

The Choirs of St Vitus's Cathedral in Prague: A Marriage of Liturgy, Coronation, Royal Necropolis and Piety

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St Vitus's Cathedral, founded in 1344, is a prime example of 14th-century cathedral Gothic, a product of the cooperation between the ingenious architect Peter Parler and his patron, Emperor Charles IV. The unusual layout consisted of a pair of choirs set side by side in the eastern section of the cathedral, an arrangement inspired by the earlier Romanesque double-choir basilica. One was dedicated to St Vitus and was used by the canons, the other to the Virgin Mary and operated by the mansioners. The royal and imperial necropolis was placed in the latter of the two choirs, with Charles IV's tomb-chest protected by a sculptured canopy and surrounded by the cenotaphs of deceased family members and later kings and queens. The form of two choirs is probably the result of an extensive rearrangement of the earlier project completed in the 1350s, when initial plans to locate the royal burial ground in the canons' choir were abandoned. The main choir contained a tabernacle of remarkable design, dating from c. 1365. There may originally have been plans for a third choir to be built around the tomb of St Adalbert located in the middle of the nave, the work on which was initiated in 1392.¹

KEYWORDS Prague, cathedral, choirs, liturgy, royal necropolis, coronation

THE FOUNDATION OF ST VITUS'S TWO CHOIRS

ST VITUS'S CATHEDRAL in Prague is a building of fundamental importance in the history of the Central European Late Gothic architecture,² partly due to its architect Peter Parler's skilful adaptations of elements of the English Decorated style.³ The cathedral remains the subject of scholarly interest not only because of the outstanding and well-documented architecture, the patrons and architects behind its construction,⁴ but also because of the many extant liturgical books that contain descriptions of how the cathedral functioned.⁵ However, the cathedral's furnishings and altars are preserved to a lesser extent. Today, the information about their location, number and dedications can only be sought in inventories and other documents.⁶ Similarly, only little is known about the arrangement of the cathedral choir's two main liturgical spaces: the eastern choir of St Vitus and the western choir of the Virgin Mary (Figs 1 and 2). Because these two spaces formed the nucleus of the cathedral, the two hearts that once gave life to the whole body of the church, they are the focus of this study.

The Gothic cathedral of St Vitus, which dominates Prague Castle, is the third church which was built on this site. The first was a Romanesque rotunda, which was

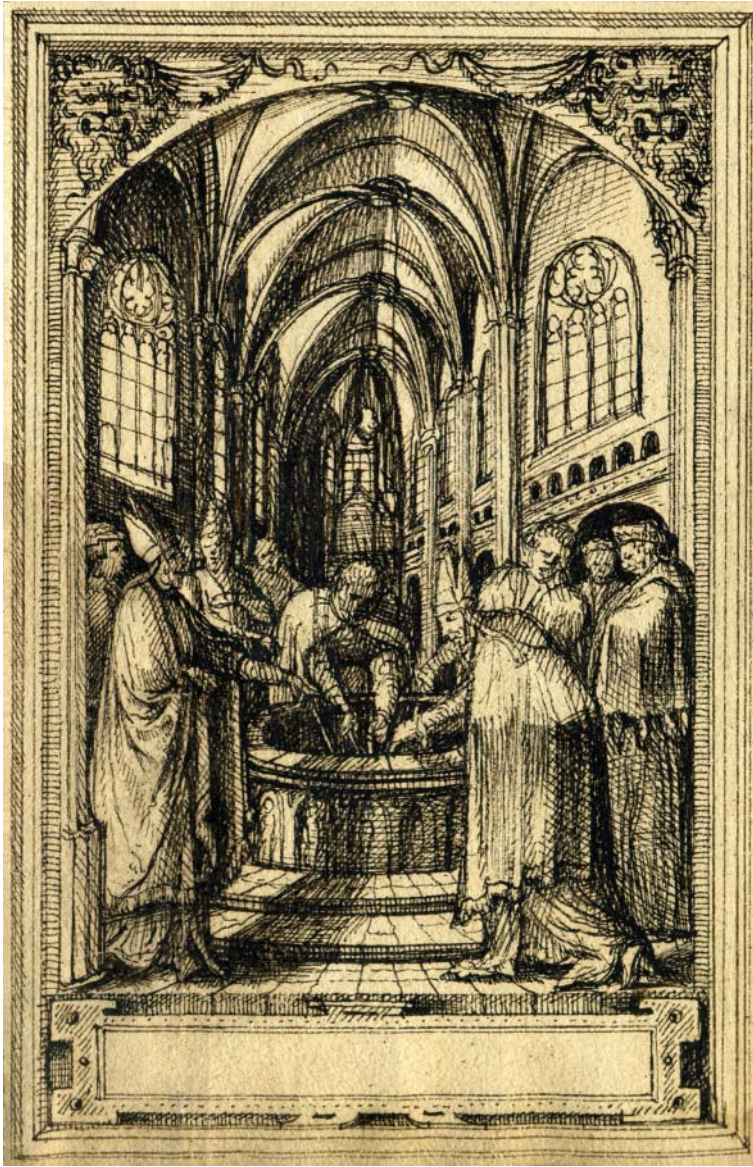


FIG. 1. Prague, St Vitus's Cathedral: Translation of St Sigismund body to Prague, anonymous drawing of 1553 planned for the chapel of St Sigismund. Národní archiv Praha, ČDKM, kart. 191, fol. 65
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erected by Prince Wenceslas (d. 935).⁷ In 1060 a new double-choired Romanesque basilica was begun, consecrated in 1095 after being damaged by fire in 1091.⁸ In 1068 a chapter was founded in this church with twenty-five clerics selected as canons by chaplain Marcus under the direction of a provost.⁹ Three centuries later, in 1341, the income from Kutná Hora's silver mines was channelled to fund the construction of a new church,¹⁰ which was officially begun in 1344 with the laying of the foundation stone.¹¹ During this process a new liturgical body was established. On 5 October 1343,

Charles IV, the then margrave of Moravia, and the future Holy Roman emperor and king of Bohemia, Lombardy and Burgundy (1316–78), created the college of clergy who resided near the church and hence were called the ‘mansionars’. Similarly to the canons, the new corporation had twenty-four clerics, twelve of whom were priests, known as ‘greater mansionars’, while the other twelve comprised six deacons and six subdeacons, known as ‘lesser mansionars’.¹² The whole body was led by the prior, who was elected from among the priests. This college initially occupied the west choir of the Romanesque basilica dedicated to the Virgin, leaving the main, St Vitus’s choir in the east part, to the canons. This new liturgical structure was eventually incorporated into the newly built Gothic cathedral, but with one important change: the mansionars’ choir, originally located in the western choir of the basilica, was moved along with the canons’ choir to the eastern part of the cathedral.

Whereas sources are silent about the high choir, the newly established mansionars’ or Virgin choir attracted plenty of attention. The prominent position it occupied in the eyes of Charles IV and his family is reflected in the sequence of donations. An indulgence of one year and one quadragesima was furthermore issued in 1346 for anyone devoutly visiting the altar of the Virgin on the days of her four feasts, and one quadragesima for those attending a chanted mass on Saturdays.¹³ The first donation was made during the life of Charles’s first wife Blanche of Valois (1316–48). An inscription on the cathedral triforium above her sculpted bust reads: ‘she built and donated the altar of St Louis, king of France, in the new choir of St Mary in the Prague Church’.¹⁴ The same is noted in the list of the mansionars’ anniversaries dating *c.* 1417, stating that Blanche ‘built the altar of the Holy Innocents and of Louis, king of France, in the choir of St Mary in the Prague church’.¹⁵ Since she died in 1348, this donation must have taken place soon after the Virgin choir was founded. In 1352, Charles’s second wife, Anna of the Palatinate (1329–53), instructed the mansionars to keep candles lit at the grave of her and Charles’s son Wenceslas,¹⁶ who died in 1351, and according to the inscription above her triforium bust ‘she built and endowed the altar of St Nicholas in the middle of the choir of St Mary in the Prague Church’.¹⁷ All these altars are listed in an inventory that dates from *c.* 1436 as the ‘three altars at the head [of the grave] of the Lord Emperor, endowed by Queen Blanche, Queen Anna and Empress Elizabeth’.¹⁸

Although these accounts clearly attribute the foundation of all three altars to Charles’s wives, other contemporary documents indicate, on the contrary, that the emperor was their founder. In May 1353 Charles donated a village named Chleby to the college, precentor and mansionars ‘of the choir of the glorious Virgin Mary, of our founding in our Prague Church’, and at the same time he ordered that:

the greater mansionars shall each day of the week, without interruption and without omission, serve and celebrate for our salvation and that of our descendants at the said three altars in the choir — founded and built with the permission and authority of the honourable Arnošt, archbishop of Prague, our Prince — three Masses, the first at the altar of St Nicholas the bishop and confessor, the second at the altar of St Innocents the Martyrs, and the third at the altar of St Louis, the king and confessor.¹⁹

The lesser mansionars were to serve at these masses and the precentor or his representative was responsible for the observance of the three anniversaries established by Charles: one for his first wife Blanche, the second for Anna, and the third for ‘our anniversary, when in response to God’s call we will have departed from this world’.²⁰ The incorporation of the said village of Chleby and the three altars into the

