program of reform and his political standing as the leader of the dioceses. The constant reference to the bishop's foundations as a form of charity, no doubt intended to point out that the bishop's goal was not personal aggrandizement. Rather, a sense of donation for the sake of eternal glory as was typical in the Christian medieval times. The bridge was for the safety and economic prosperity of the community and the monastery for the reforming of souls. František wrote that the

¹⁷⁰ Chaloupecký, 1908, p. 60 and Hledíková, 1992, 185-194.

bishop, seeing the sick and the poor in Roudnice, established a hospital near the bridge, and placed it in the care of the canons.¹⁷¹

It is apparent that bishop Jan continued to be politically active in the kingdom after 1329; however, rather than negotiating for a new king he began negotiating for the new archdiocese. His early interest in reform also turned in a new direction toward the foundation of a new monastery. After his time in Avignon, the bishop's focus turned to Roudnice, a town owned by the Prague diocese. From the start the bishop planned for a monastery, a new bridge across the Elbe, and improvements to the episcopal residence. Overall, the bishop aimed to transform Roudnice, a town with a square and a small parish church, into a grand episcopal site accessed by one of the few stone bridges in the kingdom. Central to the new urban landscape was the new monastery on the site of a small church, which was to bolster and reform the diocese. It is hard to miss the visual parallel of Roudnice to the new papal town of Avignon. On all his works, bishop Jan placed a personal stamp in the form of his family crest. Two examples are from the bridge, but at least ten coats of arms are part of the architectural fabric of the monastery, and are included on the Prague episcopal residence, the church of Saint Jiljí in the Old Town, and many of his manuscripts [figs. 13, 17, 25, 38, 39, and 46]. In this way the bishop not only ensured personal recognition for his generosity, but also linked his diverse patronage in a recognizable ensemble that addressed numerous audiences—from the learned to the common layperson.

¹⁷¹ František, Book I, Ch 31, *Dileccionem eciam proximi veraciter habuit, clare patet, quia videns multos paupers in Rudnicz fame deficere et in platheis perire, hospitale solempne circa suum novum pontem propter eos edificavit et laudabiliter ac sufficienter dotavit et locupletavit.*

Although the results of the bishop's patronage are not easily visible today we can understand his motivations and agenda from the *František Chronicle* and the few extant works. The bishop's patronage was a part of a cohesive and diverse political program that influenced future patrons. The bishop wanted to reestablish his authority after his long absence from Prague, but he went beyond personal aggrandizement to reform his diocese and establish a new archdiocese. He did so using a model of patronage that included import of up-to-date technology, a coherent and recognizable building program and, especially at Roudnice, a distinguished urban layout with Avignon as a model.

CHAPTER 2

THE ROUDNICE FOUNDATION IN THE BOHEMIAN MONASTIC CONTEXT

Although houses of Augustinian regular canons were plentiful from the eleventh century in Western Europe, Roudnice was the first successful house of regular canons in Bohemia.¹ Under bishop Jan and his Prague successors, the new archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice and the emperor Charles IV, Roudnice became an influential spiritual and artistic center and the motherhouse for subsequent monasteries for Augustinian canons in Bohemia. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the influence of Roudnice spread to southern Germany, Austria, Poland, and Slovakia, even though some of these regions already had existing Augustinian houses.

Roudnice monastery was established at a time when Bohemia was populated by a number of orders with established political ties to the king or to other influential and wealthy nobles [fig. 49]. By the beginning of the fourteenth century, early Benedictine foundations, the Cistercians, Mendicants, and some military orders were key orders that had shaped ecclesiastic culture of Bohemia. Monastic institutions in Bohemia were intimately involved in political and cultural dynamics in Bohemia. The Cistercians were

¹ According to Pavel Vlček, Petr Sommer, Dušan Folýn, *Encyklopedie českých klášterů* [*Encyclopedia of Czech Monasteries*]. Prague: Libri, 1997, p. 104, most monasteries of Augustinian canons in Bohemia, with the exception of Třebon and Karlov, were priories, that is the community superior was a prior. Třebon and Karlov were abbeys with an abbot. I will continue to refer to Roudnice and the other houses as monasteries (apart from Třebon and Karlov), even though they are technically priories. Roudnice, however, was not dependent on any other abbey or monastery. Recently, Lucie Doležalová has referred to Roudnice as a canonry.

most influential in the realm of politics as they were major participants in the negotiations for establishing John of Luxembourg as the new king of Bohemia in 1310. During the first half of the fourteenth century the Mendicant orders, especially the Dominicans became influential as preachers and spiritual leaders. The Dominicans and other Mendicant orders that engaged with the community found pastoral care a good source of revenue. As discussed in chapter one, territorial rights over pastoral care and burials became a source of conflict between the mendicant monks and parish priests, who were subject to the bishop. In this chapter I will discuss the larger context of Bohemian monasticism in order to explain the bishop's choice of regular canons following the Augustinian rule for his new foundation at Roudnice.

Monasticism in Bohemia

The Benedictine Beginnings

The first monasteries in Bohemia, as in Western Europe, were organized under the rule of Saint Benedictine. These foundations had a late start in comparison to other parts of Western Europe, however. Saint Benedict from Nursia founded the first Benedictine monastery near Rome at Montecassino during his lifetime (c. 480 – 547). By the Aachen synods (816 – 17) Benedictine monasteries became the norm in Western Europe.² While the neighboring Bavarian monastic sites were founded in the eighth century and in Moravia in the ninth, the first such institutions did not take hold in Bohemia until the tenth century. Nevertheless, some of the oldest houses were founded by prominent figures (often later sanctified) and were otherwise linked to major historical

² Ibid., p. 104.

events in the kingdom. Saint Jiří (George) female convent was founded at the Prague castle (Hradčany or Hradschin) in the 970s by the Přemysl duchess Mlada at the site of the Saint Jiří church founded in 921 by the Přemysl duke Vratislav (915-921). Mlada traveled to Rome sometime between 974–76 on a diplomatic mission. She brought back with her papal permission to establish an episcopal seat in Prague and to found a convent with her as abbess.³ Although some claim that this institution was merely a place for education and culture of royal women, much like other Bavarian and Saxon female institutions linked with ruling families, it was the first monastery in Bohemia.⁴

In the first part of the fourteenth century, under the guidance of abbess Kunhuta, this convent had a scriptorium, which produced illuminated manuscripts such as the *Passional of Kunhuta*. During the fourteenth century the convent was under the guidance of the Saint Klement (Clement) Dominican monastery housed in the Old Town. Particularly influential was the Dominican Kolda of Koldic from Saint Klement as an advisor to Kunhuta and the author of at least two tracts in the *Passional*. Kolda had studied at Köln on the Rein and was influenced by master Eckhart and German mysticism. The contents of the library from Saint Jiří reveal an increasing interest in the cult of the Eucharist, Christ's humanity, and Marian themes at the convent.⁵

One of the earliest and most influential male monasteries in Bohemia was Břevnov (992 – 3), founded by bishop Vojtěch (later saint) and the Přemysl duke Boleslav II (972-999).⁶ Like at Saint Jiří, some of the first monks at Břevnov came from

³ Ibid., p. 439.

⁴ Ibid. p. 110.

⁵ Božena Kopiczková, *Elyška Přemyslovna: Královna česká 1292-1330*. Vyšehrad. 2003, pp. 18-21. Kolda of Koldic was also named as an inquisitor, see chapter 1.

⁶ At the time this location was outside of Prague, currently Břevnov is part of Prague.

Rome and later in the eleventh century monks from Niederaltaich in Bavaria came to reside at this institution.⁷ The Břevnov monks founded several other monasteries in Bohemia, some of which were connected to its motherhouse, while others functioned independently. During the eleventh century Břevnov probably had an extensive library and scriptorium with manuscripts for the Břevnov monks as well as other local monasteries.⁸ It was a formidable cultural, economic, and political force in medieval Bohemia and had a virtual monopoly on monastic culture in Bohemia until roughly 1140.⁹ The Břevnov monastery was a constant site of construction from about 1306 through the end of the fourteenth century; however none of the medieval buildings are visible today due to major rebuilding in the Baroque period.

The Benedictine monastery at Sázava, near Kutná Hora, was also an important site throughout the medieval period. Originally, this was a site for Old Slavonic liturgy following the Cyril and Methoděj tradition, founded by a local hermit Prokop (later saint Prokop) and Přemysl duke Oldřich (1012-1033). In 1096 the Old Slavonic monks were ousted from their monastery and replaced by Benedictine monks from Břevnov, who also supplied the monastery with manuscripts from their scriptorium.¹⁰ In the fourteenth century, Sázava was still an important monastic center as major rebuilding of the church and cloister were underway by 1315. The surviving chapter room from this building period is often compared with the Roudnice chapter room and sacristy, which I will discuss in chapter three.

⁷ Vlček, et. al., 1997, p. 597.

⁸ Website of National Library of Sweden, information on the *Codex Gigas*, <http://www.kb.se/codex-gigas/eng/>.

⁹ Kateřina Charvátová, *Dějiny cisterckého řádu v Čechách, 1142-1420* [*The History of the Cistercian Order in Bohemia 1142-1420*]. Prague: Karolinum, 1998, p. 61.

¹⁰ Ibid.

Cistercians and the Beginning of the Luxembourg Dynasty

In the early twelfth century, there were relatively few monastic institutions in Bohemia. Starting in the 1140s however, other orders were introduced. The Cistercians were a reform movement from the eleventh century, which began at the Cîteaux monastery in Burgundy. The order strictly followed the rule of Saint Benedict.

A unique feature of the order was its centralization and rapid growth. New monasteries were linked to their founding houses. Abbots of each house were obligated to attend yearly meetings at the general chapter in Cîteaux; although if a monastery was particularly far from Cîteaux, this restriction was eased. According to Czech sources some members of each community were also required to have a university education.¹¹ In 1292, for example, Cistercian abbots bought manuscripts in Paris on the way back from a general meeting in Cîteaux.¹²

Many of the Cistercian houses in Bohemia and Moravia were founded in the twelfth century, starting in the 1140s. Olomouc bishop Zdik (Henry, 1126-1150), and king Vladislav II (1140-72) founded the Sedlec Cistercian abbey (1142 – 1143), near Kutná Hora. Bishop Zdik was an active bishop with international ties. He had traveled in Europe and knew Bernard from Clairvaux and pope Eugene III, the first Cistercian pope, which no doubt facilitated the new foundation.¹³ Sedlec became one of the most prominent monastic sites in Bohemia from the twelfth century, partially because of its

¹¹ Augustin Neumann, *Prameny k dějinám duchovestva v době předhusitské a Husově* [Sources for the history church history during the prehussite and Hussite period]. Olomouci: Nákl. Matice Cyrilometodějské, p. 97.

¹² Karel Stejskal, *Umění na dvoře Karla IV.* Prague: Artia, 1978. p. 20

¹³ Charvátová, 1998, p. 62.

historic and royal patronage, but mostly because of its proximity to the wealthy silver mines near Kutná Hora.

Other foundations followed at Plasy (1144 – 1145), Nepomuk (1140s), Hradiště above the Jizera (1184), and Osek (1196). Very little remains from the early twelfth-century foundations as the sites were rebuilt numerous times. With the exception of Sedlec, these foundations were in more remote regions and tended to support settlement in less populated areas. However, the Cistercians did not settle in complete wilderness. It seems that Cistercians initially preferred to locate near pre-existing villages or to replace pre-existing monasteries. Through this settlement pattern, they participated in development of more remote regions by becoming important landowners. In western Bohemia (Plzeň region), for example, the Cistercians from Plasy and Nepomuk were one of the three largest landowners; the other two were the Premonstratensians from Teplá and the Benedictines from Kladruba.¹⁴

Although the Cistercian motto is *ora et labora*, their revenues in Bohemia as in France and Germany were not exclusively tied to physical labor such as farming. Kateřina Charvátová found that at the Plasy monastery the monks owned, developed, and managed granges, which in turn produced revenue for the monastery.¹⁵ Although monasteries were in remote regions, the regions were partially settled. Hence the monastery did not colonize the area, but monks were brought in to help administer the granges. In most cases the initial responsibilities of the monastery were determined by the founder, an arrangement, which continued into thirteenth-century foundations. Ana

¹⁴ Milena Hauserová, “Urbanismus,” in Jiří Fajt and Jaromír Homolka. *Gotika v západních čechách (1230-1530)* [*Gothic Art in Western Bohemia (1230-1530)*]. Prague: National Gallery, 1995, p. 139.

¹⁵ Kateřina Charvátová, “Počátky cisterckých klášterů v čechách” in *900 let cisterciáckého řádu: sborník z konference konané 28.-29. 9. 1998 v Břevnovském klášteře v Praze*. Prague: Unicornis, 2000, p. 65-77.

Kubíková, who has studied the economics of Vyšší Brod (founded c. 1259), states that the monastery became a kind of manager of the Rožmberk (Rosenberg) family properties.¹⁶

During the thirteenth century the order was fortunate to receive support from noble families and the Přemysl ruling family. King Přemysl Otakar II (1253 – 78) founded Zlatá Koruna in 1263—originally named *Sancta Corona*, but later nicknamed Goldencrown, probably for its wealth. Although one of the three royal Cistercian foundations with close ties to the royal crown, Zlatá Koruna was not as politically active as Plasy and Sedlec. In 1292 king Václav II (Wenceslav, 1283 – 1300) founded the Zbraslav Cistercian abbey. This site, almost completely destroyed during the Hussite period, became the most important political and spiritual center as well as the burial site for several Czech kings. The Cistercian order grew in importance at the end of the century, as several Cistercian abbots were some of Václav II's closest advisors. The king was nicknamed the “monk king” due to his support of monastic orders, especially the Cistercians. The *Zbraslav Chronicle*, a valuable source on Czech history, was written at the abbey in the fourteenth century.¹⁷ The *Chronicle* states that he intended to retire and live out the end of his life at the Zbraslav monastery.¹⁸ However, he did not get this opportunity as he died in 1300 and the throne was hastily passed on to his son Václav III.

Cistercians were perhaps the most politically influential of orders in Bohemia in the early fourteenth century. Due to his short reign, king Václav III (1300 – 1306) was not able to accomplish much—even though he tried to establish a new Cistercian

¹⁶ Anna Kubíková, “Rožmberkové a vyšebrodský klášter” in Kateřina Charvátová, 2000, p. 162.

¹⁷ The *Zbraslav Chronicle* provides one of the primary sources for Bohemian history, and it is the foundation for many other chronicles, including the *František Chronicle*.

¹⁸ Charvátová, 2002, p. 187.

monastery in the manner of his father. Partially as a response to the weak rule of king Korutanec (1307 – 13010) and partially as a result of unfavorable taxation, abbot Heindereich of the Cistercian abbey at Sedlec and the Zbraslav abbot Konrad conspired to bring a new ruler to the kingdom. They negotiated with emperor Henry VII (1308 – 1313) and as a result they were instrumental in establishing the emperor's son, John of Luxembourg (1310 – 1346) as the new Bohemian king.¹⁹ The alliance was formulated through the marriage of John of Luxembourg and Eliška Přemyslovna (1292 – 1330), the daughter of Václav II and the last surviving member of the Přemysl dynasty. It is likely that bishop Jan of Dražice was also part of this negotiation. As king John prepared to enter Prague to take his crown, bishop Jan supported the new king and met him with military reinforcements near Kutná Hora.²⁰ Jana Hynková points out that while some scholarship has focused on the Bohemian Cistercians, the complex influence of Cistercian monks on the politics of early fourteenth-century Bohemia is yet to be studied.²¹

The Cistercian order was influential and wealthily endowed in the first part of the fourteenth century. They had finished building most of their major monasteries and were involved in royal and noble politics. Some monasteries continued with additional building and renovations. Osek, for example built a new cloister in the first part of the fourteenth century. But, throughout Europe, and including Bohemia, new Cistercian foundations declined sharply in the fourteenth century. The last foundations in Bohemia were linked to the Přemysl dynasty and Charles IV did not found any new Cistercian

¹⁹ Kopičková, p. 24.

²⁰ The change in power was not accepted on all fronts. Kopičková, p. 30.

²¹ Jana Hynková, "Heindereich Sedlecký" in Kateřina Charvátová, 2000, pp. 97-160 discusses this influential Cistercian Abbot.

houses. The widowed Queen Eliška Rejčka (1286 – 1334, wife of Přemysl king Václav II) founded and supported the last Cistercian foundation in Bohemia, the Aula Sanctae Mariae (Saint Mary's Hall) monastery at the old Church of Our Lady Mary in Brno in 1323.

Premonstratensians and the Diocese

The Premonstratensian congregations of canons were confirmed as an order by pope Honorius in 1126. The canons lived under the rule of Saint Augustine just as the regular canons. Saint Norbert of Gennep, with the help of Laon bishop Bartholomew of Vir founded the first monastery in Premontre near Laon in the 1120s. The order was influenced by the Cistercian order, especially the strong central organization and inclusion of physical labor. All the Premonstratensian houses participated in annual meetings and accommodated regular visitations from the main chapter. In addition, the order had an abbot-general overseeing all Premonstratensian houses. Norbert adapted the *consuetudines* from Springiersbach (1104) to guide the canons in their work. The Springiersbach customs were strict and included silence, night prayer, and manual labor. The canons lived a monastic life, often outside of city centers, but they also worked as priests in local parishes. Parish work seems to have been incorporated into the Premonstratensian order sometime in the thirteenth century.²²

The Olomouc bishop Zdik, in addition to bringing the Cistercians to Bohemia, also found time to establish the Premonstratensians in the kingdom. Together with duke Vladislav II and his wife Gertrude he founded Strahov abbey just outside of the Prague

²² Vlček, et. al. 1997, p. 152.

castle complex in 1140. Zdík's first attempt at Strahov was to organize an independent house of regular canons, perhaps as a result of an inspirational journey to Jerusalem, but the initial foundation was unsuccessful.²³ Zdík and his co-founders changed the foundation to the Premonstratensian order in 1143 – 44 and invited canons from Steinfeld, near Köln on the Rhein to Strahov.²⁴ The Strahov abbey was a place of learning; it included a prominent library and scriptorium. The original site was built in the twelfth century, and later rebuilt after a major fire in 1258. The Gothic site was again rebuilt in the Baroque period.

Other Premonstratensian houses were founded in Bohemia in the later twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. The Steinfeld Premonstratensians also established Želiv (1149), which in turn founded Milevsko in 1187. The Litomyšl Premonstratensians (1145) founded Hradisko in 1150. Other houses included Louka near Znojmo (1190), Teplá (1193), and later Zábrdovice (1209). The Doksany Premonstratensian convent (founded c. 1144) north of Prague was the sister house of the Strahov monastery. Other female convents included Louňovice (c.1150), Kounice (1181) Nové Říše (1211) Chotěšov (1210s).

In the thirteenth century the order was divided into thirty provinces (*cirkie*) along national and language regions, with one house as the central abbey of the province.²⁵ The Premonstratensians were an important order in Bohemia, especially Strahov, but their relationship to the diocese is not clear. By the beginning of the

²³ Dušan Foltýn, *K šíření se a působení řeholích kanovníků řádu sv. Augustina v předhusitských českých zemích: na okraj postavení řeholního kléru ve struktuře společnosti období vrcholného feudalismu*, dissertation Filozofická fakulta University Karlovy, Prague, 1991, p. 15.

²⁴ Foltýn, 1991, p. 15.

²⁵ Dušan Foltýn et. al., *Encyclopedie moravských a slezských klášterů [Encyclopedia of Moravian and Silesian monasteries]*, Prague: Libri, 2005, p. 152.

fourteenth century they were well established, with good financial resources and a large network of parishes. The property of Strahov was extensive and it was a place that hosted foreign diplomats and local diets. However, conflicts with the diocese are recorded, for example, in the Premonstratensians at Louka were in a dispute with the Olomouc bishop in the 1320s.²⁶ Neumann indicates that by the end of the fourteenth century their influence on Bohemian culture was possibly in decline, citing that Charles IV had to step in and insist on an election of a new abbot after abbot Peter died in 1358. The emperor and the archbishop appealed to the Premonstratensian Steinfeld chapter to force Strahov to a vote.²⁷ Yet, in the 1330s John of Luxembourg and Charles IV gave the canons a new property. In 1344 when Prague became an archdiocese, a new episcopal seat was established in Litomyšl at the Premonstratensian monastery and the monastic church was elevated to a cathedral. The former abbot of Louka became the new bishop at Litomyšl.²⁸ Hence, the Premostratensians were intricately connected with the diocese.

Czech Military Orders

The Mendicant and Military orders tended to reside in cities, especially in Prague. Military orders often began as confraternities with the charge of protecting the Holy Land or hospitality and care of pilgrims. When these groups settled to form a monastic site, they often lived under the rule of Saint Augustine. Some monasteries took on additional duties. Andreas Ruther writes that by the fourteenth century the Silesian Crosiers (an offshoot of the Czech Crosiers of the Red Star) as part of their charitable activities also

²⁶ Foltýn, 2005, p. 796

²⁷ Neumann, p. 165.

²⁸ Foltýn, 2005, p. 796.

added pastoral care to their duties.²⁹ According to Jürgen Sarnowsky, some military orders housed an international community, as a result of their former crusades.³⁰ Early on the order was more akin to the mendicants as they were involved with charitable activities. By the fourteenth century they expanded to pastoral work.³¹

Military orders such as the Templar Knights, Crosiers of the Red Star, and Hospitallers were founded in Bohemia in the course of the thirteenth century. The Crosiers of the Red Star are the only order that originated in Bohemia. The Crosiers began as a secular brotherhood serving the sick. Princess and abbess Anežka (Agnes) at the Poor Clares monastery in Prague from 1233 supported the Crosiers. In 1237 pope Gregory IX elevated the brotherhood to an order and in 1252 they moved to their permanent home at the foot of the Judith Bridge in the Old Town (largely rebuilt in the Baroque period) [fig. 50]. They built a new hospital and church, both dedicated to Saint Francis of Assisi where they lived under the rule of Saint Augustine. These two saints signify the order's efforts; their work was primarily linked to operating their hospital, but they also preached in the community. The influence of the Crosiers extended to some Czech towns, but they did not have other large foundations. A few monasteries were founded outside of Bohemia such as in Silesia and Moravia.

The Hospitallers were located at the Lesser Quarter at the church of the Virgin-Mary-under-the-chain, from about 1169. "Under-the-chain" probably refers to the foot of the bridge sectioned off with a chain. The Romanesque basilica was rebuilt in the first

²⁹ Andreas Ruther, "Between International Horizon and Regional Boundary: the Bohemian Crosiers of the Red Star in Silesia" in *Mendicants, Military Orders, and Regionalism in Medieval Europe*, ed. Jürgen Sarnowsky, Ashgate, Aldershot, 1999, p. 112.

³⁰ Sarnowsky, p. 5.

³¹ Ruther, p. 112-113.

half of the fourteenth century. It is possible that the funds for this reconstruction were gained after the dissolution of the Templars in 1314, since it was the Hospitallers who gained the properties and finances of the Templars as discussed in chapter one.³²

No doubt their prominent place at one end of the bridge gave this monastery a powerful presence.³³ The monastery was close to the Saint Judith Bridge tower (Mostecká) on the opposite side of the Prague episcopal residence [fig. 26]. Since it was the bishop who enforced the transfer of property to the Hospitalers we can assume that he had some level of influence over the order. With the episcopal residence on one side of the bridge tower and the Hospitallers on the other it is likely that the bishop had full influence if not control of the left bank bridge crossing.

Mendicant Orders in Prague and Bohemia

The Mendicant orders, including the Franciscans, Minorites, Dominicans, and Augustinian Hermits, had different founders and objectives but they all had in common the renunciation of personal property. Each monastery relies on the benefaction of local patrons. Saint Francis of Assisi initiated the movement in 1209 and influenced all mendicant orders to some degree with a strict vow of poverty, charity and prayer. The mendicant orders were most often situated in cities, or right outside of city gates. The first mendicants came to Prague in the first part of the thirteenth century; these were among the earliest mendicant foundations in the kingdom. Both Franciscans and Minorites have similar goals and practices as they both follow the rule of Saint Francis.

³² Pavel Vlček et. al, *Umělecké památky Prahy; Malá Strana*, Academia, Prague, 1999, p. 68.

³³ The Hospitaller church must have been important in the later 14th century as well. When Charles IV died in 1378 his body was on display for one day at each of the following churches, Emauzy in the New Town, Saint Jacob's in the Old Town, and at the Virgin-Mary-under-the-chain church in the Lesser Quarter.

A minister generalis was in charge of the order, although the organization is not as strict as under the Cistercians. In Bohemia, some Minorite monasteries later turned to the Franciscan order, or vice versa. Unlike the Franciscans, the Minorites tended to work in the community while the Franciscans concentrated on prayer and contemplation. Saint Dominic founded the Dominicans in 1215. Like the Franciscans, the Dominicans took vows of poverty, but in a less strict sense than the Franciscans. Above all they were known as the order of preachers and followed the rule of Saint Dominic, which was partially based on the rule of Saint Augustine. The Augustine Hermits, were recognized by the pope in 1256 and united under the rule of Saint Augustine. They were the last major mendicant order introduced to Bohemia. The Czech monasteries, as well as Polish monasteries, were organized under the Bavarian province from 1299.

One of the first mendicant monasteries in Bohemia was the Poor Clares, founded by princess Anežka (Agnes) in 1231 in the Old Town of Prague, now known as the Saint Agnes monastery [fig. 50]. Anežka, was the daughter of king Otakar I (1107 – 1230) and queen Constance (1199-1230), who founded the Cistercian female monastery at Tíšnov. She was the sister to king Václav I (1230-1253), and the convent enjoyed close ties with the king's family. From the onset the monastery had multi-purposes; it was a double monastery with a hospital. There were two churches and two cloisters, one for the Poor Clares and the other for the adjoining Minorite brothers. The Poor Clares were the female counterparts to the Franciscans with a mission of poverty and taking care of the sick. Presumably, the Crosiers, whom Anežka gave refuge from 1333 to 1337, and the Poor Clares attended to the sick and needy in the hospital. The Prague convent housed the first Saint Clares north of the Alps. The original convent included five Italian nuns

from Assisi and seven Czech noble women. In 1261 king Otakar II and his great-aunt Anežka founded a new church at the convent, Saint Salvator, which was intended as a royal mausoleum. The church displays this royal connection with carved kings and queens on capitals of its triumphal arch.

The first Dominican monks came to Bohemia from Krakow around 1225.³⁴ They settled first in the area later called the New Town, and then moved to Saint Klement church (site of the current Klementinum, Nation Library) across from the bridge in the Old Town [fig. 50]. Like the Franciscans, the order was divided into provinces with a *minister generalis* at the head. Until 1301, the Bohemian Dominican monasteries (except for Cheb) were under the Polish province and from 1301 they were part of an independent Bohemian province. The Dominicans were committed preachers, at times influenced by mysticism, and they often served as inquisitors. Dominican monasteries were connected to other monasteries in their province. This allowed for an exchange of ideas across regions. While part of the Polish province, some monks, such as Kolda of Koldic who later became influential advisor of abbess Kunhuta at the Saint Jiří convent and as an inquisitor, came from Germany.

Likewise the first Minorites in Bohemia also settled in Prague [fig. 50]. The Minorites, closely related to the Franciscans, founded an important monastery in the Old Town at Saint Jakub (James) church in 1232. The monks settled at a pre-existing church at the opposite end of the town square from the Dominicans. The monastery had close relations to the king, especially under the Luxembourgs, as it was the site of king John's

³⁴ Vlček et al. 1997, p. 523 states Dominicans came from Krakow, but on p. 118 they states that they came from Köln on the Rhein.

coronation celebrations in 1311 and later in 1326 a wedding celebration of king John's second marriage to queen Beatrix (1334-1346).

Other than the Hospitallers at the foot of the bridge, the second prominent monastery at the Lesser Quarter was the Augustinian Hermits at Saint Thomas, founded in 1285 by Václav II with the approval the Prague bishop Tobias of Bechyňe [fig. 50]. Originally the Saint Thomas church from the thirteenth century was owned by the Břevnov Benedictines. In 1286 the Břevnov abbot transferred the rights of a church on the site of the current monastery to the king. During the first half of the fourteenth century the site was rebuilt, starting with the east end of the church. Among the patrons in the fourteenth century were Saint Jiří abbess Kunhuta (1306), John of Luxembourg and his wife Eliška (1323), and later Charles IV (1353). The consecration of the Saint Thomas east end in 1315 must have been a grand affair since it was attended by archbishop of Mainz Peter of Aspelt (1245 – 1320), archbishop of Trier Baldwin (c. 1285 – 1354), and the Olomouc bishop Peter, as well as the bishop of Prague, Jan of Dražice.³⁵ Both archbishops were intricately involved in Bohemian politics.

Outside of Prague, at the end of the thirteenth century, Mendicant monasteries developed along with new towns. For example Plzeň, established in 1295, and České Budějovice, established in 1265, were royal cities, which allotted space for mendicant houses as part of the initial city planning. Other cities with a Dominican monastery included, České Budějovice, Hradec Králové, Cheb, and Litoměřice (at the Saint Michael and later Saint Jacob churches). Most of the mendicant monasteries in Bohemia were establish by 1310. As discussed in chapter one, discontent grew between mendicants and

³⁵ Vlček, 1999, p. 100.

bishops in whose diocese they resided, from the end of the thirteenth century into the fourteenth.

Czech Monasticism Circa 1300

Benedictine monasteries in Bohemia had a long-standing tradition as they preserved some of the old traditions of the kingdom and probably the strongest ties to the diocese. The Prague bishop had visitation rights and the Břevnov and Sázava abbots would have been important allies to both the court and the Prague diocese at the time of bishop Jan of Dražice.³⁶

The newer orders, Cistercians and Premonstratensians beginning in the 1140s, were often founded by the royal family, although other patrons also sponsored some establishments, as was the case with bishop Zdik's foundation at Strahov and the Rožmberk family's foundation at Vyšší Brod. Cistercian monasteries produced many of the chronicles detailing the royal family and were part of the royal court at times of crisis. While Cistercians and Premonstratensians had different focus in terms of the overall aims, Cistercians focused on contemplation and work and Premonstratensians study and pastoral care, they were both part of an overarching network of monasteries. Hence to a large degree they were at least partly out of the diocese jurisdiction. Although at times the bishop did weigh in.

The newest orders to join, the Mendicants, although also supported by the royal family, were less connected to the diocese, and as I have discussed earlier were often in open conflict. Mendicants were also part of a network whose motherhouses did not

³⁶ Foltýn, 1991, confirms the close connection of the Benedictine abbots and Jan IV of Dražice, p. 28.

necessarily correspond to the kingdom in which they resided. They had the greatest foothold in the cities and hence would have been more involved in political struggles unfolding in city centers. By the beginning of the fourteenth century major cities in Bohemia had at least one mendicant monastery. In the fourteenth century, the Old Town of Prague held the largest number of monasteries, all of which were either mendicant or one of the military orders [fig. 50]. Most of these institutions were founded in the thirteenth century; the Poor Clares at Saint Agnes convent (1231) near the riverbank, Dominicans at Saint Klement (1227) closer to the bridge, and Minorities at Saint Jakub (1232) at the opposite end of the town square. The last mendicant foundation was the Dominican nuns at Saint Anne's church, formally the Saint Vavřinec (Lawrence) church (1313).³⁷ The non-mendicants in the Old Town were the Templars at Saint Lawrence church from 1232-1313 and the Crosiers of the Red Star, near the bridge in 1252. The German Knights transferred to the Saint Benedict church in the Old Town in 1233 and the short-lived Cyriacs or Knights of the Red Heart founded by Otakar II in 1256 (Church of the Holly Cross).³⁸ The Magdalene sisters were also in Prague from the thirteenth century, but their precise dates, site, and influence is unclear. They were cited in 1282 in the vicinity of Saint Havel.³⁹ By 1329 they had relocated to the Lesser Quarter (Ujezd church of Mary Magdalene).

Several mendicant establishments were sites of political significance for the city and the kingdom. In the later thirteenth and throughout the fourteenth century, the Dominicans at Saint Klement were a dominant center with up to 150 monks. They

³⁷ The Saint Vavřinec (Lawrence) church housed the Templars who moved to Ujezd, near the later New Town.

³⁸ The knights were first located at Saint Peter's church in Poříč (later New Town of Prague) in 1204.

³⁹ Vlček, et. al. 1997, p. 533.

hosted the province gathering in 1248, 1267, and 1293. The *Zbraslav Chronicle* reports political proceedings at Saint Klement again in 1281 and 1317.⁴⁰ Coronations and royal marriages also took place in the Old Town Minorite monastery of Saint Jakub as mentioned earlier.

While there were at least nine monastic institutions in the Old Town, on the other bank there were far fewer. The two dominant monasteries in the Lesser Quarter were the Hospitallers at the bridge and the Augustinian Hermits close to the foot of the Hradčany hill [fig. 26]. The Lesser Quarter also included small houses for nuns, one at Saint Anne's and the church of Mary Magdalene. Premonstratensian nuns from Chotěšov initially owned the Saint Anne church, but by 1298 it was owned by the Dominicans. Sisters from this convent moved to the Old Town in 1313, but probably continued to function at their Lesser Quarter site as well. The Dominican female monastery at Saint Anne was most likely intended as a royal foundation, but the nun's significance was diminished with the death of Queen Eliška in 1330. The church of Mary Magdalene housed the Mary Magdalene sisters from the Old Town by 1329. In the seventeenth century this site was transferred to Dominican nuns.

In the fourteenth century, there were far fewer new monastic foundations in the Old Town and Lesser Quarter. The only exception seems to have been the Benedictine monastery of the Holy Ghost founded in 1348 by the Olomouc bishop Jan VII, known as "Volek" (1334-1351).⁴¹ Charles IV had to create a new town –called the New Town of

⁴⁰ Marie Bláhová, ed. et. al.. *Kroniky doby Karla IV.* Prague: Svoboda, 1972. *Zbraslav Chronicle*.

⁴¹ Vlček, 1996, p. 61.

Prague—in order to freely place his numerous monasteries.⁴² It is not until after the Hussite conflicts in the fifteenth century that the Old Town witnessed new foundations. In the sixteenth century, the Jesuits bought the Dominican complex near the river, currently known as the *Clementinum*, the site of the National Library.

While bishop Jan was developing plans for his new foundation, he must have considered this complex network of existing institutions. He could have chosen to support one of the existing orders and founded a new house. But, the fact that he chose to establish the canon regulars of Saint Augustine, suggests he did not find what he was looking for in the existing orders. Certainly, the conflicts with the Mendicant orders were a consideration. As part of his reforms he wished for a monastery that would be influential, spiritually and practically, yet be fully under his jurisdiction.⁴³

Augustinian Canons and the Roudnice Foundation

Augustinian Canons Across Europe

Overall there were thousands of abbeys and monasteries of the Augustinian canons throughout Europe including Central European territories neighboring Bohemia. The Lateran council of 1059 had strongly encouraged priests to live a life in common under the rule of Saint Augustine and to renounce all personal property. During the second half of the eleventh century new houses of canons were founded in order to establish a regular way of monastic life amongst its clergy.⁴⁴ Bishops often founded new

⁴² Charles IV designated a large area adjacent to the Old Town in 1348. He founded at least five new monastic institutions as well as several churches.

⁴³ Hledíková, 1992, writes that the choice of Augustinian canons would have allowed the bishop visitation rights, p. 144.

⁴⁴ The new houses were sometimes influential in the investiture conflicts.

houses or reformed existing cathedral chapters of canons.⁴⁵ For example, bishop Altman of Passau (from 1065) founded a house of regular canons of Saint Nicola in 1067. Still during the bishop's lifetime the Passau canons founded other sites throughout Austria and southern Germany. Augustinian houses were founded all over Europe including England, France, Italy, and the German-speaking lands. The bulk of these foundations occurred in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Houses of Augustinian canons did not have a strict central organization like the Cistercians, or even the Premonstratensians and Mendicant orders. From the onset Augustinian houses varied widely in their affiliations. Some were independent houses; others were affiliated, while some were dependent on a dominant motherhouse. In England and France these houses were generally abbeys with a head abbot, while many in the Germany lands and later in Bohemia were priories with a provost.

In France three important abbeys, each with a congregation of houses, were Saint Ruf near Avignon, Saint Victor in Paris, and in the north at Arrouaise. Saint Ruf (founded 1039) was one of the first abbeys to adopt the rule of Saint Augustine and inspired the customs of some fifty other houses in France and Spain. The Arrouaise canons (a hermitage from 1090) elected their first abbot in 1121 and became a motherhouse to several other canon communities with influence as far as Ireland, Germany, Spain and Poland. The royal abbey and school of Saint Victor was a community of followers of Saint Victor outside of Paris. Saint Victor was not a bishop but the archdeacon of the Notre Dame School. Upon his retirement from this post in 1108 his pupils followed him to his retreat outside of Paris. About 40 new houses

⁴⁵ Foltýn, 1991, pp. 11-19.

followed the Saint Victor customs. The Victorines, as they are sometimes called, contributed to scholastic theology in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

One of the important houses of regular canons in Italy was in Pavia, whose canons were brought from Mortara in 1221. The San Pietro in Ciel d'Oro church became the resting place of Saint Augustine in 1327. On his way home from Avignon in 1329, bishop Jan of Dražice likely stopped in Pavia, although Jaroslav Kadlec has argued that he did not acquire the Pavia customs for Roudnice.⁴⁶

Apart from Passau, there were many other Augustinian abbeys and houses of regular canons in the German lands and Silesia (current Poland). For example Marbach (in Alsace), Rottenbuch, and Salzburg all shared in reforms and development of the order. Perhaps the most important house was that of Marbach since by the twelfth century the *Consuetudines of Marbach* were widely influential throughout the German lands.⁴⁷ These customs were not as strict as some other rules such as those of Springiersbach (see the Premonstratensian order). The Marbach house was founded at the end of the eleventh century and had a variety of affiliations with other houses. Some priories were dependent houses of Marbach, others accepted the *Consuetudines* along with canons from Marbach, and some were purely independent but chose to use some or all of the Marbach rules.

Rottenbuch (founded in 1073) adopted the *Marbach Consuetudines* in 1150. The house provided hospitality for pilgrims and travelers, and the abbey was also responsible for several parish churches. Rottenbuch was never a motherhouse to other abbeys, but it

⁴⁶ Posited by Ignac Zibermayer, "Zur Geschichte der Raudnitzer reform," *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung* t. XI Innsbruck: Ergänzungsband, (1929) p. 325.

⁴⁷ Josef Siegwart, *Die Consuetudines des Augustiner-chorherrenstiftes Marbach im Elsass*, Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag, 1965.

founded and sent its canons to some 200 other houses by the end of the thirteenth century.⁴⁸

Likewise the Salzburg reform in the twelfth century urged the *Marbach Consuetudines*. Bishop Konrad I (1106-47) founded the Salzburg house and continued the reforms started by bishop Altman of Passau. He also supported the Rotterbuch house, which was a major influence in Bavaria. Bishop Konard is an interesting example to compare with the bishop of Prague. Konrad was in exile from his diocese from 1112-21. Upon his return reformed his diocese in several ways. Beginning with the cathedral chapter of Salzburg, he regularized all the houses in his diocese.⁴⁹ The Salzburg union adopted more severe observances than Rottenbuch and Marbach, which included silence, manual labor, and night prayer. The union was short lived and by 1180 dissolved into separate houses.

