

1 · The King of Spain Juan Carlos I with the Queen Sofia in the Prague Castle on his first official visit to Czechoslovakia in 1987 (accompanied by the author of this book Pavel Štěpánek). Photo courtesy of the Embassy of Spain in Prague.

TRAJECTORIES OF SPANISH ART AND CULTURE IN BOHEMIA

Studies and Essays about Spanish and Ibero-American Art

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FOREWORD

This book could have been written only by Professor Štěpánek. And only now can it come into existence because it is the product of an entire life of research and passion for Spanish and Latin American culture. A book that is equally pleasant to read and difficult to make, based on deep and thorough knowledge of continual interactions of Czech, Slovak and Hispanic traditions from the Middle Ages until now. These eleven essays, written in very different periods and under very diverse circumstances, portray an open and plural landscape with borders that are to be crossed, thereby constructing a single space.

Here Štěpánek oversteps the limits of the history of art in order to fully enter cultural history from a modern, multidisciplinary and clearly Pan-European perspective. Together with works and artists of inter-cultural acceptance, also political and religious figures, as well as representatives of different estates come into sight, making up a historical tapestry that is presented in its socio-cultural integrity, without ever breaking up in isolated parts. A vision that is simultaneously pluralist and unitary, micro- and macro-scopic, where symbolism of images is interpreted from outside to inside and vice versa, through transnational exchanges and influences. The most local always has an external origin and destiny, such as Valencia ceramics which derive from Arabic patterns and are bound for foreign markets. Not even the inclination of the Emperor Rudolph II to arts

and alchemy come from his internal world, but rather from outside, specifically from his contact with Philip II of Spain.

Indeed, Štěpánek does not talk about two parallel cultures, but about a Hispano-Czech reality that is understood, now and always, only in a European context. A revealing perspective for this global era – a necessary book.

Vicente Carreres Instituto Juan Andrés de Comparatística y Globalización, Alicante – Madrid

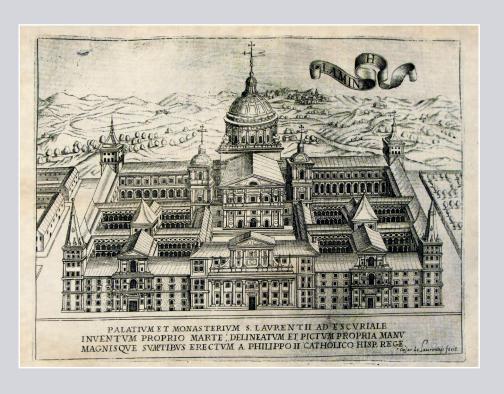
CZECH AND SLOVAK RELATIONS WITH SPAIN

The history of relations between Spain and the Kingdom of Bohemia and Slovakia (which in the past formed part of Hungary) consists of a series of interesting episodes which demonstrate that Europe used to be a logically interlinked entity. The first written document indicating contacts between Bohemia and the Iberian Peninsula is the diary of Ibrahim Ibn Jacob, a Jewish-Arabian trader and diplomat, which describes the city of Prague and its thriving international trade activities in the year 973. Another indication of mutual relations and of the growing significance of Bohemia in the European context in those ancient times was the legendary voyage of Eurosia, daughter of the Czech rulers, to the Visigothic court. There she was to be wed, but instead met her death as a martyr. This saintly virgin of Czech origin became over time the patron saint of of the diocesis of Jaca, in Aragon and her fate inspired numerous authors, among them the dramatist Tirso de Molina.

During the thirteenth century, under the rule of the last kings of the Czech Přemyslid family, religious, cultural and political contacts between the two countries acquired a more definite historical outline. In Bohemia, the cult of St James quickly spread and to this day more than 120 churches are consecrated to the Spanish national patron saint. The Czech King Přemysl Otakar II, also called the "iron and golden King", negotiated a political alliance with Alfonso X the Leamed, his cousin, and from the end of the thirteenth century onward, Spanish astronomers and astrologists were frequently invited to the capital of the Kingdom of Bohemia. Relations between Bohemia and the Iberian Peninsula were further solidified by a unique political act when in 1456, the Czech King George of Poděbrady dispatched a delegation of Czech nobles to the courts



2 · Unknown artist, Ferdinand I of Habsburg, King of Bohemia and Roman Emperor, with the Order of Golden Fleece. Undated (after 1556), engraving. Photo: Pavel Štěpánek.