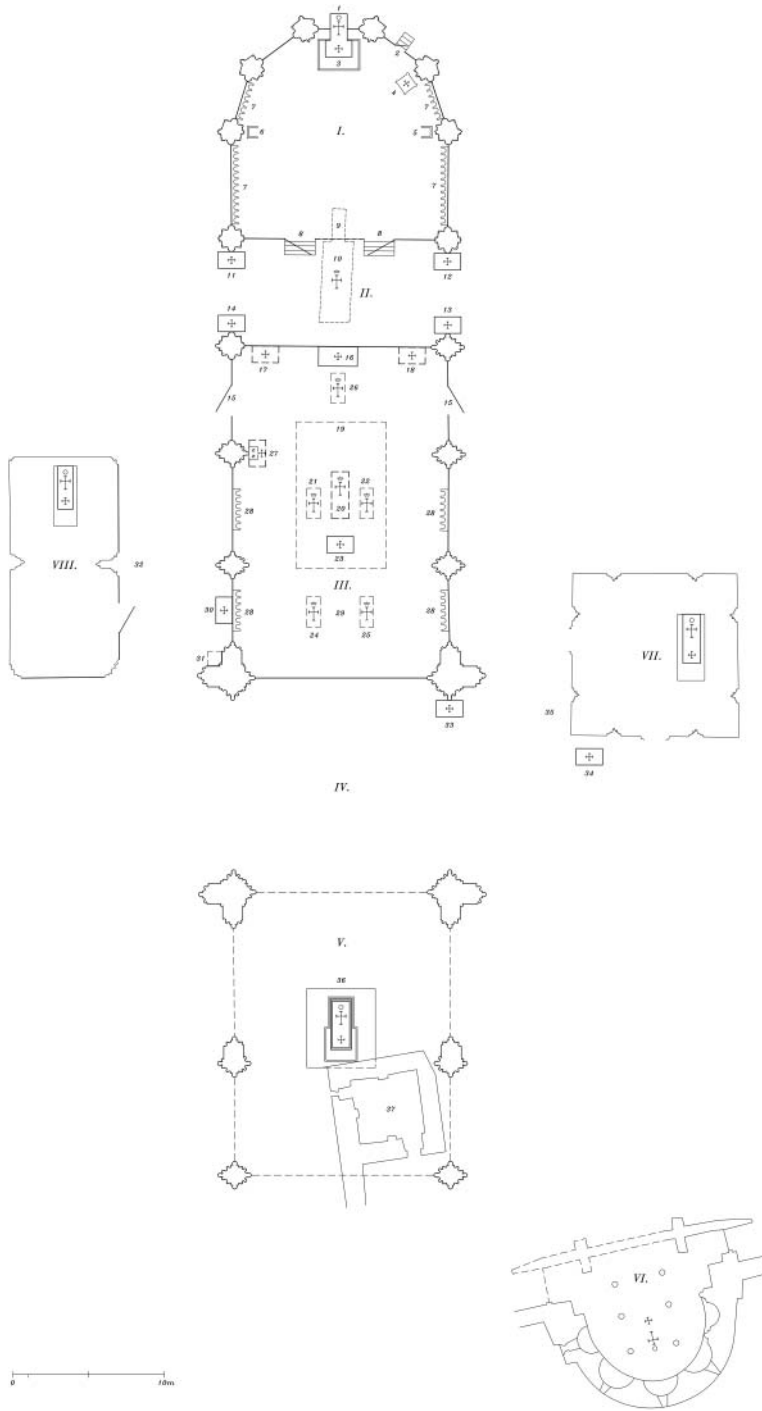


FIG. 2. Prague, St Vitus's Cathedral: reconstruction of the choir's arrangement before 1419.

mansionars' choir was confirmed by Archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice on 3 October 1353,²¹ and later also by Pope Innocent VI in a charter dated 11 February 1354. The pope stated that he issued his confirmation at the request of Charles, who had:

at his own expense, to ensure his salvation and that of his descendants and the dames of shining memory, the queens of the Romans and the Bohemians, founded and erected three altars to honour God in the choir of the Blessed Virgin Mary in the Prague church.²²

Although not explicitly mentioned in the first two charters of 1353, Charles figures in the papal confirmation as the founder of all the altars. And the same is claimed by a contemporary, Francis of Prague, who wrote in his chronicle that 'at the time [1353], the Lord King had built four altars in the Prague church, and one of them he had blessed in honour of St Nicholas'.²³ Why one group of accounts indicates Charles as the founder and the second his wives is unclear. One explanation could be that Charles considered it his right to appropriate a donation made by his wives, or that the two wives made the donation with his permission. This is not the only case of a shifted attribution in the cathedral; the very founding of the new cathedral is attributed to Charles alone in the inscription above his triforium bust, even though it was officially initiated by his father, John of Luxembourg.²⁴ This 'inaccuracy' can be seen as intended to draw attention to those who deserved more credit for the construction of the cathedral, and that was certainly Charles rather than his father. It is thus possible to see in this light the relationship between Charles, as the official founder of the altars, and their real donors, his wives.

The new choir was known by two names, either as 'the choir of the Virgin Mary' or as 'the mansionars' choir'.²⁵ Its purpose is clearly stated in the confirmation of the choir's foundation issued by Pope Clement in 1344, in which the college is named as founded by Charles:

To honour God Almighty and the Blessed Virgin Mary, the blessed martyrs Vitus, Wenceslas, Adalbert, and all the saints, and for the salvation of his soul and the souls of his ancestors, predecessors and successors, all believers, living and dead.²⁶

FIG. 2. *Continued*

I: canons' choir — choir of St Vitus; II: space between the choirs; III: mansionars' choir — choir of the Virgin; IV: crossing; V: western choir or chapel of St Adalbert; VI: Romanesque western choir — chapel of St Gaudentius; VII: chapel of St Wenceslas with tomb of St Wenceslas; VIII: chapel of St Sigismund with tomb of St Sigismund.

1: tomb of St Vitus, 2: side doorway in the lattice, 3: altar of St Vitus (1365), 4: sacrament house, 5: royal (emperor's) throne, 6: archbishop's throne, 7: canons' stalls, 8: principal entries into to the canons' choir, 9: possible entrance to temporary royal crypt, 10: temporary royal crypt, 11: altar of Sts Philip and James (1387), 12: altar of Sts Cosmas and Damian (before 1397), 13: altar of St Benedict (1397), 14: altar of St Catharine 'in lattice' (1409), 15: principal entries into to the mansionars' choir, 16: altar of the Virgin (1365), 17: altar of St Louis (possible location), 18: altar of St Nicolas (possible location), 19: enclosed royal burial ground, 20: mausoleum of Emperor Charles IV (†1378), 21: cenotaph of Empress Elizabeth (†1393) (possible location), 22: cenotaph of Duke Jan of Görlitz (†1396) (possible location), 23: altar of the Holy Innocents of Bethlehem and temporary place of tomb of St Adalbert (1365–96) (possible location), 24: cenotaph of King Ladislaus the Posthumous (†1457) (possible location), 25: cenotaph of King Jiří of Poděbrad (†1471) (possible location), 26: grave of Queen Anna Jagiellon (†1547), 27: altar of St Florentius with its reliquary (possible location), 28: mansionars' stalls, 29: gallery, 30: altar of St Marta, 31: the chest of a fraternity, 32: altar of the Holy Cross and Ascension of the Virgin (1405), 33: altar of St Procopius, 34: altar of the Holy Cross (c.1365), 35: graves of Bl. Podiven and Přibyslava, 36: tomb and altar of St Adalbert, 37: Romanesque tower

Reconstruction and drawing Petr Uličný

This original function seems to have shifted in the course of the cathedral construction, because in a further confirmation issued by Pope Innocent VI in 1360, a new connection between the choir and the emperor's sepulchre was stated:

In the Prague church, founded in honour of St Wenceslas, exists in addition to the main, great choir a second choir in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, founded and endowed by the emperor alone, and there, where his two wives of precious memory also rest, the emperor alone elected the site of his sepulchre, and it is there that you [the mansionars], of which there are or are to be twenty-four, shall celebrate the Mass and the Canonical Hours, that is, the Prima, Tercia, Sexta and Nona, on each day from dawn to the first hour, at which hour the Canonical Hours begin to be chanted in the great choir as they are customarily chanted in this church.²⁷

It is here that the new function is explicitly stated for the first time, but it might have been thought of earlier, given the quick succession of the deaths of Charles's two wives and son. This change is also demonstrated by different wording in the two chronicles of the time, describing the foundation of the Virgin choir. Whereas chronicler Francis, who lived until about 1355, repeats only the content of the foundation's charter,²⁸ Beneš of Weimile, writing in the 1370s, adds an important reference concerning the royal necropolis:

In that year [1343] Charles, margrave of Moravia, first-born to the lord king of Bohemia, desirous to obtain everlasting retribution in the heavenly life for that on earth, in honour of almighty God and blessed Virgin Mary and holy martyrs, the patrons of the Prague church, Vitus, Wenceslas and Adalbert, and all the saints, and especially in order to increase divine worship and adorn the Prague church, in which the site of sepulchre is chosen by this prince for himself and his dearest, in that Prague church he newly established and endowed the college of mansionars.²⁹