Although Passau and the regular canons of Saint Nicola, which is on the current border between Austria and Germany, is only 50 km from the current Czech border the reform movement did not reach the Bohemian kingdom in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Nevertheless, bishop of Olomouc Jindřich Zdík might have been influenced by this wave of reform when he founded a house of regular canons in Bohemia in 1140 at Strahov on the Hradčany hill in Prague.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Website www.augustiniancanons.org.

⁴⁹ Website www.augustiniancanons.org.

⁵⁰ See chapter 3. Bishop Zdík was also influenced by his visit to Jerusalem in 1137.

Bohemian Bishops as Founders

Roudnice was a first in many ways; it was the first monastery of Augustinian canons in Bohemia and it was one of the first monastic foundations sponsored independently by a bishop. One of best-known patrons was Saint Vojtěch (Adalbert, 982—997), bishop of Prague, who died as a martyr on a mission to Poland. He helped found one of the first monasteries in Bohemia, the Benedictine monastery at Břevnov. As discussed earlier, this monastery was a significant site with strong ties to the diocese throughout the middle ages. Olomouc bishop Zdik found refuge in Prague and helped establish the Strahov Premonstratensian monastery. According to Hledíková, Zdik organized the foundation, but did not provide the financial means, which came from the king. The only bishop who sponsored a monastic foundation on his own was Prague bishop Jan I (1134—1139). He founded a Benedictine monastic institution for women at Strahov. The monastery, however, was short lived and died along with its founder.⁵¹ Other Prague bishops most likely did not have the means or motivation to organize monastic foundations.

As I discussed in chapter one, bishop Jan was an involved patron on many fronts, he secured the site and the financial backing of the monastery. He also had a hand in shaping the monastic institution spiritually through securing the books, liturgical objects, and acquired a customary. This was unusual in the Bohemian context since, as I discussed earlier, most monastic institutions in Bohemia were sponsored primarily by kings and to a lesser degree queens. A dominance of one ecclesiastical patron is also unusual in monastic foundations; often such financially demanding ventures required the

⁵¹ Zdenka Hledíková, “Biskup,” in *Člověk Českého Středověku*. eds. František Šmahal and Martin Nodl, Prague: Argo, 2002, p. 154.

joint efforts of lords and ecclesiastics.⁵² The dominance of bishop Jan IV as patron can perhaps be explained with his reliance on both family funds, but also monies from the diocese. In the Bohemian context, the bishop acted as a feudal lord. The diocesan properties were part of the king's treasury and the two were inseparable.⁵³ Nevertheless, as we will see the bishop insisted that he supported the Roudnice monastery entirely from his personal funds.

Securing a New Bohemian Monastery

The organization of the new foundation at Roudnice did not begin in 1333, or the date of the foundation document, but must have been ongoing for several years and most likely began while the bishop was still in Avignon. The process of the foundation could have been started while the bishop was still in Avignon, and continued several years after the official foundation, most likely throughout the bishop's lifetime. Foltýn writes that a new foundation would have needed the approval of the king, the diocese and the pope. The new foundation would also need a site to build on or renovate, builders for the site, property as a source of revenue, new canons, and a rule and customary. Only after these aspects were in place could the new house vote a leader or provost.⁵⁴

Bishop Jan could have acquired the permission for his foundation from the pope and the king of Bohemia while still in Avignon or directly after his return in 1329.

Hledíková writes that the bishop had time for organizing in his last years in Avignon,

⁵² For example, *Saint-Jean-des-Vignes in Soissons: approaches to its architecture, archaeology and history*. eds. Sheila Bonde and Clark Maines. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003, pp.

⁵³ Klára Benešová, *Královský sňatek Eliška Přemyslovna a Jan Lucemburský-1310*, Gallery: Prague 2010 (also in English as *Royal Marriage*). p. 510.

⁵⁴ Foltýn, 1991, p. 20.

probably from 1327 after the resolution of his process seemed clear.⁵⁵ However, Hledíková also notes that bishop Jan continued correspondences with the Avignon court, sending personal messengers, until March of 1333.⁵⁶

In the first half of the fourteenth century, Avignon would have been a city full of resources and contacts for the bishop including local masons and existing monastic institutions that could provide models of communal living and monastic architecture. Avignon as we see today is the result of rebuilding during the fourteenth century and the Prague bishop must have witnessed some of this transformation. As discussed in the introduction, the bishop invited a mason, William, from Avignon to build a bridge in Bohemia. I will discuss in chapter three if the mason also built part of the monastery at Roudnice.

The bishop must have decided many aspects of his new foundation in Avignon. Just outside the Avignon walls was the Saint Ruf abbey of regular canons, which, as mentioned above, used the customs formulated at Marbach. Kadlec compared the Roudnice statutes to the customs of Pavia, Marbach and Saint Ruf and concluded that Roudnice was most similar to both Marbach and Saint Ruf.⁵⁷ The similarity between Marbach and Saint Ruf is not surprising as the famous Marbach customs were based on Saint Ruf, and canons from Saint Ruf populated the first Marbach foundation. The bishop must have been familiar not just with the customs and architecture of Saint Ruf,

⁵⁵ Hledíková, 1992, p. 123 and 144.

⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 138-139.

⁵⁷ Jaroslav Kadlec, "Začátky kláštera augustiniánských kanovníků v Roudnici." *Studie of Rukopisech* 20 (1981) and Foltýn, 1991, also agrees that the statutes were modeled on Saint Ruf, p. 29. I will discuss the customary further in chapter 4. Unfortunately, the Saint Ruf customs are not thoroughly studied.

but would have experience the working French monastery and the customs performed within their specific architectural space.

The Monastic Domain

After his return to Prague, with the idea to found a new monastery the bishop probably had much work to reestablish his post and recapture the diocese properties as well as those of his family. The bishop reorganized his properties and treasury quickly. He was able to purchase two new castles, one in Supí Hora (near Chlumec) and the other in Kyšpek near the border to Meissen. These were purchased from the bishop's personal funds and not from the diocese.⁵⁸

In order to ensure the success of the new monastic foundation bishop Jan had to provide several things for the monastery [fig. 54]. These included the resources and money needed for building the monastic house but also the finances, which would sustain the monastery in the future. In the foundation document in 1333 the bishop notes the villages of Vetší Palec, Slapanice, Vrbicany, Liborice, and Ocichovce [Appendix IV, fig. 51] as gifts to endow the monastery with financial support. Along with the purchase of Supí Hora castle in 1334, bishop Jan also bought from Otta of Bergov nine other villages.⁵⁹ He gave six of these, Schonfeld or Tuchomysl, Modlany, Sobedruhy, Hotovice, Lochovice, and Habrim, to Roudnice [fig. 52].⁶⁰ However, three years later he

⁵⁸ Hledíková, 1992, p. 139-142 and Foltýn, 1991, p. 22-23.

⁵⁹ Hledíková, 1992, p. 141, RBM IV n. 122, and n. 478 pp. 192-194, pp. 47-48, and Katedrála sv. Víta (Prague, Czech Republic), Adolf Patera, and Ant Podlaha. *Soupis rukopisů Knihovny Metropolitní kapitoly pražské*. Sest. Ad. Patera a Ant. Podlaha. Prague, Nákl: České akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1910. n. 161.

⁶⁰ Josef Emler, *Decem Registra Censuum Bohemica aetate bellum husiticum praecedente, Deset urbaru českých z doby před valkami husitskými*. Prague: kralovstvi ceske spolecnosti nauk. 1881 p. 4-9. Emler writes that the cartulary originated in 1338. It survives in a Viennese manuscript (318). Urbář (cartulary)

exchanged the villages furthest from the monastery with others that were closer to Roudnice, on the pretense that the properties nearer to the monastery. The new sites included Smolnice, Hlinna, Babiny, Brezi, Budov, Dolin, Zelevcice, and Bakov [fig. 53]. Foltýn writes that the exchange was a calculated business transaction, which resulted in new properties for the monastery via the properties of the diocese and the bishop regaining the properties he purchased near Kyšpek.⁶¹

Rostislav Nový has analyzed the contents of the Roudnice cartulary as well as several other existing monastic cartularies. He finds that in the Bohemian context the Roudnice properties were not extensive and that the properties themselves did not yield great funds for the monastery. Rather, it was the parishes, which were under the greater source of revenue.⁶²

Location

The location of the new monastery was a primary concern for the bishop. Both Hledíková and Foltýn have demonstrated that the bishop's first choice for the monastery was Prague, the seat of the diocese. The specific location Jan chose was in the Old Town at the parish church of Virgin Mary on the Pond (Na Louži). This was a strategically advantageous location as it was near both the St. Jiljí collegiate church, the Saint Klement Dominican monastery, as well as the bridge with the Crosier of the Red star monastery and

discussed in Rostislav Nový, "Studie o Předhusitských urbařích I" in *Sborník historický*, Prague, 13, (1965) pp. 5-64.

⁶¹ Foltýn, 1991, p. 23- 24.

⁶² Nový, p. 34.

hospital [fig. 50].⁶³ This central location would have been ideal to demonstrate the bishop authority in the Old Town. The bishop already controlled the left bank of the bridge with his episcopal residence and the Hospitallers [fig. 50]. From the onset the bishop planned to build a bridge along with the monastery. It was for this purpose that he commissioned William from Avignon. Although in 1329 the Saint Judith Bridge in Prague was still in place, it might have needed repairs or possibly replacement.⁶⁴ However, the access of the bridge was controlled by the Hospitallers at the Virgin Mary under-the-chain monastery on the left bank and the Crosiers of the Red Star on the right bank (Old Town side), as discussed earlier. It is possible that the Crosier would have opposed a rebuilding and hence the possibility of losing their strategic position. Even more likely, the bishop had opposition from the Saint Klement Dominicans, also situated near the bridge right bank.

By 1300 Prague the Old Town was also densely populated with monastic institutions. The five large monastic houses in the Old Town were either mendicants or one of the military orders [fig. 50]. Although a century earlier towns welcomed new monastic institutions as a source of income and security, at the end of the thirteenth century the Old Town had little room for a new monastic house.⁶⁵ The church of the Virgin Mary on the Pond was a lay institution with its own loyal parishioners and did not wish to lose their church.⁶⁶ The Old Town city council in control of the local merchants also did not approve

⁶³ Václav Chaloupecký, *Jan IV z Dražic [Jan IV from Dražice]*. Prague, 1908, p. 160, Hledíková, 1992 p. 144, 146-7, Foltýn, 1991, p. 25.

⁶⁴ Hledíková, 1992, p. 146. The bridge collapsed in the flood of 1342 and was later replaced by Charles IV in 1357.

⁶⁵ Hledíková, 1992, pp. 146-7, claims that by 1300 most large European cities resisted founding new monasteries within their city walls.

⁶⁶ The state of the Prague parishes is discussed by David Mengel, *Bones, Stones, and Brothels: Religion and Topography in Prague Under Emperor Charles IV (1346-1378)*, Dissertation, Notre Dame, Indiana, 2003.

the building of a new monastic site.⁶⁷ In addition, the mendicants were protective of their domains especially in light of the *Super Cathedram* controversy. A house of Augustinian canons in the center of Old Town, under the bishop's jurisdiction, would have been seen as a clear intrusion and broadening of the bishop's authority. Together, the issues of the old bridge, the location of the Crosiers, the numerous mendicant institutions, and the parish opposition created obstacles to the new foundation in Prague.

Due to the opposition, the bishop decided to move the foundation to Roudnice, a town that belonged to the diocese and could not oppose his plans, in fact they must have welcomed the attention.⁶⁸ There he continued with his plans to create a strong bishopric complex, including the renovation of his palace, a new bridge, hospital, and a new monastery. In the end Roudnice was a fine choice, as I discussed in chapter one, the bishop's plans transformed the small town into a new economic center. The new monastery was located at the site of a small parish church or chapel outside the city walls from the thirteenth century.⁶⁹ The town of Roudnice certainly profited from this foundation, they gained with the frequent presence of the bishop, as well as a new bridge, church and a hospital near the riverbank (begun in 1340 and destroyed in 1848).⁷⁰ In many respects the urban organization of Roudnice mirrored the proposed layout of Prague as much as Avignon as the Prague episcopal residence was also near the bridge,

⁶⁷ Hledíková, 1992, pp. 147-149, the issue was taxation.

⁶⁸ Cihla, Michal and Michal Panáček. "Středověký most v Roudnice nad Labem," in *Průzkumy Památek XIII* (II/2006) believe that the bishop intended to build the bridge and monastery in Roudnice from the onset, p. 11.

⁶⁹ The remains of the earlier church are now part of the sacristy. Foltýn, 1991, wonders if the original church on the monastic site was a parish church since it was outside of the city wall, p. 85 (fn.7).

⁷⁰ Hledíková, 1992 p. 148, and *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum = Prameny dějin českých. Prague: Nákl. N.F. Palackého, 1873, Vol. IV, 385-386, František, Book I Ch 31. In 1340 bishop Jan gave the monastery a hospital and the town of Vetlá. Also unpublished text by Kučera, František. *Dva nejstarší kostely v Roudnici n. Labem [Two of the Oldest Churches in Roudnice on the Elbe]*: Unpublished, typed manuscript in Žitavice archive, 1948.*

and the Crosiers of the Red monastery at the foot of the bridge administered a hospital.

Canons at Roudnice

The Roudnice foundation document, signed May 25th, 1333, marks the official ceremony of the foundation, which included the Prague bishop, his brother, bishop of Sardonía (Albania), and several other influential persons from the church and court.⁷¹ At this point the bishop may not have had canons at his new site. A year later, in 1334, when the bishop signed a second foundation note in which he added properties, he mentioned the canons, as they were to administer the new hospital in Roudnice.⁷² The intent was to have twelve canons and a provost, but it is not clear if the original numbers were met.⁷³

As noted in the introduction, the bishop specifically requested that the canons at Roudnice were of Czech parentage.⁷⁴ This request has stirred much interest since it has often been interpreted as the bishop's exceptional Bohemian sentiment. But was his intent to make a "Bohemian" monastery? It was typical to bring canons or monks to a new monastery from another establishment. Such was the case at Strahov for example, where canons from Steinfeld arrived to recast the new monastery after the regular canons were unsuccessful. Importing members from an established site was useful as they could teach others the customs and ways of monastic life. In fact, it seems one of the reasons

⁷¹ See Appendix III. The original manuscript is in the Litomeřice archive, at Žitenice. A transcription can be found in RBM III 2008, and Jakubowski, Zbigniew. *Czeskie i morawskie fundacie kanonickie XIV—XV wieku (Studium z dziejow devotio moderna)*, Czestochowa: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna w Czestochowie, 2001. Chaloupecký, 1908 p. 184, František, Book I, Ch 31, states that Přibyslav, bishop of Sardonía (currently in Albania), the Břevnov Abbott, and other prelates, nobles, and burghers were present.

⁷² Foltýn, 1991, p. 23.

⁷³ Hledíková, 1992 p. 148.

⁷⁴ See Appendix III and Introduction fn. 47.

the regular canons did not succeed at Strahov was the fact that bishop Zdík wanted to build the monastery according to his vision and did not ask an established house to create a new monastic community.⁷⁵ Hence, it would seem logical that bishop Jan would have asked the Saint Ruf abbey to provide canons for the new foundation, the fact that he did not indicates that he wished a great deal of personal control over Roudnice. Although, Foltýn suggests that nevertheless some of the canons from Saint Ruf could have come to Roudnice.⁷⁶

The request for Czech speakers was perhaps an explanation as to why French canons were not invited. Yet, it still does not clarify why people of German-speaking heritage, which after all accounted for a good half of the Bohemian kingdom, were excluded. The bishop justified his request, that from experience, different nations did not live cohesively. As I discussed in the introduction, this was certainly an issue. A group of canons living a communal life needed to be cohesive otherwise the community would likely fail. The bishop's wish to exclude Germans could have also been a personal statement against the bishop's opponents, as both the bishop's accuser Jindřich Schönburg, and many mendicants in the Old Town were German-speaking.

Whether or not the Czech-only policy was enforced is an interesting question. Foltýn cites the example of a Prague merchant who wished his sons to become canons, and if they were unable to secure membership in a Czech chapter of canons at least “ in the Roudnice regular canons, even though the founder does not want any Germans. [*in ecclesia Rudnicensi Canonorum Regularium, in qua episcopus fundator non vult*

⁷⁵ Foltýn, 1991, p. 15-16.

⁷⁶ Foltýn, 1991, also suggests that perspective Czech could have traveled to a house of regular canons for training, p. 29.

*aliquem Teutonicum recipi.]]*⁷⁷ We do not know if his request was granted.

The fact remains that when Charles IV asked the pope to revoke the Czech only policy, he also requested to abolish the clause that only German-speaking monks were admitted to Cistercian houses. It is understood that the more internationally based emperor did not wish to be exclusive, and in fact to continue to do so would have hindered the spread of the order.

Fourteenth Century Foundations

After the death of the bishop in 1343, Roudnice continued to thrive under the protection of the first archbishop, Arnošt of Pardubice. While bishop Jan IV was the first Prague bishop to fund a successful monastic institution, he was not the last. Archbishop Arnošt continued to follow bishop Jan's example and founded several monastic institutions, including houses of Augustinian canons. Few other Bohemian archbishops or bishops of Litomyšl and Olomouc were such enthusiastic founders of monastic institutions. In the later fourteenth century such efforts were only matched by the Olomouc bishop Peter Wurst "Jelito" (1381-1387), the founder of the Augustinian canons at Lanškroun. By the fifteenth century, the role of monasteries was greatly altered by the Hussite conflicts and new monasteries were not founded until the sixteenth century.

Eleven other Augustinian foundations, seven in Bohemia (Jaroměř, Rokycany, Sadská, Karlov, Třebon, Lanškroun, and Borovany) and four in Moravia (Šternberk, Fulnek, Prostějov and Olomouc), were sponsored in the Bohemian kingdom after

⁷⁷ Foltýn, 1991, p. 31.

Roudnice [fig. 55].⁷⁸ The emperor Charles IV, the new archbishop and the upper nobility, supported many of these houses. The history and cultural activity of these Augustinian houses shows how Roudnice had an impact on Bohemia and its vicinity. There was a kind of Renaissance of Augustinian canons in the region.

The “Karlov” abbey, Mons s. Caroli, with the church of the Virgin Mary and Saint Charles the Great (Charlemagne) was founded by emperor Charles IV and situated on the hilltop as a prominent feature of his New Town urban development in 1350. Most likely there was already an existing monastery on the site, but Charles dedicated the church to the Virgin Mary and Saint Charles the Great. The monastery housed relics of Charlemagne. The church has an octagonal central plan with a small polygonal east end, perhaps meant to evoke the Aachen palace chapel of Charlemagne. In 1377 the site was consecrated, but not completed. The east end was redone in the fifteenth century and the vault of the church was redone in 1575, hence there is some debate about the appearance of the original church vaulting. The cloister was also rebuilt in the seventeenth century. Karlov is one of the two Augustinian institutions, which is an abbey, rather than priory. In 1354 Charles IV founded a sister house to Karlov at (Nieder) Ingelheim on the Rhein. The canons from Karlov administered chapels at the Bezděz and Lysé on the Elbe castle chapels. In addition, they also manned the chapel at the emperor’s castle chapel in Ingelheim.

Perhaps the most important Augustinian monastery sponsored by the first Prague archbishop was the church of Mons s. Mariae and canonry at Klodzko (Gladz or Kladsko), Silesia in 1349. Klodzko, currently in Poland, was part of the Bohemian

⁷⁸ Also discussed in Foltýn, 1991.

kingdom in the fourteenth century. It was also the archbishop's place of birth and he continued to support the monastery during his lifetime. The church became archbishop's burial site.

Arnošt also brought the Augustinian canons to Jaroměř and Rokycany. In Jaroměř the canons were originally housed at the Virgin Mary parish church outside the city walls in 1349. The chapel of All Saints in Prague owned the church of Virgin Mary (from 1339).⁷⁹ The canons were asked to take care of the town church of Saint Michael, which was modeled on the Virgin Mary of the Sand in Krakow, Silesia. In 1404 the canons moved to the Saint Michael church on the main square in Jaroměř. At this time the city belonged to queen Žofie of Bavaria (Sophia, 1389-1419) and she probably contributed to the building since she stayed in the city from 1399.

The town of Rokycany, like Roudnice, was owned by the Prague diocese and later archdiocese. Archbishop Arnošt turned the parish church of Virgin Mary of the Snow in Rokycany into a collegiate church (1362-1420, renewed briefly circa 1450) and in 1361 pope Innocent VI agreed to turn the parish into a house of regular canons. The complex possibly also included administrative offices for the archbishop. At first there were six canons at the house, some of whom came from Roudnice, later there were thirteen. The building of the cloister began in 1365 under the archbishop Jan Očko of Vlašim (John, 1364-1379).⁸⁰ The church that was rebuilt during the seventeenth century remains and the cloister was destroyed in 1888.

Arnošt of Pardubice founded a small monastery for Augustinian canons in Sadská. According to Pavel Vlček, Sadská had a collegiate church from the twelfth

⁷⁹ Specific site is unknown.

⁸⁰ Vlček, et. al. 1997, p. 621

century.⁸¹ In 1362, Charles IV moved this chapter to its new home at the Saint Apolinář church in the New Town of Prague. At the same time archbishop Arnošt invited the Augustinian canons to the Sadská site. In 1375 there were eight canons and a provost in Sadská, later the community would grow to thirteen or fourteen. The church with an adjoining residence was finished around 1390.

The canons at the Saint Apolinář church in Prague had duties to teach at the new Prague University. According to Floridus Rohrig, there was an additional canon community, begun as early as 1340 at the impulse of a canon Mikuláš (Nicholas), which adjoined the Prague University.⁸²

The canons at Lanškroun, were founded in 1368 by Peter Wurst “Jelito” at the church of Saint Mikuláš and later at Saint Catherine (1371-1421). Peter became the bishop of Olomouc and later bishop of Chur, Switzerland, which was part of the Holy Roman Empire. Wurst became the archbishop of Magdeburg, only to be demoted to bishop of Olomouc and even excommunicated for siding with the anti-pope. Throughout his career he continued to support the canons in Lanškroun and was buried in his monastery in 1387.⁸³ The house included twelve canons and a prior on the outskirts of the town. In 1390 they moved to the parish church in town, which had been in their care from 1377.

In 1366 the Rožmberg family, the sons of Peter Rožmberg, acquired the town of Třebon. In 1367, the family asked permission from archbishop Jan Očko of Vlašim to found an Augustinian abbey at Třebon with a church dedicated to Saint Jiljí (Gall, 1367-

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 632

⁸² Röhrig, Floridus. *Österreichisches Chorherrenbuch. Die Stifte der Augustiner-Chorherren in Böhmen, Mähren und Ungarn*. Klosterneuburg-Wien: Mayer & Comp, 1994.

⁸³ Final resting place unknown.

1566, 1631-1785). The request was granted and three canons from Roudnice came to Třebon to administer the new house. The canons were responsible for the Třebon parish church as well as several other parishes in the vicinity. The Třebon canons were granted the rights for an abbot in 1389.

Borovany (1455-1564 and 1631-1785) was the only Augustinian house founded after the Hussite conflicts in Bohemia. It is located in southern Bohemia in an area that recovered quickly after the Hussite wars. The main patron at Borovany was Peter of Linz. The cloister was finished in 1475. In 1557, however, all the canons at the monastery died of plague and the monastery had to be rejuvenated.

The four Moravian houses at Šternberk, church of the Virgin Mary (1371-1784), Fulnek the Holy Trinity (1389-1784), Prostějov at the church of the Holy Cross (1391-1434), and Olomouc were less effected by the Hussite conflicts. The Augustinian canons in Moravia as in Bohemia, were founded later in the fourteenth century. They all explicitly stated in their founding documents that they wished to follow the Roudnice rule and were founded by the noble families of Šternberk and Kravař. Unfortunately, not much remains of the Moravian medieval buildings as most were rebuilt in the later Baroque period.

The Šternberk Augustinians were one of the first Bohemian houses, and it became one of the largest houses in Moravia and Bohemia. The founder was the archbishop of Magdeburg, Albert of Šternberk who founded the monastery in 1371. The charge of the Moravian house was to administer care for the local hospital. By the end of the fourteenth century the Šternberk monastery functioned as the main house in Moravia, a function similar to Roudnice in Bohemia.

Beneš from Kravař founded the canon house at Fulnek. At the foundation the Olomouc bishop gave the monastery the parish church of Saint Philip and Peter in 1389. The original duties of the nine canons included a school and the city hospital. The Olomouc bishop reserved the right to confirm the election of the prior for the monastery.

In 1391, Peter from Kravař, the son of the Fulnek founder, set up a new Augustinian chapter in Prostějov at the church of the Holy Cross. The monastery modeled itself on Roudnice as the canons were to be of Czechs heritage and emphasis was placed on prayer for the founder's family.⁸⁴ Sometime after the Hussite conflicts the canons had a disagreement with their patrons and decided to move to Olomouc. The Olomouc canons included the Prostějov canons and the newly displaced canons from Lanškroun. The new site was at the Church of All Saints, outside of Olomouc at Přehradí (1434-1784).

The influence of Roudnice continued well into the fifteenth century although as a result of the Hussite conflicts in the 1420s Roudnice was no longer able to serve as a motherhouse to its subsequent monasteries. Parts of southern Bohemia under the protection of the Rožmberk family were less effected by the Hussite wars. Třebon, which is located in southern Bohemia, was not greatly effected while other houses in Bohemia, including Jaroměř, Rokycany, Sadská, Karlov, and Lanškroun were destroyed and disbanded. Some canons or entire houses were able to move to other, safer locations. For example, the canons at Sadská moved to Zagan in Silesia while the Lanškroun canons took refuge in Olomouc. The monasteries organized around local houses, such as Krakow in Poland and Třebon in southern Bohemia, passed on the Roudnice customs to

⁸⁴ While this is typical for monastic institutions, Roudnice customary had a special emphasis on reverence of the founder in the Statutes, MS UK XIX B3.

other sites in Bavaria and Austria. In the fifteenth century Augustinian canons were involved in visiting and reforming other canonical houses, even if they did not found any new houses. In the mid-fifteenth century, cardinal Nicholas of Cusa used the Roudnice customs as a measure for other canonical houses.

Outside of the Bohemian kingdom, other Augustinian houses were founded, or reformed, based on the Roudnice example into the late fourteenth and even fifteenth century and influenced Austria, Bavaria, and southern parts of Poland. In Germany, or the territory of the Holy Roman Empire, Langezenn bei Fürth, Rebdorf, Waldsee, and Inderdorf in southern Germany, were all influenced by the Roudnice rule. While Neunkirchen am Brand (1390) was influenced by the canons from the Karlov Abbey. In Austria, Dürrnstein on the Danube (1410) and the Saint Dorothea chapter in Vienna were also influenced by Roudnice and Třebon respectively. Santa Dorothea was founded by Archduke Albert V in 1414. Nicholas V sent the prior of Santa Dorothea and the abbot of Kleinmariazell, a Benedictine monastery, to evaluate the Benedictine abbey of Melk. In Poland, apart from Klodzko, Augustinian houses that were influenced by Roudnice included the canons at the church of Corpus Christi near Krakow in 1426. Nové město (New Town) nad Váhou, now part of Slovakia, was the site of an Augustinian house. Although there were attempts to build a true congregation of canonical houses through this reform, none succeeded.

Bohemian Augustinian Canons

The Augustinian canons are similar to the Premonstratensian and military orders in that their members are canons, they work in the community, while living in common

under the rule of Saint Augustine. By the end of the fourteenth century the monasteries were an integral part of Bohemian city centers. Some were housed at the parish church in the center of town, for example at Rokycany, and Klodzko, others were transferred to the center of town when possible, such as Jaroměř and Lanškroun.

The Augustinian monasteries in Bohemia were bearers of humanism in the later fourteenth and into the fifteenth centuries. Karlov, in particular, was linked with the university, which was influential site for humanism. The Bohemian and Moravian houses included libraries, scriptoria, and often were in charge of schools. Partial libraries from Roudnice, Třebon, and Klodzko have been preserved and inform us about the devotional practices and learnedness of these communities.⁸⁵

The Augustinian houses in Bohemia were also centers of innovative art and architecture. For example, the late fourteenth century monastic churches at Třebon, Borovany, and Jaroměř are considered fine examples of late gothic hall-type church styles whose net vaulting patterns have been heralded among scholars as exemplary of late gothic architecture. The Třebon altarpiece, currently at the National Gallery in Prague is an exquisite example of the late gothic Czech painting style.

The new sense of spirituality and devotion described at Roudnice is similar in spirit to the *devotio moderno* reform movement (nuovoaugustinianism). This reform was in full swing in the second half of the fourteenth century. Founded by the reformist Gerard Groote (1340-84) from Holland and his disciple Florentius Radevinus with inspiration from texts of Saint Thomas a Kempis' (1380-1471). Roudnice and its affiliated houses were firm part of this *devotion moderna* movement. However, we do

⁸⁵ Further research on these libraries is necessary.

not know much about the relationship between the *devotion moderna* movement and Roudnice. It is not clear, for example, if Roudnice influenced the *devotion moderna* movement in the Low Lands, or vice versa. In any case this movement must have certainly included Roudnice after the bishop's death.

Reasons for the Foundation

Although the Bohemian landscape was filled with monasteries of all kinds by the fourteenth century, bishop Jan of Dražice found room for one more. Controversies over preaching and burial rites with the Mendicant orders, not under his jurisdiction, plagued the bishop throughout his time in office.⁸⁶ After his return from Avignon, the bishop had to reestablish his authority after his long departure and he chose this by developing a new program, which included the foundation of an influential monastery. The new monastery figured prominently in the bishop's reform plans and political strategy.

The choice of Augustinian canons for Roudnice was advantageous on many levels. The Augustinian canons could be directly under the bishop's jurisdiction and the bishop had not just visitation rights at the new monastery but also authority over the prior and the acceptance of new canons.⁸⁷ Other existing orders including the Cistercians, Premonstratensians, and the Dominicans were part of a network of organizations with a central agent. The Augustinian canons were not necessarily centralized and so they were not under a foreign influence. The bishop might have considered Premonstratensians canons, as they were allied with the diocese, however, by the fourteenth century they

⁸⁶ On a larger scale the conflicts foreshadows the later religious conflicts in Bohemia during later Hussite Revolution 1419-1420. Already under Charles' reign there are indications of religious unrest.

⁸⁷ Heldiková, 1992, p. 144.

were part of a network of monasteries and abbeys with a central command in Rome.

Bishop Jan did not even import canons from another establishment to found his new site, which indicates that he wished for a truly independent community under his jurisdiction.

The Benedictine monks also had strong ties to the diocese, but their work was contemplative and the Benedictine monks did not work in the community. The Augustinian canons on the other had worked in the community by administered local parishes and the hospital in Roudnice. Later Augustinian canons also worked in castle chapels and schools. Unlike the cathedral chapters, a house of Augustinian canons lived in common under a rule and was a model for the religious community.

Although there were many Augustinian houses in neighboring territories, the bishop chose to model Roudnice on Saint Ruf in Avignon, an abbey he knew personally from his stay in France. Saint Ruf would have been a good model for the bishop, since it had a long-standing tradition and influential as a motherhouse to several houses of canon regulars in the region. The bishop did not intend to make Roudnice an abbey, as was Saint Ruf, which again indicated his wish to retain utmost authority over the new monastery.

The Augustinian canons in Bohemia were founded at a time when few new foundations of canon were established in Western Europe. Judging by the numerous Augustinian houses based on the Roudnice rule, however, bishop Jan's decision for the Augustinians was both successful and inspiring. A measure for the success of the Bohemian houses was their participation in prominent, art, architecture, and new *devotio moderna* trends. The Augustinians, in addition to their pastoral work, were also active

teachers and scholars in the community as demonstrated by their extensive libraries and scriptoria.

The bishop reestablished himself in his diocese after a long absence with wide-ranging interests in architecture, manuscripts, frescoes, panel paintings, and liturgical objects. In the next chapter I will examine closely at the architecture of Roudnice in order to focus on the shape of the bishop's new foundation.

CHAPTER 3

A NEW BOHEMIAN MONASTERY

When Jan of Dražice returned from Avignon, the new Roudnice monastery became the center of the bishop's ambitious plan to reshape his political identity and spiritual authority. Work progressed quickly after the foundation in 1333 and the consecration of the church's east end occurred in 1340. Before the bishop's death in 1343 the canons must have had a completed east end of the church including the sacristy as well as the eastern cloister alley with its chapter room and dormitory in the upper story. A chapter room, dormitory and refectory were essential to monastic life and hence additional temporary wooden buildings could have been constructed.

This chapter will discuss the architecture of Roudnice in detail, including the building chronology, the mason, and the various styles. I will show that Roudnice displayed a combination of styles expressing links to the past as well as to local and pan-European building traditions of late thirteenth century and fourteenth century.

As a new monastery in a medieval landscape filled with numerous monastic orders, how did the bishop wish to present the new foundation? As opposed to the "new" mendicant orders, the bishop seems to have emphasized ties to Augustinian canons and the papal court in Avignon. I will argue that under the bishop's guidance, the architecture at Roudnice includes deliberately archaic (as in old-fashioned) architectural elements in order to present a combined sense of authority and long-standing legitimacy

at the new monastery. The archaic elements could hint at southern France, but they could also reference local monastic establishments with long traditions and a sense of authority.

This chapter is divided into two parts; the first is a detailed description and discussion of building chronology of the monastic complex, the second, will discuss the style and design of the monastery through architectural comparison. I will discuss the architecture of Roudnice monastery, using my own measurement and personal observations as well as information from numerous Czech architectural studies.¹

Part I: Description and Building Chronology

I propose that the Roudnice monastery was built in two phases in the medieval period. Building began at the site of the pre-monastic church, which was transformed into a sacristy, and included the church foundations and built the entire east end. While the cloister east alley has some stylistic differences from the sacristy, I believe that work on the east cloister was conducted early on, perhaps by a new group of masons, but still as part of the first phase. Building the church side aisles and nave continued until at least the second bay. The death of bishop Jan of Dražice in 1343 marked a pause in construction. When building restarted in the second half of the fourteenth century, the builders no longer used ashlar and switched to rubble in the south and west cloister aisles. Although I suspect that the architectural elements of the chapter room were completed and stockpiled as part of the first phase, the chapter room was likely assembled as part of

¹ O. Novosadová, Dobroslav Líbal, and Mojmír Horyna, *Roudnice: Kostel Narození P. Marie budova provošství, stavebně historický průzkum [Roudnice; the Church of the Birth of the Virgin Mary, the Building of the Provost; a Structural and Historical Analysis]*, unpublished manuscript, 1975. The medieval portions of the monastery were done by Dobroslav Líbal. Petr Macek, *Roudnice nad Labem, Východní rameno ambitů bývalého augustiniánského kláštera při proboštském kostele Narození Panny Marie, Hloubkový průzkum interiéru*, unpublished manuscript, 1998.

the second phase of building. The second phase of building, would have occurred under archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice and provost Mikuláš (Nicholas). The *Necrologium* states that Mikuláš constructed the main body of the cloister and monastic spaces.² It is likely that at least part of the east cloister alley upper story was also part of the first phase. Additional changes to the monastery occurred still within the medieval period, but could be classified as a micro-building phase, which would include the upper story library and the east alley portal in the second bay from the south. The upper story of the west cloister alley was likely built in the second phase along with the west cloister.

Pre-Monastic Church

The first phase of building at Roudnice no doubt included the most important feature of a monastery—the church’s east end [fig. 59 plan I, A]. There is evidence, however, that an earlier pre-monastic church was already on the site and was transformed into the current sacristy off the southern side of the church east end [fig. 59 plan I, B].³ What remains of the old church is a two bay two-story structure with a five-part termination. František Kučera cites differing wall thickness of the sacristy as evidence of an earlier structure on this site.⁴ While the walls between the church and the chapter room are 1.8 and 1.2 meters respectively, the independent sacristy walls are only 1 meter thick [fig. 60 plan II, a]. Hence, he believes that the pre-monastic church dated to 1240-1280, although the site could have been a chapel as it is outside the medieval town walls.

² MS XIX B3, *Necrologium* fol. 73, transcribed in Václav Chaloupecký, “Materiálle k dějinám umění v Čechách,” *Časopis Společnosti přátel starožitností v českých*, Prague: Aloisa Wiesnera, 1907, p. 103.

³ Kučera, *Dva nejstarší kostely v Roudnici n. Labem* [Two of the Oldest Churches in Roudnice on the Elbe]: Unpublished, typed manuscript, 1948, Litovice archive. Kučera gives no argument for the dating. Foltýn points out that it would have been odd to place a parish church outside of the town walls. p.

⁴ Kučera, František. *Dva nejstarší kostely v Roudnici n. Labem* [Two of the Oldest Churches in Roudnice on the Elbe]: Unpublished, typed manuscript Litomeřice archive, in Žitavice archive, 1948.

Dobroslav Líbal's observations as part of his 1975 architectural survey agrees that the pre-monastic church was on the site of the sacristy especially since the northeast buttress of the sacristy and buttress of the church east end are not joined [fig. 60 plan II, b]. The northeastern-most buttress is connected to the church east end buttress at an odd angle, also indicating that an earlier structure imposed on the layout of the church. The buttress is higher than the other sacristy buttresses and extends all the way to the cornice [fig. 60 plan II, b].

Sacristy and Upper Story Library

The pre-monastic church/chapel that became the current sacristy has an upper story, which is sometimes referred to as an oratory or library [fig. 61]. The masonry on the exterior of the two-storied structure is ashlar stone, apart from some repairs on the west end, and is lower than the church east end with a slanted roof which leans against the church east end wall.⁵ Although Octavio Broggio, who built the eighteenth century church, altered the top portion of the gable, the termination of the buttresses, part of the northeast and church east end buttress and, the cornice of the sacristy are medieval and testify that the fourteenth century structure had two stories [fig. 61].⁶ The buttresses at least in the lower level are joined with the wall masonry and are circumscribed with a base molding, which indicates that the pre-monastic structure included the current buttresses.⁷ Líbal suggested that the fabric of the pre-monastic church was altered on the exterior. He believes that the currently unarticulated pointed-arch windows in the lower

⁵ The height from the original terrain to the cornice is 12.5 meters.

⁶ Novosadová, 1975, pp. 52-56.

⁷ Ibid., p. 54, this evidence was uncovered during 19th c. repairs to the drainage system.

story originally had articulations and this was also altered in the fourteenth century. The upper story windows are slightly smaller, but likewise have unarticulated pointed-arches and no tracery. Between the lower and upper story windows is a plastered strip, which creates a subtle division between the stories and continues all round the sacristy walls and buttresses, but stops at the church east end buttress. Líbal suggested that an earlier molding was chiseled away and plastered over [fig. 61]. However, there is no additional evidence that this was the case; the strip could have been plastered during an entirely different time and for different reasons.