3 · Cesar de Laurentiis, Palace and Monastery of St Lawrence at the Escorial, 17th century, engraving. Undated. Private collection. Photo: Pavel Štěpánek.

4 · Joseph Sebastian Klauber and Johann Baptist Klauber after Johann Hoffmann, Celebratory decoration of the façade of monastery of Hradisko at Olomouc (the project was influenced by the schema of the Spanish monastery of El Escorial). 1751, copper engraving with etching. Photo: Olomouc Museum

of Art.

of all major European rulers, including the Castilian Crown, proposing the establishment of a political peace union.

Spanish features penetrated into Czech culture after the Habsburgs ascended to the Czech throne in 1526, when Don Fernando, the Spanish-educated second grandson of the Their Catholic Royal Majesties Isabella of Castile and Ferdinand of Aragon, became Czech King and simultaneously Emperor of the Roman Empire. His entourage brought Spanish court manners and customs to Prague. His rule also introduced a number of novelties to the Czech economy (e.g. the previously unknown turnover tax, the so-called alcabala), while church contacts intensified, and Spanish cultural and ideological trends exerted a strong influence on the Czech nobility and clergy. Ferdinand I of Bohemia was succeeded by Maximillian I, nephew of the Spanish King Philip II in 1548. He in turn was succeeded by Rudolf II a son from marriage to Maria of Castile who was raised in Spain.

The relations between Slovakia (part of the Hungarian territory as Upper Hungary) and Spain and its farflung overseas territories are fascinating. All of Europe was familiar with the gold ducats minted in the mining town of Kremnica, in Slovakia, still renowned for its gold to this day. Professor Josef Polišenský highly praises a book by the Slovak Catholic Sigmund of Púchov, written in 1554 and called Cosmography, which contains a chapter on "The Significance of Hispania" and the first published letters of the conqueror Cortés. Also historically significant is a manuscript written by Cyrus and Slovák, important Slovak members of the Unitarian Church. They translated the book "The Journey to Brazil, also called America", published in 1594. That manuscript, confiscated by the censors, was discovered in the royal library at Castle Křivoklát in Bohemia. It contains an interesting passage in defence of the native Indian tribes, comparing the Christian authorities to cannibals.

Under Emperor Rudolf II, Prague acquired an international air. In particular, diplomatic and cultural rela-







7 · Tomb monument of Czech king Přemysl Otakar II, cousin of the Spanish king Alphonse the Sage, 1377, St Vitus Cathedral, Prague.

5 · Painted coats of arms of the Spanish countries on the wall of the presbystery of St Vitus Cathedral of Prague (representing the dominions of the King of Bohemia and Emperor Ferdinand, the *Princeps et Infans Hispaniarum*), 16th century. Photo: Vlastimil Karfík.

6 · Paolo della Stella, The Emperor Charles V recieves the Christian captives after the conquest of Tunis in 1535. Detail of the relief on the front of the Palace Belvedere in Royal Garden at Prague Castle (socalled Summerhouse of Queen Anne). C. 1540 (before 1552), sandstone. Photo: Pavel Štěpánek. tions developed between Madrid and Prague. Spanish language, customs and fashion governed court society and spread to larger social circles. At that time. numerous Spaniards held important positions in the intellectual and political life of Bohemia, especially the ambassadors Francisco Hurtado de Mendoza and Juan de Borja, who arranged, in 1588, the compilation of the first Spanish Czech dictionary. At the instigation of the Czech nobility Spanish libraries and art collections were founded in Bohemia around 1600. Nowhere else except in Spain does there exist such a rich collection of paintings by Alonso Sánchez Coello, Juan Pantoja de la Cruz, Antonio Moro and others. Spanish theological, philosophical and cultural ideas affected the country's life until the eighteenth century. The great Spanish neoscholastic philosopher Roderigo Arriaga became rector of Charles University in Prague during this period.

Prague – a metropolis of a hundred of spires – conceals many remarkable gems in its churches. They attract thousands of tourists every year. A very special place among Prague's historical monuments is occupied by the inconspicuous late Renaissance church of Virgin Mary Triumphant in an area of Prague known as Small Town. Since 1628, its walls have been harbouring a small wax figurine, the Prague Holy Infant. It is a magnet, attracting with its miraculous power the attention of people from all walks of life.