Since Archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice does not mention the royal necropolis in his mansionars' statutes of 1354,³⁰ it was perhaps late in the 1350s that arrangements were made to establish the site of the royal and imperial burial in the Virgin choir. By 1365 enough work on the eastern section of the cathedral had been completed so that on 5 January Archbishop Jan Očko of Vlašim was able to consecrate the altar of St Vitus in the canons' choir and the altar of the Virgin in the mansionars' choir.³¹ But it was not until 1385, twenty years later, that the vault above the two choirs was finished and the entire eastern section of the cathedral was consecrated in honour of the Virgin and St Vitus.³² The violent times of the Hussite Wars, which began with the plundering of the cathedral in 1421, brought the existence of the mansionars' choir to its end. Although during the renovation of the cathedral in 1437 there were still thirteen mansionars listed as present, the choir was never restored to its original state and soon disappeared from the sacred topography of the cathedral.³³

THE CHOIR OF ST VITUS — THE CANONS' CHOIR

THE Prague Church, as it is referred to in sources, was dedicated to the three patron saints of Bohemia: St Wenceslas, who built the first church, St Vitus, to whom this church had been initially dedicated, and Adalbert, the second bishop of the see of Prague. In 1368 this trinity was complemented by the fourth patron, St Sigismund, an initiative of Charles IV who brought his body from Arles after being crowned king of Burgundy.³⁴ The relics of these four saints were located within the Gothic cathedral in such a way that they formed an invisible cross. St Vitus at the high altar to the east, St Wenceslas in a separated chapel to the south, St Adalbert in the middle of the nave to the west, and St Sigismund in a chapel to the north. At the centre of it — as in the

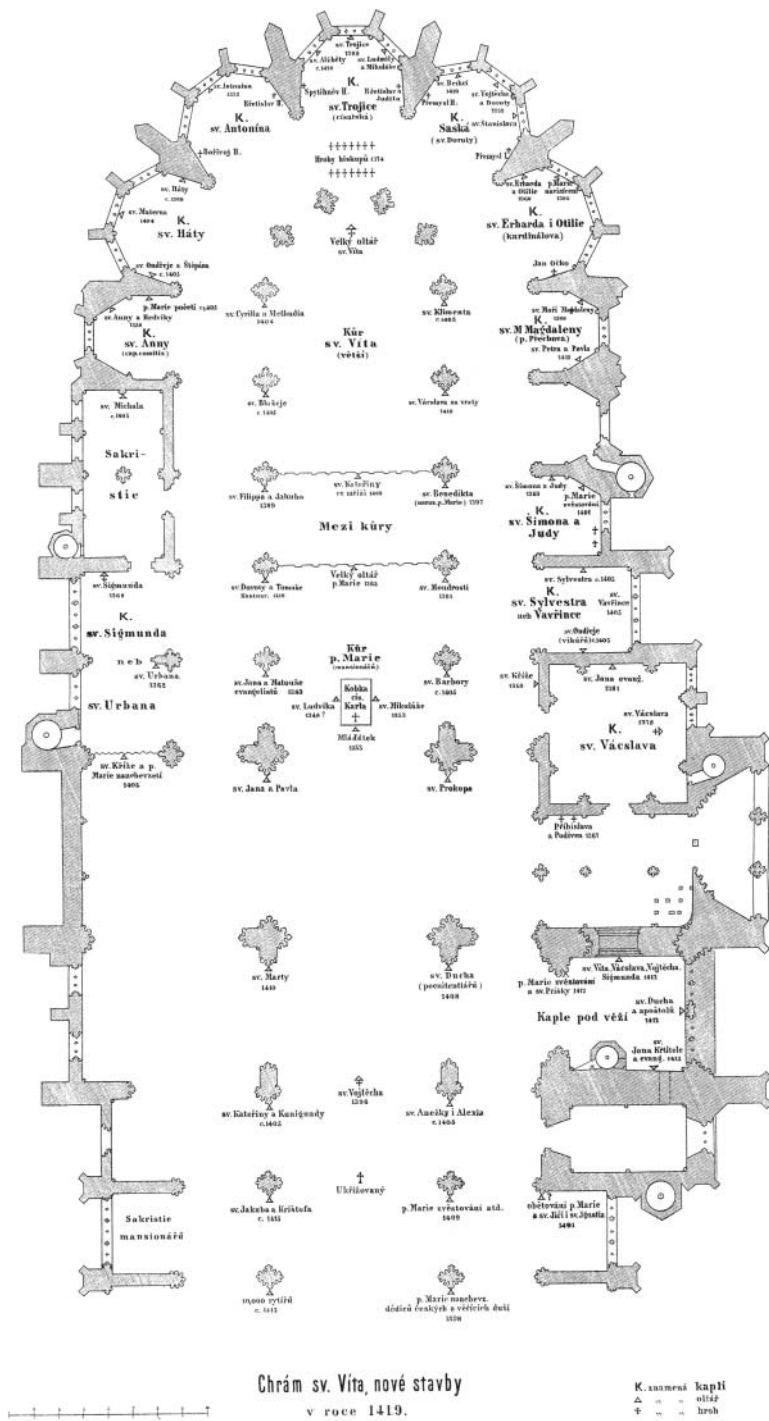


FIG. 3. Prague, St Vitus's Cathedral: reconstruction of the altar arrangement in 1419. After W. W. Tomek, *Základy starého místopisu pražského*, 4 vols (Prague, 1872), IV

heart — was the Virgin choir, containing the bodies of Emperor Charles and his family, and thus protected not only by the patron saints of Bohemia, but also by the symbol of the Holy Cross (Fig. 2).³⁵ This fascinating layout seems to have evolved gradually and its final part was finished only when the relics of St Adalbert were translated to the nave in 1396. It would seem, however, that the idea of a saintly quaternity was being discussed long before the arrival of Sigismund's body, and ever since planning for the construction of the cathedral began. The evidence is to be found in the wording of the above-mentioned cathedral's founding charter of 1341, which states that the Prague church was dedicated to the four patron saints: Wenceslas, Vitus, Adalbert and Ludmila.³⁶ Thus it was St Ludmila, grandmother of St Wenceslas, who was first to complement the group of the holy protectors. This concept would, however, have been hard to fulfil since her cult was firmly anchored in the nearby St George's basilica, the site of her sacred grave. Consequently, until 1368 the cathedral had just three main patron saints.

The exact position of St Adalbert's tomb before 1368 is not clear. If the favoured concept was that of the trinity of patron saints, then the place on the north side, opposite the shrine of St Wenceslas and later occupied by Sigismund, was possibly first reserved for St Adalbert (Fig. 21: III). On the other hand, the notion of a cruciform layout was nothing new within the vocabulary of Carolian architecture. A similar hope for spiritual protection was incorporated into the structure of the New Town of Prague, founded by Charles in 1348. Five churches were selected there and placed in such a relation to each other that they formed a cross, an idea modelled on the sacred topography of Rome and the Ottonian imperial cities.³⁷ An invisible cross was actually present also within St Vitus's before the cathedral was begun. During the liturgy of the Holy Week four groups of signers performing *Kyrie puerorum* were arranged to form the shape of a cross within the Romanesque basilica. To that end, one group occupied the western choir and, when the Virgin choir established there by Charles was moved to the eastern arm of the Gothic cathedral, the group of singers found its new place in the vicinity of St Adalbert's tomb.³⁸ Thus it might have also been this impressive liturgical performance that inspired Charles's transformation of the protective symbol which had existed in St Vitus's liturgy for centuries, into the devotional layout of the Gothic cathedral.³⁹

Whereas the church could boast the entire bodies of St Wenceslas and Adalbert, it was only an arm of St Vitus's, donated to St Wenceslas by Emperor Henry I, which graced cathedral's treasury at the time of the cathedral's foundation in 1344. This translation was completed by Emperor Charles IV, who not only had moved the body of St Sigismund to Prague, but also that of St Vitus. In January 1355, he exuberantly sent word from Pavia to Archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice that, during his coronation in Milan as king of the Lombards, he learned of the presence of the saint's body in the nearby monastery of St Augustine in Pavia. Despite strong protests, the emperor, immediately on being crowned and in the presence of the many nobles and prelates of Pavia, had the altar in the monastery opened and there he found the relics that he had been looking for. Although largely reduced to dust by that time, he nonetheless had them removed and sent to Prague.⁴⁰ The reliquary in which the saint's body was transported on its long journey was not the receptacle in which the body was kept in the cathedral, since records refer to it as an empty object even shortly after its arrival. It was listed in a 1355 inventory of St Vitus's cathedral as 'a box of amethyst stones, in which the body of blessed Vitus had been brought, overlaid with silver and gold', thus suggesting that the body was no longer inside.⁴¹ Furthermore, the 1387 inventory