Presently, the two-bay sacristy has a five-part termination on the east end supported by four exterior buttresses on the east and south sides [figs. 61, 63, and 58].⁸ The interior is divided into two four-part ribbed vaults with an east end six-part ribbed vault. The west end of the sacristy has an arch, which is visibly rounder than the vaults and could have been part of the thirteenth century church [fig. 64].⁹ There are two staircases on the west end. On the north side, stairs lead to a baroque lectern that opens into the church. On the south side a stairway leads in the thickness of the wall to the upper story above of the cloister, this appears to be constructed during the fourteenth century building since the ashlar masonry includes visible clamp marks, which are present on the other parts of the fourteenth century building [Fig. 60 plan II, c]. An additional passageway on the south side leads to the chapter room and a passageway connects the sacristy and the church on the northeast end of the sacristy. Above the portal is a fresco fragment [fig. 40].

⁸ The sacristy is 15.8 m long and 6.1 m wide. Czech scholars refer to this as a 5/8 termination, meaning that the end is five parts out of an octagonal.

⁹ Kučera, p. 1, Kučera also believes that the western wall is hollow.

Most likely the vault ribs and wall articulations of the interior were redone in the fourteenth century. The wall supports have two-part polygonal tall bases, smooth cylindrical shafts, and top-heavy decorated capitals [figs. 40 and 65]. The capitals are decorated with either a plain geometric design (“molding” design) or a pointed trefoil arch design common in Bohemian fourteenth century buildings [figs. 65 and 66]. The geometric design is to my knowledge unique to this site.¹⁰ There are two geometric designs on the southern wall and one on the north, while all of the capitals on the east end have the trefoil pattern. The four-part vault ribs have an interesting chamfered and flat end profile and the vault shape is slightly round [figs. 67-69].¹¹ The three vaulting bosses are disc-shaped and only the eastern-most boss retains its original design, the three-leafed symbol of the Dražice family [figs. 67, 70-71]. The other bosses are damaged.¹²

The upper story is three bays long with a polygonal east end and four pointed arch windows. While the entire layout follows the sacristy below, the space has a much lower ceiling and the four-part vaults are almost round [figs. 72-73]. The access to the library is at the southwest corner of on the upper level [fig. 60 plan II c]. Outside the western wall of the library is a passageway with a narrow pointed archway, which currently is walled off, but most likely was a passage to the night stairs (leading from dormitory to the church east end) [figs. 75 and 60 plan II c].¹³ As mentioned, stairs of medieval origin connect the sacristy and upper story on the south side of the sacristy/library [fig. 60 plan II c].

¹⁰ The only possible variation is at Sázava.

¹¹ Novosadová, 1975, p. 76, the diagonals are almost round.

¹² See Appendix VI.

¹³ Approximately 1m x 4m.

The entire upper level is marked by fire damage, as this portion of the monastery was not part of the baroque restoration. On the interior west wall some fire damaged ashlar stones with clamp marks on the center are visible. The east end vault was restored, apparently still in the medieval period. The vault ribs are a variation on the rib profile in the rest of the complex and end on four cone shaped consoles; three on the border between the terminating east-bay and the first bay, while the space of a chancel arch are stocky, cylindrical wall responds supporting the arch [fig. 74]. The western side of the console has a wide flat arch, which was either not finished or damaged. On the western wall are the remains of a late fourteenth century wall painting. The image includes an inscription and a figure flanked by two bishops identifying this space as a library [fig. 73].

The rebuilding of the pre-monastic church was definitely part of the first phase of building at Roudnice. We can be fairly certain of the pre-monastic church plan, especially the east end but we cannot be certain of its original interior appearance. A large arch transverses the western part of the sacristy on the western side [fig. 64]. This could have been a chancel arch, in which case the pre-monastic church would have been of considerable size with a long east, or the arch could also have been part of the west end of the pre-monastic church and would have reflected the size of a small parish church.

As the pre-monastic church was transformed into the current sacristy, the interior articulations and vaults were rebuilt. The vaulting of the lower story would most likely have to be in place before the upper story was completed. Líbal believed that for

unknown reasons the upper floor was originally not vaulted.¹⁴ The upper story has visible marks from a fire and at some point part of the east end vaulting was replaced using a rib-type that is a variation of the dominant rib profile at the monastery [figs. 68 and 72]. The vault rib type and corbels style suggest that this space was vaulted at a separate time from the other medieval portions of the monastery, perhaps the last building phase from the medieval period.

Chapter Room

The three-bay chapter room is in the normative location on the east side of the cloister [figs. 59 plan I, C and 76-77].¹⁵ The entire rectangular space cuts into the hillside so that the eastern wall is partially subterranean, while the western wall exits into the east alley of the cloister and the cloister garden. Líbal's survey indicates that the chapter room was constructed of ashlar blocks on the west and north walls and the northeast corner. The north wall is part of the staircase leading to the upper story [fig. 60 plan II, d] and the masonry in the northeast corner bonds to the sacristy, at least on the exterior [fig. 62].¹⁶ The west wall bordering the cloister is built of ashlar, clearly visible on the cloister side, but covered with plaster on the chapter room side. The rest of the eastern wall is built of stone rubble.¹⁷ Unfortunately, the south wall material is still unclear. The interior walls are plastered with decorative painting from the fourteenth century, which is most visible on the western wall [fig. 78].¹⁸

¹⁴ Ibid..

¹⁵ The chapter room is 15.4 m long and 5.3 m wide.

¹⁶ This is a rough estimate, based on Líbal's survey as plaster obscures current viewing.

¹⁷ The rubble building material was revealed by the 2008 restoration of the wall paintings by Jiří Brodský and Petr Bareš.

¹⁸ Novosadová, 1975, p. 111, restoration by Jiří Brodský and Petr Bareš, 2008.

The wall articulations have, similar to the sacristy, tall bases, cylindrical columns and proportionally large capitals [fig. 80]. The design of the wall supports differs slightly, however. The chapter room cylindrical shafts are shorter and the bases are taller than in the sacristy with a pronounced lower portion and additional rolls between the first and second parts of the base and the transition to the cylindrical shaft. Overall the wall supports exaggerate and emphasize the base and capital in a more dramatic way than in the sacristy [figs. 80 and 65]. The capital designs are also more varied in design and style than in the sacristy [figs. 81-83].¹⁹ The capital is underscored with a ring that varies slightly with the design of the capital. Four of the capitals display a two-tier design with figural or animal motifs on the lower portion and a ring of foliage on the upper [figs. 81, 82 D, and 83]. The other capitals are different, however. On the eastern wall is a capital with the Dražice family symbol [fig. 82, A]. The southwest corner is a capital, which matches precisely the sacristy trefoil type [fig. 82, B] and on the southeast corner is a fleshy-leaf design, which is radically different from the stiff leaf patterns on the two-tiered capitals [fig. 82, C]. The last capital, on the west wall (plan w2), has a two-tiered leaf design which was either not finished, or its lower portion was damaged [fig. 83].²⁰

The four-part vaults are slightly less rounded than the sacristy vaults, but have rib profiles and disc-shaped vaulting bosses that are identical [figs. 76-77, 68-69]. The transverse ribs have the same profiles as the diagonals. The rib profile and vault design seems to contrast, even more than in the sacristy, with the bulky wall supports. While the northern boss is blank, the central boss has a moon with a human face, and the southern

¹⁹ See Appendix VI.

²⁰ Novosadová, 1975, p. 127.

boss repeats the Dražice family symbol [fig. 84].²¹ The chapter room and sacristy vaults are not accessible in the attic space and so further investigation of the material is difficult.

A portal in the middle bay connects the chapter room and the east alley of the cloister, and is framed by a pointed arch portal, heavily damaged, but with thin articulations on the cloister side [figs. 98-99]. On the chapter room side the portal has a segmental arch that matches two walled-in windows on the west wall [fig. 77]. One window with a segmental arch is visible in the north bay [fig. 78]. Líbal claimed that the bottom portion of the window has been altered since the medieval period.²² While a portal and windows are a common feature between a chapter room and cloister, the arrangement at Roudnice is not typical because the portal and windows do not align neatly within the bays of the chapter room [fig. 60 plan II, e]. The windows and portal, which lead to the cloister, also present a perplexing problem. Václav Mencl believed that the windows were walled in during the construction of the cloister east alley, due to a change in building plan, since the plaster on the west wall is from the fourteenth century.²³ However, Mencl's interpretation does not explain why the windows are off center to the plan of the chapter room and their unusual shape. I believe it would be useful to consider that the windows were part of a later building phase or renovation perhaps in the fifteenth century. During a later phase of building, possibly in the renaissance, windows and a door were added on the exterior east wall, allowing some light to enter the otherwise dark space. An additional portal with stairs led from the chapter room to the exterior garden in the northeast corner.

²¹ See Appendix VI.

²² Ibid., p. 125.

²³ Václav Mencl, "Biskup Jan IV. z Dražic v dějinách architektury [Bishop Jan IV from Dražice in the History of Architecture]." *Stenčovo Umění XIII* (1941) p. 112. Líbal and Macek agree as to the medieval origin of the windows.

The chapter room is essential to the canons' daily routine and would have been a priority for completion and hence, it seems typical that the chapter room would be part of the first phase of building. Yet, as detailed, the change from ashlar to stone rubble in parts of the chapter room indicates otherwise. The stone block masonry in the northern portions of the chapter room indicate that the two spaces were at least begun at the same time [fig. 60 plan II, d]. The joined masonry in this corner, however, can also be explained by preexisting material of the pre-monastic church. The northeast corner corresponds to the location of possible buttress of the pre-monastic church [fig. 60 plan II, d]. The masonry of the buttress could have easily been incorporated in the new walls of the chapter room. However, we also cannot rule out the possibility that additional buildings were part of the pre-monastic site. Structures adjacent to the original church could have been incorporated into the new monastic complex. Although there are similarities in the capital design and supports, as well as the rib profile, the change of building material indicates that the chapter room was perhaps started at the same time as the sacristy, but a pause in construction occurred. It is also possible that supports and ribs were completed, but assembled at a later time.

East End of the Church

The church, and especially its east end, was certainly part of the first building phase at Roudnice. The completed church is a basilica-type plan with two towers on the west end and a long east end with a polygonal termination and no chapels or transept [fig.

59 plan I, A, D, E]. The east end of the church was consecrated in 1340 [figs. 85-86].²⁴

A completed east end is one of the most important parts of a monastic complex and enables the canons to conduct daily services hence it would have had priority for completion. The rest of the church, the nave, aisles, and west end were most likely completed in the later fourteenth century.

The original fourteenth-century east end had three bays with four-part vaults and a seven-part termination [fig. 59 plan I, A].²⁵ The current vault is from the eighteenth century by Broggio and is approximately 1.8 meters lower than the Gothic original [fig. 88]. The remnants of the original vaulting destroyed in the seventeenth-century fire are still visible today above the baroque vaults [fig. 92]. The four-part vaults had a uniform rib profile and wall arches, with no distinction between diagonal ribs and transverse arches. The walls below the gothic vaults are plastered and do not appear to have been painted in the medieval period.²⁶

Líbal has uncovered evidence, which he believes indicates a Renaissance brick vault before the Broggio rebuilding.²⁷ Although this would make Broggio's vault the third, the original gothic design was respected and followed in the Baroque stucco and brick version. The east end windows were also altered in the seventeenth century but the

²⁴ A. Patera, "O založení kláštera Panny Marie v Roundnici n/L a o stavě mostu [About the Foundation of the Virgin Mary Monastery in Roundice on the Elbe and the Building of the Bridge]." *Památky archeologické a místopisné XI* (1878-1881): 477-478, includes a transcription of Vienna manuscript 3282. The manuscript reports that the bridge and east end of the Roudnice church were completed in 1338.

²⁵ The church is 9.6 m wide and 52.5 m long. The nave is 29.5 m and the chevet 23 m long. Czech scholars refer to this as a 7/12 polygonal termination.

²⁶ Novosadová, 1975, p. 102.

²⁷ Ibid., 1975, late medieval architecture in Bohemia can be as late as 1526. Renaissance styles are documented from early sixteenth century through early seventeenth century.

three easternmost windows and articulations are from the fourteenth century [figs. 85-86 and 88].²⁸

Ashlar masonry is visible on the exterior of the east end up to the level of the eighteenth century vaults especially on the buttresses and in the attic above the Baroque vaults [fig. 92]. The original buttresses were lowered in accordance with the lower Baroque vault. In his 1998 survey of the east end exterior, Petr Macek has documented several masonry marks on the buttresses [fig. 87].²⁹ Although Líbal believed that the church was originally supported with flying buttresses, which would have been one of the earliest instances in Bohemia, I find no evidence of buttresses in the attic or on the church exterior.³⁰

Broggio not only altered the vault in the east end but also the entire wall articulation. Although we may presume that the architectural decor imitates the original medieval remnants, we cannot be sure of the original appearance of the medieval wall supports. Today full-length wall shafts have Baroque two-part capitals [figs. 88-89]. But we do not know the style of the medieval wall responds or whether they ended at the springers in a corbel, or if they were full-length with or without capitals. It would be particularly interesting to know if the church east end decorative elements matched the sacristy and chapter room since this would help confirm the extent of the first phase of building and the interest of the patron.

²⁸ Novosadová, 1975, p. 50.

²⁹ Macek, p. 32 and the image published by Matějka, Bohumil. *Soupis památek uměleckých a historických v království českém, politický okres Roudnice n/L* [Catalogue of Historical and Artistic Sites in the Czech Kingdom, District of Roudnice on the Elbe]. Prague: Archaeologická kommise při České akademii ... pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, [Melantrich in Komm.], 1898.

³⁰ Dobroslav Líbal, *Katalog gotické architektury v České republice do husitských válek*. Prague: Unicornis, 2001. p. 431. Líbal explains that the Broggio contract indicates that flying buttresses were removed.

Church Nave and Side Aisles

The rest of the church was completed in the second half of the fourteenth century and most likely followed the plan laid out in the original building phase [fig. 59 plan I, D and E]. Líbal has observed a masonry break in the attics between the nave and east end which supports a pause in building.³¹ The distinctly extended chevet is the same length and height as the nave, excluding the narthex. Líbal has documented no evidence of a chancel arch separating the chevet and nave.³² As in the east end, the six-bay nave vault had four-part rib vaults. Once completed, the medieval nave and east end would have created an appearance of a unified space visually and functionally [fig. 88].³³

The exterior and interior walls of the nave and side aisle are covered with layers of plaster and hence it is difficult to assess the building materials. Macek has confirmed that the exterior south aisle wall is built of stone blocks similar to the east end of the church [fig. 60 plan II, f].³⁴ The north aisle exterior wall is less clear but Líbal documented medieval stone blocks, possibly of medieval origin, as well as stone rubble under the layers of plaster [fig. 60 plan II, g].

The nave walls, above the side aisles are also mixed. On both sides Líbal has documented stone block walls that join stone block buttresses through the border of the second and third bay from the east [fig. 60 plan II, h]. Stone rubble continues on the west side of the nave through the west end and joins the walls of the west towers.³⁵ Líbal has also observed fire damage in the nave especially on the sandstone blocks from the east

³¹ Novosadová, 1975, p. 100.

³² Ibid., p. 96 and 100.

³³ Although wooden screens or other barriers could have divided this space.

³⁴ Macek, p. 20, although I am not sure if he examined the entire length of the wall. Líbal states that the nave wall material changes in the third bay, Novosadová, 1975, pp. 30-52 and 60-72.

³⁵ Novosadová, 1975, p. 88-90.

through the second and third aisle of the nave [fig. 60 plan II, h]. While I do not see any fire damage on the lower level, ashlar stone is visible above the south aisle and in the attics at least through the second bay although it is unclear exactly where the rougher cut stone begins [fig. 93].

Church West End Facade

The facade of the church's west end has a clear three-part layout which matches the fourteenth-century design, although only the north tower was raised above the height of the nave in the fourteenth century [fig. 90].³⁶ Both towers were rebuilt or possibly finished along with the nave vault in the eighteenth century. Only the central window on the facade is original to the fourteenth century [fig. 91].³⁷ The two central pointed-arch tower windows mimic the fourteenth-century design, but the articulation is from the eighteenth century. Other windows are clearly Baroque designs but possibly in place of the gothic originals.

The current Broggio design of the nave vault and walls match the east end. There is no evidence of Renaissance rebuilding in the nave prior to the eighteenth century vault, however.³⁸ The four-part vaults have uniform rib profile and wall arches, with no distinction between diagonal ribs and transverse arches. Below the vaults, the wall space was also plain and flat and the Broggio wall shafts continue from the floor to vault with two-part capitals. The arcade pillars and moldings were redesigned with a baroque

³⁶ Matějka, pp. 160-165, Líbal p. 431.

³⁷ Novosadová, 1975, p. 61.

³⁸ Again the Broggio vault is roughly 1.8 meters lower than the gothic original.

sensibility, but probably the multi-shaft pier designs encase the gothic originals [figs. 88-89].

A clearer reflection of the medieval fabric of the church can be found in the side aisles. Both the north and south aisles have five bays, each bay is almost square in shape [fig. 89].³⁹ The four-part ribbed vaults with disc-shaped bosses are the original fourteenth-century design.⁴⁰ The rib profiles match the sacristy, chapter room, and cloister, rather than the nave vault [figs. 68-69].⁴¹ The vault webs were constructed of stone rubble, which is most clearly visible in the attic above the south aisle.⁴²

Although the vaults are original, the full-length wall responds with a single capital at the springer were rebuilt by Broggio [figs. 88-89]. Líbal believed that the original medieval responds were also full-length as there are cracks along the current wall shafts.⁴³ A portal connects the south church aisle with the east aisle of the cloister [fig. 60 plan II, i]. On the church side the portal is framed with four shafts, a hood molding that ends in a cone-shaped corbel, crockets and originally a finial [figs. 94-95].⁴⁴

Macek finds that the ashlar blocks on the exterior south aisle wall and the east end are similar and hence were both part of the first phase of construction.⁴⁵ The south aisle wall would have been especially important not just for the competition of the church, but also as a necessary first step to build the cloister [fig. 60 plan II, f]. Hence, along with the east end of the church and church foundations the first phase emphasized work on the south church aisle. Work progressed towards the west, but a distinct switch to stone

³⁹ Matějka, p. 166. The side aisles are 4.6 m wide and 8.3 m tall.

⁴⁰ See Appendix VI.

⁴¹ Matějka, p.165, Macek, and Novosadová, 1975.

⁴² Novosadová, 1975, p. 89, north aisle is less clear, but most likely also stone rubble, Líbal, 1075, p.

⁴³ Novosadová, 1975 p. 61

⁴⁴ I will discuss this portal further in the section on the cloister east aisle.

⁴⁵ Macek, p. 6.

rubble on the western portions of the church that indicates a pause in the construction. Most likely the church, including the towers, was completed along with the west and south cloister alleys.⁴⁶

Cloister

The two-story square shaped cloister cuts into the hillside so that the lower southern and western walls are partially subterranean [fig. 59 plan I, F, G, H, I].⁴⁷ The north aisle was dismantled as part of the Broggio renovations. The three remaining aisles have six bays each including the corner bays. The east aisle is built of evenly cut ashlar blocks and has an exterior round-arch arcade. The transition from ashlar blocks to rough stone walls and rubble is abrupt in the southeast corner of the cloister and corresponds with a change in windows design in the south and west cloister alley [fig. 60 plan II].

Cloister East Alley

The east alley of the cloister has several stylistic features, which differ from the previously discussed parts of the monastery and as a result has been the source of most controversy [fig. 59 plan I, F]. Líbal believed that the building of the east alley started after a fire in the nave interrupted building in the church. Mencl argued that the east alley is an independent building phase, which was the result of the French mason commissioned to build the bridge at Roudnice.⁴⁸ The alley walls are built of evenly cut

⁴⁶ Mencl, 1941, p. 112. His argument is most likely based on the similarity of rib profile and building materials. Mencl believes that the south and west cloister aisles were vaulted at the same time as the church aisles, with the nave vault completed last.

⁴⁷ The central garden of the cloister is 17m squared. Each aisle is 28 m long. The east aisle is 5.3 m wide, the south aisle is 4.7m wide, and the west aisle is 4.9 m.

⁴⁸ Mencl, pp. 112-117. I will discuss this further in part II of chapter 3.

ashlar blocks that display clamp marks in the center [figs. 96-99]. The northeast interior wall has a complex fresco depicting Christ on the Tree of Life (Tree of Jesse) with kneeling saints and possibly the bishop Jan of Dražice [fig. 41]. The other walls reveal the original stone. It is possible that the ashlar was even emphasized since in some areas, especially on the north wall, the masonry has subtle incised patterns on the seams.⁴⁹

The exterior cloister wall has four large pointed-arch windows with an inserted round-arch arcade and solid wall fill within a relieving arch [figs. 98 and 100, 103-105]. The exterior two windows were slightly smaller than the interior, due to thicker wall supports at the cloister corners. Hence the exterior windows had three-part arcades and the inner windows had four-parts. Only one of the inner windows has been restored to its original appearance [figs. 103-105]. The round arch shafts are polygonal and include a relief on the interior side of the cloister in place of a true capital. The two surviving reliefs show a 'wild man' motif and maple foliage with an abacus above [fig. 106].

The interior east alley wall has slight variations between the outer and inner bays. The four inner bays are framed with wall responds as well as an unarticulated pointed relieving arch with a chamfered (or disappearing) edge at the point of the springer [fig. 107]. The base of the wall is edged with a stone bench, now heavily damaged, however Macek has reconstructed its original appearance [fig. 108]. The northern and southern exterior bay walls do not have the relieving arch or the bench. The north wall has the already mention wall painting, while the south has a portal which was most likely inserted into the structure during a later restoration.⁵⁰

⁴⁹ Observed and recorded by Macek, p. 22. Although incisions could have been cut in preparation of fresco.

⁵⁰ Macek suggests eighteenth century, p. 13.

The wall responds, which continue uninterrupted from floor to vault, correspond logically with the four-part vaults [figs. 96 and 109]. The vaults are constructed of stone rubble and plastered on the exterior. The plaster retains imprints from wood shingles used during construction [fig. 109].⁵¹ Macek describes the vaults as almost rustic since the web shape is irregular and partially hidden by plaster.⁵² The rib profile is consistent with the side aisle of the church, sacristy, and chapter room [figs. 68-69]. The disc-shaped vaulting bosses are consistent in the cloister and are similar to the sacristy and chapter-room and side aisles of the church [figs. 70-71].⁵³

The two walled-in windows between the chapter room and the east alley interior wall are located in the second and fourth bay from the north [fig. 60 plan II, e and figs]. The stones used to fill the windows are slightly different from the wall in that they do not have clamp marks, but appear to be the same material. A faint remnant of the window arch, possibly segmental, just as the window on the chapter room side, is visible in both bays.

Four portals and two windows connected the east alley with other parts of the monastic complex at different points in time. Currently, three of these portals are still in use. The newest portal is Renaissance or later and is in the southeast corner east wall and leads to the upper story and cavern with spring. A prominent portal, described above in the church section, on the north end of the cloister alley leads to the church [fig. 60 plan II i]. On the cloister side a relieving arch that is larger than the portal is visible and the entry has an irregular shape, perhaps half a segmental arch. A second portal with a

⁵¹ Jiří Škabrada, *Konstrukce historických staveb*. Prague: Argo, 2003, pp. 112-115.

⁵² Macek, pp. 16-19.

⁵³ See Appendix VII.

matching relieving arch to the north alley portal was originally in the bay second from the south [fig. 60 plan II, k]. Macek has documented a wooden lintel, which remains in the plastered wall [figs. 110-111 and 108]. The style of the lintel indicates it could have been added later in the fifteenth century. The portal would have led to a space next to the chapter room, and could have been the location of day stairs leading to the dormitory.

Lastly, the portal between the chapter room and the east alley is located in the third bay from the north [figs. 60 plan II, e and 97].⁵⁴ The articulation of the portal is heavily damaged but must have been elegant moldings. While the majority of the moldings were chiseled away, a small portion of the base remains [figs. 112-113]. The two fourteenth century portals (to the church and chapter room) in the east alley are also important as they both have comparisons in the local Bohemian context. The church portal is similar to the south portal on the parish church of Virgin Mary on the Týn in Prague, which is dated roughly to the mid-fourteenth century [fig. 144].⁵⁵ The chapter room portal base fragment, on the other hand, is similar to the portal of the Saint Jiljí church and the windows on the House of the Stone Bell on the Old Town square in Prague [figs. 6-7 and 15]. Both of these were built in the first half of the fourteenth century and Klára Benešová associates them with French influence of John the Luxembourg. While the church and chapter room portals display common features in the region, they also represent two distinct styles and hence it is likely they were built at two separate times.

⁵⁴ The portal and walled in windows have already been described in the chapter room section.

⁵⁵ Pavel Vlček et. al, *Umělecké památky Prahy; Staré Město, Josefov*, Prague: Academia, 1996, pp. 100-103.

Although the east alley features several stylistic differences from the earlier discussed parts of the monastery, the building material is the same as for the eastern portion of the church and sacristy. It was hence, likely to be part of the first phase of building. The windows, and even the portal are off center in their respective bays and indicate a possible change in plan, however, the windows to the chapter room could have been inserted into the wall after both the cloister east alley and the chapter room were at least partially finished. In this case they would have been placed in the only possible location that would accommodate both the east alley and chapter room bay spacing [fig. 60 plan II e].

Unfortunately, the upper story of the east cloister alley and chapter room remains to be fully studied. The space is the same size as the chapter room and east cloister alley.⁵⁶ The space was converted to an apartment for the parish priest sometime in the nineteenth century. The already mentioned passageway on the west side of the library and the medieval staircase from the sacristy both indicate that the space was developed in the medieval period. The masonry of both the passageway and the staircase indicate they were part of the first building phase. This location is the typical placement of a dormitory, and the night stairs and easy access to the cloister on the south side of the complex attest to this possibility.

South and West Cloister Alleys

As mentioned earlier a visible change in design and masonry occurs in the southeast corner of the cloister [figs. 114-115]. The south and west alleys were

⁵⁶ Roughly 39m long and 10.6m wide as both the east cloister alley and the chapter room are both 5.3 meters wide.

constructed primarily of rubble with only the ribs, wall articulations, and windows of sandstone [fig. 59 plan I, G and H]. The south alley outer wall has two preserved burial tombstones, which are surrounded by stone masonry, rather than the stone rubble. The exterior window wall is built mostly of ashlar stone, but the coursing is less neat than in the east alley with visible masonry breaks in the southeast bay.⁵⁷

The vault supports are similar to the east alley, but the bases are irregular in height with no apparent pattern [figs. 116-118].⁵⁸ Líbal noted that a wall respond in the south alley (between the first and second bay from the east) has been severely damaged and the entire support below the springer (some 225 cm off the ground) is no longer in place [fig. 60 plan II, l].⁵⁹ The situation reveals that the supports were not bound with the rough stone walls, but simply placed against the wall [fig. 118]. The corner supports in the north wall of the west alley vary more significantly from all other supports in the south and west alleys [fig. 60 plan II m].

The four-part vaults are again consistent with the east alley and the rib profile matches the already mentioned parts of the monastic complex. In the south-east corner one window matches the east alley design, the remaining south and west alley windows, although heavily damaged today, had a concave shaped jamb on the exterior and trefoil and quatrefoil tracery [figs. 114 and 120-122]. The original tracery design is not possible to reconstruct since it was so heavily damaged during the Hussite conflicts. Bohumil

⁵⁷ Novosadová, 1975, p. 119, Líbal also notes that there are no masonry marks on this part of the cloister.

⁵⁸ Ibid., pp. 117-123.

⁵⁹ Novosadová, 1975, p. 118.

Matějka attempted a reconstruction of the tracery although other scholars contend that based on the few remnants this is not reliable.⁶⁰

There seems little doubt that the subsequent cloister alleys were built at a slightly later period than the east alley. Nevertheless, the builders chose to continue the ribs, vaulting and wall support style on the interior walls, the only change was to the exterior windows. Nevertheless, the overall design of the cloister exterior wall retained the narrower bays on the exterior and wider bays on the interior [figs. 100-101].

An additional vaulted space was originally on the west side of the west cloister alley [fig. 119]. Today we see six pointed arches on the cloister exterior that correspond to the six west alley cloister bays. The north alley, on the other hand, is not visible as it was taken down as part of the Broggio renovations. A remnant of the vaulting is visible on the exterior of the west alley but otherwise we do not know its appearance [figs. 60 plan II, n, and 124]. Above the south cloister alley is a wooden balcony that serves as a passageway. The balcony rests on the alley buttresses and was probably not part of the medieval design. Additional living and working quarters for the Roudnice parish are in the upper story. The south wall of the upper story exists directly into the garden, however the southeast corner and especially part of the south wall extends for roughly 33 meters creating additional space south of the south cloister alley [fig. 57]. It is possible additional medieval monastic spaces were in the southeast portion of the cloister beyond the cloister alley.

The west alley upper story also includes an undated space, which was undoubtedly part of the working monastery [figs. 125-126]. The open timber-roofed

⁶⁰ Matějka, p. 172.

space with lunette shaped windows on both east and west walls has been described as a dormitory, but most likely was the infirmary or novitiate.⁶¹ The north end includes latrines stalls set into the west wall and framed with timber and small slit windows.⁶² The original design of the latrines was altered with the Broggio design as additional buttresses were added to the west facade [figs. 56-57].

Part II: Architecture of a New Monastery

The French Mason

Already in the nineteenth century scholars were intrigued with the French mason working at the bridge in Roudnice and speculate the mason must have had a hand at the monastery.⁶³ For the most part these early connections between the French mason and the Roudnice monastery are general but are inclined to place the French mason at Roudnice from the onset of the building campaign. At the same time, nineteenth-century sources already acknowledged that Roudnice expressed local traditions as well.⁶⁴

In 1941, Mencl revised the original views and proposed a building chronology at Roudnice monastery that isolated the French mason to the east cloister alley [fig. 58].⁶⁵ Mencl used the dates from the founding document, the church plaque, and the consecration to anchor his building analysis. He used stylistic typology rooted in his extensive knowledge of Bohemian Gothic architecture as well as observations of the

⁶¹ The space is the same dimension as the lower west cloister aisle (28m x 4.9m).

⁶² The space with latrines is roughly the size of one bay of the cloister (4.9m x 7m).

⁶³ Josef Braniš, *Dějiny středověkého umění v Čechách*. Prague: Höfer a Klouček, 1892.

⁶⁴ Braniš, p. 14 mentions local styles at Roudnice, at the same time p. 15 mentions that the French mason worked at the bridge and the east end of the church finishing both by 1338.

⁶⁵ The following argument is from Mencl, 1941, pp. 112-117.

architectural fabric of the monastery to establish his building phases and analysis of stylistic influences.

According to Mencl, building at the site began with the east end of the church in 1333 and was completed by 1338 or 1340 at the latest. His first phase also included the east end of the church, sacristy, chapter room, and foundations of the church. He described the first phase of building as conservative in both spatial design and articulation and links it to local building traditions citing the supports of the sacristy and chapter room. The east alley of the cloister however, Mencl argued, was constructed by the French mason working at the bridge and he dates this brief second phase to 1340-1342, or the death of the bishop in 1343. Mencl described the east alley as a spacious and “unified” design with new types of articulations, capital-less responds and “fleshy” carved décor and evenly-cut ashlar, clearly different from the chapter room and sacristy and hence French. Mencl’s third phase began after the bishop’s death and included the rest of the cloister as well as the vaulting of the nave and church alleys. According to Mencl, the change from the second to third phase is indicated by the distinctive change in window design and visible change in masonry in the cloister southeast corner [figs. 114-115]. Mencl dated the last phase from 1343, or the death of bishop Jan to the mid-century, but most likely before the 1360s. Mencl argued that the completion of the cloister coincided with the completion of the church since he claimed that the western alley of the cloister and the side alleys of the church were vaulted at the same time with the nave vault finished last.

Although Mencl’s building timeline seems plausible, there are several problems to address. First, the assumption that the building was constructed by two separate

workshops during two separate phases is not borne out by the textual and architectural evidence. František stated that the French mason returned to Avignon in 1335, after finishing one arch and two pillars of the bridge. František also wrote that the reason the French mason was needed was a lack of expertise in bridge building in the region. We have no reason to distrust František on these accounts. There were few stone bridges in northern Europe and it is likely that the bishop would have had to search far and wide for a bridge builder. Fortunately, from his time in Avignon, he had connections. It should be stressed, however, that the bishop sought bridge building expertise, not a new French style.

Benešovská speculates that while master William may have returned to Avignon in 1335, Czech masons trained at the bridge could have worked on the monastery after the bridge was complete. It is also possible Benešovská writes, that master William would have built the east alley as a model, as he did with the bridge. Either of these scenarios is possible, but it is equally likely that new workers unrelated to the bridge building joined the worksite, or even that the same masons made the east cloister in a new style. In fact there may be more similarities between the east cloister and sacristy and chapter room than is first perceptible.

The evenly cut ashlar blocks in the east cloister alley are a key part of Mencl's argument supporting the French mason. The stones testify to a skilled mason and might have even been on display, since the walls were not plastered apart from the fresco in the north bay, and as Macek points out, the grooves of mortar may have been emphasized with an etched pattern.⁶⁶ The church east end, however, is also built of ashlar blocks and

⁶⁶ Although this may be preparation for fresco paintings.

hence indicates that church east end and east cloister alley were part of the same building phase. Further, research on masonry types in the first half of the fourteenth century is necessary. For example, the Prague church Saint Jiljí in the Old Town and possibly the Hospitallers of the Virgin Mary under-the-chain in the Lesser Quarter, also employ similar evenly-cut ashlar blocks, both churches were affiliated with bishop Jan [fig. 13]. If the masonry of these Prague churches are dated to the first half of the fourteenth century, then we do not need to attribute the Roudnice ashlar to a French mason, if local masons were equally skilled.⁶⁷

Clearly, the second phase of building, the south and west cloister aisles, was completed with stone rubble. The change is clearly visible, although currently the rubble is plastered, in the southeast corner of the cloister [fig. 115]. The chapter room, is at issue, since it is for the most part also built with stone rubble. It would have been odd for the first phase workshop to build with stone in the church and switch to rubble in the chapter room, and the second workshop to use stone again in the east cloister alley. It is more likely, as I have already mentioned, that the east alley was built as part of the first phase.

The vaulting rib profile at Roudnice also indicates that the east cloister alley was part of the first plan. The rib profile is uniform throughout the cloister, chapter room, and sacristy, and even church side aisles, with only a minor variation in the church nave as the fragments in the nave attic demonstrate [figs. 68-69]. In the cloister, starting in the east alley the wall articulations turn seamlessly into the vaulting ribs, hence the rib design is integral to the design of the east alley articulation. In the chapter room and sacristy,

⁶⁷ The dating and building chronology of both Saint Jiljí and the Hospitallers is unclear, but likely went on during the first half of the fourteenth century.

however, the vault ribs rise from springers and hence if there was a change, or the vaulting was added later, it could simply be placed on top of the supports without altering the support design. The uniform rib profile indicates a conscious effort to connect the spaces visually with a uniform vaulting aesthetic. Since the rib design is integral to the east cloister aisle it indicates that the vaulting was planned along with the entire cloister and that the east alley was part of the same phase as the church and sacristy.

The rib profile is also used in the second phase of building. While numerous irregularities in the wall responds and bases are present in the south and west cloister alleys, the identical rib profile is used as in the first phase. Even as the second half of the cloister changed the window design, the interior space is visually unified with a consistent vaulting design.

East Cloister Design

I do agree with Mencl that there is something unique about the east cloister alley, although not necessarily for the reasons Mencl first laid out. Mencl made no mention of the cloister's most unique feature—the exterior wall windows with a round-arched arcade set within a pointed relieving arch, which no doubt intended to encircle the entire cloister. In fact, Líbal has described the Roudnice east alley as “the most bizarre expression of gothic in central Europe.”⁶⁸ The rest of the cloister, or the third phase, only highlights the odd round arches in the east alley and indicates that the original design was no longer desirable [figs. 114 and 120].

⁶⁸ Líbal, 2001, p. 431-32.

Examples of round-arch arches set within a relieving arch in Bohemia occur much earlier, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For example, the Olomouc bishop palace windows, built by Olomouc bishop Zdik in the mid-twelfth century [figs. 128-129], the chapter room at the Cistercian monasteries at Osek (early thirteenth century) visible from the newly rebuilt fourteenth century cloister [fig. 130], and the one remaining cloister window at the Premonstratensian female monastery at Louka in Moravia (thirteenth century) [fig. 133]. These examples, however, are at least a full century prior to Roudnice. We would be hard pressed to find another example of this design, or in fact any round arch built in fourteenth-century Bohemia. These examples only hint at the variety of round arch designs which would have been omnipresent in Prague and the diocese in the first half of the fourteenth century and must have included the Roudnice residence and the prominent Hradčany palace complex in Prague; including the old Romanesque cathedral, part of the cloister, and the castle.

Líbal has suggested that the “bizarre” Roudnice cloister hints at southern France. In this sense we could understand the Roudnice cloister as a vague reference to the numerous round-arched-cloisters of southern France. The bishop would have had ample opportunity to experience monasteries of southern France, such as the Elne and Senanque Cistercian monasteries [figs. 134-135]. One prominent southern French monastery familiar to the bishop was the house of Augustinian canons of Saint Ruf just outside of the Avignon city walls [figs. 136-140]. This abbey was the source of the Roudnice customary as discussed in chapter two and it is tempting to speculate that the bishop wished to link the architecture of Saint Ruf to Roudnice. Apart from the round arches and a “wild or forest man” on a chancel arch capital, there is nothing specific which links

the two sites [fig. 140]. The round arches and “forest man” motif are after all found elsewhere in fourteenth century Bohemia, for example at Sázava and at the Saint Jakub Minorite church in the Prague Old Town [fig. 141].

Out of all the earlier examples of round arches it is the Olomouc bishop Zdik’s palace windows in Olomouc that show a possible stylistic similarity to the Roudnice cloister [fig. 128]. The round-arch windows are part of a twelfth century palace built by Zdik. Although Zdik’s windows are firmly rooted in twelfth century aesthetic, especially the supporting columns and highly decorated capitals, they do share voussoirs (or archivolts) with a similar shape above the round-arch arcade to the Roudnice windows. There is reason to believe that bishop Jan would have seen bishop Zdik as a role model. Zdik journeyed to Jerusalem in 1137 during his tenure as bishop of Olomouc and was inspired by Augustinian canons of the Holy Sepulcher. In Jerusalem Zdik decided to live according to the rule of Saint Augustine and upon his return to Prague attempted to found a house of regular canons at Strahov near the Prague castle, as discussed in chapter two.⁶⁹ The parallel to bishop’s Jan’s life is not without significance. Bishop Jan was keenly interested in his predecessors, as František’s description of the Prague episcopal residence with illustrations of former bishops testifies. While the Olomouc palace was rebuilt, for example the cloister in mid-fourteenth century, parts of the original complex would have been familiar to the Prague bishop. The uniqueness of the Zdik’s palace in the Bohemian context must have influenced bishop Jan’s building.