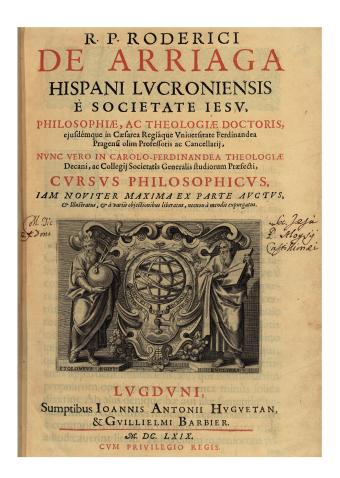
According to history, this statuette came to the Spanish noble family of Manrique de Lara from the hands of St Theresa of Ávila. Doña María Manrique de Lara y Mendoza, the bride of the Czech nobleman, Vratislav of Pernstein, brought it to Bohemia in the sixteenth century as a family palladium. Later, their daughter, Polyxena, gave the Holy Infant to the Order of Carmelites. The reputation of the Holy Infant grew and very soon it extended beyond the Bohemian borders. The number of gradual admirers who lovingly brought votive gifts to the Holy Infant was increasing. Its "trousseau" consists of a little gold crown, jewellery and a rich collection of garments. The Order of Maltese Knights has been a supervisor of the Holy infant since the end of



8 · Spanish sculptor, Holy Infant of Prague, c. 1550, reconstruction in the 17th century, Church of St Mary of Victory, Prague. Photo archive: Pavel Štěpánek (Press Agency Orbis. Prague).

the eighteenth century. Throughout the ages, this graceful artefact has gained admirers literally all over the world and particularly in countries with a Hispanic culture. Her Majesty Queen Sophia of Spain honoured the statuette during her private visit to Czechoslovakia in 1991. On the occasion of EXPO 92, the Holy Infant of Prague went back to Spain temporarily. A true, consecrated replica remained in the church of Nuestra Señora de la Esperanza Macarena in Sevilla from then on.

Slovakia gained a place of importance in European relations thanks mainly to the mining towns of Kremnica



9 · Rodrigo Arriaga (Spanish rector of the University of Prague), Cursus philosophicus, title page, 1669.

(gold), Banská Štiavnica (silver) and Banská Bystrica (copper). In 1627, it was at Banská Štiavnica, that, for the first time in the world gunpowder was used in ore extraction. This discovery changed the mode of mineral extraction and quickly spread to other countries. Banská Štiavnica attained its greatest glory in the eighteenth century, its renown extending not only to Spain, but also to its overseas territories. In 1763, the Mining Academy was founded there, the first of its kind in the world. Among its most famous alumni was the Spaniard Fausto de Elhuyar (who along wiht his brother



10 · Unknown author, Memorial tablet remembering the arrival of monks of Benedictin order from the Spanish Montserrat to Prague in 1636 (under the patronage of the Emperor Ferdinand III.), the Benedictine Abbey of the Virgin Mary and St Jerome at Emaus, so-called Na Slovanech (or Emauzy), Prague, Undated. Photo: Vlastimil Karfík.

Juan José was the discoverer of tungsten), whom the Spanish court later sent to Peru and Mexico, where he introduced the new methods of ore extraction which he had learned at Banská Štiavnica. Another outstanding student of the Mining Academy was Franz Wisner von Morgenstern. He left the Academy for South America and subsequently became Paraguay's national hero and wrote a biography of President Francia.

The nineteenth century saw a new surge in cultural contacts with Spain. Goya's Caprichos were seen in Bohemia, the dancer Pepita de Oliva enjoyed tremendous popularity in Prague and major works of Spanish literature and of the Spanish theatre were translated into Czech, Various Czech writers drew on the Spanish environment for inspiration. Spain was visited by numerous Czech artists, among them Karel Svoboda, who became court painter in Madrid. Until the outbreak of World War I, Czechs frequently visited Spain for its art. At that time. Dr Vincenc Kramář started his unique private art collection, which included works of Pablo Picasso's analytical and cubist period, and contained among others Picasso's last self-portrait (today owned by the National Gallery in Prague).