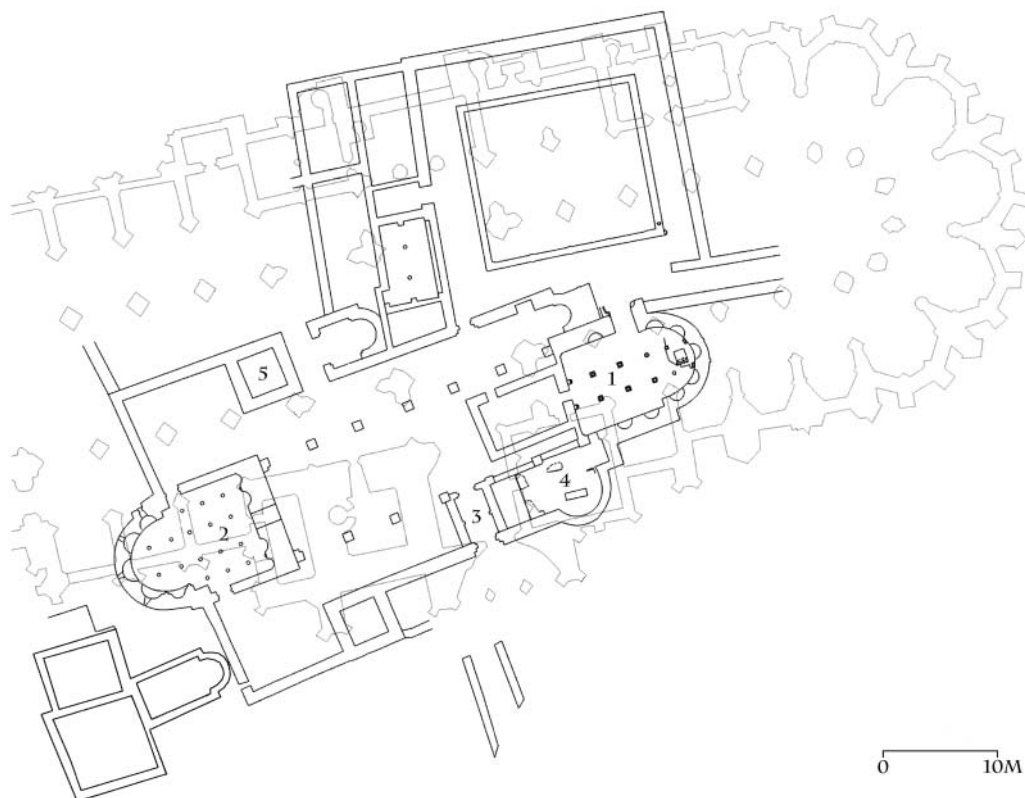


FIG. 4. Prague, St Vitus's basilica reconstructed and superimposed over the ground plan of today's cathedral. Modified after J. Maříková-Kubková and I. Herichová, *Archeologický atlas Pražského hradu 1, Katedrála sv. Víta — Vikářská ulice* (Castrum Pragense, X) (Prague 2009)
 1: crypt under the east choir; 2: crypt under the west choir; 3: south portal and entrance;
 4: St Wenceslas' chapel; 5: north-west tower

lists 'the tomb of St Vitus of amethyst stones, where, initially, the body of St Vitus had been'.⁴² The saint's head came to Prague with his body, but apparently in a separate receptacle, for the aforementioned earlier inventory of 1355 refers to it as 'the silver and gold head of St Vitus'.⁴³ Since the head was kept with other reliquaries in the sacristy, the body was probably located directly in or behind the altar of St Vitus in the Romanesque basilica. When the new tomb was prepared in the Gothic choir before consecration of the high altar in 1365, these relics had to be moved again (Fig. 2:1).

Of the furnishings presented to the tomb, the 1387 inventory lists among others nine new tapestries 'which are given to Saint Vitus to lay the relics at the altar', and subsequently also 'the tapestry of Saint Vitus from two purple cloths, with which the tomb of Saint Vitus is covered'.⁴⁴ That kind of cover is referred to in description of the disastrous fire that broke out in the cathedral in 1541, destroying many of its liturgical fittings. Its eyewitness Wenceslas Hájek of Libočany described how 'the

covering on the grave of St Vitus burned, and the ark or the wooden lid also burned, but the red-marble tomb, in which the holy body rests, was left unblemished'.⁴⁵

After the consequences of the fire were dealt with, the tomb was damaged again in 1619 during the disastrous Calvinist reformation (Figs 5 and 8).⁴⁶ According to a wooden relief, depicting this violent act, the tomb was a two-storey structure. It was crowned with the wooden house-shaped lid, like the one noted by Hájek, which must have then been restored to its original appearance. It was wedged in between the two easternmost pillars of the chancel, and by its two tiers it responded to the difference in height between the ambulatory and the high choir. Since the floor level of the choir was higher than the ambulatory (today it is about 1m above it), the tomb-chest had to be similarly elevated so that its west side facing the choir could have been attached to the high altar.

The difference in floor height had further impact on the form of the tomb. Its lower part, visible only from the ambulatory, was made of Prague silicite (*opuka*), while the tomb-chest was of red marble (Figs 6 and 7). Both these parts survive today and seem to be original,⁴⁷ except for the statues. The tomb dado is articulated with a frieze of semi-circular trefoil-cusped arches ending in lilies (Fig. 7), identical to that used by Peter Parler on the Wenceslas chapel dado finished in c. 1366. The marble tomb-chest is plain as are the tombs of the princes and kings in the cathedral's radiating chapels. In fact, in Hájek's time and before 1619 the St Vitus tomb resembled that of Prince Vratislav I (888–921), which has survived to date in the adjacent St George's basilica and which consisted of a rectangular base and a hipped roof, resembling a house. Vratislav's tomb-chest was erected in c. 1379 and its wooden lid restored after the Hussite Wars c. 1440 (Fig. 9).⁴⁸

The western part of the tomb of St Vitus was enclosed within the canons' choir — an area blocked off and inaccessible to lay worshippers — but its eastern part protruded into the ambulatory, and this gave lay people an opportunity for direct contact with the saint (Fig. 2:1). Two early 15th-century accounts illustrate the depth of public reverence for the saint. In 1412 the tomb of St Vitus was selected as the spot to which a chest would be chained to collect money for the king of Naples, as that was the spot 'that most people walk around'.⁴⁹ An order written after 1416 for the commendata for Archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice and Bishop Menhard describe it taking place behind the tomb of St Vitus, 'where the epitaphs of the bishops are directly against the tomb of St Vitus, where the people kneel'.⁵⁰

The high altar of the cathedral today is a freestanding block unattached to the tomb of St Vitus, but in the past the altar and tomb might have been connected, as in the case of the tombs of St Wenceslas, St Adalbert and St Sigismund (Fig. 2:3). They both played an important role during the coronation rituals even before Charles IV brought the body of St Vitus to Prague. When King Wenceslas II (1271–1305) was crowned in 1297, the coronation took place 'near the high altar of blessed Vitus, the martyr'.⁵¹ Likewise, according to the ordinal composed in the time of Charles IV,⁵² the coronation ritual would be enacted 'in front of the altar of St Vitus', where the throne would be placed.⁵³ But it was St Wenceslas, who in the programme of Bohemian kings, further amplified by Charles IV, played the role of an eternal ruler, whose relics would be visited during the coronation ritual and who would symbolically hand over the crown kept on his head reliquary. This was the case in c. 1374 when the earliest preserved manuscript of the coronation ordinal, originally composed in the 1340s, was written, probably for the young King Wenceslas IV (1361–1419).⁵⁴ This version also comprised the ordinal of the coronation of the queen, and that ritual was about



FIG. 5. Prague, St Vitus's Cathedral: the sack of cathedral in 1619, relief in St Vitus' south ambulatory, Caspar Bechteler, 1621–23

J. Gloc, Správa Pražského hradu

to change in the following years. In Charles's ordinal, the queen's coronation was much simpler than that of the king.⁵⁵ It did not require, for example, a visit to the Wenceslas chapel, which is logical since she must have been crowned with a different crown from the one Charles placed in perpetuity on the head reliquary of St Wenceslas and which was the reason why the king elect was brought to the saint's grave in the chapel.

A detailed description of the coronation of Wenceslas IV's wife, Queen Sophia of Bavaria (1376–1428) in 1400, shows how the ritual was enriched and made to resemble that of the king. Furthermore, it shows how the body of St Vitus, brought in 1355 by the emperor, made this change possible. After the procession with the queen elect, who walked beneath a canopy, entered the cathedral, there was a mass followed by the sermon, and Sophia was then anointed by Archbishop Olbram of Škvorec. When the pipers and trumpeters sounded, the crown was placed on her head, 'which was taken from the altar and the head of St Vitus. [...] After the reading of the Gospel she was led to the throne on the altar of St Vitus [covered] with rare gilded fabrics'. The bishop of Litomyšl and the patriarch of Antioch held the reliquary bust of St Vitus over the throne so that the queen could kiss it. Finally, the Mass was celebrated, during which 'the queen bowed from the throne to the altar of St Vitus', in order to receive the body and blood of the Lord.⁵⁶ Although it followed closely the rituals prescribed by Charles's coronation ordinal, it differs radically in the role played in it by St Vitus. It was this saint who bestowed the reign to the elect queen, and not St Wenceslas. Furthermore, and that may be connected with this addition, the throne was placed directly on the altar (*super altare*) dedicated to the saint.⁵⁷

This unusual detail appeared once more, but in this case during the coronation of King Albrecht II the Magnanimous (1397–1439), in 1438. A contemporary account describes that towards the end of the ceremony, when Albrecht was proclaimed king, the following scene took place:

They then all said and cried: That is him, that is him. They took the king with great pomp and led him to a throne up behind the high altar on the tomb of St Vitus, and they had him sit down.