Hence, the round arches in the east cloister alley would have had several associations: older Bohemia monastic establishments, possibly the Romanesque cathedral

⁶⁹ Ivo Hlobil et. al, *Přemyslovský palác Olomouc*, Olomouc 1988. The Olomouc palace was considered the residence of the Premysl ruling family upto the 1970’s.

and cloister of Prague, southern French monasteries, and the Zdík palace in Olomouc. One additional connection should be considered and that is the new bridge in Roudnice. Round arches were certainly part of the bridge design and the round arches in the Roudnice cloister could have solidified the connection between the bridge and the monastery. In fact, the bishop made a textual connection between the bridge built by the French mason and the monastery in the consecration plaque placed in church east end in 1340. It states that in addition to founding the monastery the bishop also founded a bridge in Roudnice and built it in seven years.⁷⁰ In 1340 the bishop, along with his dignified visitors, consecrated the monastery and the bridge.

The round-arched arcade is just one, although perhaps the most interesting, feature of the east alley. Other aspects of the east alley attest to a different more “modern” or reductionist style. The four-part ribbed vaults supported by responds, now heavily damaged, but must have been elegant, uninterrupted wall articulations [fig. 107]. The plain walls of the interior and exterior east cloister alley are framed by pointed vault relieving arches with a flat angled profile [figs. 98-99]. At the angle of the arch, or the place of the springer, the curve is angular, a feature which is sometimes described as “disappearing” molding and occurs only in the east cloister alley.

Mencl believes that the “disappearing” molding at Roudnice is a key feature of the French mason.⁷¹ The feature is found on a handful of churches and structures in southern France and Central Europe. For example, in southern France this type of molding occurs at the Toulouse cathedral during the 1310-1335 building phase and on the

⁷⁰ See Appendix III.

⁷¹ Václav Mencl, “Poklasická gotika jižní Francie a Švábska a její vztah ke gotice české” *Umění*, XIX (1971) p. 237.

interior of the Villeneuve-les-Avignon tower of Philip the Fair.⁷² In Central Europe, examples include Reutlingen Marienkirche (1310-1343), and the Freiburg, Minorite church, (c. 1270) although all of these examples the “disappearing” molding are on pillar support, but still bear similarity the Roudnice east alley [figs. 145-146]. In Bohemia “disappearing” molding is a popular feature in the second half of the fourteenth century and into the fifteenth century. One of the earliest examples is from Vetlá, a small parish church that belonged to the Roudnice canons [fig. 147]. While there are few examples of “disappearing” molding during the early fourteenth century, the capital-less responds occur in the first half of the century. Similar, yet less elegant examples are found at the corners of the Osek cloister, at Zlatá Koruna, and at Vyšší Brod, all Cistercian monasteries [fig. 4]. Another example is at the fourteenth-century cloister of the Olomouc episcopal palace [fig. 129].

Overall, several of the features in the east cloister alley adhere to mendicant buildings through out Europe that have been described as reductionist. Often part of mendicant churches and monastic complexes, this style is “reduced” or lacking in excessive décor.⁷³ The Roudnice plain walls and relieving arches as well as the lack of capitals correspond to the austere style. Opačić writes, for example, that the stylistic tendencies during the second half of the fourteenth century were marked by hall church design combined with a reductionist style which included abstracted forms, plain wall

⁷² Mencl, 1971, p. 227.

⁷³ Norbert Nussbaum, *German Gothic Church architecture*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000. Richard Krautheimer, *Die Kirchen der Bettelorden in Deutschland*, Berlin : Gebr. Mann, 2000. Wolfgang Schenkluhn, *Ordines studentes: Aspekte zur Kirchenarchitektur der Dominikaner und Franziskaner im 13. Jahrhundert*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1985.

surfaces, capital less responds, and sparse architectural decorations.⁷⁴ Trachtenberg even considers this style “medieval modernism” within the context of medieval Italian architecture.⁷⁵

In sum, the east cloister alley displays several perhaps contradictory features. On the one hand, the archaic arches, and on the other wall responds, relieving arches, rib profile and plain walls are all austere. Third, the leaf designs and the foliate mask or “wild or forest man” in place of true capitals reflects up to date naturalistic trends of the fourteenth century [fig. 106]. The naturalistic architectural décor contrasts drastically with the more static chapter room capitals, which I will consider next.

Local Building Traditions

The chapter room and sacristy supports and capitals at Roudnice match local building traditions. Variations of the trefoil-type capitals are found at a variety of sites such as the fourteenth-century cloister of the Cistercian monastery cloister at Osek and the Cistercian church at Sedlec (c. 1300) which has a medieval elements embedded in the Aichal Santini Baroque renovations [figs. 131 and 148].

Traditionally, the first phase at Roudnice has been linked to parts of the Sázava Benedictine monastery from the early fourteenth century, especially the chapter room

⁷⁴ Zoë Opačić, “Reduktionsgotic or ‘Anti-Gothic’? Hall-church development in fourteenth century Prague” in Draper, Peter ed. *Current work in Architectural History: Papers read at the Annual Symposium of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain 2004* [Great Britain]: Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain, 2004, pp. 11-18, Nicola Coldstream, *Medieval architecture*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 40. Defined by Nicola Coldstream as “‘Reduced Gothic’ describes the preaching churches built in the Empire by the mendicant orders, with plain, simple structures and little ornament.”

⁷⁵ Marvin Trachtenberg, “Gothic/Italian ‘Gothic’: Toward a Redefinition,” in *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (Mar., 1991), pp. 22-37.

[figs. 141-143].⁷⁶ It was also a site with a history of support from the Prague diocese, with bishop Jan IV as no exception. Originally, the Sázava chapter room was a four-bay central space with a richly decorated central compound pier [figs. 141-142]. The stylistic similarities to Roudnice include the trefoil design capitals found in the Sázava chapter room and on the south wall console support and in the abbot's chapel. This is the closest example in Bohemia to the Roudnice sacristy unique geometric capital [fig. 143]. The zoomorphic figures on the compound pier at the Sázava chapter room and the capitals at the Roudnice chapter room also show a remarkable similarity and do not occur often in the Bohemian context [fig. 141, 81 and 82 D]. Mencl and Líbal believe that the masons building at Roudnice worked at Sázava as well and date both sites to 1340. More recently Benešová has argued, based on building material and style that Sázava was built by masons working on the Sedlec Cistercian monastery.⁷⁷ The local stylistic comparisons, and especially the static execution of the figures and animal motifs found at Roudnice and Sázava, led Mencl to rule out the possibility of the French mason's contribution to the first phase at Roudnice and he attributed this phase to local masons.

Further Benešová has connected the Roudnice capitals to the chapel of Saint Ludmila at the Virgin Mary Týn church on the Old Town Square (c. 1300), now in the Prague Lapidarium.⁷⁸ The Ludmila capitals show a similar row of foliage as the damaged Roudnice chapter room capital. Four other Roudnice capitals include one row of foliage as the Ludmila examples [figs. 149-150]. The dating of the Ludmila capitals is

⁷⁶ Mencl, 1941 p. 112-113, Líbal, 2001, p. 432.

⁷⁷ Klára Benešová, "Slohové souvislosti vrcholné gotické přestavby Sázavského kláštera (1315-1420)" in *Historia Monastica I Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia 3. Praha 2005*. ed. Dušan Foltýn, Kateřina Charvátová and Petr Sommer. Praha, Centrum mediévistických studií, Filosofia, (2005) 163-173.

⁷⁸ Most recently in, Klára Benešová, *Královský sňatek Eliška Přemyslovna a Jan Lucemburský-1310*, Gallery: Prague 2010 (also in English as *Royal Marriage*), pp. 120-121.

somewhat unclear as the early history of the Týn church is obscured by a lack of records. The capitals are also out of context and hence a full comparison is not possible, yet there is enough similarity with Roudnice to consider further discussion. One interesting feature of the Ludmila capitals is remaining gilded polychrome suggesting an opulent interior reminiscent of Frantisek's description of the Roudnice church interior.

Benešovská also points to a similarity between the Roudnice first phase supports and the chancel arch of Virgin Mary at the fish market, Brno Dominicans (c. 1300, destroyed in the late nineteenth century and now housed in the Brno Lapidarium) [fig. 151].⁷⁹ The Brno support shows a notable similarity especially to the Roudnice sacristy with the tall bases, cylindrical shafts and bulky capitals. While the chapter room supports also share a similarity, we should note the disproportionately exaggerated bases in the Roudnice chapter room. Overall, these examples indicate that Roudnice was built in the context of local building traditions, although perhaps modified in the chapter room.

Church Plan Choices

While we cannot be certain of the actual appearance of the Roudnice church interior, we can be certain of the basic layout of the church and many details such as the rib profile, and the exterior masonry. Bishop Jan IV had experience as a patron of architecture even before his departure to Avignon and he would have been aware of the architectural options. As an involved patron and founder of the new monastery, as demonstrated in chapters one and two, there is little doubt that the bishop was involved in

⁷⁹ Klára Benešovská, and Petr Kratochvíl. *Velké dějiny země koruny české: tematická řada. [Sv. I], Architektura*. Prague: Paseka, 2009, pp. 120-124.

this choice. It is important to consider the significance of the basilica-type plan with a long east end and no chapels often associated with the mendicant orders.

There were several church designs available to the bishop in the first part of the fourteenth century. A new church design with side aisle of equal height as the nave, or the hall-type church, first appeared in mid-thirteenth century. The hall-type church was often combined with extended east ends with no chapels, although the western portion of the church could also be a basilica-type church with lower side aisles allowing for a clerestory in the nave. Cistercian churches tended to have projecting transepts and short east ends, sometimes with side chapels at the ends of the aisles, although in Bohemia there were a variety of east end designs. Occasionally, such as at Osek and Zbraslav the east end of the church was a flat end. These foundations were originally from the early twelfth century; some of these foundations were from the thirteenth century, such as Osek, Velehrad, Tíšnov, Zlatá Koruna (begun 1290), and Vyšší Brod (begun c. 1259), Zbraslav (1292) [fig. 132]. In Bohemia, one additional example of a Cistercian monastic church type is the Sedlec Cistercian abbey [fig. 5], which is based on a Cistercian French cathedral model with radiating chapels.⁸⁰ Sedlec near the newly discovered silver mines in Kutná Hora, would have been inclined to build in a grand style. It would have been especially surprising if the Prague bishop had decided on the Sedlec design as it would have clearly aligned his new monastery with Sedlec in particular, nor did he choose any of the church plans favored by the Cistercian.

⁸⁰ Klára Benešová, "Architecture at the Crossroads: Three examples from Bohemia circa 1300" in Gajewski, Alexandra and Zoë Opačić, *The Year 1300 and the Creation of a New European Architecture*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2007, p. 151-154.

The bishop also rejected the second option, or the hall-type church plan, although this plan type was familiar to him. Nussbaum observes that hall churches first developed most prominently in early thirteenth-century Westphalia. This type became popular throughout the region by the end of the fourteenth century. Some churches and cathedrals switched to the hall-type from an original basilica design. A prominent example is Saint Stephen in Vienna (east end 1304-1340 and hall church begun after 1340) [fig. 152]. By the end of the fourteenth century many churches combined a long east end with a hall-type nave and side aisles. This type became popular in Bohemia in the second half of the fourteenth century, for example at the later Augustinian abbey at Třebon [fig. 153].

Bishop Jan IV would have been well aware of the hall church type since he was involved in the building of the first hall church in the Old Town of Prague at the collegiate church of Saint Jiljí. As discussed in chapter one, Saint Jiljí's plan is unusual since it has a flat east end which could have been due to the crowded urban location [figs. 12-15].⁸¹ Today Saint Jiljí still preserves a dominance in the Old Town skyline and in the medieval period would have been second only to the Týn church. At Roudnice, there were no spatial constrictions and the building was freely visible from a distance with no competition. The hall-design was not a common choice in the first half of the fourteenth century, only in the second half of the century that it becomes a popular choice.

The bishop's choice of a basilica-type plan, with a high nave and lower side aisles allowing for a clerestory, was to some extent a traditional and conservative choice.

However, by adding an east end, which is equal in length to the main body of the church

⁸¹ Remarkd by Klára Benešová, *Královský sňatek Eliška Přemyslovna a Jan Lucemburský-1310*, Gallery: Prague 2010 (also in English as *Royal Marriage*), pp. 511-512 and Opačić, 2004, pp. 13-14.

and a polygonal east end termination, the design was clearly associated with the “mendicant” type.

The mendicant order was particularly influential in church building throughout the Holy Roman Empire from the mid thirteenth century.⁸² Nussbaum claims the order was guided by a wish for spiritual austerity, on one hand, and a need to build cheaply on the other.⁸³ Along with the church type, the mendicant style became influential beyond mendicant monasteries and included, according to Nussbaum, octagonal piers, ribs with plain concave molding, and profiling of arches that disappear into piers, and understated chancel arches.⁸⁴ An early example is the Franciscan church at Würzburg, which was not vaulted [fig. 154]. The Franciscans, for example, set out a series of guidelines for building their churches in 1260. The focus, like the Cistercian order, was on a general sense of austerity with general guidelines that were not followed exclusively. The only common features were a lack of towers, and understated vaulting patterns. The mendicants dispensed with the need of elaborate chapels at the east end, or transepts, the focus being on common prayer and not mass. The long east end would have been separated from the nave by a choir screen. The elongation provided additional space to the mendicants for services and prayer, and separated the monks from the laity.⁸⁵

One of the earliest examples of mendicant churches in Bohemia is at Jihlava (c. 1250) the former Dominican church of the Holy Cross and the Minorite church of the Virgin Mary.⁸⁶ The most prominent early mendicant monasteries were developed in Prague. The designs followed the typical mendicant church designs with long east ends

⁸² Nussbaum, pp. 70-76 and 101-103.

⁸³ Nussbaum, p. 71. Also argued by Krautheimer, Schenkhul.

⁸⁴ Nussbaum, p. 73.

⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 71.

⁸⁶ Kuthan, 1982, pp. 229-231 and Libal 2001 p. 151.

and no towers.⁸⁷ The Minorite church at Saint Jakub near the Old Town square, the Dominicans at Saint Clement near the bridge, and the Augustine Hermits at Saint Thomas located on the Lesser Town square all planned from the end of the thirteenth and into the fourteenth century [figs. 158-159].

Outside of Prague, mendicants were an important part of city centers and were often founded with towns. The town of Plzeň was founded by Václav II in 1295, at which time the parish church, and the two mendicant churches were also founded. The Dominican monastery is now mostly destroyed, however, the church, with its long east end was built by 1300 and part of it must have been completed by 1314. The plan of the Franciscan monastery at Plzeň has a striking similarity to the Roudnice monastery [fig. 156]. The church east end and foundations of the nave and aisle were completed circa 1300. By 1340 the nave arcades were built, and the vaulting was completed in 1350. On the north side of the east end was a medieval chapel, which was rebuilt in 1611. The church interior has flat wall space and few articulations and perhaps gives us a view of what the Roudnice church interior could have looked like.

Otakar II founded the town of Český (Czech) Budějovice in 1265. Land for a Dominican monastery was allotted at the time of the town foundation. Some portion of the church must have been completed by 1274 when the church was consecrated. Possibly the church was finished by 1300. Although the church has a long east end, it also has a non-projecting transept that is an uncommon feature in Bohemian mendicant churches. Originally two side chapels flanked the east end [fig. 157]. In the Bohemian context, as S. Adam Hindin writes, these thirteenth century mendicant churches with a

⁸⁷ See chapter 2.

reductionist style, may have not seemed as austere, but rather refined in the local context.⁸⁸

The mendicant type church and style was not exclusive to mendicant churches. In Bohemia small parish churches unaffiliated with the mendicants also used the church plan such as in Krnov and Opava near the Silesian border [fig. 155]. Both churches were supported by the local town as well as the German knights.⁸⁹ A more prominent example is the church of Saint Jakub in Kutná Hora, although this church, predominantly supported by the newly wealthy town, did not have the extremely extended east end of the other examples.

In Prague and the vicinity mendicant-type church plans, especially with multi-polygonal east end terminations were associated with the royal family. Benešovská points out that the seven-part church east end termination at Sázava and the church of Saint Peter and Paul at Vyšehrad, which was razed by the Hussites in the fifteenth century and was completely rebuilt in the nineteenth century, were visually associated with royal monastic churches in Prague.⁹⁰ Benešovská demonstrates that the major patron at Vyšehrad was Queen Eliška, wife of king John of Luxembourg and mother to the later emperor Charles IV. The solution at the collegiate church at Vyšehrad was a basilica plan with a seven-part east end. Archaeological finds also indicate that the

⁸⁸ S. Adam Hindin, "Gothic Goes East Mendicant Architecture in Bohemia and Moravia, 1226-1278," in *Bettelorden in Mitteleuropa: Geschichte, Kunst, Spiritualität : Referate der gleichnamigen Tagung vom 19. bis 22. März 2007 in St. Pölten*. Heike Specht ed. St. Pölten: Diözesanarchiv, 2008.

⁸⁹ Klára Benešovská, et.al. *Architektura gotická [Gothic Architecture]*. Prague: Správa pražského hradu, 2001.

⁹⁰ Crossley describes it as a 5/10 ending. Paul Crossley, *Gothic architecture in the reign of Kasimir the Great: church architecture in Lesser Poland; 1320-1380*. Ministerstwo Kultury i Sztuki Zarząd Muzeów i Ochrony Zabytków: Krakow, 1985 p. 152.

interior articulation had molding rib profiles without distinctive capitals.⁹¹ This type was similar to the Prague mendicant churches in Prague at Saint Tomáš and Saint Jakub that were sponsored by the royal court. A more common five-part termination is found at many of the Bohemian mendicant churches outside of Prague, which did not enjoy as much royal attention, such as the Dominicans at Czech Budějovice and the Franciscans at Plzeň. The east end terminations at the royal churches were a grander solution while incorporating the elongated mendicant model.

Hence, the bishop chose a mendicant inspired church type, which had been popular by mendicant orders, but by the mid-fourteenth century, the long east end was also associated with royal foundations.⁹² Unlike the strict mendicant code, Roudnice had two towers on the west end. We cannot be sure of the interior design, yet it most likely had plain wall space and simple wall responds, much like mendicant churches throughout Bohemia and the Holy Roman Empire, yet the interior was opulently decorated including stained glass and frescoes as described by František. Hence the grand east end of Roudnice along with its lofty towers would have connected the site with royal patrons; although at the same time the long east end was appropriate for the monastic setting.

Conclusion

While there are several styles present at Roudnice, I suggest that the archaic round arches in the cloister do not differ greatly in spirit from the chapter room. Could we not understand the wall shafts with oversized bases, bulky capitals and display of zoomorphic

⁹¹ Klára Benešová, "Pramen ideální podoby kapitulního chrámu sv. Petra a Pavla" in *Vyšehrad*. Ed. Bořivoj Nechvátal and Alois Kleibl. Praha: Odeon, 1976, p. 93.

⁹² Benešová makes this clear connection, 1976 and 2005.

and figural designs as part of one program? The overly tall bases in the capital room could be intentionally bulky and I even see a mini Romanesque column as part of the chapter room supports [fig. 80]. At the same time, not all the chapter room capitals are so static, not the fleshy leaves of the southwestern capital. Different hands may have been at work at the monastery, whether directly from master William, or from locals trained by him, but the overarching idea of archaic and modern forms to present a new monastic institution must have come from the patron. While the round-arch motif could evoke the well-established southern French monasteries, they could easily indicate several Bohemian monasteries with long traditions including the Premonastratensian abbey of Strahov founded by bishop Zdik. While architectural details such as the rib profiles, the continuous responds, and relieving arches reflect more modern pan-European trends found in southern France, but also along the Danube River in Bavaria and Austria and in Silesia are often associated with reductionist mendicant buildings, at Roudnice the modern included archaic forms. Due to the Prague bishop's tense relationship with mendicants, he may have wished to indicate through visual association that Roudnice was part of an older network of monastic tradition as opposed to the newer popular mendicants. Roudnice, as a new type of monastery on the Bohemian landscape, was a combination of modern and archaic forms, the new and the old, and presented a sense of legitimacy and authority needed by a new institution and an old bishop.

CHAPTER 4

THE STATUTES AS STRUCTURE: ROUDNICE AS A FRAME FOR
FOURTEENTH-CENTURY MONASTIC LIFE

“Even as a lofty tower, surrounded on all sides by walls, makes the soldiers who garrison it safe, fearless, and impregnable, so the Rule of blessed Augustine, fortified on all sides by Observances in accordance with it, makes its soldiers, that is Canons, regular, undismayed at the attacks of devils, safe, and invincible.” – Observances, Augustinian house at Barnwell, England¹

The Barnwell customary compares the relationship between the rule of Saint Augustine and its accompanying customary to a fortified tower. It was no doubt intended to justify the use of the customs and the importance of the rule. This analogy between text and architecture makes an additional connection, which may have been unintended, that the customs are themselves a kind of architectural structure. In this sense, the text provides the scaffolding for monastic practice and creates meaning within the monastic space. At Roudnice, we are fortunate to have both surviving architectural evidence and texts, from the early history of the foundation. This evidence allows us to examine both the architectural structure and the structure of the daily routine from morning *prime* to evening *vespers* within the architectural frame.

¹ John Willis Clark, *The Observances in Use at the Augustinian Priory of St. Giles and St. Andrew*. Cambridge: Macmillan and Bowes, 1897, p. 233.

Thus far, Czech scholars have discussed Roudnice monastery in the context of stylistic development of fourteenth-century Bohemian architecture and the possible influence of a French mason. In chapter three I have argued that under the bishop's guidance, Roudnice reflected a combination of archaic architectural features and local building traditions linked to the Bohemian court, which combined projected a sense of authority and long-standing legitimacy at the newly formed monastery. This chapter will examine the significance of monastic architecture at Roudnice not from the traditional analysis of stylistic form and iconography, but as meaning generated from the daily use and functions of space.² Under this approach, iconography and architectural design is considered together with other sources such as texts that document the function of the monastery.

In chapter one, I discussed how the bishop regarded France, and especially Avignon, as a model for patronage and foundation of his monastery. In this chapter I will connect the functions and liturgy to the architectural frame and indicate that function was transmitted as much as architectural style and structure. The actions and movements of the canons within architectural space, the repetition of those movements, rituals, discipline and emphasis on restrictions such as silence and fasting offer additional meaning of the architectural space. Even the silent movement of canons from dormitory to church and later chapter room and refectory at specific times of the day served to link the Bohemian canons with their distant Avignon cousins. While some transmission of style and building technique may have been an important aspect of the Roudnice

² Focus on function rather than formal or iconographic analysis is most recently demonstrated in Sheila Bonde and Clark Maines, *Saint-Jean-Des-Vignes in Soissons: Approaches to Its Architecture, Archaeology and History*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2003.

foundation, the customs would have been an equally important part of the newly formed monastery. From our contemporary perspective we often seek examples of innovation in both architectural design and monastic functions, at Roudnice we see a repeated emphasis on the preservation of tradition and custom.

The Bohemian monastery provides an important opportunity to explore the relationship between plan, décor, and function of a medieval monastic institution and to make fruitful connections between architecture and text, as well as space and function. It is my hope to explore in greater detail the shape of the Roudnice monastery through its functions. Together, the textual and architectural evidence allows for an in-depth understanding of the monastery's functions and animates this architectural space.

The Roudnice Statutes

The text that provides the greatest insight into the Roudnice monastic functions is the customary (*consuetudines* or statutes, "*Statuta canonicorum regularium monasterii rudnicensis*,"), which are preserved in the MS XIX B3 at the National Library of the Czech Republic Prague (folios 11 verso through 36 recto). The bound manuscript was formally housed at the castle library of Thun-Hohenstein in Děčín under the signature 101 and is in good condition.³ In addition to the customary, the manuscript includes the rule of Saint Augustine, the Roudnice *necrologium*, or registry of the deceased, a monastic calendar, and liturgical and theological texts. It is highly likely that the manuscript was commissioned soon after bishop Jan's death in 1343 and bishop Jan is a prominent figure in the manuscript; an illumination of the bishop Jan as a donor is on

³ The MS XIX B3 is 29 x 21 cm in size, II+ 205 folia long, made of parchment with damaged binding.

folio 202 verso along with text describing the bishop's role in the foundation of the monastery [fig.].⁴ Multiple scribes wrote the manuscript and additions were made through 1516, especially to the *necrologium*.⁵

The Roudnice statutes include thirty-two chapters. Of those nineteen are very short, less than a paragraph, while only five are several folios long. The remaining eight chapters are of varying length. It is tempting to suggest that the lengthier chapters were more relevant to the new monastery, and that perhaps the short sections were not as important at the onset and would have been added to as needed. The short chapters could also reflect practices that did not become important features of the monastery. For example, a short chapter on bloodletting states,

[XX] On Bloodletting

If a brother wishes to let blood, he has to ask permission at chapter. When he receives permission for three days he stays in the infirmary. On the fourth day after eating lunch in the infirmary return to the convent.

[XX] *De minucione sanguinis.*

*Si quis fratrum voluerit sanguinem mittere, in capitulo petat licenciam. Qua accepta pergat minutum, et per triduum in infirmaria manens quibuslibet necessaries utatur; quarta die ad capitulum veniens veniam querat, deinde in infirmaria pransus ad conventum redeat.*⁶

While this chapter summarizes the very basic and most typical procedures for bloodletting in a monastic setting, it certainly does not elaborate any more than necessary. We can imagine that as bloodletting became more common at the monastery additional issues and provisions would be added. Other customaries added instructions for instance, that the canon could receive extra food such as eggs and meat while in the

⁴ Also see chapter 2, Jaroslav Kadlec believes the manuscript dates to mid-fourteenth century through 1526, presumably based, in addition to the illumination, to the script type.

⁵ Jaroslav Kadlec, "Začátky kláštera augustiniánských kanovníků v Roudnici." *Studie of Rukopisech* 20 (1981): p. 66.

⁶ MS XIX B3 Chapter XX (fol. 28r).

infirmity and even which days were favorable for bloodletting.⁷ A chapter that is only slightly longer than chapter XX considers the care of the old and sick. Chapter XXVI indicates the importance of taking care of the old and the weak, “showing them great love and compassion... [*magnam exhibeant charitatem*]” but does not give detailed instructions.⁸

The statutes cover a range of other issues and instructions for the canons, including clothing, discipline, and prayer for donors. The lengthiest portions of the statutes provide detailed instructions on and religious services in the church. These sections provide step-by-step instructions on where to stand, which direction to face, and specific prayers to recite. The Roudnice statutes do they spell out or list the daily Hours, rather the daily schedule is described throughout, nor do the statutes list the jobs or hierarchy of the monastery, as is common in other customaries.

Most Augustinian customaries share many features, and yet each text has subtle differences.⁹ In addition to the Augustinian rule, which provides a general outline of expectations penned by Saint Augustine in the fifth century, a customary provides canons with instructions on conduct, discipline, daily routine and acceptance into the brethren.¹⁰ Regrettably, a comprehensive study of Augustinian customaries is lacking and many important sources have not been edited or translated from their Latin originals. One of the earliest publications of Augustinian customaries is the nineteenth-century translation

⁷ John Willis Clark, 1897, pp. lxi-lxxiii.

⁸ MS XIX B3 Chapter XX (fol. 28r) and XXVI (fol. 33r) see Appendix XXVI.

⁹ Many of the Roudnice customary chapters are brief; 19/33 chapters are roughly two sentences.

¹⁰ Daniel M. La Corte and Douglas J. McMillan, *Regular Life: Monastic, Canonical, and Mendicant Rules*. Kalamazoo, Mich: Published for TEAMS (the Consortium for the Teaching of the Middle Ages) by Medieval Institute Publications, 2004, p. 53.

of the customary of Barnwell by John Willis Clark.¹¹ It is one of the few English translations and remains a valuable model for research on monastic customs.¹² The second most important publication is Josef Siegwart's transcription of the Marbach customs, which includes a valuable introduction.¹³ Lastly, Sheila Bonde and Clark Maines's online translation of the Saint-Jean-des-Vignes, Soissons customs, together with years of archaeological study in Soissons have advanced research on Augustinian monasticism.¹⁴

The Roudnice customary is an important source for fourteenth-century monasticism as Roudnice was part of the introduction of Augustinian canons to Bohemia, as detailed in chapter two. The customs were adapted by later houses including, Karlov (Prague), Rokycany, Salská, Třebon, Jaroměř, and Borovany in Bohemia, Krakow in Silesia and stretched beyond the borders to foundations such as Ingelheim in Germany.¹⁵ The customs are thought to be an important facet of nouvoaugustinism, which was influenced by early humanism and *Devotio Moderna* movements North of the Alps.¹⁶ The customary is also important since the text reflects monastic practice at Roudnice

¹¹ John Willis Clark.

¹² Lucas Jocqué and Ludovicus Milis, and Saint-Victor. *Liber ordinis Sancti Vicotis Parisiensis*. Turnholt: Brepols, 1984.

¹³ Siegwart.

¹⁴ John Willis Clark, 1897, Siegwart, Bonde and Maines, 2003, and the Soissons customary is available online at <http://monarch.brown.edu/index.html>.

¹⁵ Dušan Foltýn, *K šíření se a působení řeholích kanovníků řádu sv. Augustina v předhusitských českých zemích: na okraj postavení řeholního kléru ve struktuře společnosti období vrcholného feudalismu*, dissertation Filozofická fakulta University Karlovy, Prague, 1991, also Pavel Vlček, Petr Sommer, Dušan Foltýn, *Encyklopedie českých klášterů [Encyclopedia of Czech Monasteries]*. Prague: Libri, 1997. pp. 103-106.

¹⁶ Literature on the Czech *Devotio Moderna* includes Ignac Zibermayer, "Zur Geschichte der Raudnitzer reform," *Mitteilungen des österreichischen Instituts für Geschichte forschung t. XI* Innsbruck: Ergänzungsband, (1929) , especially pp. 323-353, , J. Schreiber, "Devotio moderna in Bohmen," in *Bohemia: Jahrbuch des Collegium Carolinum* 6, München, (1960), pp. 93-122, Eduard Winter, *Frühhumanismus; seine Entwicklung in Böhmen und deren europäische Bedeutung für die Kirchenreformbestrebungen im 14. Jahrhundert*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1964, pp. 167 ff., and Ludvík Němec, "The Czech Reform Movement: "Devotio Moderna" in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries" in *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 124, no. 5 (Oct. 10, 1980) pp. 386-397.

during the early phases of development and may shed light on the founder's, bishop Jan's, motivations for reform and the historic significance of the monastery. The customary exists alongside surviving monastic architecture from the first building phase at Roudnice and hence provides insight on the early phases of the house. Despite its importance, the only transcription of the Roudnice customary was published in the eighteenth century, and no translation has been published.¹⁷

As discussed in chapter two, Augustinian canons did not have a heavily centralized structure, which is more commonly known with the Cistercian and Premonstratensian orders. However, some houses became a central authority with subordinate members, such as Saint-Ruf in Avignon and Saint-Jean-des-Vignes in Soissons. Many houses were independent and visitations were often conducted by the local diocese or archdiocese. Hence, as John Willis Clark points out, there was no central authority of regular canons that determined or approved the content of a customary.¹⁸ Sheila Bonde and Clark Maines suggest that early foundations, such as Saint-Jean-des-Vignes in the eleventh century, formally codified their customs some time, perhaps years, after the foundation and were based on their way of life.¹⁹ In comparison, Roudnice as a new foundation needed to take on a model for its customs as it was not relying on a long tradition. Additionally, each house could define their own customs while using the rule of Saint Augustine as a guide; they could also model their customs on other influential houses for ideological or political reasons. The issues laid out in a customary were also influenced by the work conducted at a specific house, most canons worked as pastors in

¹⁷ E. Amort, *Vetus disciplina canonicorum regularium et aecularium I Venetiis*, 1747, pp. 505-523, and R. Duellius, *Miscellaneorum liber II. Augustae Vind. et Graecii*, 1724, pp. 336-367.

¹⁸ John Willis Clark, 1897, p. xxxi.

¹⁹ Bonde and Maines, 2003, p. 69-70.

the community, but some houses did not; most famously, canons at Saint-Victor in Paris did not work as pastors and focused on theological study. A house affiliated with another institution could take on the customs of the motherhouse, but since Augustinian canons were not always affiliated with other houses, a variety of sources were possible. For instance, John Willis Clark claims that the customs of Barnwell were primarily based on the customary of Saint Victor in Paris, France, but also on Saint Denis, Rheims.²⁰ On the other hand, the Saint Jean-de-Vignes customary in Soissons is derived from a variety of sources, with no single model.²¹ Bishop Jan was an influential patron and Roudnice monastery was a central part of his reform efforts. It is hence useful to speculate on the origin and influences of the Roudnice customary since this will indicate relevant information about the foundation of the house, influences and types of reforms instigated by the bishop.

In his article on the Roudnice customary, Jaroslav Kadlec has studied the manuscript and provided comparison to the customs of Pavia, Italy, Marbach in Alsace (Elsass), and Saint Ruf. He argued that many scholars have erroneously followed Ignac Zibermayr's assertions that bishop Jan brought canons from the Mortara reform congregation of Saint Peter in Pavia to the new Roudnice foundation, which would indicate a Pavian source for the Roudnice customs.²² Kadlec convincingly claimed that not only are Zibermayr's sources unsubstantiated, there are few similarities between the

²⁰ John Willis Clark, 1897, p. xxxii, Clark does not indicate the reason for this affiliation.

²¹ Bonde and Maines, 2003, p. 70-71.

²² Kadlec, 1981, p. 65-66, a brief description of the manuscript is also written by J. Kapras, *Rukopisy Děčinské, Časopis Českého Muzea LXXVIII* (1904), p. 424, Zibermayr, pp. 323-353, and C. D. Fonseca, "Roudnice e Mortara (Il ms. XIX B3 di Praga e il cod. B 28 di Pavia)" *Estratto dall' Archivio Storico Lombardo*, anno XC, serie IX, vol. III, anno 1963, Milano (1966) pp. 273-286, Kadlec claims that while Fonseca's work is detailed, but not completely accurate.

Roudnice and Pavia customs.²³ C. D. Fonseca has conducted a study in which he shows that only one chapter of the Roudnice customs is similar to Pavia.²⁴

Kadlec has also argued that the Roudnice customs correspond in large part to the customs from the Augustinian house at Marbach. Six chapters match completely, and at times the texts are almost identical, while another fourteen chapters are very similar.²⁵ Marbach was founded in 1089 near Colmar and is no longer extant.²⁶ The Marbach customs were influential and were popularized in the twelfth century at Augustinian houses because they allowed for a relatively flexible daily routine allowing time for pastoral work.²⁷ The customs were adopted throughout France and Germany and some houses even became Marbach daughter institutions.²⁸ Hence, the Marbach customs would have been a good model for Roudnice, as the bishop wished for the Bohemian canons to engage in pastoral care.

Although the similarity to Marbach is clear, I agree with Kadlec that the Roudnice customary may have had a different source. Marbach was the daughter institution of Saint Ruf, and the Marbach *consuetudines* were derived from Saint Ruf, hence the similarity between the two customaries. Unfortunately, the Saint Ruf customary has not been fully studied, but there are several factors from the history of Saint Ruf, which make

²³ Pavia customs are in codex B 28 in the Pavia city museum (Museo Civico di Storia Patria di Pavia). Fonseca, pp. 273-286.

²⁴ Kadlec, 1981, p. 73, Fonseca.

²⁵ Kadlec, 1981, p. 74-75.

²⁶ Marbach website, study, and history. Archaeological studies have unearthed the foundations of the church and restored one arch of the church narthex.

²⁷ Josef Siegwart, *Die Consuetudines des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes Marbach im Elsass (12. Jahrhundert)*. Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag, 1965.

²⁸ Some 36 communities in Alsace, Switzerland, Germany and Austria and another there were another 20 to 30 dependent houses of the Salzburg union and Rottenbuch, http://www.augustiniancanons.org/About/houses_and_congregations_through_copy%281%29.htm#Marbach.

it an ideal source for a new foundation.²⁹ As one of the oldest standing Augustinian houses Saint Ruf also became a motherhouse to Augustinian houses in southern France and northern Spain.³⁰

Since only a remnant of the Saint Ruf abbey church east end is preserved today and few studies have engaged in reconstructing the original appearance of the abbey, further archeology would be necessary to discover the full extent of the complex and relate it to the Saint Ruf customary. For bishop Jan the choice of the Saint Ruf customs as a model would have been especially important at Roudnice due to the bishop's reform efforts in Prague and Roudnice's later role as a motherhouse of a new order. The location just outside the city walls of Avignon was easily accessible to bishop Jan during his stay in Avignon. Hence when bishop Jan placed the new canons at Roudnice, just outside of the Roudnice town city wall, they were intended to reenact the site of Saint Ruf as much as creating their own.

Roudnice Medieval Space

Today the Roudnice medieval monastic complex is limited to the church, a two-story cloister on the south side of the church, and a garden space on the east and south

²⁹ Primary sources include, *Constitutiones et consuetudines canonicorum regu*, Avignon, Bibliotheque municipale, MS 716 (XIV), fol 1r-59v, published by A. Carrier A.. *Coutumiers du XI siècle de l'Ordre de Saint-Ruf en usage a la cathedrale de Maguelone = Etudes et documents sur ; 'Ordre de St-Ruf* no 8. Sherbrooke pres de Quebec (Canada) 1950, pp. 53-107. Kadlec, p. 75 lists the archival sources. One published source is by E. Maritene, *De antiquis ecclesiae, ritibus*. Vol 3, tom. 2 lib. 2 ch. 4, "Ex manuscriptis consuetudinibus canonicorum regularium S. Rufi. Qualiter canonici recipiuntur." Antwerp, 1763-64, pp.179-180.

³⁰ In the eleventh and twelfth centuries Saint Ruf had a significant artistic (masonry) workshop, which worked in the area, although there is little evidence of their work, and scholars have not produced significant studies on the Saint Ruf workshop. Some 50 abbeys adopted the Saint Ruf customs mostly in France and Spain, http://www.augustiniancanons.org/About/houses_and_congregations_through_copy%281%29.htm#Ruf.

side of the cloister. We have further promise for the reconstruction of additional spaces based on architectural evidence and historical maps. Two plans from 1653 by Francesco Caratti reveal the larger extent of the medieval and baroque monastic complex [figs. 1 and 2]. The plans show a large courtyard with walls enclosing the complex on the western side of the church, a space now occupied by a modern-day street and school.³¹ In 1974, Gothic cellars were discovered during work on the school parking lot and confirm the medieval scope of the Roudnice cloister.³² On the east side of the church and to the south of the cloister were gardens with a periphery wall, which no doubt bordered on the town walls. Today this eastern boundary is intact. On the west of the church, however, today is a street. According to the Caratti map, the original complex would have had a walled-in courtyard with access at the northwest corner of the church.

The cloister at Roudnice, with a chapter room off the east aisle, is on the south side of the church and cuts into steep terrain near the Elbe riverbank [fig. 56-57]. Since the entire cloister is partially set into a hill on the eastern and southern side, today the south upper story is actually at ground level. In the fourteenth century, however, the ground level was considerably lower, as we can see on the east and south side of the sacristy [fig. 62]. On the west cloister aisle exterior we can clearly see arches, which originally must have extended further down, and currently are partially submerged [fig. 119]. Nevertheless, even in the medieval period the cloister would have been partially embedded into the hillside.