After Czechoslovakia won independence in 1918, promising political and cultural contacts were established, which, however, were interrupted by the Civil War and later by World War II. Almost 1500 Czechoslovak volunteers expressed solidarity with the Spanish Republic by fighting on the side of the Republican forces during the Spanish Civil War. In the first postwar years, Czechoslovakia granted asylum to Spanish refugees and Czech artists maintained numerous contacts with Spain via Paris. The first international art exhibition held in Prague after World War II was dedicated to the works of Spaniards living in Paris (Picasso, Antoni Clavé, Baltasar Lobo, Fernando Viñes, Oscar Domínguez and others). From the late 1950s onwards, Czechoslovak-Spanish relations gradually increased. At that time, a banking agreement was signed between the Czechoslovak State Bank and the Instituto de Moneda Extranjera. These relations were formalized with the renewal of diplomatic relations in 1977, when embassies were reopened in both countries.

The cultural exchanges between the two nations were as important as the political and trade relations. Czechoslovakia regularly participated in the film festivals of Madrid, Gijón, San Sebastián, Cádiz, Bilbao and Huesca. Several universities in the two countries have already established direct relations. The friendly partnerships between Spanish and Czechoslovak towns are also an area of growing interest. The entire process of rapprochement climaxed in the visit of the Spanish sovereigns, King Juan Carlos I and Queen Sophia to Czechoslovakia in 1987 and the state visit of Václav Havel, President of the CSFR to Spain in 1990. Further agreements were negotiated during the official visit of Spanish Prime Minister Felipe González to the Czechoslovakia in November 1991.

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 $11\cdot$ Paolo della Stella (?), The Golden Fleece on the balustrade of the Palace Belvedere in Royal Garden at Prague Castle, c. 1540 (before 1552), sandstone. Photo: Vlastimil Karfík.

SEPULCHRES
IN COURT
CHAPELS OF THE
HIGH AND LATE
MIDDLE AGES
IN SPAIN

SPAIN'S SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS WITHIN THE FUROPEAN CONTEXT

The power of the centre, as defined in various connections by Rudolf Arnheim,¹ may also be perceived in its figurative, spiritual sense. Typically, centres of power (political or ruling centres) also have their locations, their physical, residential centres, as well as their spiritual residences, which enhance the secular attractiveness and even the actual secular power itself, although their interlinkage need not always be physical. Court chapels² ranked among the symbolically perceived residential centres of rulers in the past.

In this connection, a differentiation can be made between a real, theoretically determinable centre, i.e. a mathematically definable centre, and the locale (or territory) and existential space identified with that centre.3 This might include the centre's astronomic orientation (e.g. a church with its altar oriented toward the east) that was usually respected even in the course of reconstruction work.4 Or it might entail the symbolic meaning of the sacral premises (of a church and chapel) as being the spiritual centre, the celestial Jerusalem, the hub of the world or of the very Universe, all of which are only other expressions for the imaginary centre of the world.⁵ To varying degrees, all these terms may be applied to court chapels (not merely the royal ones, as there were also regional centres of lesser importance where, however, the same concepts were espoused). In addition to this, there were liturgical terms and contexts, since these were liturgical premises. It is generally acknowledged that the major liturgical feasts included the consecration of a church (or chapel)

- R. Arnheim, The Power of the Center. A Study of Composition in the Visual Arts (Spanish edition: El Poder del Centro. Estudio sobre la composición en las artes visuales). Madrid 1988.
- V. Dvořáková, Karlštejn. Praha 1970.
- S. Sebastián, Mensaje Simbólico del Arte Medieval. Arquitectura, Liturgia e Iconograjía. Madrid 1996.
- 4 M. Špůrek, *Praga* mysteriosa. Praha 1996, pp. 25–27.
- 5 G. Tibón, El ombligo, como centro cósmico. Una contribución a ta historia de las religiones. México 1981

where worshippers assembled for the Eucharist (*exultantes*), but which served primarily for the deposition of the relics of martyrs. This act was described as early as the eighth century in the Franconian *Ordo*.⁶