FIG. 6. Prague, St Vitus's Cathedral: tomb of St Vitus
Jiří Kuthan



FIG. 7. Prague, St Vitus's Cathedral: tomb of St Vitus, lower dado
Petr Uličný

The king then remained seated on the throne to hear the Gospel and to watch the celebration of the Mass.⁵⁸

Both descriptions show how much the coronation ceremony deviated from the ordinal used at Charles's coronation in 1347, and that it was the existence of the head and body of St Vitus that led to this change. Only then could the queen's crown be brought to the choir on its own reliquary bust (first mentioned in the cathedral treasury in 1355)⁵⁹ in a ceremony analogous to that performed with St Wenceslas's relics. Although present in the cathedral already in 1355, it seems that the St Vitus's relics were fully exploited in the coronation ritual only after the emperor's death. The altar and the saint's tomb were presumably connected and served as a platform for the throne, a ritual that could have had a symbolic meaning. As such it recalls the ancient tradition of enthronement of the Přemyslid princes on the stone seat, located within Prague Castle, which had been used for centuries before the reign of Charles IV.⁶⁰ It is known that other traditional elements used in the election of Bohemian princes were absorbed into the Charles's coronation ordinal, notably, the journey to Vyšehrad Castle on the eve of the coronation, where the king elect was shown Přemysl Oráč's shoes and satchel as a reminder of his Přemyslid ancestry.⁶¹ It is worth noting that the Gothic choir of the cathedral was probably set up on the spot where the ancient throne originally stood — between the old St Vitus's basilica and St George's basilica.⁶² But without relevant sources available it can only be speculated that the connection between the coronation rituals which took place in 1400 and that centuries before would have been conscious and deliberate.

At present the tomb of St Vitus is flanked by the empty corbel brackets mounted on the west faces of the easternmost pillars of the apse. Unlike all the lost sculptural furnishing of the cathedral's interior, in this case we have a record of the images that the two brackets once bore. According to an undated medieval list of tapestries that were to be hung at Easter, a red one featuring the image the Virgin was to be installed 'over the tomb of St Vitus between the statues of the Blessed Mary and the Saviour'.⁶³ The statue of Christ may have been that on the south side, above the surviving corbel with Adam and Eve in Paradise, whose original sin is redeemed by Christ's sacrifice.



FIG. 8. Prague, St Vitus's Cathedral: the sack of cathedral in 1619, relief in St Vitus's south ambulatory, Caspar Bechteler, 1621–23, detail with the tomb of St Vitus

J. Gloc, Správa Pražského hradu

If this is correct, the figure of the Saviour here would have been lined up with the bust of Charles IV on the inner triforium, and with that of Christ in the external triforium.⁶⁴ The image of the Virgin, located according to this hypothesis opposite to that of Christ, would have been supported by the sun and moon corbel.

The south side of the choir was illuminated by the mysterious power of the sacrament kept in the tower tabernacle, erected near the high altar (Fig. 2:4). The only evidence of its appearance is found in an engraving of the coronation of Ferdinand II (1578–1637) as king of Bohemia in 1617, just two years before its destruction during



FIG. 9. Prague,
St George's basilica:
tomb of Prince
Vratislav I, c. 1379,
wooden cover of the
1440s

*J. Gloc, Správa Pražského
hradu*

the Calvinist purge of the cathedral (Figs 10 and 11).⁶⁵ It was not until the first half of the 18th century that its remains disappeared entirely, since the ground plan of the cathedral, dated from a time before the coronation of Maria Theresa (1717–80) in 1743, marks its original spot with a small rectangular object labelled with the sign of the cross.⁶⁶ According to the engraving, its elaborate multi-tier spire was mounted on a rectangular corpus for the Host, which was reinforced at its corners by diagonal buttresses and topped by recessing tiers of gables. The pyramidal spire, octagonal in plan, had a sophisticated design of rhythmically arranged miniature turrets

stacked around the two storeys of the spire, and the entire structure culminated in a diagonally placed pinnacle.

The high altar, like other altars in the cathedral, was badly damaged during the 1619 reformation and had to be re-consecrated in 1624.⁶⁷ Sometime in the 19th century, a fragment of a pinnacle was recovered from the masonry of the new altar, which would very likely have been a piece that had originally topped the tabernacle destroyed in 1619 (Fig. 12).⁶⁸ The square shaft of this fragment had a pyramidal top, fringed with crockets, and in the original structure it was placed behind four gables, similarly edged with crockets. Three of the gablets featured a three-petal star tracery mounted over a pointed archivolt, while the fourth, which was not intended to be visible, was blank. The pinnacle was done in simple red and blue polychromy.

The tabernacle of St Vitus's Cathedral must have been installed before the choir was consecrated in 1365, and this date makes it one of the first elaborately designed freestanding tower sacrament houses in Central Europe.⁶⁹ Microarchitectural forms of the tabernacles were lavishly structured and varied and thanks to Petr Parler and his circle they became highly popular.⁷⁰ The example that most resembles the St Vitus's tabernacle is located in the church of St Bartholomew in Kolín nad Labem which dates from *c.* 1378 (Fig. 13).⁷¹ Despite the different designs of these two tabernacles, they have common features such as wreath of gables at the base of the spire and a massive pinnacle fitted on the top. The full height of the Kolín tabernacle is about 7 m, which gives some idea of what the scale of the Prague sacrament house might have been.

The former canons' choir today occupies the polygonal apse and two bays in the central vessel up to the fifth pillar on the north and south side, and this is also where it is depicted in Václav V. Tomek's ground plan showing the location of the altars in the pre-Hussite cathedral (Fig. 3).⁷² However, in the case of the canons' choir this represents a modern arrangement of the cathedral, which must have been done in *c.* 1840, when the restoration work commenced. Originally, the canons choir was one bay shorter, running just up to the fourth pillar. The choir is depicted as such in an engraving of King Matthias's coronation in 1611 (Fig. 15),⁷³ which is the earliest surviving view, and for the last time in Jan Kugler's ground plan of 1837 (Fig. 14).⁷⁴

Many records show the choir initially as separated from the rest of the cathedral by a metal grille, which is mentioned shortly after the consecration of the choir in a notary charter dating from 1 August 1368, which was confirmed 'in the Prague church in front of the altar of St Vitus in the new choir, outside the grille'.⁷⁵ One section of it seems to have survived to date, located between the first and second pillars of the south side of the apse (Figs 2:2 and 16). The only break in its simple rectangular pattern is an arched doorway, which either served as an approach to the eastern side of the tomb of St Vitus or for other liturgical purposes. A pair of arched entrances is also portrayed in the above-mentioned engraving of 1611, and these gave access to the choir from the west (Figs 2:8 and 15). There may have been liturgical reasons for the existence of two passages (entry and exit), and as such it may have been passed on from the old Romanesque choir, along with the grills' simple design and the semi-circular arches of the entrances.

A recent survey revealed that the two-chamber tomb was located in front of the high altar in the canons' choir, but only the western part of it appears to have been of medieval origin (Fig. 2:9–10).⁷⁶ Surprisingly, that very part lay outside the area of the main choir beneath the passage between the canons' and the mansonaries' choir