³¹ Podřipské muzeum photoarchive. Published in Michal Cihla and Michal Panáček. "Středověký most v Roudnice nad Labem," in *Průzkumy Památek* XIII (II/2006) p. 5.

³² O. Novosadová, Dobroslav Líbal, and Mojmír Horyna. *Roudnice: Kostel Narození P. Marie budova provoštvi, stavebně historický průzkum* [Roudnice; the Church of the Birth of the Virgin Mary, the Building of the Provost; a Structural and Historical Analysis], unpublished manuscript, Prague, 1975, p. 4. The reference is vague. The cellars were uncovered while building parking lots for the current school.

Currently the cloister is accessed from the church in both the east and the west aisles, although possibly the west entrance was added after the fourteenth century.³³ The east alley portal is the most elaborate emphasizing the entrance from the church to the cloister aisle [fig. 94]. The southeast corner of the cloister has been rebuilt several times. A portal on the exterior of the cloister displays a prominent Renaissance style entrance and corresponds to the current stairs leading to the upper story [fig. 79]. The 1975 study indicates access from the cloister to the garden.³⁴ Currently a hallway leads to a subterranean water pool and stairs to the upper story. There was also a small portal located in the second bay from the southeast cloister corner, which would have accessed the southeast corner.³⁵ According to the 1975 plan, there is a small room behind this space [fig. 56]. It is likely the southeast corner of the cloister would have been the location of the fourteenth century day stairs. There are no additional entryways in the cloister, although according to the Carrati map there was a prominent space adjacent to the west cloister aisle [fig. 127].

Although we are sure of the location of the sacristy and chapter room, the precise locations of the dormitory, refectory, library or other important medieval monastic spaces such as the parlor, warming room, infirmary, novitiate, kitchens, or storage facilities are less clear. At least some of the monastic spaces would have been located in the second story of the cloister. The western upper story is an open space described as with a flat-beamed ceiling, and a second smaller space on the church side with two small lavatories [figs. 125-126]. This space has received little attention by scholars and although it is

³³ Novosadová, p. 149.

³⁴ Novosadová, p. 4.

³⁵ This is likely a late medieval ogee arch, although dendrochronology has not been performed.

vaguely referred to as medieval, it is not firmly dated. Líbal indicated that the large room was the dormitory, and the smaller space the infirmary with a lavatory.³⁶ Since, the upper stories above the south and east aisle of the cloister have been rebuilt in later centuries and the north cloister aisle was removed, we cannot know for sure where the canons in the fourteenth century slept and rested. It seems unlikely, however, that a dormitory for the canons would be on the west side of the cloister. Based on typical monastic functions, I will argue below that the dormitory, or sleeping quarters, was in fact above the east cloister aisle. It is possible that the western upper story was either entirely occupied by the infirmary, or the novitiate.

A distinct vaulted space is located above the sacristy [fig. 72-73]. The date of this space is in question, as the style appears to be late medieval and does not match the other parts of the cloister. Líbal speculates that the second level was built during the first phase, but vaulted at a later time. The space has most often been described as a library due to an inscription and fresco of two bishops from the late fourteenth century, which describes a library.³⁷ Additionally, some have also described this space as a chapel.³⁸ In addition to a library, the space could have also been used as a scriptorium.

Overall, Bohemian monasteries most often conformed to western monastic plans, with a cloister located on the southern side of the church and chapter room off the eastern cloister aisle, and Roudnice is no exception. For example, the Cistercian monastery at Osek and the Franciscan monastery at Plzeň have standard plans with a chapter room of the east cloister alley and refectory off the south alley [fig. 12 and 156]. I would perhaps

³⁶ Novosadová, p. 149.

³⁷ Novosadová, p. 76.

³⁸ Novosadová, p. 78.

even suggest that Roudnice tried to conform to the norm of the first half of the fourteenth century. The plan is highly regular, although at the cost of partially submerging the almost square cloister and three-bay chapter room into the hillside. The only irregularity, as we will see is the possible refectory off the west cloister aisle.

Silent Repetition

The focus on structure and repetition of existing models was important at all monasteries and a strict structure would have been especially important at Roudnice. The bishop intended the new institution to be part of his reform efforts, as well as to serve as a model and counterforce to mendicant preaching houses. The regularity of the monastic day was structured through repetition of daily rituals, routines, and prayers following the Hours.³⁹ The Hours changed depending on the time of year, but followed the same daily schedule structured around communal prayer, from *matins*, *prime*, *terce*, *sext*, to *none*, *vespers*, *collation* and *compline*.

The customary at times provides detailed instructions on the movement of the canons both spatially and temporarily throughout their day. The canons were instructed in a myriad of actions including which prayers to recite and how to conduct themselves in the choir. Often the customary stressed collective action throughout the Hours. For example, the Barnwell customary gives instruction on *matins*, for which the canons rise in the night. Once the canons enter the church, they are “to fortify themselves with the sign of the cross, and then to bow low. They are all to stand up when they say one by one: *O God the Father of heaven*...but to bow their heads when they say the prayer to the

³⁹ See Appendix VII.

Father. At a sign from the Warden of the Order, if it be a ferial day, they prostrate themselves to the ground; but if not, standing upright, and moving a short distance toward the north side..." they say the next prayer.⁴⁰ The customary continues in this manner through the triple prayer and the rest of *matins*. "When *Matins* are ended, the brethren, after making a profound bow, ought to leave the Quire, the juniors leading the way, with a lighted lantern, and proceed to the *Dorter* in procession."⁴¹ This level of detail is found in most customaries.

The Barnwell, Soissons, Roudnice, and Marbach customaries, all indicate a similar beginning to not only *Matins*, but all the Hours. At Barnwell the customary states,

Before *Matins* begins the brethren are first to say the Lord's Prayer, prostrating themselves over the desks, if it be a season for prostration, or bowing over the seats; and, at a signal from the Prelate or his deputy, they are all to stand upright and cross themselves, and then turn to the altar and bow. While they are all standing, turned towards the altar, the priest is to begin: *O Lord, open thou my lips. At Glory be to the Father* they are to bow, Quire to Quire, and at *As it was* they are to stand upright, turned to the altar. This is the form to be observed at the beginning of all Hours.⁴²

At Soissons, the beginning of the hours is described as follows,

And the person who holds the convent, shall strike his stall three times in three distinct intervals. At the sound of which the brothers shall bow; next, having taken their seats, they shall say slowly and in a lowered voice without pitch, fifteen psalms according to the usual order, with the usual prayers and making three stops. Finishing these, they shall say the Lord's Prayer. And after the person who is in charge has given a sound in response from his stall, the weekly priest, arming his forehead with the sign of the cross, shall begin with *Domine, labia mea*; the rest, arming themselves likewise with the same [sign of the cross], shall answer with *Et os meum* and so on.⁴³

⁴⁰ John Willis Clarke, 1897, pp. 97-103.

⁴¹ John Willis Clarke, 1897, p. 105.

⁴² John Willis Clarke, 1897, pp. 98-99.

⁴³ <http://monarch.brown.edu/customary>, first reading.

While at Roudnice customary states more to the point,

[In] the nightly hours at the sign of the signal without delay rise, first under holy cross imprint upon oneself with the holy trinity invocation (make the sign of the cross), then saying the verse Open my lips my lord... [*Nocturnis horis audito signo sine mora surgat et inprimis signum sanctae crucis sub invocatione sanctae trinitatis exemplo caeterorum sibi imprimat, dicens postea hunc versum, domine labia mea aperies etc.*]⁴⁴

Finally the Marbach customs are almost identical to the Roudnice, and according to Kadlec, similar to at least one version of the Saint Ruf customary.⁴⁵ These excerpts indicate the level of uniformity in Augustinian customaries and underscore an important component of monastic life: that of silence.

The regularity of the monastic day was structured through a silent repetition of daily rituals. Throughout the day the canons were to limit their speech. While canons fulfilled their work, especially outside of the monastic walls, canons could communicate if necessary, but only concerning practical and spiritual matters.⁴⁶ Inside the monastery gestures were permissible and monastic institutions developed elaborate gesticulations systems passed on in handbooks.⁴⁷ While silence was enforced, there was no absence of sound at the monastery; prayer framed daily routine, bells, cymbals or gongs signaled the Hours, and a variety of other sounds were part of a functioning monastery including the sounds of masons and workmen.

It may be tempting to view the repression of speech in a contemporary way and suggest that the restriction of speech increased the awareness of other senses such and the visual. Under this view a heightened awareness of the visual surroundings would included

⁴⁴ MS XIX B 3, (fol. 17v), see Appendix IX.

⁴⁵ Kadlec, 1981, p. 77.

⁴⁶ MS XIX B3 Statutes fol. 26r-26v. John Willis Clarke, 1897.

⁴⁷ For example, Scott Bruce, *Silence and sign language in medieval monasticism: the Cluniac tradition c. 900-1200*, Cambridge, UK ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2007.

a focus on the architecture of the monastery; the round arches and historiated capitals, reminiscent of Southern France and earlier architectural traditions, could reinforce in visual terms the connection to southern French Augustinian houses made palpable in the Saint Ruf customs. Customaries not only insisted on silence throughout the day, they also encouraged repression of the visual as canons were often reminded to walk to the hours with hoods over their heads, not to look around or have their eyes wander. Again, the Barnwell customary connects the wandering eye to an unchaste heart, which is similar to the reasons for limiting speech; too much of both can lead in inappropriate directions and away from God. We might expect that the silent canons should be appreciating the aesthetics of their surroundings, or at the very least engaging in the sight of carved capitals, or other architectural features as didactic sources.⁴⁸ It is instructive to remember Saint Augustine's writing on the senses. Saint Augustine writes on sense perception in general and considers senses as distracting man from rational thought and contemplation of eternal and unchanging things; especially God.⁴⁹

The most important purpose for limiting human sounds was to dissuade inappropriate thoughts and actions and increase spiritual awareness; by suppressing locution, the canons allowed for greater spiritual experience. Numerous other sources link loquaciousness to a corruption of the soul, the Barnwell customary for example, quotes Saint James "The tongue is a world of iniquity".⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Thomas E.A. Dale, "Monsters, Corporeal Deformities, and Phantasms in the Cloister of St-Michel-de-Cuxa" in *Art Bulletin* vol LXXXIII n. 3 Sept. (2001) 402-436.

⁴⁹ Augustine, and Tarsicius J. van Bavel. *The Rule of Saint Augustine*. Garden City, N.Y.: Image Books, 1986. Chapter 11 for example.

⁵⁰ John Willis Clarke, 1897, p. 140-141.

There were times the canon could speak especially when praying. At times of mass and during specific hours canons were encouraged to speak in unison, which indicates that the collective voice was not a source of moral weakness. The act of speaking had to be blessed, hence the hourly prayer began, as stated above with “*Domine, labia mea*” or “Open my lips o Lord,” permitting the canon to speak in the presence of God and through prayer. In this way it is the Lord who permits speech and sanctifies it. There were other times the canon was permitted to speak, but either permission had be granted by the prior or abbot, or at designated times a Benediction was said by the weekly priest before speaking. The Benedictions again sanctifies the canons, perhaps acting as a guide so as not to stray into temptation. Even when canons were permitted to speak, they were still encouraged to say as little as possible, stick with spiritual and practical matters, and not to gossip.

A restriction on locution was a part of most monastic institutions, nevertheless, each institution varied in the execution. At Soissons and Barnwell the customary clearly states that the silence must be kept in the church, dormitory, refectory, and at most times in the cloister.⁵¹ Most intriguing is a summary of places which speech was allowed. At Barnwell the canons were allowed during some parts of the year to hold conversation in the cloister after the morning chapter and before mass. Other times of the year canons, when *none* was sung after dinner, the brethren were blessed in the west part of the cloister and could converse in the cloister until Evensong.⁵² The Barnwell customary openly discloses that this is not the practice at most canon houses. Although a specific section on locution does not occur in the Saint Ruf customary, silence was part of most

⁵¹ Reading 43, Monarch, and John Willis Clarke, p, 138-139

⁵² John Willis Clark, 1897, pp. 137-141.

monastic institutions and reminders to limit speech occurred throughout the Saint Ruf customary.

At Roudnice, an entire chapter (XV) is devoted to restrictions on locution and is more extensive than the Marbach version.⁵³ The chapter is titled “When to speak, when to be silent, and what to say [*XV Quo tempore loquendum et quo silendum sit et quid et unde loqui debeant*].” The first part reads,

From the first sign of *vespers*, we keep in silence until after the dinner, after dinner, and after we hear the benediction in silence, we can speak in one (or the same) place until the reading of *collation*. Then we do not speak until after *prime*, unless necessity compels us. After chapter we are free to speak, as soon as we ask God's reign (permission?), and general service of the present day...

[*A primo signo vesperarum, usque post coenam silentium tenemus, post coenam autem per benedicite silentio soluto in uno loco loquimur usque ad lectionem collationis, qua inchoata post primam diei sequentis non loquimur, nisi necessitas quempiam loqui compellat. Post capitulum adepta loquendi licentia, ut primum quaeratur dei regnum, officium praesentis diei communiter provideatur...*]⁵⁴

It is clear that overall, silence was encouraged for most of the day. “From the first signal for *vespers* until after supper we hold silence....” After the canons turned in for the night, they were to stay silent, getting up only for *matins* (mid-night prayer), but staying silent otherwise until after the morning meeting or *prime*. At some times of the day there is a cautious relaxation on silence. After dinner and benediction, there is a “loosening” of silence, as well as after *prime* (morning meeting in chapter room) speech is allowed with permission (*licentia*). In these cases it is not clear where speech is to occur. The customary states that speech is allowed “*in uno loco*,” which indicates that speech was

⁵³ Jaroslav Kadlec has described the daily routine at Roudnice and other Czech Augustinian canons in *Třebon*, Prague, 2004, p. 42-47.

⁵⁴ MS XIX B 3 (fol. 25r-26v), see Appendix IX.

not allowed throughout the monastery, but had to be confined to a specific location, perhaps a section of the cloister. From folio 28v we know that the canons at Roudnice were permitted to speak most freely in the afternoon, before *vespers*, over a mandatory drink, which occurred in the refectory.

The customary even instructed the canons on behavior beyond the monastic complex.

...then everyone carries out their business [work of the day], meanwhile, speaking nothing that diminishes the sanctity of speaking to diminish the holiness of those who speak and those who hear, but always speak the praise of God, ...
[...*deinde injuncta sibi quisque exequatur negotia, nihil interim loquentes quod sanctitatem loquentium minuat et audientium, sed omnia eorum in laude dei resonent colloquia, ...*]⁵⁵

Hence, the canons were permitted to speak as they carried out their work, at the monastery and in the community. Even beyond the monastic walls, however, there were to speak only in praise of God in all instances.

The separate section devoted to silence in the Roudnice statutes indicates the importance in conveying this aspect of monastic life to the Roudnice canons. Perhaps as a new establishment, Roudnice needed additional instructions; certainly further comparison to local customaries would be enlightening. Silence and personal prayer were important aspects of the Marbach reforms. Further research and comparisons should examine if silence was maintained at other Bohemian monasteries in the early fourteenth century.

⁵⁵ MS XIX B 3 (fol. 25r-26v), see Appendix IX.

Daily Movement

The silent repetition of a highly structured monastic routine within repeated architectural forms (cloister, chapter room, dormitory, refectory) is a common feature of monastic houses from the Carolignian through late medieval period. A few sections from the customary, followed by a retracing of the canon's movements will illustrate the daily monastic experience. Section twenty-two in the Roudnice customary is similar to both Marbach and Saint Ruf.

[XXIII] The reason why they should sleep in the dormitory.
All should sleep and read in the dormitory in separate beds, except those who are prohibited from doing so because they are too ill or too old. Everyone can have bedding according to his or her chosen manner. A lantern should burn all night until the morning in the dormitory. In short nothing dishonest or indecent should be done by anyone in the dormitory, nor should anyone disturb others. All should sleep with shirts, and stockings and belts, except those who wish to lie in their tunics. They shall always be ready, so that at the signal, they can rise without delay, and come quickly to the work of God, with all gravity and modesty.

*[XXIII] Quod in dormitorio universi dormiant.
Omnes simul in dormitorio, nisi quem infirmitas, aut senectus id facere
prohibuerit, dormiant, et singuli per singula lecta gestant. Lectisternia pro modo
conversationis, secundum dispensationem praepositi accipiant. Lucerna in eo
dormitorio noctis tempore usque mane jugiter ardeat, nihil denique inhonestum
aut indecens geratur in dormitorio ab aliquo, nec quis que aliquem inquietare
praesumat. Vestiti camisiis dormiant, cincti cingulis, caligis et non sine se
moralibus jaceant, exceptis his, qui in tunica jacere voluerint, Parati sint semper,
ut dato signo, absque mora surgents, festinent se invicem praevenire ad opus dei,
cum omni tamen gravitate et modestia.⁵⁶*

The customary states that a candle should illuminate the dormitory throughout the night so that when the bell wakes the canons for *matins*, the canons can rise without hesitation and proceed to the church. The customary specifically instructs canons to proceed to the church with hoods over their heads, to look straight ahead, not bother

⁵⁶ MS XIX B 3 (fol. 32r), see Appendix IX.

others, and fight off sleep.⁵⁷ After prayer, the canons were to return to the dormitory and sleep. At daybreak, the bell again sounded time for *prime* and the canons proceed to the chapter room.⁵⁸ This was an important occasion in the day when canons were allowed to voice concerns, receive reprimands, and ask for permission for special activities such as bloodletting.

As mentioned, the Roudnice chapter room is off the eastern aisle and without proper windows to the exterior or cloister aisle the narrow chapter room is dark and damp. Although the dormitory at Roudnice no longer exists, we can locate it above the eastern cloister aisle. A blocked-off narrow passageway probably lead to the night stairs and afforded the most direct route to the church choir. A second set of day stairs was most likely located in the cloister east aisle (second bay from the southeast corner) and is currently walled off. Hence, during the night, the canons moved down the night stairs into the church. After, they returned up the night stairs to their beds.

The Roudnice statutes chapter XXIII states that all canons should sleep in the dormitory and issues instructions on how to sleep fully clothed except when in illness.⁵⁹ In 1352, however, archbishop Arnošt of Prague requested the papal court to allow the building of single cells at Roudnice. He reasoned that since the cells were planned, to alter the structure would “deform” the monastery.⁶⁰ This discrepancy leaves an open question whether the canons continued to share a dormitory as instructed by the statutes, or whether individual cells were allowed. In either case, however, I believe that the

⁵⁷ MS XIX B3 Chapter XXIII (fol. 17v), see Appendix IX.

⁵⁸ The schedule is summed up by Kadlec, 2004, pp. 42-46.

⁵⁹ MS XIX B3 Chapter XXIII (fol. 32r), see Appendix IX.

⁶⁰ Josef Emler, “Diplomatář kláštera blahoslavené Panny Marie augustiniánů kanovníků v Roudnici n/L” [The Diplomacy Log of the Blessed Virgin Mary Augustinian Canon Monastery in Roudnice on the Elbe]: *Věstník české královské společnosti nauk*, 1893, p. 18.

dormitory or cells were located above the east cloister alley and chapter room. This extra wide space, roughly 10.6 meters, could have accommodated both options.

Hence, in the morning the canons moved down the day stairs and into the chapter room for morning *prime*. The re-tracing of the canon's movement during the night and early parts of the day highlights the efficiency of this design. The location of both the chapter room and the dormitory on the eastern part of the cloister allows for a seamless transition from sleep to prayer, from dormitory to the choir during the night, and timely arrival to morning chapter in the chapter room. The location of the chapter room on the east side of the complex indicates the importance of this monastic space as it is near the east end of the church.

A second lengthy customary section, similar to the Saint Ruf customary but not Marbach, details the afternoon routine.

[XXII] When to eat and what ought to be said

When the bell is rung by the superior, having washed their hands, they can enter with reverence of the refectory, and stand at their place, which is in the sight of the tables with the seniors and superiors, with the prior, or in his absence, the subprior, and at the beginning of the Benediction, and all the rest is as usual.

[XXIII] *Quum commessuri quid dicere debeant.*

*Quando commessuri sunt tacto a superiore cimbalo, lotis manibus cum reverentia refectorium intrabunt, ibi que stantes singuli in loco suo coram tabulis, praeposito, vel priore, subpriore, vel caeteris absentibus, seniore ad principalem mensam accedente, et benedicite inchoante, cuncti reliqua, ut est moris, prosequantur.*⁶¹

At the sound of the cymbal, or bell, and only after having washed their hands, the canons entered the refectory with each canon taking his place. During the meal the canons ate in silence as a lector read prayers, for as Saint Augustine instructed in his rule,

⁶¹ MS XIX B3 Chapter XXIII (fol. 28r-28v), see Appendix IX.

not only do our mouths take in food “but our ears hunger for the word of God.”⁶²

Immediately after giving thanks for the meal, the canons proceeded to the dormitory for a rest. The customary instructs canons to be fully dressed, not show any parts of their bodies, including their feet and not disturb others. If the canon did not wish to sleep he could read silently. A cymbal or bell sounded time for *nones* in the church. After prayer, the brethren reassembled in the refectory for an afternoon drink. This was the main opportunity in the day to speak freely. All were required to attend even if they did not wish a drink. Permission to speak in the refectory and a mandatory drink is not a common feature of other Augustinian customaries.

The Roudnice refectory, or dining hall, does not survive, but was most likely just off the western cloister aisle. Refectories were often placed on the south side of the cloister, with a *lavatorium*, or fountain house, for example at Osek [fig.]. Due to the hilly terrain at Roudnice it would have been difficult to locate the refectory on the south side of the cloister and no evidence is found for additional spaces in the Caratti plan [fig.]. However, the remains of pointed arches visible today on the west façade of the cloister and a seventeenth century map indicate that additional spaces on the western side. Further, the middle bay in the western cloister aisle reveals an irregularity, which could have been a spot for a *lavabo*, or washbasin [fig. 122-123]. Thus, we can presume that at the sound of a bell the canons gathered in the west cloister aisle and washed at the *lavabo* before proceeding into the refectory.

After the meal the canons went through the south cloister aisle and up the day stairs for the afternoon rest. At the next signal the canons most likely came down the day

⁶² *Desideria carnis non perficietis, et sicut regularis sententia docet, non sole fauces sumant cibum, sed et aures esuriant dei verbum.* « to hunger for the word of god. »

stairs and through the east aisle portal into the church. Following prayers the brethren would return to the refectory through the north cloister aisle. The refectory could be on the other side of the cloister, since arrival for the meal and afternoon drink did not need as diligent punctuality and perhaps more importantly, speech was permitted far away from the most sacred monastic space (the church east end).

The designated locations for speech in a working monastery were as important as the prayers he recited and liturgy in the church. The area that required the strictest silence was the dormitory; in addition to silence sensory experience was restricted even sight of another was discouraged to ensure privacy and no temptations. Speech was allowed in the church, however only well choreographed according to the customary resulting in prayer in unison. The chapter room, refectory, and possibly the cloister allowed for some speech, but only if permitted by the provost or instructed at a specific time by the customary, such as the afternoon drink. The canons were able to speak most freely outside of the monastery walls, when conducting care of the sick at the hospital or at the parishes. While the customary does not mention the library, we would assume that this was a place spiritual “work,” or study, was conducted and required quite. Further research on the customs should focus on the connection, if any between spaces that required silence and design and architectural space.

Augustinian Customaries

One of the most important sources on the formation of Augustinian canons in general is by Rev. Dickinson.⁶³ Although Dickinson's focus is on England, his book provides the most comprehensive introduction to the Augustinian canons and points out that the formation of the Augustinian canons is in many ways solidified during the Gregorian reforms.⁶⁴ According to Darrell Reinke, the rule of Saint Augustine was not universally accepted in the majority of Augustinian houses until the twelfth century. It is only at this point, Reinke states, that customaries instructed canons to abide by the rule, rather than local traditions. According to Reinke, this move represented a shift from local tradition to universal codified law.⁶⁵ At Barnwell, the canons took a vow of silence, chastity, obedience, and renunciation of property, in accordance with the rule. The customary includes quotes from the rule in order to demonstrate how the customary is in agreement with it. Often the customary reminds canons of correct behavior such as to be present at the Hours unless the canon has specific permission from the prior.⁶⁶ The customary also instructs in detail the behavior of the canon in specific circumstances, for example, the reader is reminded that while in the choir, the canon should not look around inappropriately since the rule states, "an unchaste eye is the messenger of an unchaste heart."⁶⁷

Customaries were surprisingly uniform on many details. Many customaries, as for example at Soissons and Barnwell, canons were instructed not to wipe their noses in

⁶³ Dickinson, J. C. *The Origins of the Austin Canons and Their Introduction into England*. London: S.P.C.K., 1950.

⁶⁴ Dickinson, pp. 26 ff.

⁶⁵ Darrel R. Reinke "Austin's Labour": Patterns of Governance in Medieval Augustinian Monasticism, in *Church History*, Vol 56, No. 2 (Jun 1987), pp. 157-161.

⁶⁶ John Willis Clark, 1897, p. 93.

⁶⁷ John Willis Clark, 1897, p. 87.

the towels.⁶⁸ Often canons were reminded not to dirty any textiles, in church or refectory, with blood, mucus, or other bodily fluids. Fire was a great safety concern and many customaries forbade canons to read in bed with a candle.⁶⁹ Specific instructions are given on which foods the canons can eat, what to do if they fall ill, and how to take care of the elderly. Ritual bloodletting was a common part of monastic practice. Often customaries gave specific instructions including where to stand in the choir and when to kneel or prostrate. Canons were instructed in detail on how to undress under their robes without revealing their bodies to others.⁷⁰

Reinke states that the process of standardization and acceptance of the Augustinian rule in Augustinian customaries culminated by 1390.⁷¹ No doubt the Roudnice customary, authored in mid-fourteenth century, internalized many concerns of twelfth and thirteenth century authors. Although Augustinian customaries were at pains to adhere to the rule, each community inevitably had to address specific differences ranging from daily life to issues on ritual and discipline. Some degree of difference is to be expected and the same will be true at Roudnice. One obvious difference between the customaries of Marbach, Barnwell, Soissons and Roudnice is that the French and English customaries include chapters on the officers of the house from the Prior to the Almoner, whereas the Bohemian customary does not. While specific jobs are not highlighted at Roudnice they are mentioned throughout the text. To elaborate on all necessary positions at large may not have been necessary at the new foundation since the monastery was in its early phases and initially designed for only twelve canons. The community did grow

⁶⁸ The Monarch Project, Third Reading, <http://monarch.brown.edu/customary?div=E.3>, and Clark, 1897, p.

⁶⁹ John Willis Clark, 1897, 166-7.

⁷⁰ Julie Kerr, *Life in the Medieval Cloister*. London: Continuum, 2009. p. 86.

⁷¹ Reinke, pp. 169-170.

to roughly 30 by the end of the fourteenth century before the Hussite conflicts interrupted its development.⁷²

Despite an effort to endorse and substantiate the rule, customaries could also differ on important issues such as liturgy, ritual, and discipline or any other aspect of communal life. For example, the Barnwell customary includes a section on processions. Additionally, the daily movement of canons from chapter to choir, and later to the refectory is described as a procession.⁷³ Houses differed on forms of discipline as well, while prostration in the chapter room was a common form of discipline, some houses included flagellation, fasting, exclusion from communal activities, or even imprisonment.⁷⁴ A recent study by Valerie Flint discusses distancing, such as imposed eating apart from the brethren, a kind of “time-out” as a form of discipline.⁷⁵

According to Augustin Neumann, strict discipline, silence, and no nudity were followed at Roudnice.⁷⁶ As was common, the novices were housed separately from the canons. Possibly the novices even had a separate place for study. The most detailed description of discipline is reserved for behavior in the church. There were punishments for incorrect recitations, and everyone had to look in a particular direction while in the choir. The chapter room was reserved for official business, while the refectory was a

⁷² Jaroslav Kadlec, *Klášter Augustiniánských kanovníků v Třeboni*. Prague: Karolinum, 2004, pp. 65-83.

⁷³ John Willis Clark, 1897, p. 95 ff. For example, when rising for *Matins*, canons should “march into Church in procession.” The emphasis is on movement in unison.

⁷⁴ Kerr, 2009, p. 123.

⁷⁵ Valerie I. J. Flint, “Space and Discipline in Early Medieval Europe” in *Medieval practices of space*, Barbara A. Hanawalt, Michal Kobiálka, eds., Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000. Flint considers the implications of space as discipline on other aspects of medieval culture. For a particularly engaging example of monastic discipline see Suzanne Scalan, “The Devil in the Refectory: Bodies Imagined and the Oblates of Tor de’Specchi in Quattro cento Rome,” in *The Devil in Society in the Pre-Modern World*. Richard Raiswell and Peter Dendle, eds., Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, Victoria College, University of Toronto Press, 2011.

⁷⁶ Augustin Neumann, *Prameny k dějinám duchovestva v době předhusitské a Husově [Sources for the history church history during the prehusite and Hussite period]*. Olomouci: Nákl. Matice Cyrilometodějské, 1926, p. 72-73.

more social space, as it was the location for the daily drink. The order seemed strict in enforcing its daily routine. No immoral activities are recorded. At the end of the fourteenth century, archbishop Jan (John) of Jenštejn and his follower, Archbishop of Olbram, unified all the Augustinian canon houses under the Roudnice rule. Even then there were no major revisions, and no mention of immoral or indecent activities. That is, there were no revisions, which would imply that stricter rules were needed.

In comparison Neumann records all sorts of trespasses for the Cistercians; too long at drinking, playing cards, not keeping silent, failing to be present at role-call, and not fulfilling official work. The stated punishment for playing cards was bread and water for the duration of a year, although Neumann does not believe this was enforced.⁷⁷ By comparison, the Benedictines at Saint Jiří also were not on good behavior by the mid-fourteenth century. In 1353 an interdict was placed on them for three years, a penalty that they did not uphold.⁷⁸ At the Augustinian Hermits monastery at the Lesser Quarter in Prague, there were at least two indecencies were recorded.

Conclusion

The structure of the daily routine framed the canon's life as much as did the distinct architectural spaces. The location of the chapter room and refectory at Roudnice were important in order to complete a typical layout of the monastery, to execute the daily movement in silence within the architectural framework. Restrictions on location heightened auditory and visual awareness. As the silent Bohemian canons moved through the monastic space marked by round arches and historiated capitals, reminiscent

⁷⁷ Neumann, 1926, p. 101-102.

⁷⁸ Neumann, 1926, p. 87.

of Southern France and older monastic traditions, they experienced and performed the link to their distant Avignon cousins established by bishop Jan. This study demonstrates that monastic functions, especially monastic customaries, are a fruitful source of investigation to find connections between shape or architectural space and the functions performed within.

As a newly founded house and order, the Roudnice Augustinians linked to a well-established tradition. Together the repetition of customs and monastic space indicates the strong desire on the part of bishop Jan to link his Bohemian diocese with Avignon in order to participate fully in western monastic culture.

CONCLUSION

In 1333 the Roudnice monastery became the first house of regular canons in Bohemia. The foundation of this future motherhouse was carefully considered in all aspects, including the design of the architecture, the admission of canons, location, monastic domain, and their customs. Rather than placing Roudnice within the frame of a French mason, or a French connection, and Czech speaking canons, I have considered the Roudnice monastery and its patron within the complicated Bohemian political and ecclesiastical landscape. This approach reveals that the drive to elevate Prague to an archdiocese was a great inspiration for bishop Jan. The wish to elevate the diocese placed Prague within a larger European context and influenced many choices, both cultural and artistic, made by the bishop after his return from Avignon. The bishop's patronage conveys both a demonstrated alliance with the pope and at the same time a self-governing and reformed diocese worthy of independence from the Mainz archdiocese.

The bishop's eleven-year stay in Avignon had a profound impact on the bishop's patronage in Prague. Repeatedly, the *František Chronicle* connects the bishop's patronage in Bohemia to the papal court (*curia Romana*), first at the episcopal residence in Prague and later with the import of a French mason, again from the *curia Romana*. Avignon became a model for the bishop's patronage. From Avignon he imported

manuscripts, a master William to build a bridge, and customs from the abbey of regular canons at Saint Ruf. The use of the Roman curia as a model, however, extends beyond individual objects. The reenactment of the Saint Ruf customs at Roudnice directly connected the Roudnice canons to Saint Ruf and the Avignon context. The parallel between Avignon and Roudnice is also apparent in the Roudnice urban layout that includes the episcopal residence, bridge, hospital and chapel, and the monastery. The bishop's use of Avignon as a model resulted in a large-scale urban medieval plan. The bishop made his work visible in the urban landscape by placing his family crest on all his sites.

It is not surprising that earlier scholars have not emphasized the papal connection. During the late nineteenth century and early twentieth, Czech scholars were interested in claiming a Czech national art as well as differentiating Czech and German styles. French art was favorable, as it was seen as the pinnacle of Gothic achievement. Additionally, under communism, connections to the pope were not viewed favorably.

While the bishop used Avignon as a model he also wished to reform his diocese and demonstrate its independence. The bishop imported the Avignon mason and Saint Ruf customs; in both cases he qualified his choice. While master William came to build the bridge, he only completed the first arch and supports leaving the rest for the local Czech crew. Although the bishop adopted French monastic customs for Roudnice, he did not invite French masons to populate the monastery and restricted admission to local Czech canons. The Roudnice canons were to work in a Bohemian context, not simply import a French monastery and style.

Roudnice monastery was part of the Prague bishop's reform efforts and a new architectural program after his return from Avignon. The bishop's need for reform stemmed from his conflicts with the mendicant orders and nobility over parish jurisdiction. The bishop chose a house of regular canons since they were not previously represented in Bohemian and they suited his reform in the diocese. A house of regular canons at Roudnice allowed the bishop sole authority in the form of visitations, admission of new canons, and election of the prior. The canons worked as pastors in the community but lived a life in common under the rule of Saint Augustine.

Jan IV was the most important patron of art in the first half of the fourteenth century. Unfortunately his works do not survive intact, and hence his patronage has not been fully considered. While bishop Jan established a connection to France during his long stay in Avignon, he did not intend on transmitting a new French style to Bohemia. For example, while we can discern a different style in the east aisle of the cloister, there is nothing specifically French about it. The architecture of the Roudnice monastery displays at least two distinct styles. While grounded in local stylistic trends, the east cloister alley displays a reductionist style popular with mendicant church building in France and central Europe. The mendicant-type plan of the Roudnice church is associated with other Bohemian royal foundations of the first half of the fourteenth century. The stylistic variety is unified by an archaic effect, displayed by the round arches and bulky wall supports in the chapter room, which indicates that the bishop wished to present the monastery as old, authoritative and distinguished. The Roudnice monastery successfully combines the new and old as is demonstrated by the fleshy architectural décor on the round arches. A variety of styles might have been desirable for

the bishop as monasteries with long traditions were rebuilt over time and most demonstrated numerous styles testifying to their longevity.

The archaic forms used at Roudnice reference southern French monasteries and long-standing monastic traditions in Bohemia. Both aspects would have been important for the patron as he was initiating reforms, and a certain ambiguity would have been acceptable. As with the French mason and Saint Ruf customs bishop Jan imported something new but also placed it within a local context. While Roudnice was influential culturally and became the motherhouse of later Bohemian monasteries, the architectural styles at Roudnice were not repeated. Each new monastery generated a new appearance.

As I have demonstrated in this dissertation, Roudnice monastery is a rich topic of investigation. Further research on Roudnice and bishop Jan IV, however, is still warranted and should focus on establishing a wider context of stylistic comparisons for the Roudnice monastic architecture. The Roudnice statutes should also be further researched, beginning with a full translation and edition. Fuller comparison to other customaries will also broaden understanding of the regular canons in the European context. The combined presence of architecture and text at Roudnice should encourage research in a variety of areas and using a variety of approaches. Lastly, a comprehensive work on Jan IV as a patron would be welcome in order to fully appreciate this influential patron. His remarkable longevity and worldly experience is noteworthy especially in the medieval context of his long life.

APPENDIX I : List of Names

Popes

Boniface VIII (1294 – 1303)
Clement V (1305-1314)
Jean (John) XXII (1316-1334)
Benedict XII (1334-1342)
Clement VI (1342-1352)

Holy Roman Emperors

Albrecht I Hapsburg (1255 – 1308)
Henry VII of Luxembourg (1308 – 1313)
Charles IV (Karel) (1346-1378)

Prague Archbishops

Arnošt of Pardubice (1343-1364)
Jan Očko of Vlašimi (John, 1364-1379)
Jan of Jenštejn (John, 1379-1396)

Mainz Archbishops

Peter Aspelt (1306 – 1320)
Heinrich III of Virneberg (1328 – 1337)

Prague Bishops

Saint Vojtěch (Adalbert) (982— 997)
Jan (John) I (1134—1139)
Jan (John) III (1258-1278)
Tobiáš (Tobias) of Bechyně (1278-96)
Jan (John) of Dražice IV (1301-1343)

Olomouc Bishops

Jindřich Zdík (Henry, 1126-1150)
Jan VII, known as “Volek” (1334-1351)
Peter Wurst “Jelito,” Bishop of Chur, Bishop von Lytomyšl, Archbishop of Magdeburg
and Bishop of Olomouc (1381-1387)

Kings of Bohemia

Vladislav II (1140-72)

Otakar I (1107 – 1230)

Václav I (1230-1253)

Otakar II (1253 – 1278)

Václav II (Wenceslas) (1278 – 1305)

Václav III (Wenceslas) (1289 – 1306),

Rudolf Hapsburg I (1306-1307)

Henry of Carinthia (Jindřich Korutanský, sometimes referred to as Korutanec, 1307-1310)

King John of Luxembourg (1310-1346)

Charles IV (Karel) (1346 – 1378)

Václav IV (Wenceslas) (1378-1419)

Queens of Bohemia

Constance, consort of Otakar I (1199-1230)

Elizabeth Rejčka, consort of Václav II (Richeza, 1305-1307)

Eliška Přemyslovna, consort of John of Luxembourg (Elisabeth of Bohemia, 1310-1330),

Beatrix, consort of John of Luxembourg (1334-1346)

Žofie of Bavaria, consort of Václav IV (Sophia, 1389-1419)

Dukes of Bohemia

Přemysl duke Vratislav (915-921)

Přemysl duke Boleslav II (972-999)

Přemysl duke Oldřich (1012-1033)

APPENDIX II : Consecration Plaque

Foundation plaque placed in the apse of the Roudnice monastery church at time of consecration in 1340.