For many, the symbol of Spain is embodied in the El Escorial royal palace near Madrid, which was built during the second half of the sixteenth century in accordance with the political and power-imbued message of Philip II. It was intended to mitigate Renaissance Humanism with a modern, bureaucratic type of state rule. El Escorial constitutes, however, not merely a royal mansion with all its necessary administrative premises, but is also perceived symbolically as a temple of wisdom (the Salomon Temple, library and collections), which was actually once again motivated from the standpoint of power or, at the very least, this philosophical and symbolical concept became identical. El Escorial also comprises a royal pantheon and, last but not least, a monastery and a church. The complex further constituted an expression of symbolic thanksgiving for the victory achieved in a particular military encounter with France, on a concrete day – the day of St Lawrence. This saint's attribute - a gridiron - is delineated in the ground plan of the palatial and monasterial complex. The accumulation of functions – both real and symbolic – gave rise to the belief that this was a wholly unique monument, the first such structure in the Renaissance period.

Nothing could be further from the truth. In reality, Philip II only brought to a climax the long tradition prevalent in other European countries, and especially in Spain itself. Suffice it to recall the large political and religious acropolises that may have served as models, starting with the Byzantine Empire and the court of Charlemagne. In this connection, mention should also be made of London's Westminster Abbey and France's Abbey of St Denis, representing the exemplary relationship between the monarchy and the monastic clergy,⁷ as well as the cathedral at Rheims – the coronation place of French kings, even though each of these localities has its own specific attributes. Thus, Philip II

- 6 S. Sebastián, Mensaje Simbólico, p. 91.
- 7 E. Panofsky, Abbot Suger of St Denis, in: idem, Meaninas in the Visual Arts. New York 1957, p. 109. The author notes that Suger was convinced of three fundamental truths: 1. that the king - particularly a French king - was "the vicar of Christ, the embodiment of God"; 2. that the king had the right to subjugate all forces which opposed his authority; 3. that this authority - and thus the unity of the nation - was symbolised particularly by the Abbey of St Denis which housed the relics of this apostle of the Gauls the special sole protector of the kingdom, second only to God.

was only carrying on the tradition of the Castilian and Aragonese rulers, including his father, Charles V, who ultimately took refuge in the monastery at Yuste.

In short, El Escorial is simply the last of the large monastic palaces, rather than the first, as was occasionally believed. We may note in passing that, at a still later date, the Viennese Habsburgs were to continue this tradition in connection with the Danubian abbeys; in the spirit of the Baroque, they recalled and developed in these structures the dynastic concept as the continuation of the Roman Empire, even though the Habsburgs no longer held the Empire's Crown. In brief, second only to the royal chapel in Aachen, El Escorial constitutes the most comprehensive symbol of a deified monarch, a *rex* – *sacerdos* of a threatened Christianity (Catholicism). In this sense, the Viennese relatives were to be the most faithful epigones of this concept.

It is actually the monasteries that are Spain's true royal palaces. One of the reasons for this was the Spanish peculiarity of its centuries-long migration of royal residential towns, owing to the permanent conflict with the Muslim world. Furthermore, the Spanish sovereigns specifically viewed themselves as representative rulers, as is suggested by the Medieval coronation rituals: "Only God is the veritable king (rex verus), only His kingdom is solid {solidum regnum} and eternal {per saecula saeculorum}, only He is truly glorious and triumphant over all enemies." 8

The occupants of the monasteries – the monks – were perceived as the curates of the royal families' souls, or were in the services of the deceased sovereigns as keepers of their tombs. Like the Roman Caesars, the Spanish rulers were also divinized, albeit only post-humously. What today may seem macabre was in the Middle Ages considered only natural and was based on the phenomenon of the consistent charismatic emphasis placed on power.

The Spanish kings viewed the monasteries as shelters in which they took refuge whenever state and particu-

⁸ As was documented by the researcher F. Chueca Goitia, Casas reales en monasterios y conventos españoles. Bilbao: Xarait Ediciones, 1982, pp. 7–9, and first edition, Madrid 1966, p. 14.

larly military affairs did not prevent them from doing so, until ultimately these premises became their eternal shelters. There they installed their libraries (which unfortunately succumbed to the Liberals' reforms, particularly the Mendizábal Reform of 1836,9 whose damage was comparable to that perpetrated by Emperor Joseph II with respect to Czech culture). 10 Frequently therefore, a Spanish monastery would function as a royal tomb, a monastic church became a court chapel (and as far as EI Escorial is concerned, it should be emphasised that the church at EI Escorial was not conceived as an *iglesia*, i.e. *ecclesia* – a congregation of worshippers, but rather as a *templo*, *templum*); there the monarchs deposited numerous gifts, relics and souvenirs.