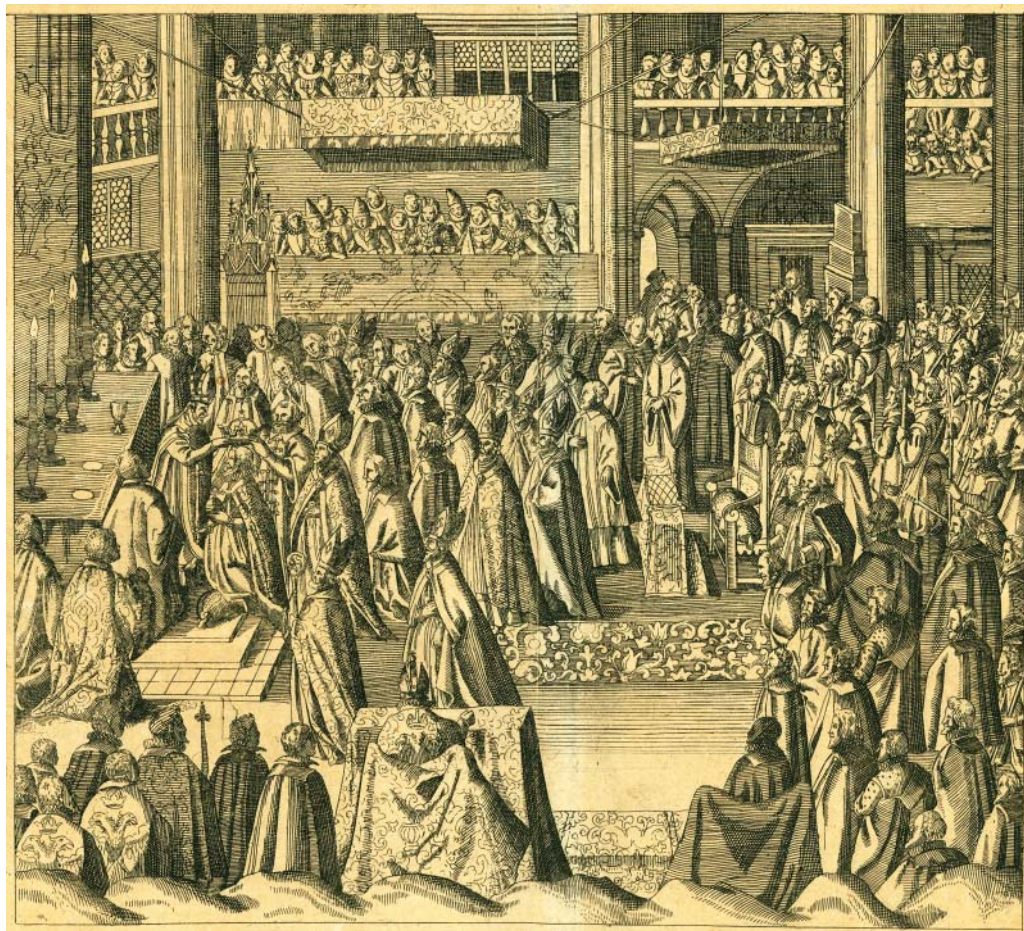


FIG. 10. Prague, St Vitus's Cathedral: coronation of Emperor Ferdinand II as king of Bohemia in 1617. Detail of the engraving, 'Eigentliche abbildung [...]', with a sacrament house on the south side of the former canons' choir. Prague, Muzeum hlavního města Prahy, Sbirka grafik, H 1179

(Fig. 2:10). Although the tomb might have been accessible from the canons' choir early on (perhaps from the stairs where the second chamber is now located — Fig. 2:9), its position is odd. If the tomb was to be the burial site of a great importance, that is, as it seems, for the royal family, it must have been designed for a cathedral with a different interior layout. If so, the earlier design was abandoned well before the year of the cathedral's consecration in 1365, following a thorough revision of plans in the 1350s. This change involved a transfer of the Virgin choir from the western apse of the Romanesque basilica into the eastern part of the Gothic cathedral. It seems that the Virgin choir and the royal necropolis had initially been two separated entities and that the burial ground reserved for the royalty had been planned in

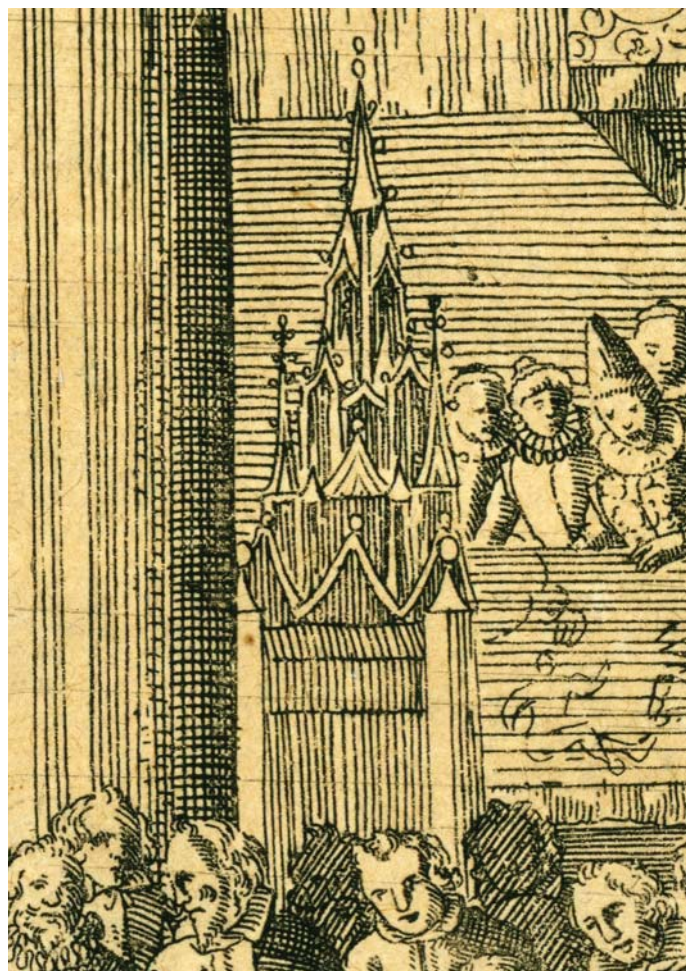


FIG. 11. Prague, St Vitus's Cathedral: coronation of Emperor Ferdinand II to king of Bohemia in 1617, detail of the sacrament house from engraving 'Eigentliche abbildung [...]'. Prague, Muzeum hlavního města Prahy, Sběrka grafik, H 1179

front of the high altar (Fig. 21). Charles, however, soon decided to commit deceased members of the family into the arms of the Virgin, which would have led to the incorporation of the three altars into the mansionars, where they would have served the funeral Mass for each of Charles's late wives and his first son. Since the western apse of the church would have been the least appropriate place to house a royal necropolis, which would traditionally been placed in front of the high altar or at the crossing, the choir had to move to the eastern part of the cathedral. Because that had already been occupied by the canons' choir, the given space had to be divided among the two choirs, which led to the shortening of the first choir. Due to that change, the crypt planned to be the burial chamber of the royalty eventually found itself under the passage dividing the choirs. Thus the originally planned and more traditional liturgical layout gave way to a new and original solution that resulted in the complete refurbishment of the church interior.⁷⁷

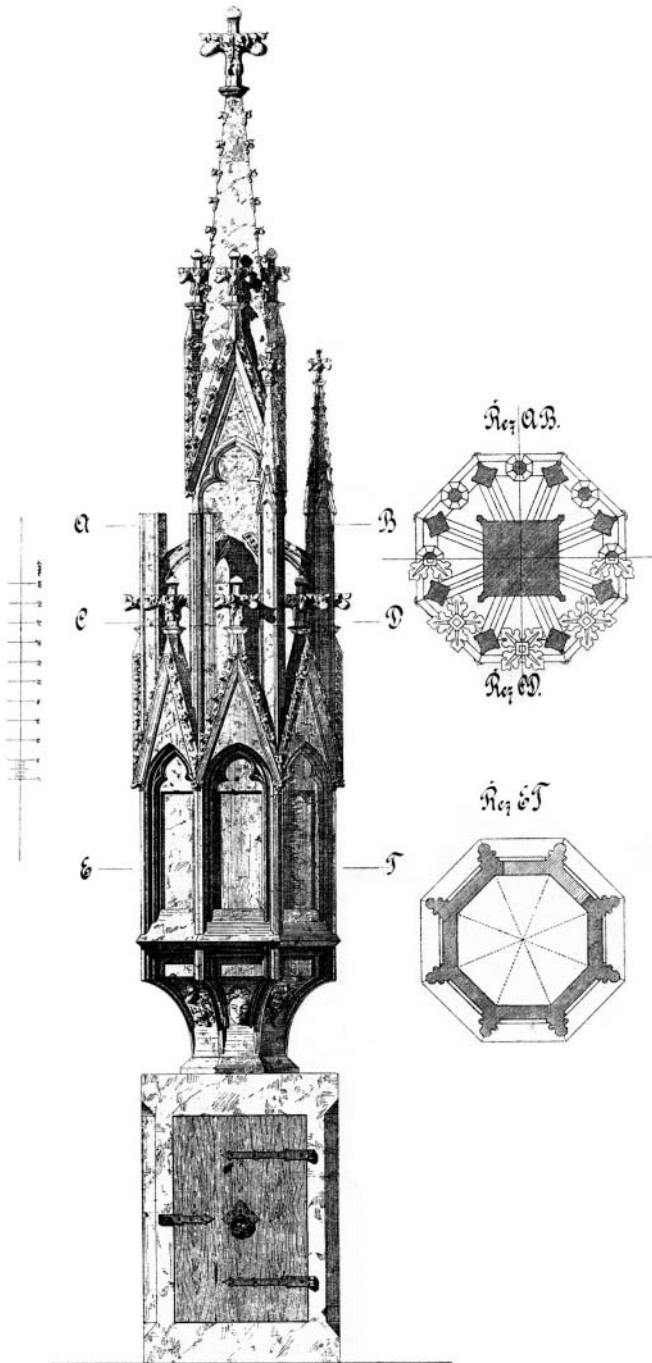


FIG. 12. Prague, St Vitus's Cathedral: fragment of the finial from the former sacrament house, found in the high altar. Prague, Správa Pražského hradu
J. Gloc, Správa Pražského hradu

THE CHOIR OF THE VIRGIN — THE MANSIONARS' CHOIR

THE second choir in the Gothic cathedral, dedicated to the Virgin and entrusted to the mansionars, was located directly next to the canons' choir (Fig. 2:III), separated by a narrow passage (Fig. 2:II).⁷⁸ Over time the choir along with the royal burial ground underwent a number of changes. They were vandalised in 1421, badly damaged by fire in 1541, remodelled in 1589 when a new royal mausoleum was constructed, and damaged again in 1619 during the Calvinist Reformation to such an extent that not a single piece of the medieval furnishings survived.⁷⁹

The mansionars' choir, like the canons' choir, was surrounded by a grille, documented only in written sources. The grille is referred to repeatedly in a list of 'commendas' or anniversaries dating after 1416. In one of its guidelines the



Kolín: Sanktuarium v kostele sv. Bartoloměje (pravá strana rest.).