Anno domini millesimo trecentesimo trigesimo tertio feria tertia in festo pentecostes venerabilis in christo pater dominus ioannes IV filius dni gregorii de draczicz, pragensis episcopus vigesimus septimus anno ordinationis suae trigesimo secundo hoc monasterium ad honorem sancta mariae virginis fundavit, et erexit, ac sufficienter dotavit, canonicos regulares instituit in eodem. Idem etiam dominus episcopus, eodem anno, in festo sancti barholomei, pontem in rudnicz per flumen construxit, et tandem per septem annos in eo laborando suis suptibus ipsum pontem, et chorum dicti monasterii perfecit cui deus per intercessionem sua genitricis in prasentivitam bonam, et in futuro cum electis suis monitionem tribuat sempiternam. Amen

In 1333 AD, on Tuesday, the feast of Pentecost, the venerable Christ, lord John IV, son of lord Gregory of Dražice, the 27th bishop of Prague, founded, built, and sufficiently endowed this monastery consecrated to the Virgin Mary and established there the regular canons. The same bishop in the same year, at the feast of Saint Bartholomew, constructed a bridge in Roudnice over the river and built it privately (*suptibus*) over seven years. He finished the bridge and choir (east end) of the said monastery through God's intercession and endowed the future monastery (*monitionem*) with generous gifts (*prasentivitam bonam*) and everlasting tribute. Amen

ANNO DOMINI MILLESIMO TRECENTESIMO TRIGESIMO TERTIO
FERIA TERTIA IN FESTO PENTECOSTES VENERABILIS IN CHRISTO
PATER DOMINVS IOANNES IV FILIVS DNI GREGORII DE DRACZICZ
PRAGENSIS EPISCOPVS VIGESIMVS SEPTIMVS ANNO ORDINATIONIS
SVAE TRIGESIMO SECVNDO HOC MONASTERIVM AD HONOREM SAN-
CTAE MARIAE VIRGINIS FVNDavit a pokračuje dle originálu:

ET EREXIT. AC. SUFFICIENTER. *
DOCTAVIT. CANONICOS. REGULARES. *
ISTUD TENS. I. EODE. IDE. ECCLIAM. Dñs
Eps. EODE. ANNO. I. FESTO. Scti. BARth
OLOMEI. PONTIS. I. RUDNICZ. P. FVND
CONSTRUXIT. X. ANDE. P. VII. ANNOS. IEO
LABORANDO. SVIS. SUP. AIB. IP. P. OTE. *
ET. CHOR. Dñi. MONASTERII. PFECIT.
CUI. DEUS. PER. INTERCESSIONE. SVE
GENERICIS. I. Pñti. DICA. OI. BONA
ET. IN. PATVRO. CUI. ELECTIS. SV
IS. OI. ANSIONE. TRIBUAT
SEMPITERNAM. AMEN. *

Transcription of plaque in Roudnice church east end, by Bohumil Matějka

APPENDIX III : Foundation document

Foundation document, original housed in the Žitenice archive, Czech Republic. 51.5 x 51cm with seal, dated 1333.

Johannes, episcopus Prag., fundat monasterium s. Mariae canonicorum regularium ordinis s. Augustini in Rudnicz.—Not. oc, “quod nos monasterium illud, quod in opido episcopatus nostri *Rudnicz* ad laudem, gloriam et honorem eiusdem domini nostri dei et eius genitricis intemerate virginis Marie fundavimus et ereximus pro canonicis regularibus ordinis sancti Augustini et eius collegium dotavimus et dotamus – de bonis nostre persone intuitu acquisitis, videlicet de villa *Palcz Maiori* cum municione ibidem, villa *Slapanicz*, villa *Wyrbiczán*, quicquid in ea habuimus, villa *Luboricz*, et villa *Oczichow* cum hereditatibus, censibus, fructibus, libertatibus, iuribus et suis pertinentiis universis, omne ius proprietatis et dominii, quod in bonis et in villis predictis nobis competebat vel potuisset competere in futurum, in predictum monasterium et eius collegium transferentes.

Infrascripta quoque onera et modos dicto inponimus monasterio et eius collegio sub anathematis vinculo perpetuis temporibus irrefragabiliter duratura. Statuimus etenim primo, ut in monasterio omni die imperpetuum sine intermissione, sola sexta feria paraschewen dumtaxat excepta, dicatur missa sub nota de beata virgine: “Salve sancta parens” cum alleluia, temporibus illis, quibus ecclesia illud tenet, pro nostrorum et aliorum Christi fidelium remedium peccatorum preter alias missas dicendas de tempore et quas requirit celebrantium devotio sacerdotum.

Volumus etiam sub eodem anathematis vinculo statuentes, ut, cum vocatione divina de presentis vite ergastulo fuerimus assumpti, dies anniversarii nostri sub hac forma per collegium prefati monasterii perpetuo peragantur, ita videlicet, quod in quolibet die nostri anniversarii de proventibus dicti monasterii fiat pitancia in decem marcis denariorum grossorum pragensium sexaginta grossos pro marca qualibet computando, aut valoris eiusdem, si hanc monetam unquam contingeret forsitan inmutari, dominis canonicis, vicariis, ministris et clericis Pragensis ecclesie, campanatoribus et matronis, quarum de

novem marcis prandium pro presentibus tantummodo canonicis, vicariis et ministris cum clericis predictis procuretur ad vescendum et edendum per eosdem in refectorio ad hoc deputato, nequaquam tamen prebendas eiusdem prandii ad domus suas seu hospicia deportandas. Mediam quoque marcam in oblacionibus et candelis, quarum vna fiat candela dicta *pokladniezie* in vulgari, que in ipso nostro anniuersario per noctem ardeat in capella sancti Wencezlai, conuerti precipimus et reliquam mediam marcam conuersam in paruis denariis pro missis comparandis distribui disponimus, cuilibet sacerdoti missam defunctorum volenti dicere sex paruos denarios cum candela assignando. Et si forsan eodem die anniuersarii tot misse haberi non possent, in quantum media marca se extendit, quod extunc diebus sequentibus illud, quod residuum de eadem dimidia marca fuerit, in missis defunctorum totaliter inpendatur.

Statuimus eciam, vt in prefato monasterio sit prepositus cum duodecim canonicis regularibus, nisi redditus et prouentus dicti monasterii adeo excreuerint, quod plures persone exinde valeant commode sustentari; nam extunc tot persone idonee ad ipsum collegium assumantur, quibus victus et alia necessaria sufficere videbuntur. Ex hiis autem conuentus dicti monasterii eligere habeat in prepositum vnam personam, quam viderit ad regendum prepositure sue officium magis dignam, quam quidem personam episcopus Pragensis, qui pro tempore fuerit, presentatem sibi canonice per conuentum predictum habeat confirmare, curam eidem animarum plebis et regimen eiusdem monasterii in spiritualibus et temporalibus committendo.

Nequaquam tamen ad prefatum collegium victi cenobii alterius nationis aliquem recipi admittimus, nisi sit Bohemus de vtroque parente idiomatic bohemice ortum trahens, comodo et tranquillitati monasterii eiusdem nec non et personarum ex transactis temporibus et presentibus informati in futurum in hoc prouidere cupientes; nam magistra rerum experientia nos docuit, quod eidem bohemice genti alie nationes opido [sic] sunt infeste, quod sicut dou contraria in vno subiecto simul esse non possunt, sic nationes sibi contrarie in uno monasterio nequaquam esse possunt.

Statuimus insuper, volumus et mandamus, vt sacrista et duo altariste de ecclesia Pragensi,

videlicet altarium sancti Siluestri et sanctorum Laurencii et Anne, qui sunt nostri capellani, quia eorum altaria de bonis nostris et nepotis nostri domni Mathie, bone memorie prepositi Saccensis, sunt dotata, que altaria et eosdem altaristas et successor ipsorum in hoc oneramus ac sacristam, qui pro tempore fuerit, rogamus, vt preparacioni, ordinacioni, ministracioni et expedicioni prandii antedicti esse debeant obligati et ut acceptis novem marcis a preposito antedicto iuxta disposicionem nostram supradictam idem prandium dominis canonicis, vicariis et ministris ecclesie memorate perpetuis temporibus debeant ministrae, prepositus vero Rudnicensis, qui pro tempore fuerit monasterii antedicti, tenebitur, vt supra dictum est, decem marcas denariorum gr. prediictorum ad manus, scilicet sacriste Pragensis et altaristarum predictorum vno mense ante diem anniuersarii nostri integraliter assignare, quos, videlicet prepositum et canonicos ex nunc prout ex tunc requirimus canonice et monemus ipsis prefatum mensem pro primo, secundo, tercio et peremptorio termino assignantes, ut prefatam pecuniam expleant et soluant, alioquin si omnia et singular, que superius sunt premissa, cum effectum neglexerint adimplere, in uem videlicet prepositum et singulos eorum excommunicacionis et suspensionis in collegium ac interdicti in monasterium sepedictum canonica monicione premissa ex nunc prout ex tunc sentenciam proferimus in hiis scriptis, a qua neguaquam apsolvantur, nisi debita satisfaccione premissa.”

– Dat. In Rudnicz a. d. millesimo trecentesimo tercio, feria tertia infesto Penthecostes, quo die fuit VIII kalendas Junii, indiccione prima, pontif. d. Johannis pape XXII anno XVII, pontif. vero nostri anno XXXII presentibus ven. fratre nostro, fratre Pribislao, Satharonensi episcopo, et hon. viris, dominis Theodrico Brewnoviensi et Johanne de Prota apostolorum abbatibus ordinis sancti Benedicti, magistro Thomas, Pragensi archidiacono, domini pape capellano, nostroque prothonotario, Bohuta, archidiacono Curimensi, nostre, curie Pragensis officiali, Paulo, Zacensi archidiacono, Johanne, preposito ecclesie sancti Egidii, Podyua, decano eiusdem ecclesie, ac nobilibus viris Alberto de Krir, Johanne de Drasicz, Hermanno de Tawemberch, marscalco nostro purcrauo Recicz, Uha de Hradek, camerario episcopatus nostri, Dluhowogio de Pticz dapifero, Leonardo de Braskow, pincerna nostris, Alberto Stukone, ciue Pragensis

ciuitatis Maioris, Elya, ciue Minoris ciuitatis sub castro Pragensis, Sdeslao cum Jostone filio suo de Kacziczie, Martino de Hrziebecz, Wlastiborio de Dobrcicz ac aliis quam plurimis.

Translation

Johannes, bishop of Prague, founds the monastery of Saint Mary of the order of the Canons Regular of Saint Augustine in Roudnice. – It is noted that we found this monastery which in the town Roudnice of our bishop to the praise, glory and honor of our Lord God and His Mother, the immaculate Virgin Mary we have founded and erected for the Canons Regular of the order of Saint Augustine and his community we have endowed and endow—from the property acquired, namely the village of *Palcz Maiori* with its buildings, the village *Slapanizc*, the village *Wybiczan*, whatever there in we have, the village *Luboricz*, and the village *Oczichov* with the inheritance, wealth, produce, liberties, laws and things generally applicable, all rights of property and ownership, which was comprised in the goods and properties of the aforesaid by us or might be brought together in the future, to the aforesaid monastery and its community, we are handing over. The underwritten, additionally, burdens and limits we impose to said monastery and community under the bond of perpetual anathema irrevocable enduring in time. We establish firstly, that in the monastery every day without exception, except for Good Friday (Easter), a mass is to be said under the sign of the blessed Virgin Mary “*Salve sanctu parens*” (Hail, holy Mother) with alleluia, at such times at which the church holds it to be, for the remission of our sins and those of others faithful to Christ in addition to the other masses to be said leading up to the time and as they are required by the attending priest. We desire also beneath the same bond of anathema established by us, that, when by the divine calling from the present life of labor we will take up that the day of our anniversary in this way by the community of aforesaid monastery perpetually be remembered, thus namely that on whatever day of our anniversary of coming forth from of the said monastery that there be an allowance of 10 marks *gros (desitka)* of Prague currency sixty *gros* per mark however it be calculated, or the equivalent value, should it ever happen that the value of this currency change, of the master of the rule, to the vicars,

ministers and clerics of the Prague Cathedral, bell ringers, and matrons of which 9 marks of this amount for a feast for the present canons, vicars, and ministers with the aforementioned clergy for the feasting of the same in the refectory, by no means however is the feast to be served to them at their own dwelling or to be carried to their quarters. Half a mark too we instruct to be converted into oblations and candles one of which should be the candle called *pokladniezie* in the vernacular, which on our own anniversary through the night shall burn in the chapel of Saint Wenceslav, and the remaining half mark, converted into small coins, be distributed for the preparations of masses, that to which priest desires to say a mass for the dead six small coins with a candle be allotted. And if perhaps on the same day of anniversary they are not able to have such a mass, in so much as to expend the half mark, that the remainder, however much of the same divided mark there is remaining, is weighed out entirely in masses for the dead. We also establish that in the aforesaid monastery be provided with 12 canons regular, unless the profit and success of said monastery grow to such extent, that more persons may comfortably be sustained therein; for afterward so many persons as is fitting are therefore to be taken in to the community for which food and other necessities seem to be sufficient. But of these things the convention (*conuentus*) of said monastery should choose to have in prior (*prepositum*) one person, who will seem more worthy in regard to his promotion to the position than any person within the diocese of Prague, that to whomever he be at the time, he should have to present himself to the canon for confirmation by the aforesaid religious house for the purpose of committing him both to the care of the souls of the people, and to the spiritual and temporal governance of the monastery. By no means however do we allow to the aforesaid community (*cenobii*) that someone of another nationality be admitted unless he be Bohemian by each parent and bearing Czech speaking origin, for the comfort and tranquility of the same monastery nor ...are we desiring and of the persons from temporal and present transactions unformed in the future in this place be appointed; for the mistress of experience has taught us that the Bohemian nation and other nations are very much hostile to each other, for just as two contraries cannot be simultaneously in one subject, so cannot by any means nations hostile to each other be in one monastery. We establish in addition, we desire and order

that the sacristy and two altar attendants of the Prague Cathedral, namely the altars of saint Sylvester and Saints Lawrence and Anne which are our chapels, because of them the altars from our property (goods) and our relative lord Mathew, were donated in the good memory of the prior, that on which altars and also on those same altar-attendants and their successor, in this and on the sacristy, we charge, that on these when the times comes, we direct that the preparations, arrangements, ministrations and expediting of the aforesaid feast should be obligatory and that you receive 9 marks from the aforesaid prior according to the manner we stated above for that same feast for the lords canons, vicars, and ministers, should be held by the church in commemoration perpetually in time, the prior of Roudnice, whoever he be at the time, will be held, as is stated above for 10 marks of the aforesaid currency at hand namely from the sacristy of Prague and the aforesaid altars at one month before the day of our anniversary, entirely to collect, whom namely the prior and canons with respect to both then and now, we require it of the canons and remind them in the aforesaid month on the first, second, third, and preemptory fixed end we are assigning that they are to use ...spend the aforesaid money, and if otherwise all and singularly from how they are instructed to do some above, with the effect that they neglect to fulfill it, in ..., namely the prior and each of them of excommunications and suspensions against the community and interdicted against the monastery mentioned many times these canonical populations aforementioned both now and then, we pass sentence in these writings from which they are by no means to be absolved, unless by a making amends for the aforesaid debt.” – Dated in Roudnice AD 1330 Tuesday at the feat of the Pentecost, which day was on the calendar June 8th first induction during the 17th year of the pope John XXII truly in our bishop in the 32th year. Being present our venerable brother, brother Pribislav, Bishop of Satharonensi, and honorable men, lord Theodoric of Brewnov, and Johannes of Porta, abbots ob the apostolic order of Saint Benedict, Master Thomas, Prague archideacon, lords of the papal chapel, and our prothonotary, Bohuta archdeacon of Curimensi, ourselves, officials of the Prague clergy, Paul archdeacon of Zacensus, Johnanneprior of the church of saint Egidii, Podyua deacon of the same church and noble men Albertus of Krir, Jan of Drazice, Hermannus of Tawemberch, fernier and our burgrave Recicz, Uha of Hradek, chamberlain to our

bishop, Dlihowogius of Pticz the steward Leonardus of Braskow, wine-steward to us, Albertus Stukone, citizen of the Greater city of Prague, Elya, citizen of the Lesser quarter beneath the castle of Prague, Sdeslao with his son Jostone of Kacziczie, Martin of Hrziebecz, Wlastiborio of Dobrcicz and many others.

APPENDIX IV : Cartulary, Roudnický urbář

Published in Josef Emler, *Decem registra censuum Bohemica compilata aetate bellum husitum praecedente*, [Deset urbářů českých z doby před válkami husitskými]. Prague: Královské české společnosti nauk., 1881. Emler published this on basis of J. Goll transcription at the time the cartulary was in the Berlin Prussian state library. Today it is in the Westdeutsche Bibliothek in Marburg, Ms. Latin in quarto 318. The document lists properties given to the Roudnice monastery by bishop Jan IV.

- 1333, at the time of the foundation.
 - Vetsi Palec
 - Slapanice
 - Vrbicany
 - Liborice (Libor)
 - Ocichovce (Ocíhov)
- 23rd Oct, 1334 added (later exchanged and given to Kysperk).
 - Schonfeld or Tuchomysl
 - Modlany
 - Sobedruhy
 - Hotovice (Otovice)
 - Lochocice
 - Habri
- Oct 1st, 1337 exchanged the last batch (due to distance) for
 - Smolnice
 - Hlinna
 - Babiny
 - Brezi (Briza)
 - Budov (Zbudov)
 - Dolin (Dolina?)
 - Zelevcice
 - Bakov

APPENDIX V : MS UK XIX B3 folio 202rv, transcription

Transcribe in F. Štedrý, "Hlava XXXI. kroniky Františka Prazského a její pramen." In: *Sborník historického kroužku*. 1, (1900), pp. 251 – 253.

Beginning 202 r (column A line 13)

End 202 v (top paragraph)

Preterea memoratus dominus

Johannes venerabilis Pragensis episcopus videns cottidie tanta in flumine Albea ibidem in Rudnicz pericula immenere cupiens his salubriter prouidere pontem ibidem fieri disposuit ultra flumen. Et quia magistros de ponte faciendo in flumine nusquam nec in regno Boemie nec in adiacentibus prouinciis licet pluries de his requisisset, poterat reperire: idcirco misit ad curiam Romanam pro quodam magistro Gwilelmo operario pontis Auinionensis in arte poncium peritissimo, cum quo ahas ipse dominus episcopus, dum in Romana stetisset curia, locutus fuerat qui promiserat ad suas preces uenire Boemiam pro faciendo ponte, quandocumque fuisset per eum requisitus. Qui quidem Magister Gwilelmus missis nunciis et literis eiusdem domini episcopi contradicere non potuit, sed promissum suum volens explere assumptis sibi aliis tribus operariis Gallicis ad opus suum necessaries cum eisdem nunciis domini episcopi usque in Pragam met quartus uenit. Qui statim intromittentes se de opera pontis archam primam ad ponendum in ae pylarem in ipso flumine inchoauerunt, quam eodem anno domini MCCCXXXIII supradicto in festo beati Bartholomei apostolic cum reliquiis et magna sollempnitate ac deuocione in medio fluminis pro fundamento posuerunt et deinceps idem magister cum aliis in ipso ponte laborauerunt usque ad duos pilares et vnam testudinem siue woltam profecissent. Qua expleta in anno sequenti dictus Magister Gwilelmus cum suis sociis bene expediti per dominum episcopum ad suam patriam redierunt. Dominus vero episcopus piissimus per alios eperarios gentis nostre, qui ab illis informacionem plenam recperant de opera multum sumptuoso ipsos pntem et chorum s. Marie ibidem in Rudnicz currente anno Domini MCCCXXXVIII VI. Nonas Octobres sumptibus suis perfecit laudabiliter et compleuit.

APPENDIX VI : Architectural decorations

I. Church aisle ceiling bosses:

North aisle

1. Plain
2. Human head
3. Letter M
4. Four large leaves
5. Nine small vine-like leaves

South aisle

1. Plain
2. Plain
3. Letter A
4. Six clover-like leaves
5. Nine-petal rose

II Cloister ceiling bosses

East aisle

1. Dražice herald
2. foliage,
3. Five-petal flower with face in center
4. Foliage
5. Four clover-like leaves
6. Shield with a five-leafed flower, Rožemberk herald

South aisle

1. Plain
2. Five-petal flower with face
3. Four clover-like leaves
4. Dražice herald
5. Ten-petal rose

West aisle

1. Shield
2. Letter M
3. Letter S
4. Letter T
5. Letter A

III. Chapter room capitals

1. Southeastern corner: two large oak leafs
2. Southwestern corner: pointed arch design with inserted trefoils
3. Eastern wall, southern end: lion and winged beast facing each other
4. Eastern wall, northern end: the Dražice symbol
5. Western wall, southern end: two rows of stylized oak leaves
6. Western wall, northern end: two human figures, one appears to be a fiddler.
7. Northeastern corner: feline beast with human head wearing a long cape and *kukle* (engl?) and foliage. The beast's tail ends in one of the leaves.
8. Northwestern corner: heavily damaged but appears to be similar to the north east corner, feline beast with cape.

IV. Chapter room bosses

1. north—damaged
2. central—half moon with face
3. south—dražice herald

V. Sacristy

Ceiling bosses blank (damaged)

Boss in east end had Dražice symbol

APPENDIX VII : Daily schedule

Roudnice Monastery		
Sound	Activity	Location
	sleep	dormitory
	matins	church
some talking	prime	chapter room
some talking	work	library or in monastery
bell	terce	church
	sext	church
	lunch	refectory
	rest	dormitory
	none	church
some talking	work	library or in community
talking allowed	drink	refectory
	vespers	church
	dinner	refectory
	short rest	dormitory
	compline	church
	sleep	dormitory

APPENDIX VIII : MS UK XIX B 3, Chapters

Incipiunt consuetudines sub regula sancti Augustini vivencium...

- 1) De novicio qualiter recipiendus sit et...*vestiendus*
- 2) Qualiter vestimenta canonici [*novicii?*] benedicatur
- 3) De novicio qualiter sit admonendus
- 4) Quibus vestibus uti debeat novicius obedienciam promittens
- 5) De petenda venia in choro
- 6) De inclinacione ad Gloria Patri
- 7) Qualiter stent vel sedeant in choro
- 8) De colleccione vestimentorum et manicarum astriccione
- 9) Quum prostrati precens dicant
- 10) Qua disciplina lector ad legendum eat et redeat
- 11) Ubi presbiter stare debeat collectas dicturus
- 12) Qua disciplina in lectis suis se collocent et qualiter surgant et post hoc quid faciant
- 13) De culpis fratrum
- 14) De confessione fratrum et communione
- 15) Quo tempore loquendum et quo silendum et quid et unde loqui debeant
- 16) Quid frater suum dicere debeat
- 17) De sacerdote hebdomadario
- 18) Quomodo se debeant preparare ad missam
- 19) Qualiter stare debeant ad missam
- 20) De minucione sanguinis
- 21) Ubi sedeant ad discendum
- 22) Quum commessuri quid dicere debeant
- 23) Quod in dormitorio univesi dormiant
- 24) De horis fratrum laicorum

- 25) De custodia sigilli conventus et litteris eidem missis et per eum mittendis
- 26) De infirmorum et senum cura
- 27) Quis sit modus correccionis
- 28) De memoria fundatoris et aliorum benefactorum
- 29) Fundatoris et aliorum benefactorum.
- 30) De memoria parentum nostrorum.
- 31) De conservacione et commodacione librorum.
- 32) De fraternitate tribuenda.

APPENDIX IX : MS UK XIX B 3, transcription excepts

17 verso

Qualiter orare debeat instanter hoc modo. Nocturnis horis audito signo sine mora surgat et inprimis signum sanctae crucis sub invocatione sanctae trinitatis exemplo caeterorum sibi imprimat, dicens postea hunc versum, domine labia mea aperies etc.

Deinde vestitus, corporales sibi necessitates, cooperto capite, sicut moris est provideat, psallens interim, quod voluerit in domino, donec chorum introeant, cavens summopere tam ibi, quam in omni loco orationis, ne in labiorum motu, aut sono vocis, aut in aliquo strepitu caeteros orantes impediat, fundens precem suam coram domino plus corde, quam ore ita ut illius vox vicinior sit deo quam sibi.

Ingressus vero chorum cunctis in loco suo consistentibus praemissa devota oratione et signo crucis impresso, cum a presbytero praecentum fuerit, cum summa humilitate, et honestate referat laudes deo in conspectu angelorum ejus, excutiatque torporem a se et somnolentiam, vanas et superfluas cogitationes a corde suo abigat, sitque memor praesentiae angelorum atque supernae gratiae quae semper praesto est pure et devote orantibus, et timeat illius fementiae periculum quae dicit maledictus homo qui opus dei fecerit negligenter quo contra beatus homo qui opus dei devote compleverit et cum flegma ex naribus aut ex pectore excreaverit ne infirmis mentibus vertatur in nauseam caute et curiose ante se aut iuxta latus aut post tergum projiciat atque id quod projiciter pedibus conculcetur ut fratrum cum ad orationem curvantur vestimenta non sordidentur quod ubique locorum omnibus servari honestum est.

XV Quo tempore loquendum et quo silendum sit et quid et unde loqui de-

beant. Rx A primo signo vesperarum, usque post coenam silentium tenemus, post coenam autem per benedicite silentio soluto in uno loco loquimur usque ad lectionem collationis, qua inchoata post primam diei sequentis non loquimur, nisi necessitas quempiam loqui compellat.

Post capitulum adepta loquendi licentia, ut primum quaeratur dei regnum, officium

praesentis diei communiter provideatur, deinde injuncta sibi quisque exequatur negotia, nihil interim loquentes quod sanctitatem loquentium minuat et audientium, sed omnia eorum in laude dei resonent colloquia, donec signo tacite edito priori se constringant silentio in quo perseverent donec prandio finito et nona cantata de choro egressi per benedicite loquendi restituatur licentia.

Qui ordo toto anno observandus est, excepto communium jejuniorum diebus, quibus inter sextam loquimur et nonam. Tunc itaque locutioni restituti primo ut per factum est de divino tractetur servitio de vespers et matutinis, officiis unde sermonem tantum habeant de spiritualibus, et utilitate ubi verbi gratia invicem se castigare poterint invicem adhortari invicem consolari. Si quid habeant discere vel docere quod aliis horis sine loquela non possunt, hoc erit ista hora faciendum sicut est de scripturis sanctis de ordine suo, de consuetudinibus ecclesiae et de utilibus rebus et de his quoque quibus haec temporalis vita carere non potest. Quo facto praedictam loquendi et operandi teneant regulam quousque sonantibus vespers ad priorem silentii redeant consuetudinem.

XXII Quum commessuri quid dicere debeant.

Quando commessuri sunt tacto a superiore cimballo, lotis manibus cum reverentia refectorium intrabunt, ibi que stantes singuli in loco suo coram tabulis, praeposito, vel priore, subpriore, vel caeteris absentibus, seniore ad principalem mensam accedente, et benedicite inchoante, cuncti reliqua, ut est moris, prosequantur. Cum bis comessuri sunt, oculi omnium in te speratn etc. usque Gloria patri. Cum autem femel, edent pauperes etc. et dicto requiem omnes se incurvabunt, et post benedictionem a sacerdote hebdomadario datam se iterum erigant ad amen respoadendum.

Postea lector in medium veniens, iube domine dicat, et inde se non moveat, donec benedictionem hanc accipiat, cibo potuque. Qua accepta ad legendum vadat, et an quam ipe duos vel tres versus delectione proferat, nullus ante prelatum manum suam in mensam mittat, neque vescentes alios conspiciat, (sed) religiose et honeste quisque comedat, cum gratiarum actione, sumat que de cibo et potu non ad voluptatem, sed ad necessitatem,

memor apostolice sententie, qua dicit. Desideria carnis non perficietis, et sicut regularis sententia docet, non sole fauces sumant cibum, sed et aures esuriant dei verbum.

Sciendum etiam, quod duobus diebus ante pascha in coena domini et in die veneris sancta fratres ad vescendum, signo ad tabulam dato, in refectorium ingressi, superiore inchoante omnes in silentio, edent pauperes etc. et sine gloria dicent, subjungentes, christus factus est etc. pater noster dicant voce subpressa, hebdomadario sine, et ne nos etc. subsequente, secundum morem benedictione facta lector lectionem leget sine benedictione, post mensam dicatur ab omnibus, memoriam fecit etc. sine gloria patri etc. subjuncto benedictus deus etc. fratribus respondentibus amen deinde dicitur psalmus, miserere mei deus, juxta morem, quo finito subinferetur, christus factus est etc. cum dicta oratione, postea concludatur cum jam praemisso. Sic per biduum fiat. Nullus aliquomodo inquietudinem, aut strepitum audeat dicere.

Est quoddam, quod piae devotionis affectu praedecessores nostri statuerunt, ut ex omnibus, quae in refectorio fratribus proponuntur, christo prius, quam praeposito vel priori in mensa offeratur, haec et inter nos, cum praesentem eum cernere non possimus, pauperi, quem fratrem suum vocare dignatus est, apponimus, ut autem haec omnia ordinate fiant, duo fratres servientes mensis assistant, quorum oculi totum oberrent cito perspicientes, ne quisque aliquo indigeat, ne cogatur oculos, nisi ad sibi opposita reflectere, omnes autem simul in refectorio comedant, nisi quos aetas gravat, aut infirmitas, quorum custos infirmariae curam cum magna charitate gerat. Quod si aliquando contingat, ut aliquis consedentibus aliis in primis non appareat, postea veniens in medium procedat, et quae cum aliis fecisset, et dixisset, eadem pro se faciat, et dicat inclinatus, usque, quod ore tantum benedicat, postea inclinet praelato, et recedat, ut sedeat. Nullus unquam sibimet ipsi ad mensam praeter licentiam adportet.

Si quid etiam alicui a domino praeposito vel priore dirigitur, aliquantulum inclinent, et quantumlibet forte cupiat abstinere, tamen de hoc praelibarte non praetermittat, scutellamque applicet ad illum potissimum fratrem, qui juxta se sedet superius, ut secum comedat, et si is renuerit, ad inferiorem applicet, quod si ille renuerit, quantumvis maneat, quod noluit, vel quod non potuerit comedere, ad inferiorem porrigat. Minime quoque

bibant aliquando, nisi cum duabus manibus pateram tenendo, nunquam nisi sedendo, cumque lector, praeto jubente, tu autem dixerit, respondeant omnes, deo gratias, sedendo, et non moveant de loco, quousque praelatus incipiat stillam pulsare, deinde surgant, et in locis, in quibus versum priorem dixerunt consistentes prior vel subprior, praeposito absente, dicat hunc versum, cum bis comessuri sunt, consiteantur tibi domine etc. omnibus subdentibus, gloria patri etc. sacerdos hebdomadarius adjungat, agimus tibi gratias etc. deinde psalmum miserere totus conventus studiose cantans ad ecclesiam ordinate procedat, post psalmum preces et collectam dicto benedicamus domino, et aliis consuetis, redeant in conventum, ibique juxta consuetudinem agant. Mox lector et servitores, qui fratribus ad prandium spiritualia et carnalia ministraverunt, ipsi quoque sine ordine non debent resici, sed versum suum coram mensa stantes dicent, nec simul, sed singuli in suis locis residebunt, surgentes autem gratiarum actionem coram mensa dicent.

Post hoc statim eant in aestate dormitum, quod omnes sine dilatione facient, usque dum primum signum nonas pulsetur, Si autem quis sedere, vel legere in dormitorio voluerit, absque omni strepitu sieri concedimus, cum hoc summo studio custodiatur, ne quis inquietet dormientes, et non tantum ea signa, quae cum manu fiunt, devitent, sed nutum quoque oculorum nequaquam dirigant ad lectum ullius fratris, ut illic vel per momentum intueantur. Caeteris vero dormientibus non audeat quisque aliqua occasione a dormitorio se praeter licentiam subrahare, praeposito tamen et quibusdam aliis res fratrum procurantibus, quorum auctoritas effugit suspicionem, licet tunc abesse. Audito autem primo sonitu nonae surgent, et ecclesiam intrates, praemissa dominica oratione, dicant nonam, postea conventum intrabunt, et ea, quae supra in capitulo, que discendi studio etc. continentur, facturi, subsequenter signo per priorem, vel cantorem, vel alium ad bibitionem dato, omnes refecturium intrabunt, et sive sitim quis habeat, vel non habeat, ire tamen cum aliis non dimittat, ibique sacerdos hebdomadarius vel prior benedictionem dabit, potum servorum tuorum etc. deinde bibat, qui voluerit sine lectione. Veruntamen praeter debitum jus, si in charitate biberint, cymbalum non tangitur, sed praemissa tamen benedictione bibant. Signo diende ad vespas dato chorum intrabunt,

ibique dictis vigiliis (quas diebus singulis dicent, novem lectionum festis, quo ad primas vespervas et in secundis vespervis responsorium habentibus, nec non infra octavas paschae, pentecostes, nativitatis domini, epiphaniae, ascensionis, et pentecostes duntaxat exceptis) vespervas more solito expedient, quibus expeditis venient ad conventum, et dato per priorem, vel alium loco ipsius, dum coena est, signo, refectorium intrabunt, in quo juxta suum ordinem constituti praemisso benedicite, et aliis consuetis facient coenam. Qua finita per praepositum, priorem, et subpriorem, et eis absentibus, seniore dicto, memoriam fecit etc. conventus gloria patri etc. prosequitur, hebdomadario consequenter, benedictus deus in donis suis etc. subinferente, et conventu amen respondente, omnes cum psalmo, miserere mei deus etc. chorum intrabunt, et completis ibidem consuetis orationibus, rectorium reintrabunt, et soluto per benedicite silentio, qui voluerit, loquatur. Facto tandem intervallo, signo ad collationem dato, omnes convenient, in qua cum timore dei residentibus lectio de facris scripturis recitetur, lectori vero benedictionem perenti haec danda semper erit, noctem quietam, et vitam perpetuam tribuat nobis omnipotens et misericors dominus. excepta coena domini, et die veneris sancta, in quibus lectio legitur sine benedictione. Debent tunc maxime boni fratres aliqua, quae de sacra lectione audierint, in cordibus meriter recondere, quae nocturnis horis, cum nihil aliud secerint, et dormire non potuerint, contra immissiones per angelos malos ipsi apud se valeant ruminare.

Finata collatione, cum praepositus vel prior, adjutorium nostrum etc. dixerit, inclinantes et convertentes se in modestia, eant, pulsato jam completorio, et stantes in choro dominicas oratione praemissa hebdomadarius, si praepositus, vel prior, vel subprior abfuerit, tam ad primam, quam ad completorium dicet hunc versum, consiteor deo et vobis etc. cum indulgentiam. Facta confessione completorium dici, et sanctae mariae dicitur, quo finito antiphonam, asperges me etc. plane dicunt, et post subpriorem aquam benedictam interim super eos in chor aspergentem, subinseratur versus, domine, apud te est fons vitae etc. oratio. sancti spiritus quasumus etc. et finita oratione dicet idem superior, sit nomine domini etc.

Et benedictionem, quae sequitur, dabit, Benedictio dei patris etc. postea ab omnibus sit trina oratio in choro cum hac oratione, gratias tibi ago sancte pater, omnipotens aeternae deus, qui me dignatus es etc. Subsequenter ad fonum campanellae, prostri super formas, tres salutationes angelicas dicent ob reverentiam virginis gloriosae, quibus completis pergit in dormitorium totus conventus, tunc unusquisque retractet, quidquid in die fecerit, aut locutus fuerit, aut cogitaverit, et de perpetrato opere bono gratias deo agat, de culpis autem et negligentis veniam postulet. Sic collatio et comletorium toto anni circulo sit, ...

[XXIII] Quod in dormitorio universi dormiant.

Omnes simul in dormitorio, nisi quem infirmitas, aut fenectus id facere prohibuerit, dormiant, et singuli per singula lecta gestant. Lectisternia pro modo conversationis, secundum dispensationem praepositi accipiant. Lucerna in eo dormitorio noctis tempore usque mane jugiter ardeat, nihil denique inhonestum aut indecens geratur in dormitorio ab aliquo, nec quis que aliquem inquietare praesumat. Vestiti camisiis dormiant, cincti cingulis, caligis et non sine foemuralibus jaceant, exceptis his, qui in tunica jacere voluerint, Parati sint semper, ut dato signo, absque mora surgents, festinent se invicem praevenire ad opus dei, cum omni tamen gravitate et modestia.

[XXVI] De infirmorum et senum cura.

Debet a prelate mansio infirmorum ac senum inter claustrum canonicorum fieri, ubi suam aptissime possint tolerare imbecillitatem, quatenus ibidem et subsidiis ecclesiasticis, quibus indigent, et fratrum adminiculis misericorditer sustentetur, erga quos oportet, ut caeteri fratres magnam exhibeant charitatem, sic, ut eis compatiendo subveniant, et affiduis visitationibus, et scripturarum sacrarum consolationibus, nec non adminicula necessaria praebent, ut impleatur in eis illud evangelicum, infirmus suis et vivisitastis me.

ILLUSTRATIONS



Fig. 1. MS XIX B 3 (Prague National Library)
folio 203v.



Fig. 2. Map of Bohemia under king John of Luxembourg, (1310-1346) (Karel Stejskal).

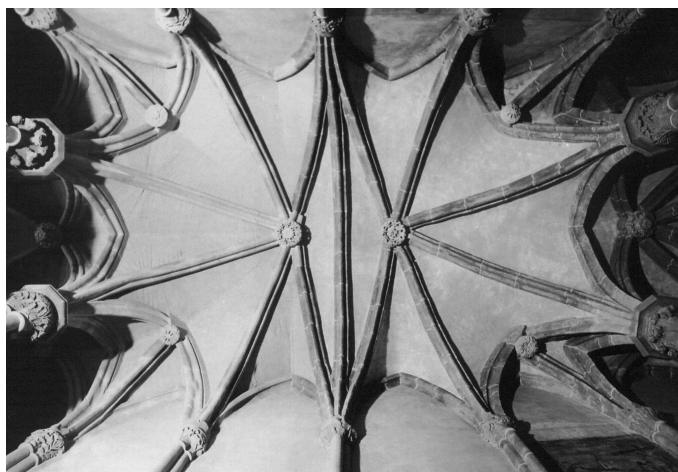


Fig. 3. Horšovský Týn, castle chapel (c. 1260).

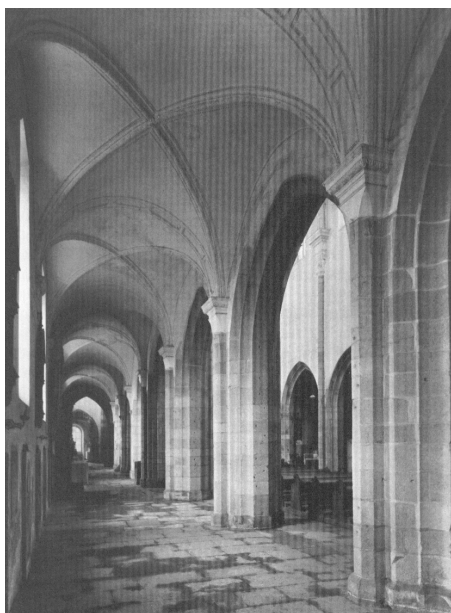


Fig. 4. Zlatá Koruna, Cistercian abbey, church (13th c.).



Fig. 5. Sedlec, Cistercian abbey, church (13th c.).



Fig. 6. House at the Stone Bell, Prague (1315).