For a brief definition of Medieval royal palaces in today's Spain, such as Tordesillas, Las Huelgas, Miraflores, El Paular, etc., it may be stated together with Chueca¹¹ that all of them were adapted as monasteries; at best, they were castles where monarchs did not reside permanently, but only temporarily or even accidentally. Above all, these edifices served to provide temporary shelter at times of war, or in some instances, offered places for mere survival. Only when supremacy over the Muslims was ensured was inspiration drawn from the retreating enemy in the form of endowing palace interiors with certain luxuries that were often based on Muslim models and created with the aid of Muslim architects and craftsmen.

Needless to say, elsewhere in Europe similar cases existed of monasteries (and abbeys) playing a decisive role in the history of the individual countries, although from the thirteenth century on, the significance of the monasteries diminished, while the importance of universities, towns and the emerging middle class increased. Although in Spain a parallel development occurred at the most decisive stage in its history – owing to the Muslim threat – the impact of the individual monastic orders became even greater. These orders entailed especially newly-founded paramilitary organisations and military orders based on the Cistercian

pintura española fuera de España. Madrid 1958, p. 21. The Spanish Liberals - and in the extreme sense also those who contributed to the unleashing of the anti-religious hysteria and civil war in the twentieth century - did not understand that in abolishing the monasteries they had been not only religious, but also royal establishments or, to use a modern term, foundations. 10 See P. Štěpánek, Miranda en Praga. La Praga de Miranda. Caracas 1994. This enlightened Venezuelan scholar, whose anti-ecclesiastic thinking was renowned, was surprised by the plundering of Prague's monasteries as a result of the decrees issued by Emperor loseph II, which he had observed during his visit to Prague. 11 Chueca Goitia, Casas reales, p. 11.

9 J. A. Gaya Nuño, La

concept and inspired even by the spiritual notion of war embraced by the Muslims, notably the Almohads and the Almoravids. The famed Calatrava Order (Calatrava) which was partly military and partly mystical, the Alcántara Order (Alcántara), the Order of St James (Santiago) and, finally, the Montesa Order (Montesa, only founded in 1319) were all established in this manner. All of these groupings adopted the regulations of the Cistercian Order and wore that Order's white vestures. 12 The Spanish monarchy continued, along the lines of the Visigothic dynasties, its close relationship with the Church, even though it was no longer able to organise the Toledo Councils. It could rely, however, on the support of the monasteries, upon which it reciprocally bestowed innumerable privileges throughout the fourteenth, fifteenth and even the sixteenth century.

A model for other European chapels was no doubt the palace chapel at Aachen, or Aix-la-Chapelle, which Emperor Charlemagne had commissioned to be built in the Byzantine style in the form of a heroon. With it, the architect Eudes de Metz imitated the S. Vitale in Ravenna, an old type of mausoleum having an imperial throne above and a sarcophagus below. The meaning of the word "Aachen" should be elucidated here: its Latin version was "Aquis Granni", as the site was renowned for its salubrious waters. Piety in the Middle Ages conceived the construction of similar chapels on the basis of the veneration of the Holy Sepulchre, i.e. the Tomb of Christ.¹³ Such chapels were usually built in traditional residences intended for long-term or periodic, though not necessarily permanent, sojourns.

In terms of its historical destiny and development, the Iberian Peninsula was also marked by specific power - related and artistic particularities. These were not only the well-known Islamic influences, but also the secondary impacts emanating from those influences – namely, the consequences of the permanently shifting balance of the state and political formations, caused by the Muslim occupation of the Iberian Peninsula and subsequently the Reconquista - the gradual reconquering of that territory. In turn, this situation led to

¹² In Portugal, it was the Order of Christ with its seat in Tomar which came into being owing to the reorganisation of the Order of the Templars, with only its name having been changed. See J. Kvapilová - P. Štěpánek, Portugalsko. Praha 1989, pp. 125-128. 13 The Anastasis Rotunda, of which later replicas were