FIG. 13. Kolín nad Labem, church of St Bartholomew, sacrament house. After K. B. Mádl, *Soupis památek historických a uměleckých v politickém okrese kolínském* (Prague 1897), 36

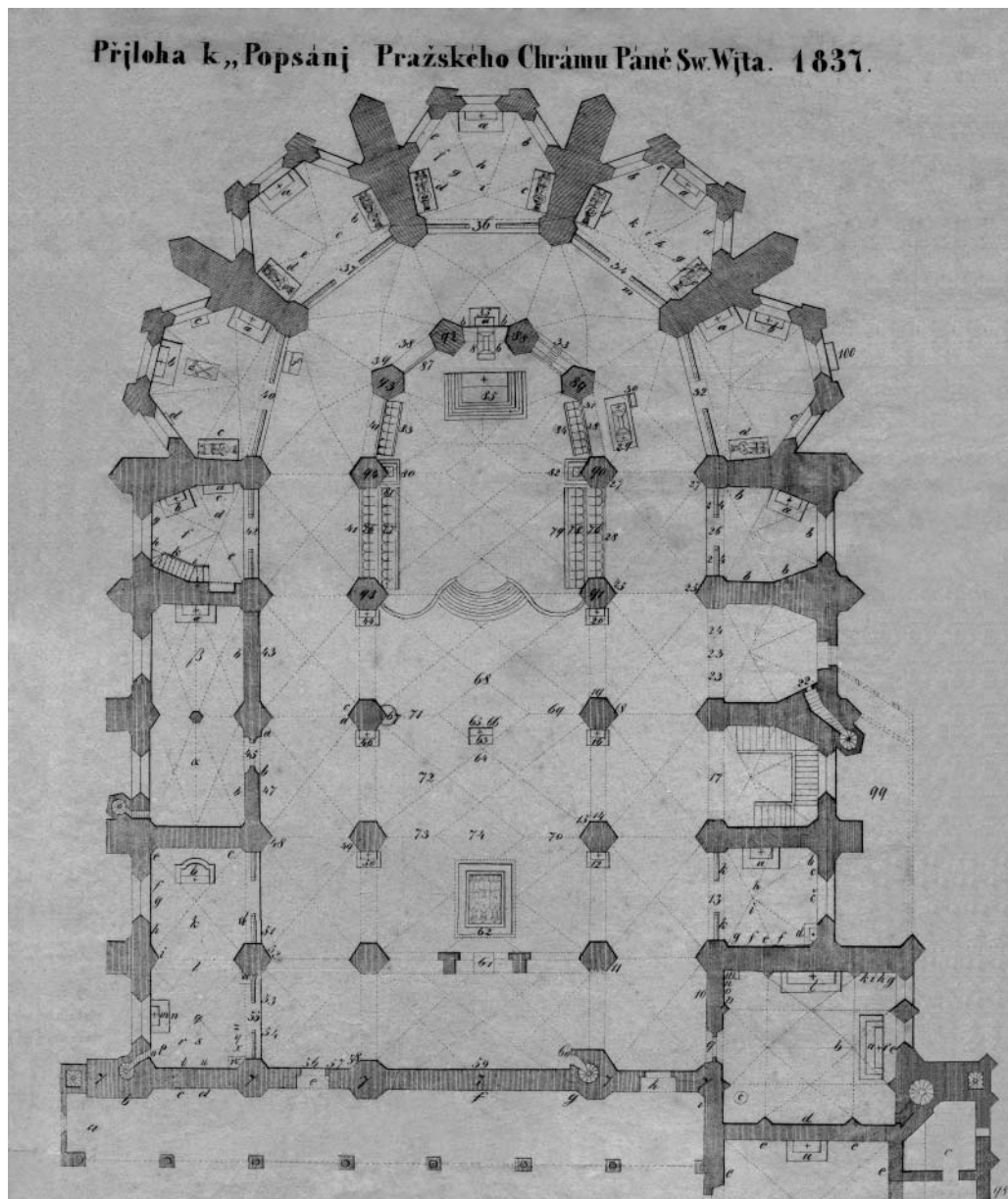


FIG. 14. Prague, St Vitus's Cathedral: ground plan by J. Kügler. After W. M. Pešina, 'Krátké popsánj kr. chrámů páně prazského sw. Wjta', *Časopis pro katolické duchovenstvo*, 10 (1837)



FIG. 15. Prague, St Vitus's Cathedral: coronation of Emperor Matthias II as king of Bohemia in 1611. Detail of the engraving *Aigentliche Contrafactur* [...], Prague, Národní Muzeum, Sbírka grafik, H2-64139
Petr Uličný

commenda held between the two choirs is reported as being performed in front of the altar of Sts Philip and James, at the head of the marble stone under which Paul of Vlašim was buried 'within reach of the grille of the blessed Virgin choir'.⁸⁰ Another commenda for dean Budislav, was held beside the tomb of Nicholas Bohatý, which was indicated as being:

next to the grille of the blessed Virgin choir, behind the first entrance of the grille, as one walks from the sacristy next to the elevated junction, where the entrance meets the grille, that is, next to the tomb of Nicholas Bohatý, as one walks to the grille.⁸¹

The fact that the reference is to the northern entrance in the grille (facing the sacristy) is supported by the account stating that Bohatý's wife Ursula was buried in front of the altar of St Catherine, which was located on the north side of the passage in between the choirs (Fig. 2:14).⁸² The doorway is mentioned in the commenda, for one Master Verner performed 'next to the grille, as one walks from the Virgin choir through the left entrance'.⁸³ If the grille had a first entrance on the left or north side it must also have had a second doorway on the right/south side, and, as such, it recalled the canons choir with its two entrances (Fig. 2:15). The reference to an 'elevated junction' at the north entrance may also mean it had similar 'elevated' arches above the doorway. These two doors could have been placed either in the passage between the two choirs, or on the sides of the mansionars' choir, which seems to be a more logical solution. The choir was still protected by the grille in 1510 when repair work was carried out on its south side and the entrance. At that time,

3 Meissen groschen were paid to ‘renovate the lock and the grille in the choir of the Mother of God on the south side’.⁸⁴

The Virgin altar, located at the east side of the mansionars’ choir, was consecrated at the same time as the altar of St Vitus in 1365 and it was located between the fifth pillars of the cathedral (Fig. 2:16). According to the *c.* 1436 inventory, the altar (*altare majus*) was served by three ministrants, two of whom sang the morning mass, alternating with each other from one week to the next; the third read four masses a week.⁸⁵ The morning mass (*in aurora*) is mentioned in the inventory dating from *c.* 1415.⁸⁶

In *c.* 1365, the altar of St Florentius was built in the Virgin choir (Fig. 2:27). The list of relics donated to the cathedral by Charles IV in 1353 contains the first known mention of ‘a large part of the body of St Florentius, the bishop of Strasbourg and the confessor’.⁸⁷ The 1355 inventory states that the bishop’s body was placed in a silver and gold tomb-shaped reliquary with images,⁸⁸ and the 1368 inventory gives more specific information indicating that it was then the property of the mansionars.⁸⁹ The 1387 inventory indicates that a new place was found for the reliquary, because the tomb of St Florentius is described as being of ‘silver and gold with images and the mansionars had it elevated on two iron columns above the altar’.⁹⁰ In 1420, this tomb, along with other reliquaries, was transported to Karlstein Castle,⁹¹ where it was destroyed. The altar probably stood up against one of the pillars, and its two ‘iron’ columns, to which the reliquary was affixed, can be described as articulated cast-brass supports. This was one of few permanent displays of a reliquary in Prague Cathedral, which was possible thanks to the protection of the choir’s enclosure.

Unfortunately, little evidence has survived to indicate the exact form and position of the imperial and royal necropolis, which was located somewhere inside the Virgin choir, and was replaced in 1589 by the current mausoleum with the effigy tombs of Emperors Rudolf II, Maximilian II and Ferdinand I (Fig. 2:20).⁹² As mentioned above, Charles IV selected the Virgin choir for the necropolis only sometime in the late 1350s, one decade after the new liturgical body of mansionars had been established. The change in the concept — one of many that occurred during the construction of the cathedral — is in keeping with an extensive revision of the cathedral’s ground plan made after the death of the first architect Matthias of Arras in 1352, and carried out by Peter Parler, who probably arrived to Prague 1356. From then on, namely from 1360 until the late 16th century, sources illustrate that Charles’s body, along with other kings and queens, was laid to rest in the Virgin choir. One of such piece of evidence is to be found in the *Old Bohemian Chronicles*’ description of the burial of King Ladislaus the Posthumous (1440–57) in 1458. According to its anonymous author the king was:

buried in the grave of his grandfather, Emperor Charles, in the church of St Vitus, in the choir of the Virgin, in Prague Castle, where to this day banners of his land hang above his grave.⁹³