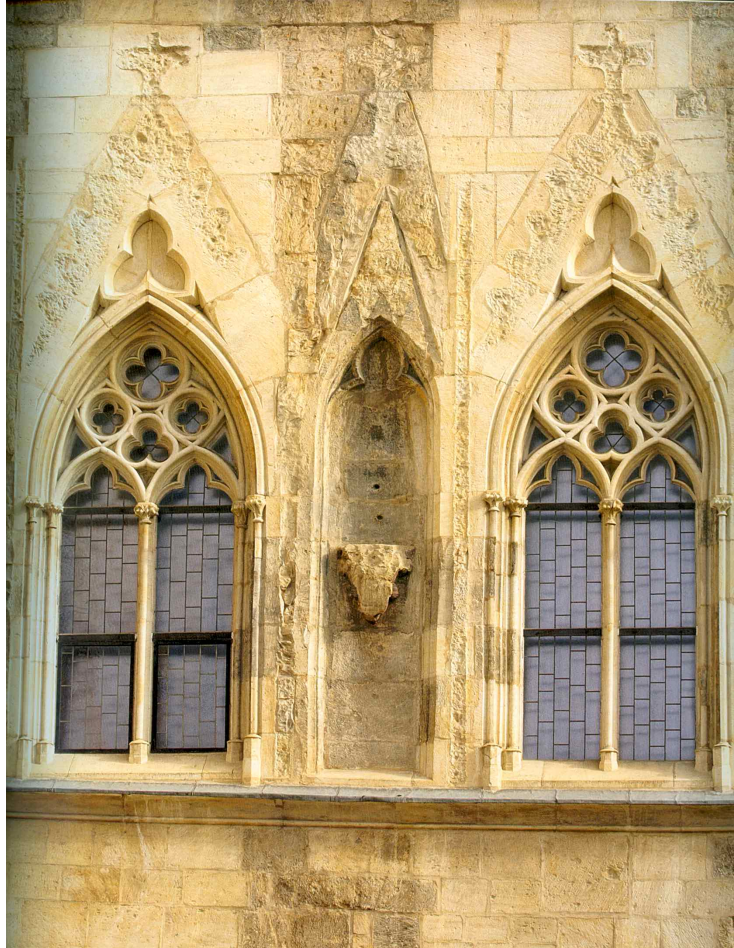


Fig. 7. House at the Stone Bell, Prague, window detail.

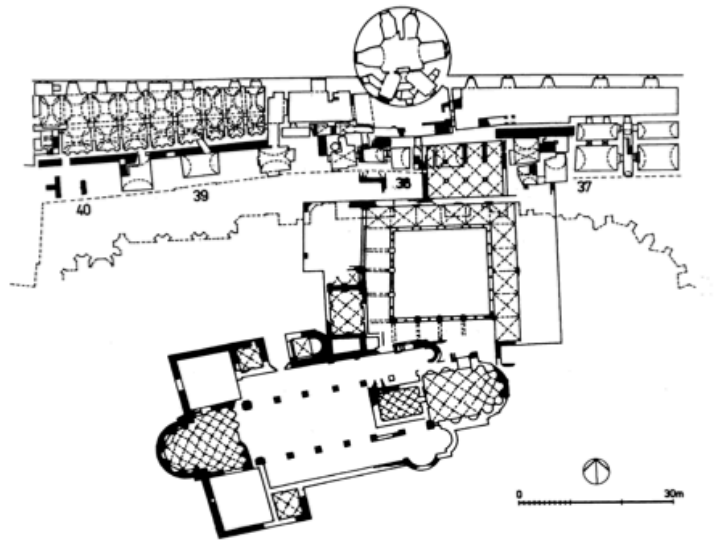


Fig. 8. Plan Prague cathedral (11th c.) (J. Muk).



Fig. 9. Column from Prague cathedral, (11th c.), Prague Lapidarium.



Fig. 10. Cathedral chapter, Prague castle complex (11th c.).

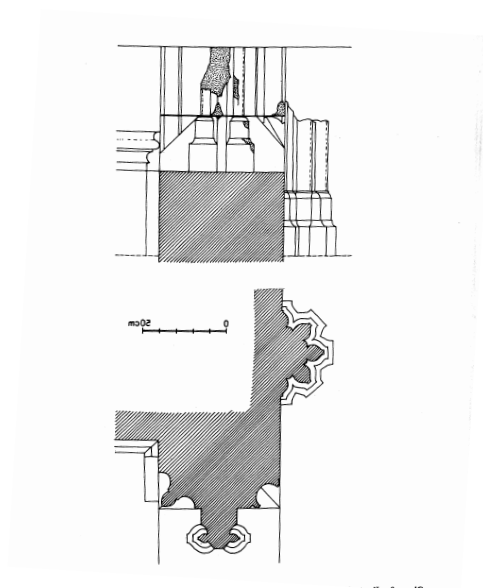


Fig. 11. Drawing of Prague Cathedral cloister fragment, P. Chotebor.



Fig. 12. Saint Jiljí, collegiate church, Prague (14th c.).



Fig. 13. Saint Jiljí, collegiate church, west entrance, Prague (14th c.).

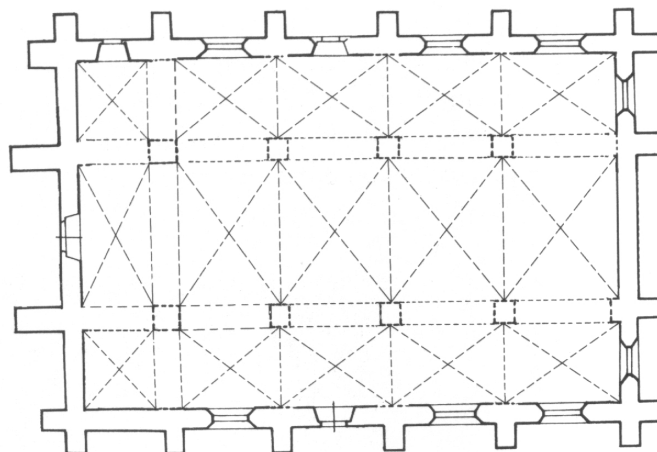


Fig. 14. Saint Jiljí, collegiate church, plan, Prague (14th c.).

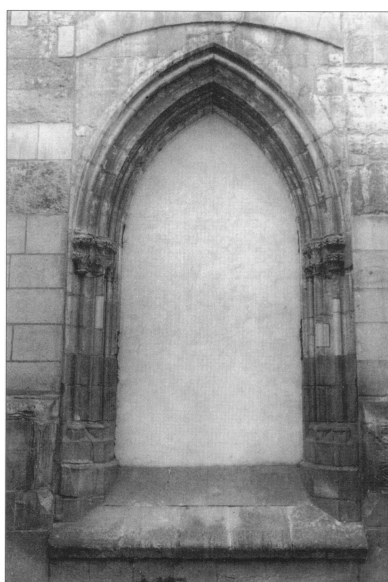


Fig. 15. Saint Jiljí, collegiate church, south portal, Prague (14th c.).



Fig. 16. Litovice, near Prague (14th c.).



Fig. 17. Litovice, near Prague, portal.



Fig. 18. Litovice, near Prague, portal.

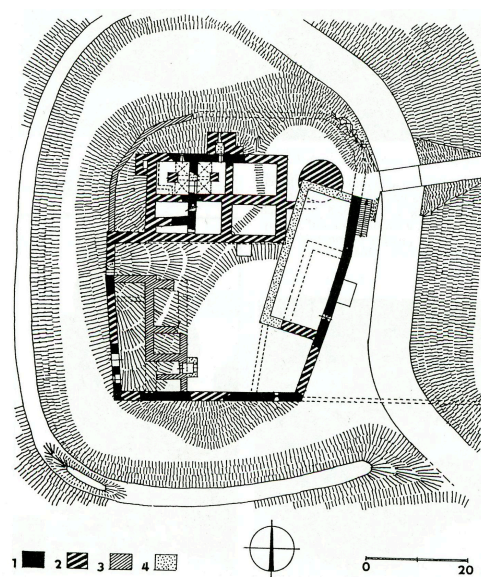


Fig. 19. Dražice castle, plan
(T. Durdik).

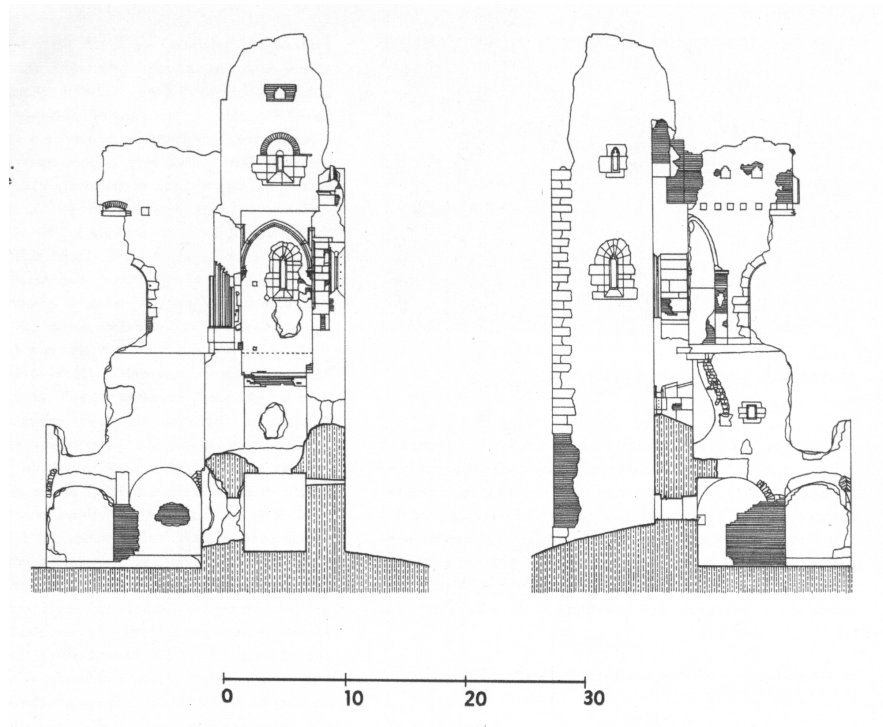


Fig. 20. Dražice castle, drawing (D. Menclová).



Fig. 21. Dražice castle (14th c.).

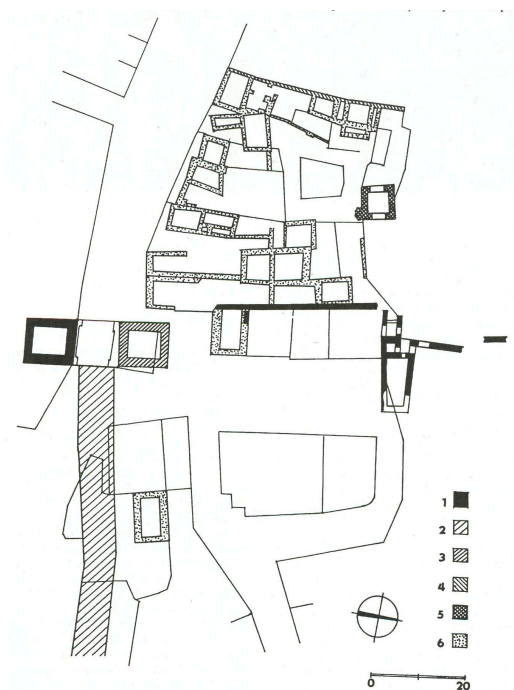


Fig. 22. Episcopal residence, plan T. Durdik.



Fig. 23. Episcopal residence, current view of tower.



Figs. 24. Prague, Episcopal residence (14th c.).



Figs. 25. Prague, Episcopal residence (14th c.).

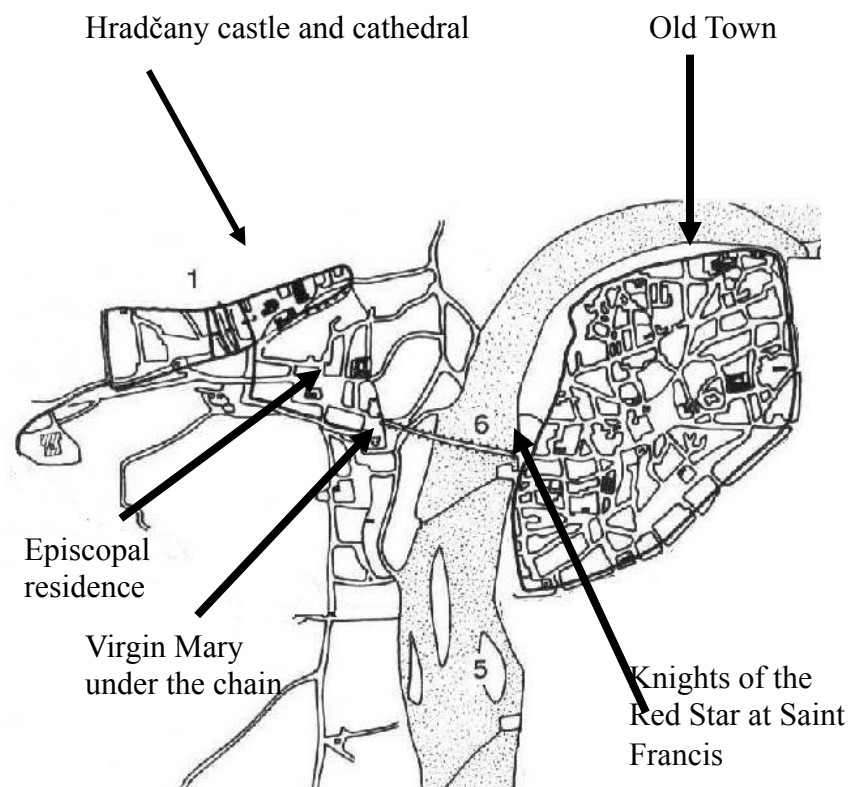


Fig. 26. Map of Prague, first half 14th century.



Fig. 27. St. Bartholomew church, Praha-Kyje, frescoes of bishops, Tobyáš of Bechyně (top left), Jan (IV)? (bottom left), Arnošt of Pardubice (right). (14th c.).



Fig. 28. Plan of Roudnice town, Francesco Caratti, 1653, section (photo archive Podřipské museum).

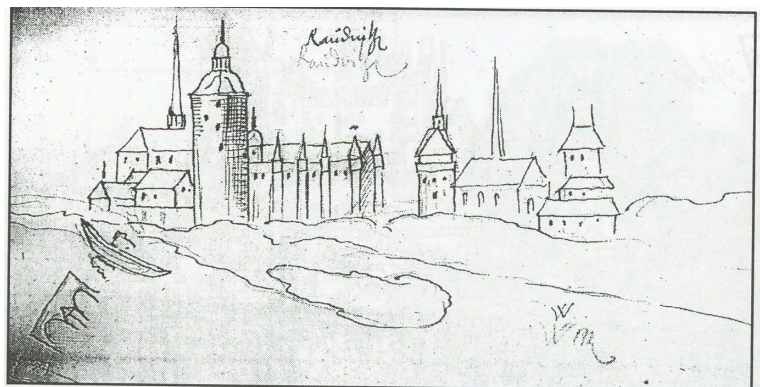


Fig. 29. Roudnice castle and drawing by Kryšpín Fuk, c. 1640.

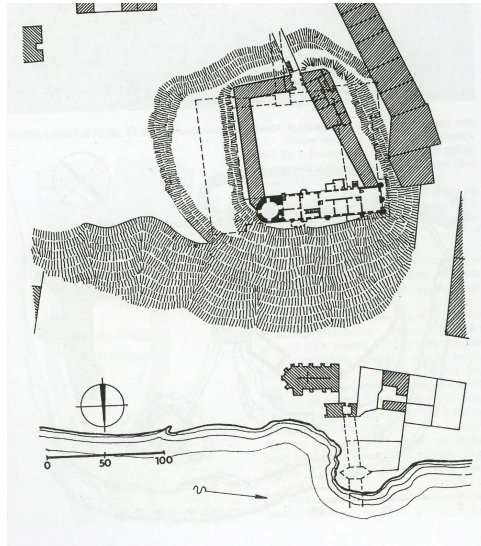


Fig. 32. Roudnice castle and drawing

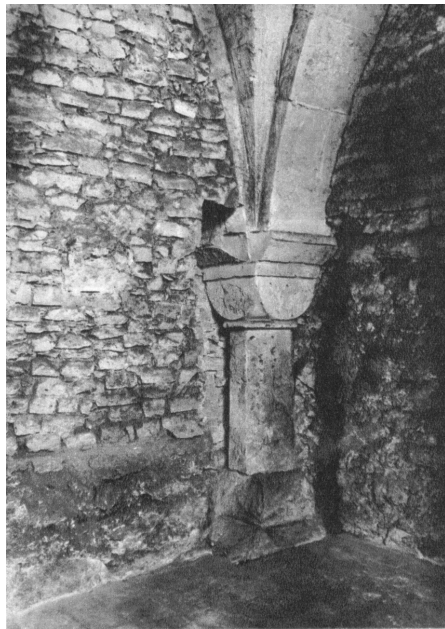


Fig. 33. Roudnice castle, foundations.



Fig. 34. Pisek bridge, (end of 13th c.).



Fig. 35. Moret-sur-Loing (14th c.) .



Fig. 36. Photograph, 1909, B. Tolman, V. Chaloupecký .

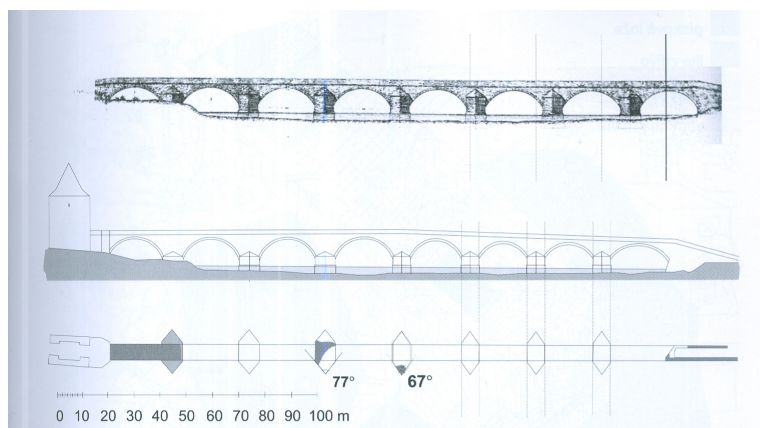


Fig. 37. A. Velflik (top), and M. Cihla, 2005.



Fig. 38. Stone with bishop Jan's family crest, found in the Elbe, Podřipské Museum.



Fig. 39. Bishop Jan's family crest originally on the Roudnice bridge founded 1333.



Fig. 40. Roudnice monastery, Sacristy fresco, north wall.

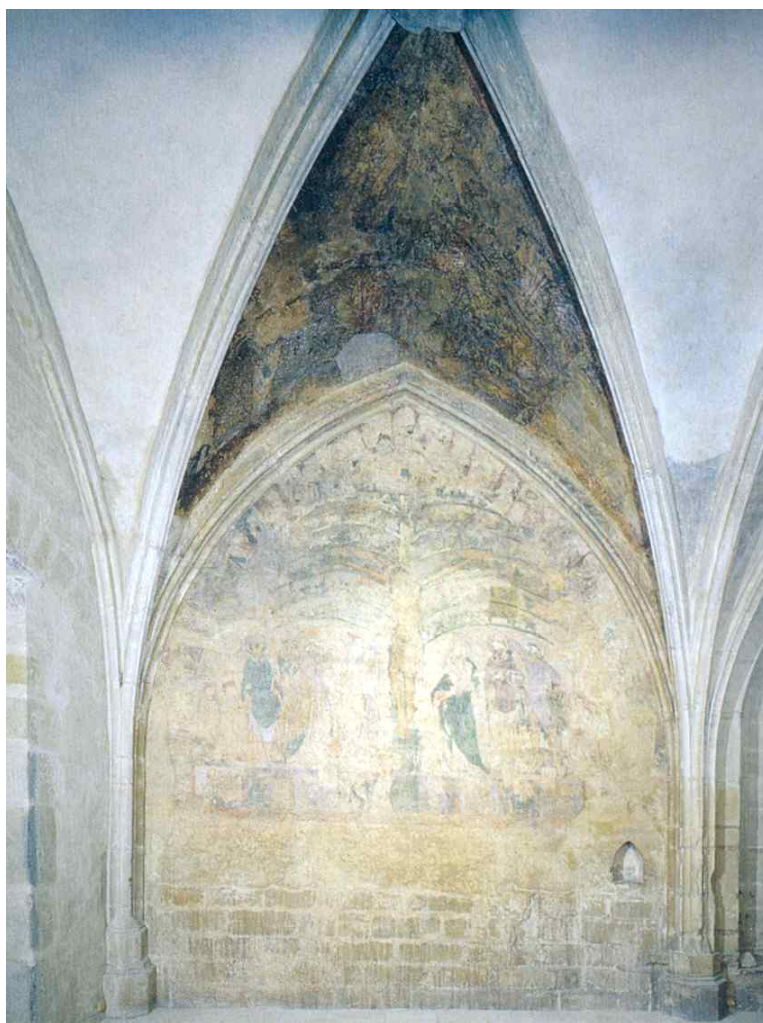


Fig. 41. Wall painting, Roudnice cloister c. 1340.



Fig. 42. Roudnice predella, fragment (mid 14th c.).



Fig. 43. XII A 12, Fol *Franciscus Gratianus de Garratoribus: Decretum*.



Fig. 44. MS XV A 6. Bible of Jan of Dražice, France, end of 13th c., Folio 3v, Genesis, Library of the National Museum Prague.



Fig. 45. MS XV A 6, Bible of Jan of Dražice, France, end of 13th c., Folio 3v, Library of the National Museum Prague.



Fig. 46. MS XIII B 9, Folio 57r, c. 1340
Dražice Missal, Library of the National Museum Prague.



Fig. 47. MS XIII B 9, Folio 57r, c. 1340
Dražice Missal, Library of the National Museum Prague.



Fig. 48. Chotěšov Missal, canon page, (14th c.)

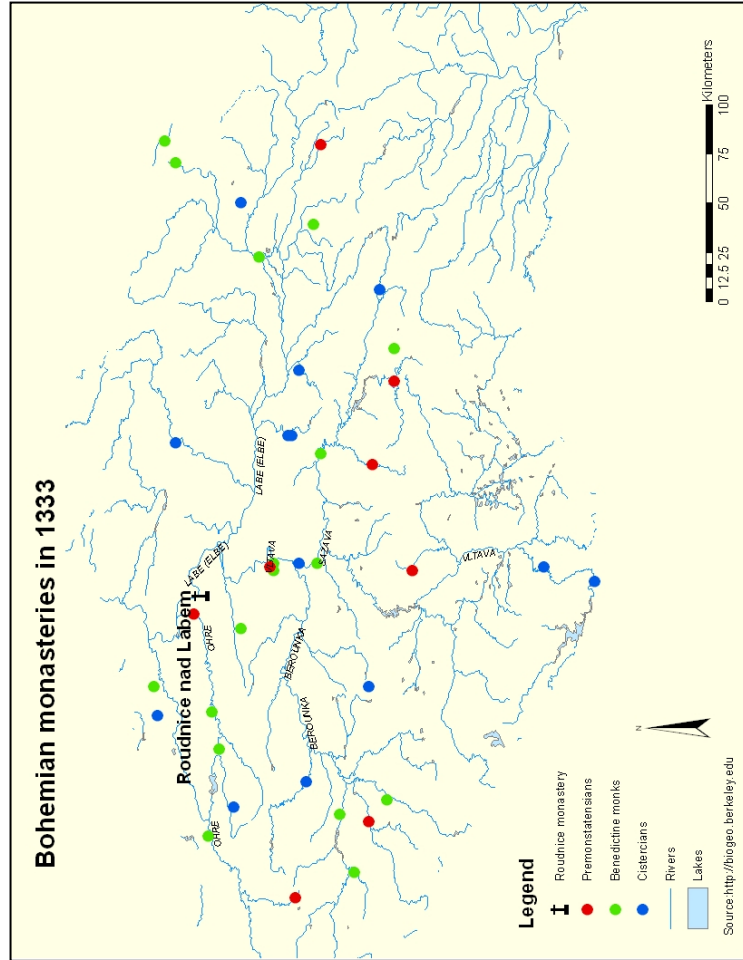


Fig. 49. Plan of Bohemia with monasteries.

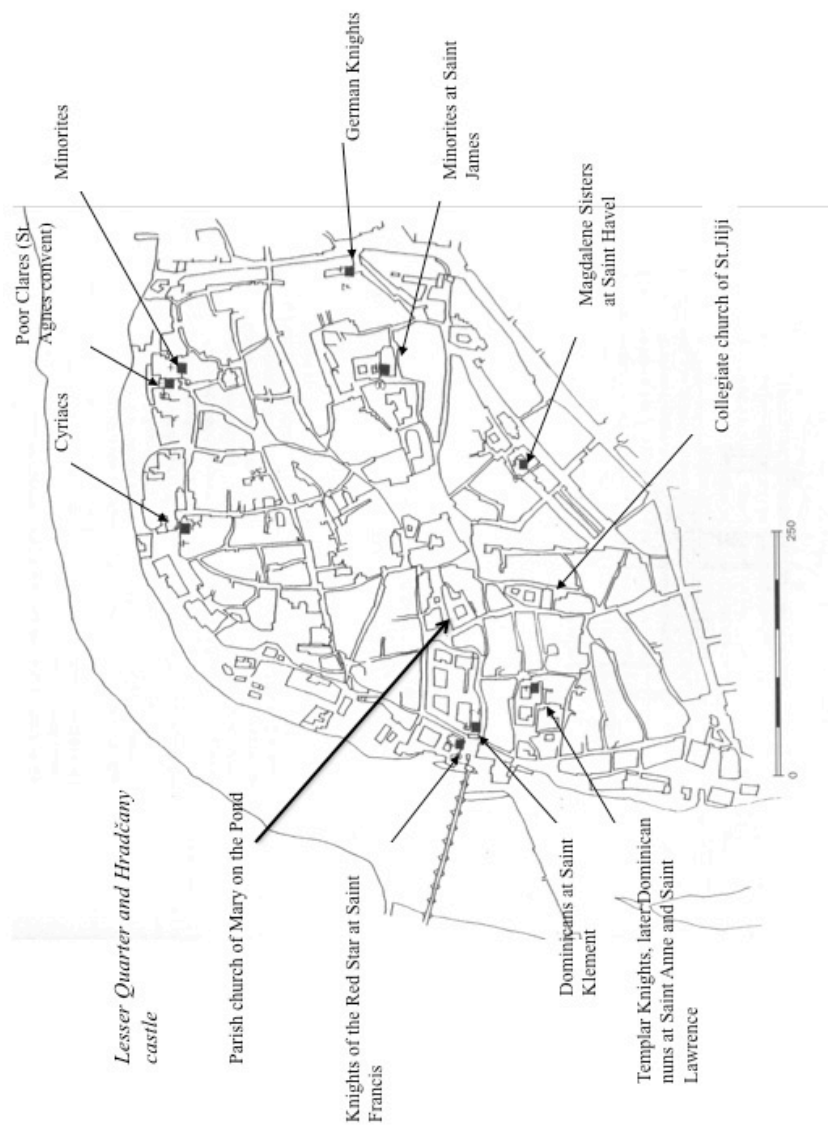


Fig. 50. Plan of Prague showing monasteries.

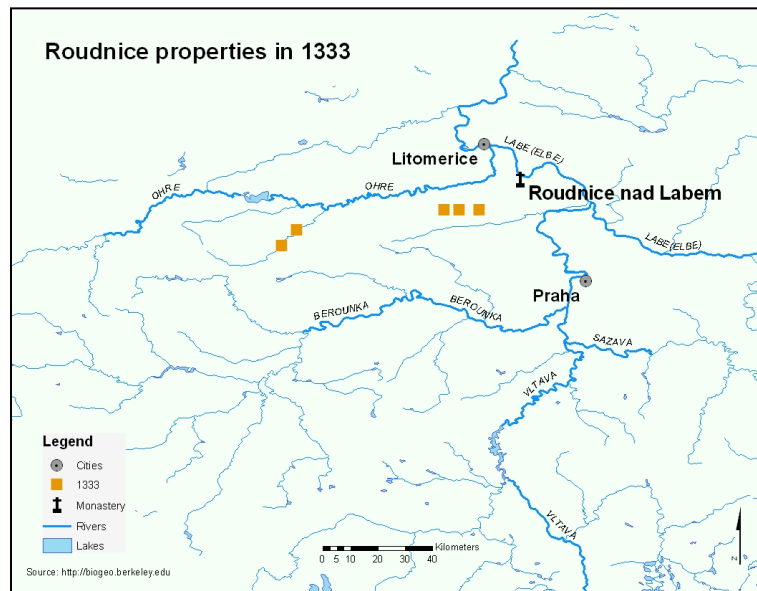


Fig. 51. Roudnice Monastery properties, 1333.

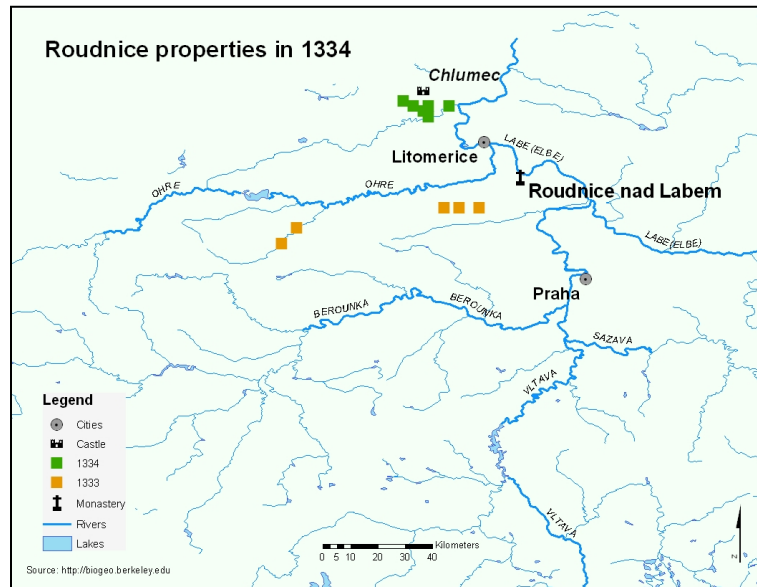


Fig. 52. Roudnice Monastery properties, 1334.

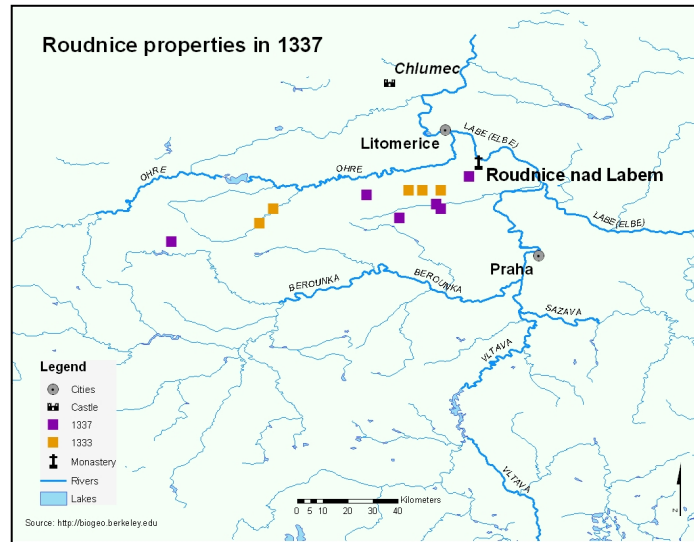


Fig. 53. Roudnice Monastery properties, 1337.

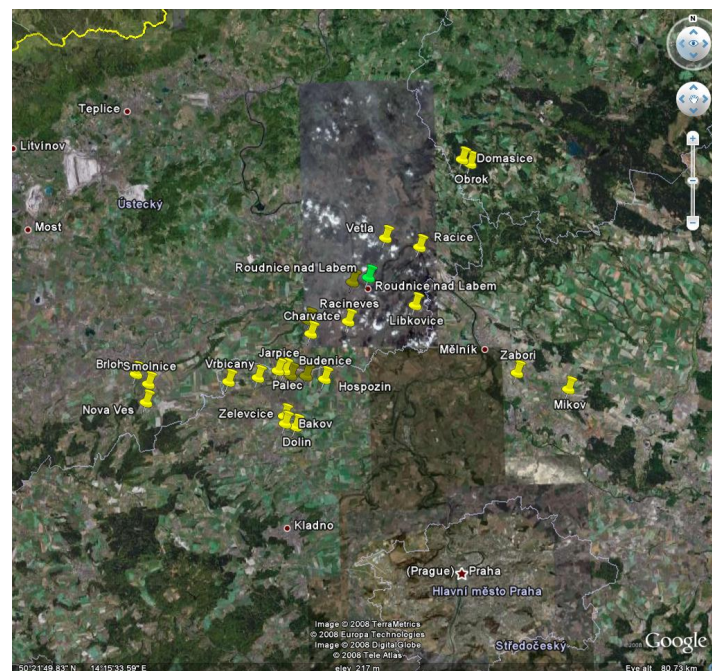
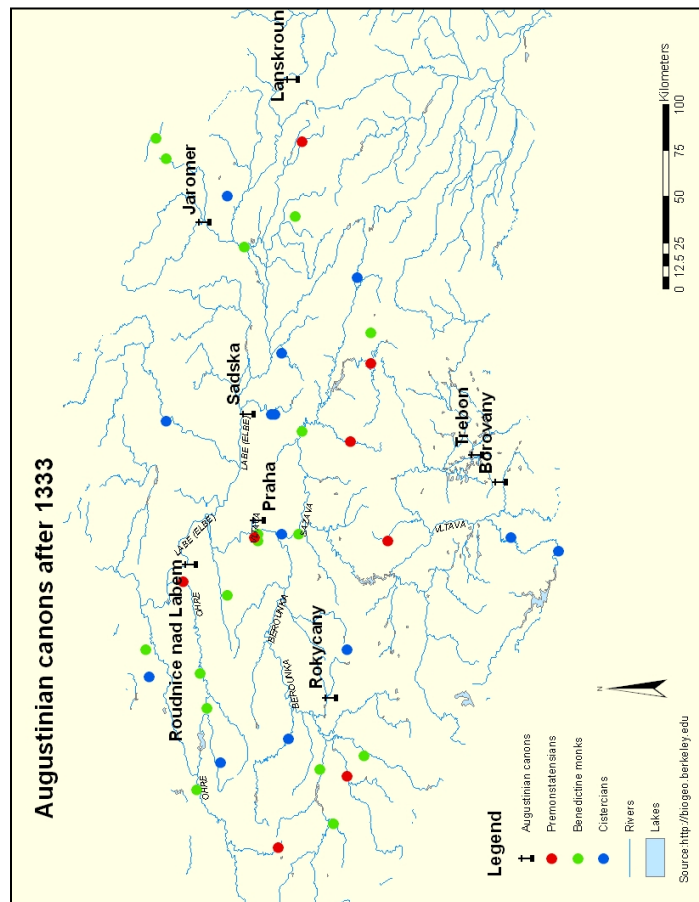


Fig. 54. Roudnice Monastery properties, all prosperities on Google Earth.



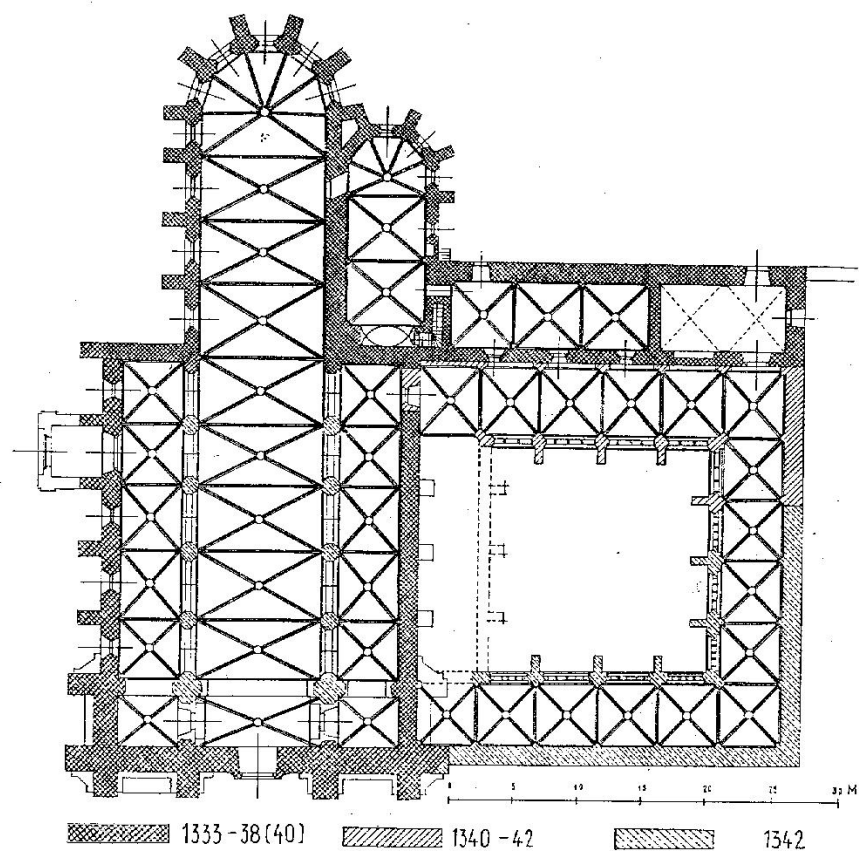


Fig. 58. Roudnice monastery plan by Václav Mencl.

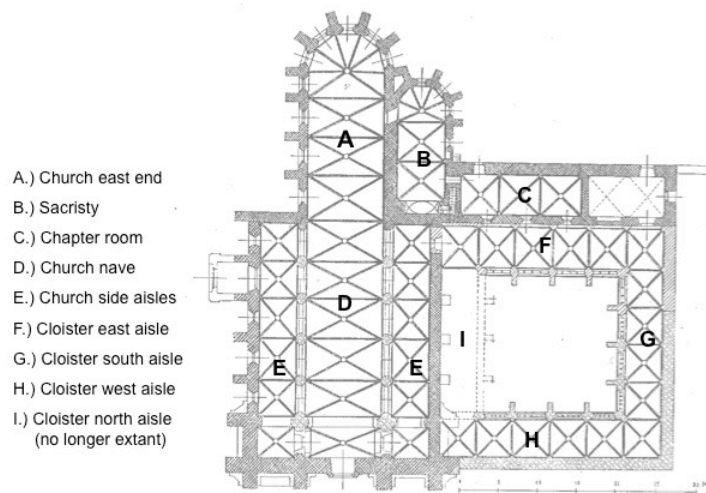


Fig. 59. Plan I.

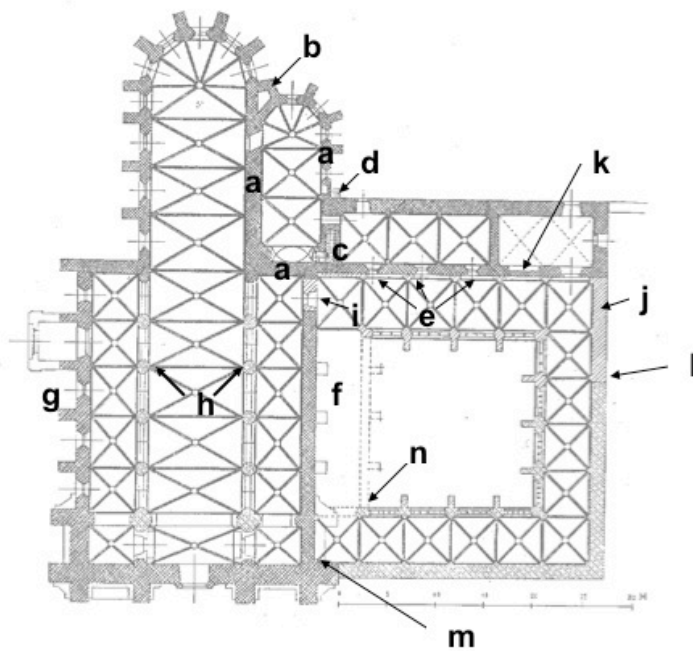


Fig. 60. Plan II.



Fig. 61. Roudnice monastery, sacristy and upper storey, exterior.



Fig. 62. Roudnice monastery, border of sacristy and chapter room, exterior.



Fig. 63. Sacristy, Roudnice monastery, east end.



Fig. 64. Sacristy, Roudnice monastery, west end.

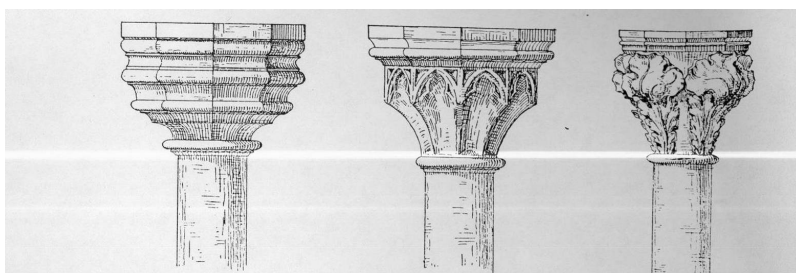


A



B

Fig. 65. Sacristy, Roudnice monastery, wall supports and capitals. A.) trefoil type capital, B.) geometric type capital.



a

b

c

Fig. 66. Capitals, sacristy (a, b) and chapter room (c) (Branys).



Fig. 67. Roudnice monastery, sacristy, vault, east end.

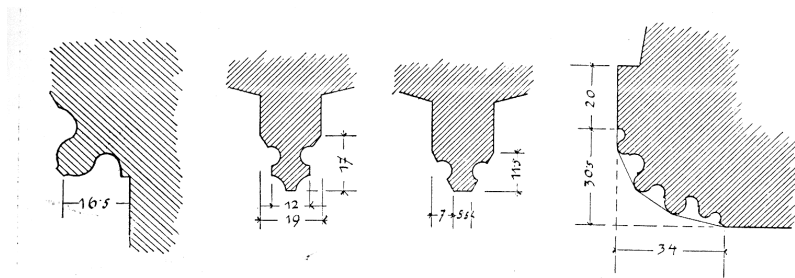


Fig. 68. Rib profiles, nave of church, sacristy, chapter room, cloister, and church aisles, and entrance to chapter room (Matejka).

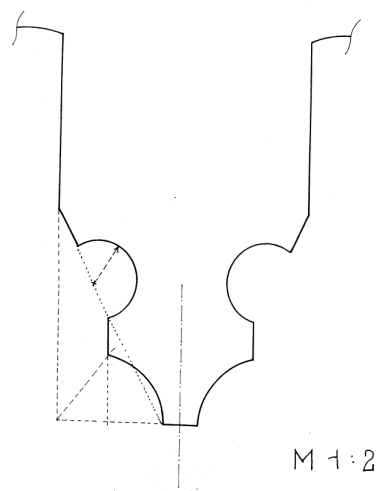


Fig. 69 Rib profiles P. Macek.

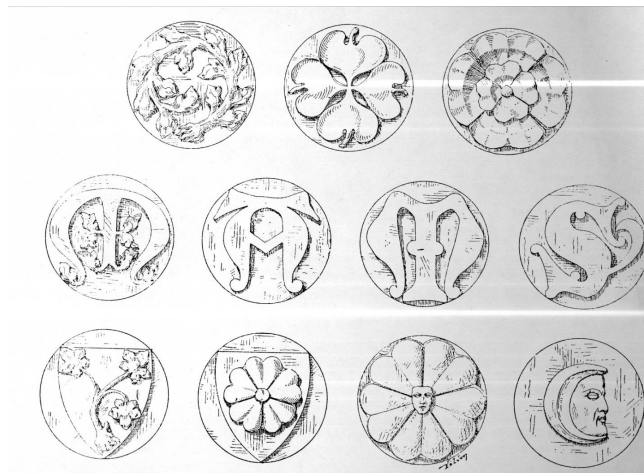


Fig. 70. Vaulting bosses, side aisles of church, cloister, and chapter room by Matějka.

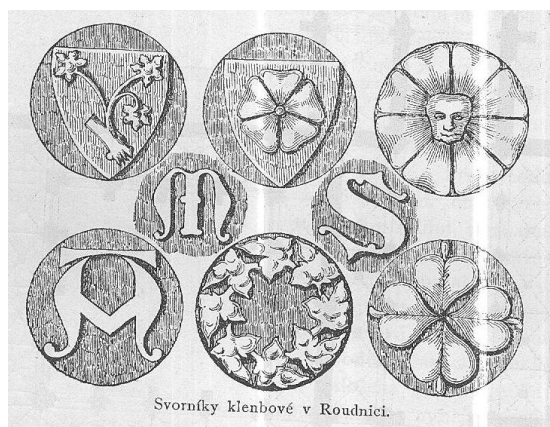


Fig. 71. Vaulting bosses (Branys).



Fig. 72. Upper story of sacristy, east end.



Fig. 73. Upper story of sacristy, west end.



Fig. 74. Roudnice monastery, sacristy upper story, supports and consoles.



Fig. 75. Roudnice monastery, night stairs passage.



Fig. 76. Roudnice monastery, chapter room facing south.



Fig. 77. Roudnice monastery, chapter room facing north.



Fig. 78. Chapter room, west wall.



Fig. 79. Chapter room exterior, portal.



A



B

Fig. 80. Chapter room, wall supports.



A



B



Fig. 81. Chapter room, capitals.



A



B



C



D

Fig. 82. Chapter room, capitals.



Fig. 83. Chapter room, capitals.



Fig. 84. Vaulting boss, Chapter room.



Fig. 85. Roudnice monastery, church, view from east.



Fig. 86. Roudnice monastery, church, view from east.

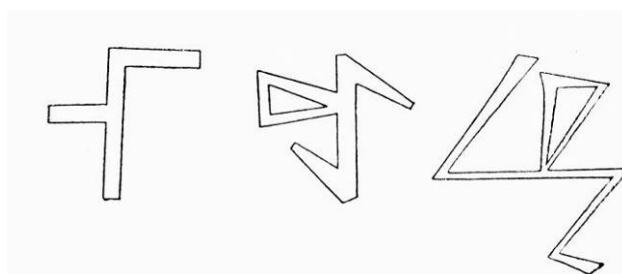


Fig. 87. Mason's marks buttresses of church east end, (Matějka).

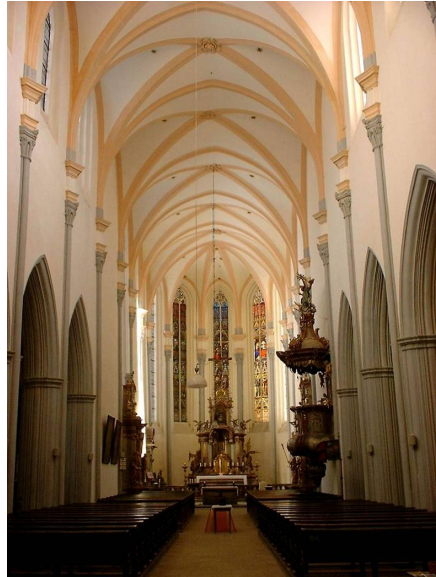


Fig. 88. Roudnice monastery, church nave looking east.



Fig.89. Roudnice monastery, church south aisle looking east.



Fig. 90. Roudnice monastery, west end façade rebuilt 1725.

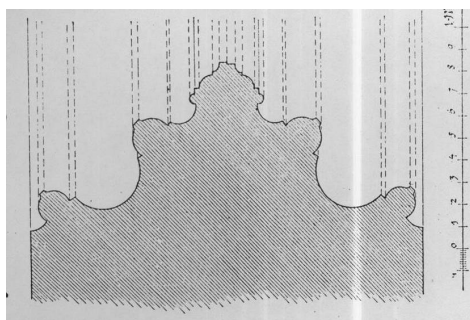


Fig. 91. Rib profile, west façade (Matějka).



Fig. 92. Roudnice monastery, above south church aisle, nave wall.



Fig. 93. Roudnice monastery, above south church aisle, nave wall.



Fig. 94. Portal between south aisle of church to east aisle of cloister.



Fig. 95. East aisle, cloister north wall.



Fig. 96. East aisle, facing north.



Fig. 97. Portal between south aisle of church to east aisle of cloister.

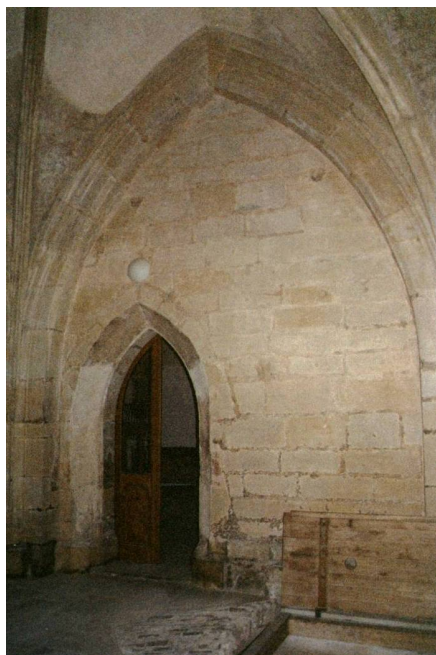


Fig. 98. Entry from cloister to chapter room.

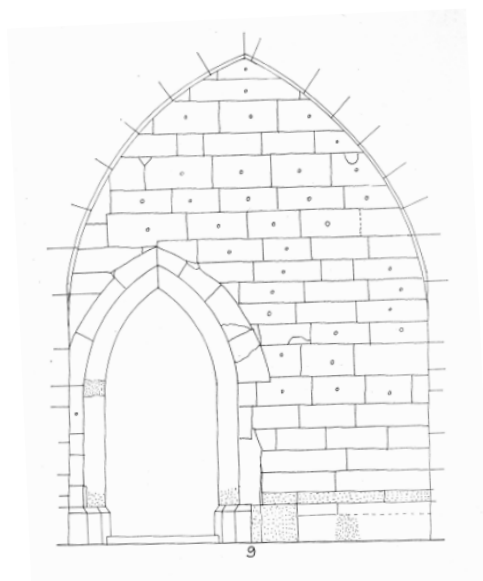


Fig. 99. Entry from cloister to chapter room (Macek).

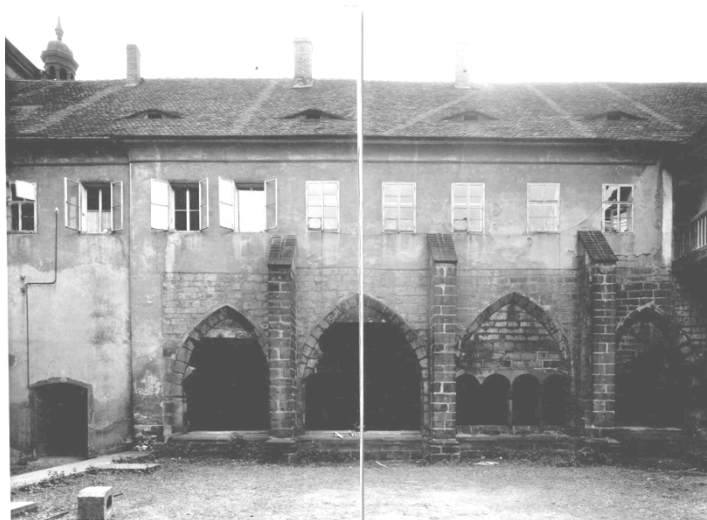


Fig. 100. Cloister, east aisle, exterior arcade.

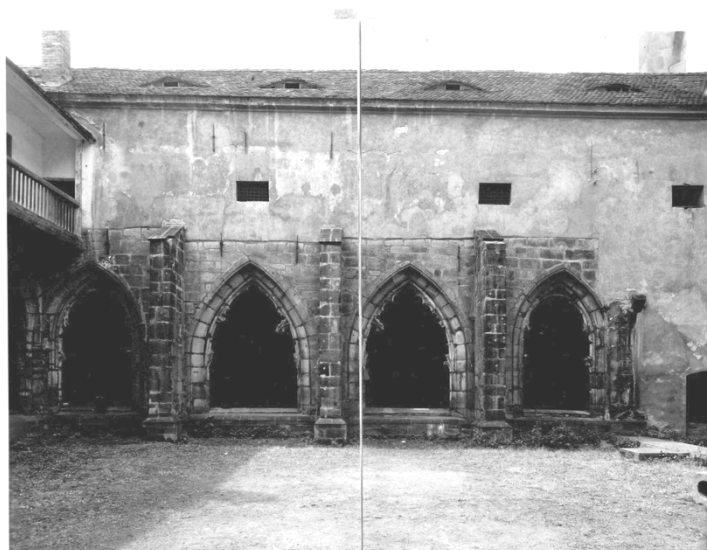


Fig. 101. Cloister, west aisle, exterior arcade.



Fig. 102. Cloister, west aisle, interior, view south.

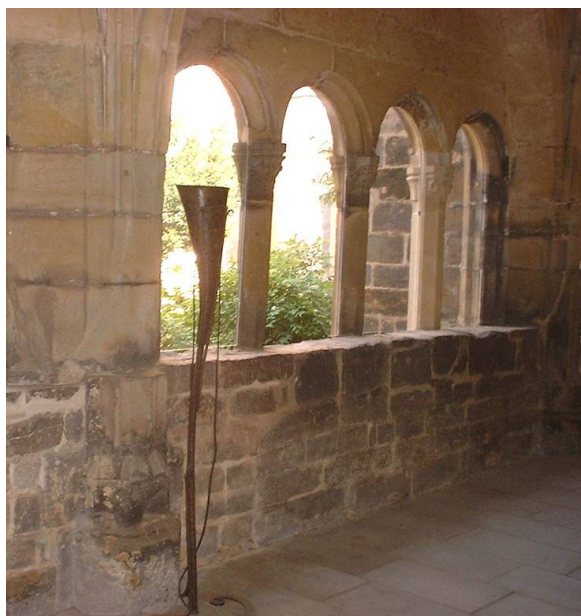


Fig.103. East cloister, arcade interior.

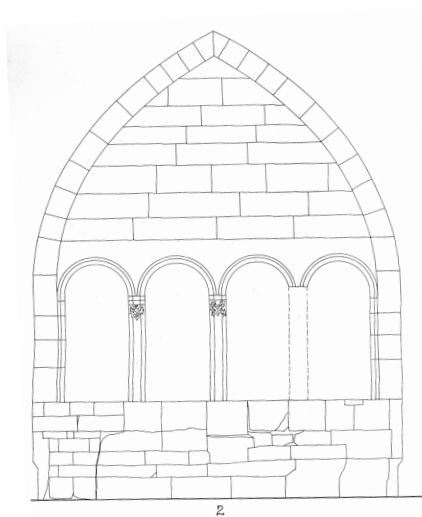


Fig. 104. East cloister, arcade interior drawing, (Macek).



Fig. 105. Cloister, east aisle exterior arcade.



Fig. 106. East aisle, arcade capitals.



Fig. 107. Cloister, east aisle, interior wall responds.

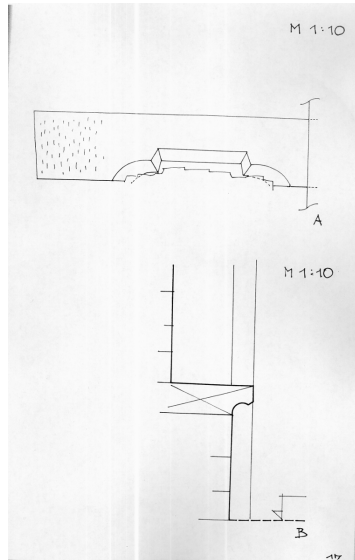


Fig. 108. Cloister east aisle, portal and bench (Macek).

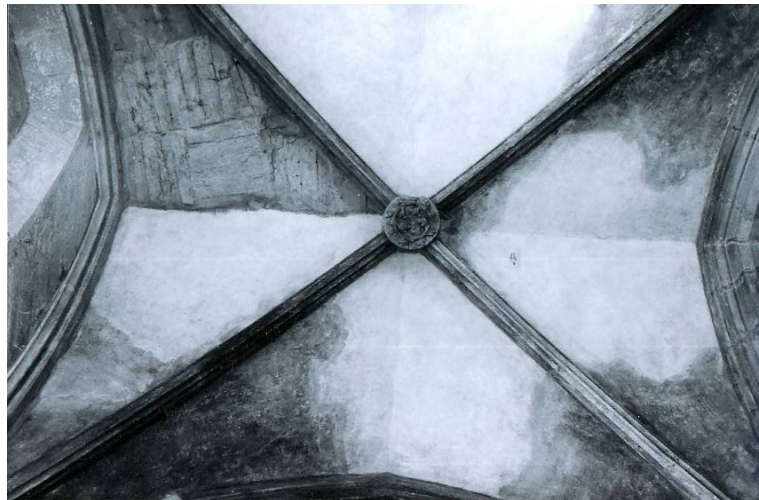


Fig. 109. Cloister vault, east aisle.



Fig. 110. East aisle, cloister interior wall.

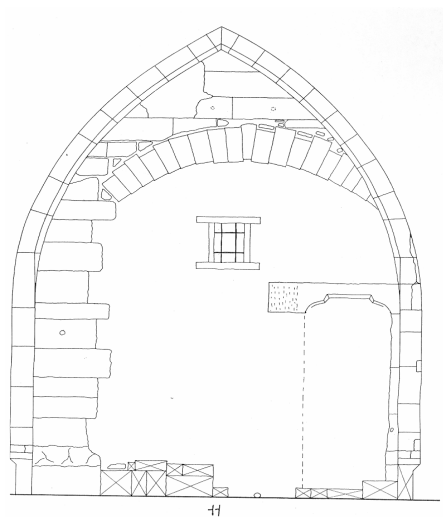


Fig. 111. East aisle, cloister interior wall (Macek).



Fig. 112. Detail of chapter room portal bases.



Fig. 113. Detail of chapter room portal bases.



Fig. 114. South-east corner of cloister exterior.



Fig. 115. Cloister, southeast corner interior.



Fig. 116. West cloister aisle.



Fig. 117. south cloister aisle.



Fig. 118. Cloister, south and west aisle.



Fig. 119. Cloister, west aisle exterior.



Fig. 120. Cloister south aisle.



Fig. 121. Cloister north aisle.



Fig. 122. Cloister north aisle.



Fig. 123. Cloister north aisle.

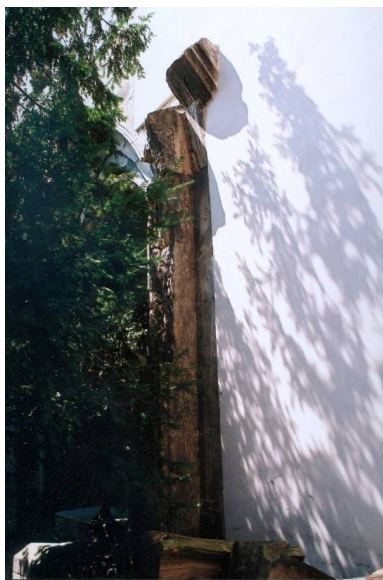


Fig. 124. West Cloister aisle.



Fig. 125. Upper storey, west side of cloister.



Fig. 126. Upper storey, west side of cloister.

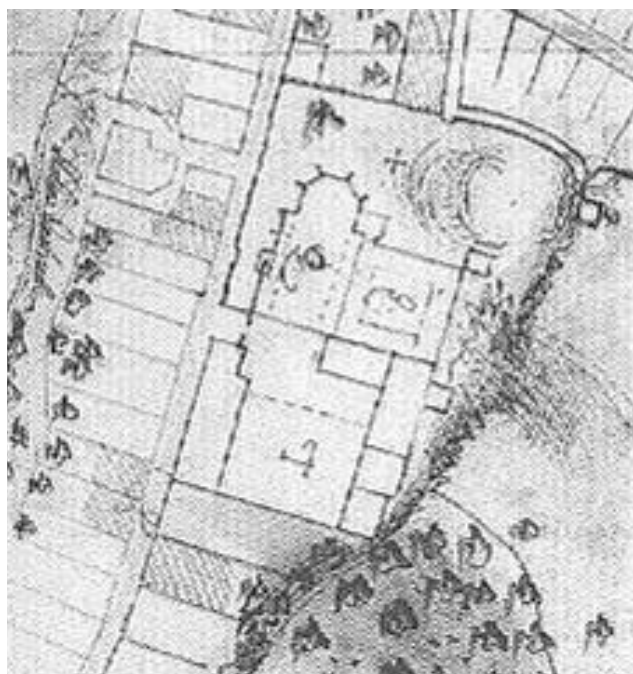


Fig. 127. Plan of Roudnice town, Francesco Caratti, 1653, section (photo archive Podřipské museum).



Fig. 128. Bishop Zdik's residence, Olomouc (11th c.).



Fig. 129. Bishop Zdik's residence, cloister, 14th c., Olomouc.



Fig. 130. Chapter room entrance, Osek Cistercian monastery, 1240.

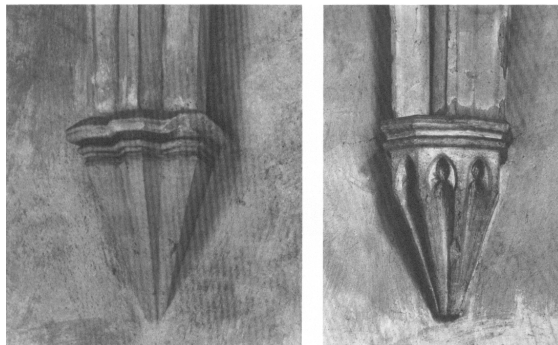


Fig. 131. Capitals, Cistercian monastery cloister, Osek, 1st half 14th c..

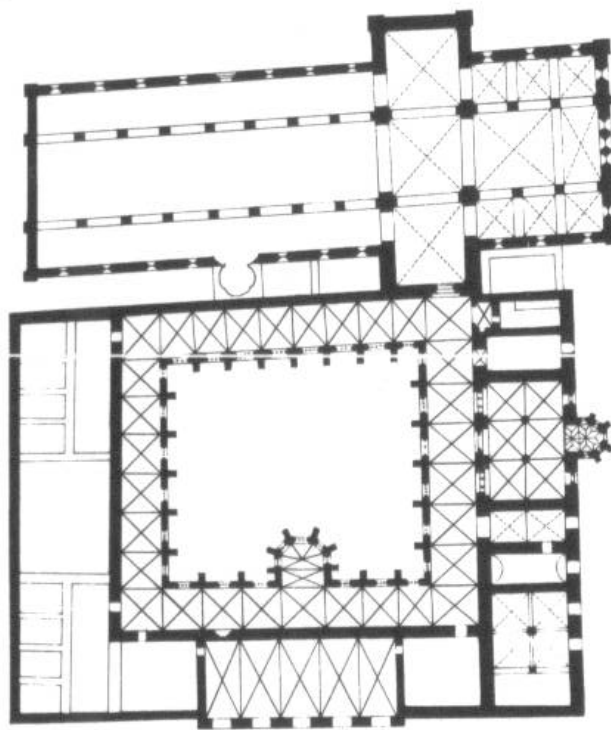


Fig. 132. Cistercian monastery at Osek (northern Bohemia), founded 1197-99, built 1240-14th c..

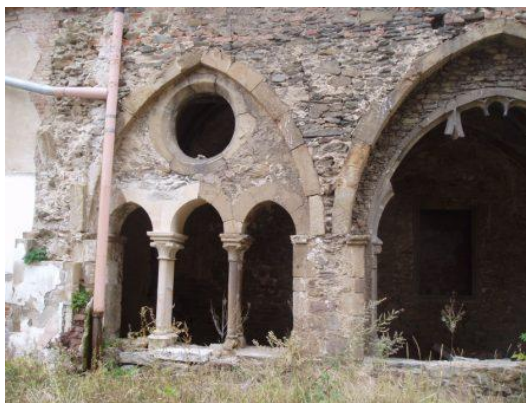


Fig. 133. Louka Premonstratensian female monastery, near Znojmo, Czech Republic.



Fig. 134. Cistercian abbey at Senanque, Southern France.



Fig. 135. Cistercian abbey Elne, southern France.

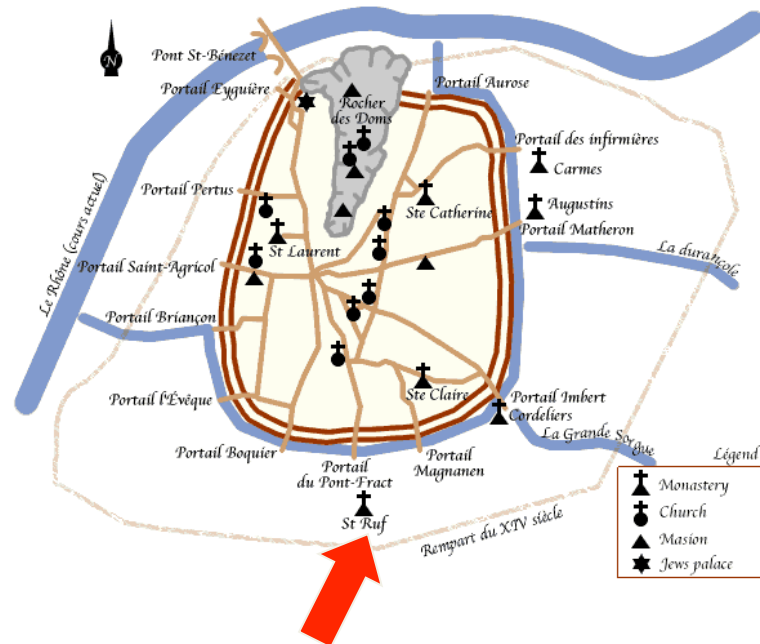


Fig. 136. Map of Avignon.



Fig. 137. Saint Ruf Augustinian Canon Abbey, Avignon.



Fig. 138. Saint Ruf Augustinian Canon Abbey, Avignon.



Fig. 139. Saint Ruf Augustinian Canon Abbey, Avignon.



Fig. 140. Saint Ruf Augustinian Canon Abbey, Avignon, chancel arch.

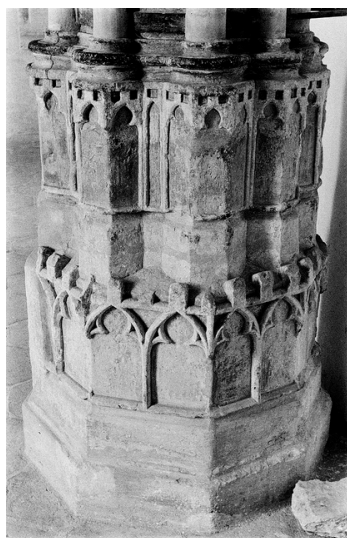


Fig. 141. Sázava, bosses and chapter room pillar, from MONUDET.

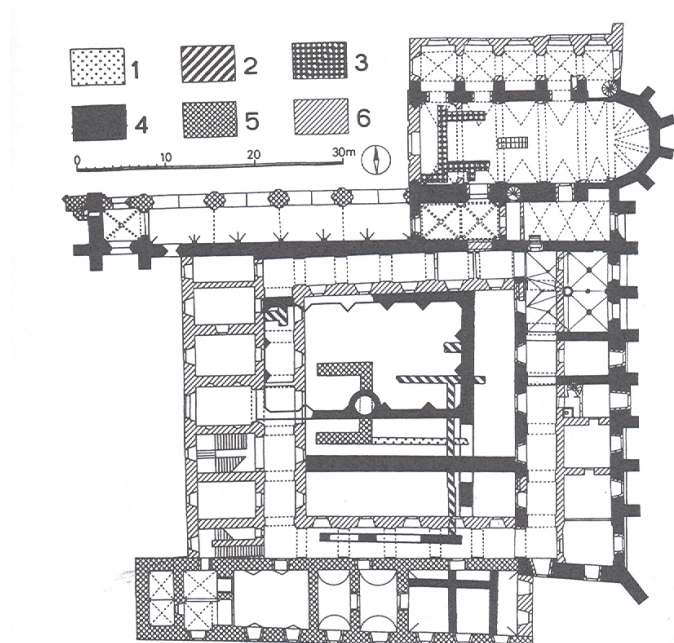


Fig. 142. Sázava abbey, 14th c. K. Reichertová.



Fig. 143. Sázava abbey, console and capital.

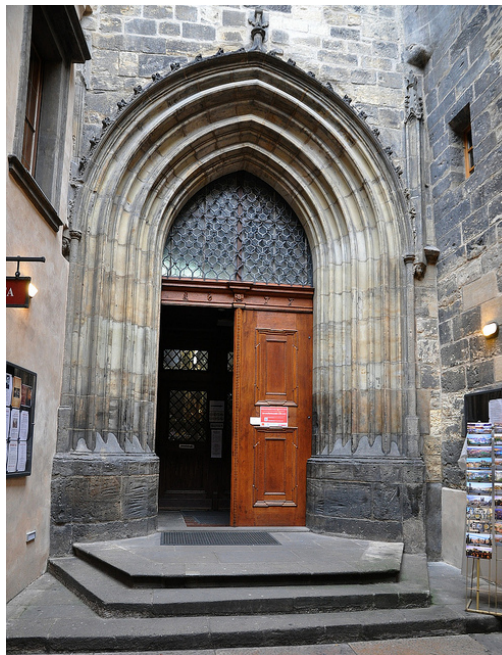


Fig. 144. Parish church of Virgin Mary on the Týn in Prague, mid 14th c. MONUDET

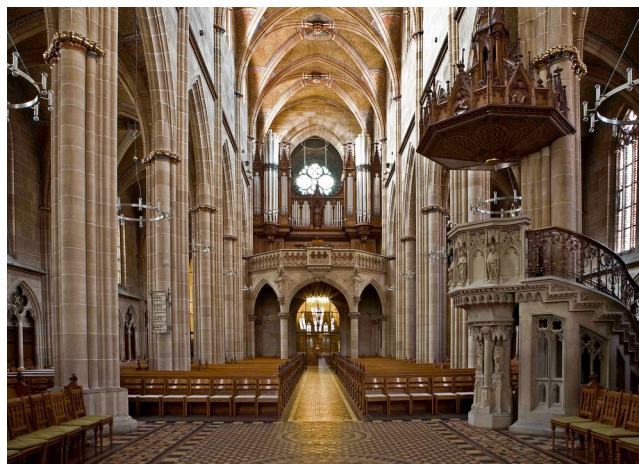


Fig. 145. Reutlingen Marienkirche, 1310-1343.



Fig. 146. Freiburg, minorite church, c. 1270.



Fig. 147. Vetlá parish church, second half of 14th c., MONUDET .



Fig. 148. Sedlec Cistercian abbey, console.

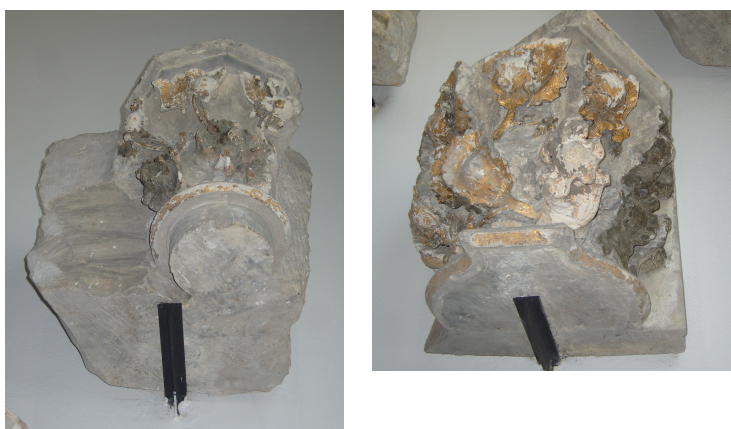


Fig. 149. Capital from Chapel of St. Ludmila at the Virgin Mary Týn church (c. 1300 destroyed 1894).



Fig. 150. Capital from Chapel of St. Ludmila at the Virgin Mary Týn church (c. 1300 destroyed 1894).



Fig. 151. Dominican church chapel, Brno, (c. 1300, destroyed 1894).



Fig. 152. Vienna, St. Stephen cathedral.



Fig. 153. Třebon, Augustinian canons abbey.



Fig. 154. Würzburg, Franciscan church.

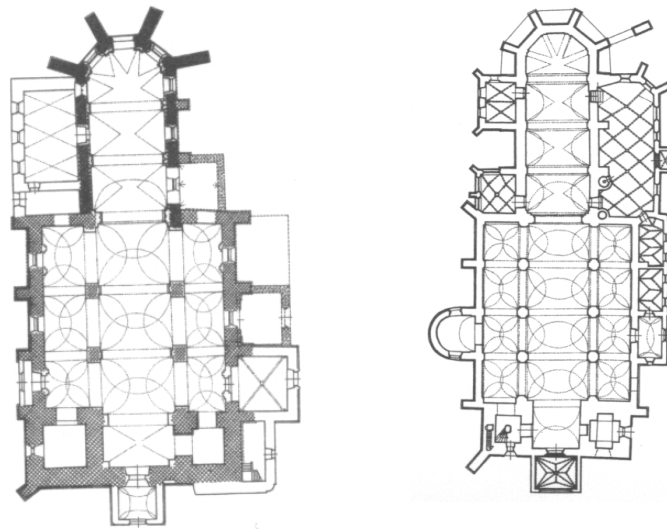


Fig. 155. Parish church, Krnov, (left, and Opava, end 13th c., east end after 1300, nave mid 14th c., vaults later (right).

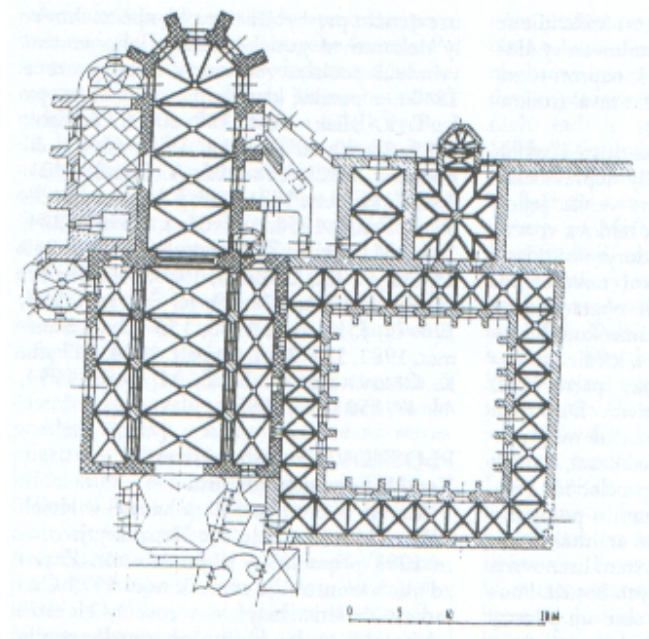


Fig. 156. Plzeň, Franciscan monastery.

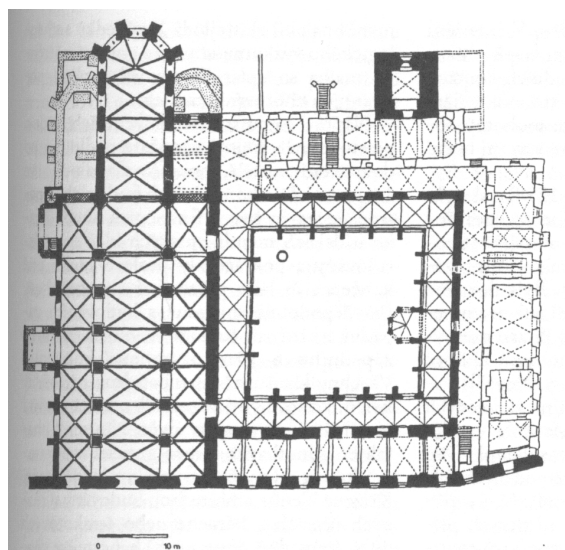


Fig. 157. České Budějovice (Czech Budvar), Dominican monastery.

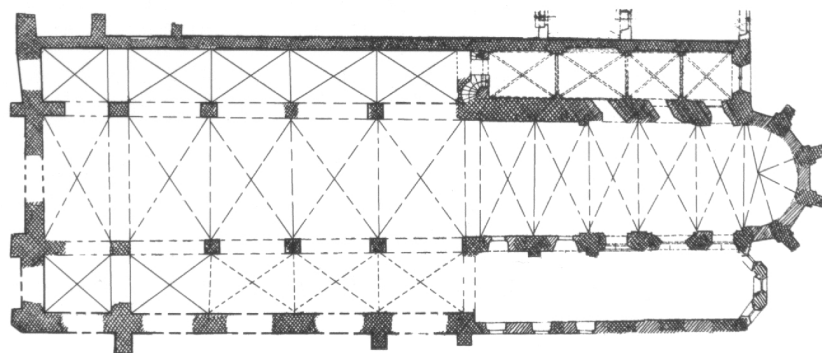


Fig. 158. Saint Tomáš (Thomas) monastery of Augustinian Hermits, Prague, Plan by Kalina.

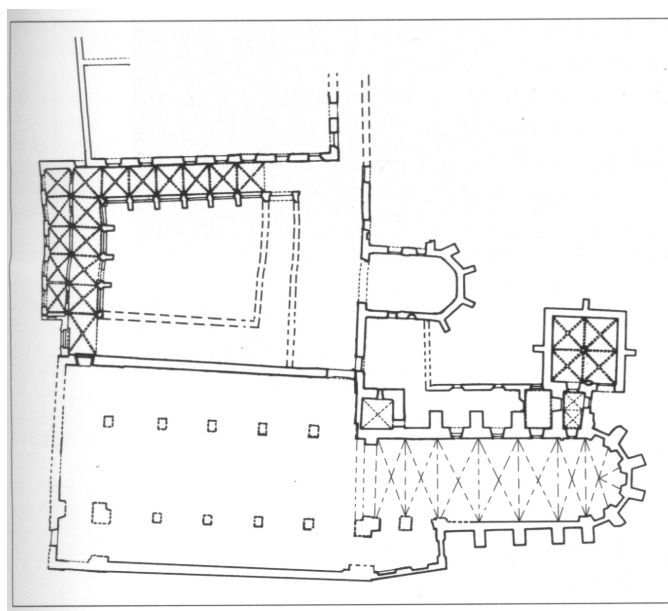


Fig. 159. Saint Jakub (James) Minorite monastery, Prague, plan by Kalina.



Fig. 160. St. Jakub minorite monastery, cloister, Old Town Prague.



Fig. 161. Vaulting boss, St. Jakub minorite monastery, Old Town Prague.

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