This is reiterated in the inventory of *c.* 1436, whose systematic route begins in the north-west corner of the cathedral. It proceeds in a clockwise fashion around the sacristy and the Trinity Chapel (at the apex of the choir), and leads to the chapel of Sts Erhard and Otilia (on the south side, Fig. 3). It then moves to the central part of the choir and the tomb of St Vitus, and finally into the Virgin choir with its high altar. This inventory is followed by a passage describing the imperial tomb, in which three altars are listed as located ‘at the head’ of the emperor’s grave and, as we have seen, the text states that they were donated by Queen Blanche, Queen Anna and Empress Elizabeth.⁹⁴

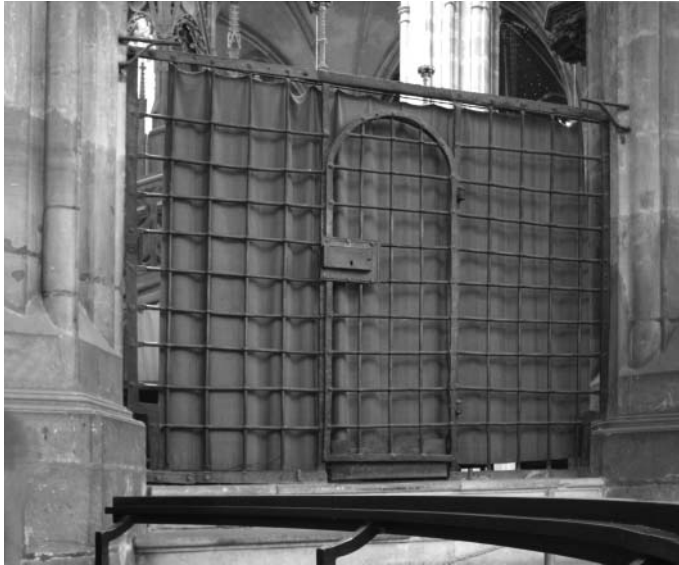


FIG. 16. Prague, St Vitus's Cathedral: grille with a side doorway on the south side of the former canons' choir
Petr Uličný

The same picture can be gleaned from some 16th-century documents written before the construction of the Renaissance mausoleum. In an undated charter issued by King Ferdinand I, for example, the veneration of his wife Queen Anna Jagiellon (1503–47) is established. It communicates that she was buried at St Vitus's and at Ferdinand's request the service was held on the altar of the Virgin Mary, 'before which lies the tomb of our said dear wife'.⁹⁵ It probably raised from the pavement in a form of tomb-chest (*tumulus*), because during mass it was covered with a black cloth bearing a white cross.⁹⁶ A more elaborate form of the tomb is given in the appendix to Ferdinand's will, in which he states that Anna's grave was to be an appropriately decorated tombstone with a life-size portrait of the queen, depicted with a crown on her head and a sceptre in her hand, and there was to be an angel at her feet holding a shield bearing her coat of arms, while another four angels were to be located at the corners. The text describes the location of this 'special tomb', placed 'next to the imperial tomb'⁹⁷ of Charles IV (Fig. 2:26).

Another source is the above-mentioned Hájek's description of the 1541 fire, which contains a passage on how it spread through the cathedral:

the fire fell through the openings in the vault key-stones and set the pipe organ on fire, which fell to the ground and burned, and from there the stalls, which were made of maple and oak wood and had marvellously carved images, caught fire, as did the excellent pulpits, all of it burned to the ground. The covers of the royal tombs also burned. From there the fire spread to the chapel of St Sigismund.⁹⁸

From the progress of the fire is thus clear that the covers — which seem to be many in number — were near the stalls in the Virgin choir that were set alight when the fire descended from the gallery in the westernmost part of the choir. A similar picture is presented in a description of the interior of the cathedral dating from 1563 given by Oldřich Prefát of Vlkanov in an itinerary of his journey through the Holy Land, which he made in 1546. In the chapter called 'On a Comparison of the Church of the

Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem to the Church of St Vitus in Prague Castle', he helps readers to imagine the arrangement of the Jerusalem church by comparing it to the features in St Vitus's cathedral:

inside the church of St Vitus at the place in between the gallery and the choir, as you understand, it is as though there were a round church standing there, at the centre of which is the Holy Sepulchre, and the graves — that of Emperor Charles and the others — that are standing in the middle of this place, these are like the Holy Sepulchre.⁹⁹

The account thus not only repeats information on multiplicity of tombs, but attests to its existence in the Virgin choir even after the fire. Relation between these tombstones and the buried royal bodies, however, seems to be somewhat more complex, since the bodies were all — or most of them — placed in a single underground crypt. This is clear from the description given in the memoirs of Mikuláš Dačický of Heslov, who writes about moving their remnants in 1589:

In Prague castle, in the principal church of St Vitus in the middle of the said church, the bodies have been moved from the place of the imperial and royal funeral, namely: that of Charles the emperor of that name the fourth, of king of Bohemia, King Wenceslas, of his son, king of the Romans and Bohemia, of King Ladislaus the Posthumous, king of Bohemia and Hungary, of King George, king of Bohemia, of King Ferdinand, king of Bohemia and Hungary; of his son Emperor Maximilian the second of that name, king of Bohemia and Hungary, also of Anna, the wife of the aforementioned Emperor Ferdinand, as well as some other bodies of their relations; because this burial site was built anew and expanded, and the bodies were placed into one chapel in the same church and were shown to some people. After this structure was completed, the place of their burial, they were in turn brought back and over them a nice preparation, along with their images carved in the white alabaster stone, is masterly produced.¹⁰⁰

Their bodies were thus returned to the place where the old burial place used to be, otherwise there would have been no need to give them the indignity of storing them in one of the chapels. This point is conformed in the memoirs of another contemporary, Jan Rakovnický of Jenštejn:

Item I was at the castle that Monday after the Nativity of the blessed Virgin in the church of St Vitus with Mr Kříž Chmotský and Mr Tomáš, and then in the coffins in the imperial crypt we saw Emperor Charles IV, King George, King Ladislaus, Queen Anna, Ferdinand and Maximilian, the emperors, and Maximilian's two daughters.¹⁰¹

The crypt was therefore opened on 11 September 1589, and that date corresponds with building records on the new mausoleum. On 20 October 1589, sculptor Alexander Colin, his son and assistants were paid for assembling the parts of the mausoleum,¹⁰² and in the same year, on the orders of Emperor Rudolf II, his builder Ulrico Avostalli received payment for the construction of the underground cellar, 'where the old emperors and kings lie'.¹⁰³

All these documents thus attest to the fact that the imperial and royal necropolis, in which Charles IV was buried, stood exactly on the place now occupied by the Renaissance mausoleum. There is, however, one document that contradicts that. In 1433, Thomas Ebendorfer, the canon of St Stephen's in Vienna, visited Prague Cathedral and described the imperial mausoleum in his chronicle of the kings of the Romans:

Charles [...] is buried in the cathedral church before the altar of St Vitus, in the royal mausoleum built of ashlar, elevated two feet above the pavement, with a protection lattice on top, which is, as I saw, in three places broken and open, and so through someone's anger dishonoured.¹⁰⁴



FIG. 17. Prague, St Vitus's Cathedral: the sack of cathedral in 1619, relief in St Vitus's south ambulatory, Caspar Bechteler, 1621–23, detail showing the destruction of St John Nepomuk's tomb in 1619

J. Gloc, Správa Pražského hradu

Although Ebendorfer's description is of high value, he seems to confuse the Virgin altar with that of St Vitus, probably because there were two high altars in the cathedral. As we have seen, there could not have been a tomb above the crypt in front of the altar of St Vitus, because of the passage between the two choirs.

A sketch of what appears to be the old royal necropolis is found on the oldest surviving ground plan of the cathedral, which is a part of the general survey of Prague Castle, now in the Uffizi (Fig. 18). The drawing is a copy, likely made in the 1620s by the castle architect, Giovanni Pieroni, after the original drawn *c.* 1560.¹⁰⁵ The depiction of the cathedral is neither accurate nor detailed. The whole structure is significantly elongated in the drawing (which was later corrected in a sketch showing a shorter choir), and among the church's furnishings only the high altar with the tomb of St Vitus — here separated from one another — are portrayed. What looks like an area of the royal necropolis is a large longitudinal feature that takes up almost the entire Virgin choir (Fig. 2:19).

Since the central feature of the necropolis — the tomb of Emperor Charles IV — vanished without a trace, only surviving accounts provide some information about

what it looked like. In the graveside speech delivered at emperor's funeral in 1378, Archbishop Jan Očko of Vlašim, refers to the following epitaph carved on his sepulchre:

In the year one thousand three hundred and seventy-eight, November twenty-nine. I, Charles the Fourth, once the terror of the whole world, the emperor and invincible, by the death defeated, in this grave I am covered. Nurturing Lord, I beg, may my spirit reach the stars. Oh, let everyone pray for me, those whom I, dead, left and whom in life I cherished. And so let his soul rest in holy peace.¹⁰⁶

A 15th-century account recorded in the annals of the Saxon Cistercian monastery of Altzella, located not far from the borders of Bohemia, gives yet another inscription, which was placed *'supra kapellam'*, that is, above the tomb of the deceased ruler:

Charles, the august, the adornment of Heaven and Earth, enclosed in this ark, the supreme monarch of the world.¹⁰⁷

Some important details about appearance of the tomb-chest are also given by Ebendorfer, but the most vivid image is provided by the 'commenda' ordinal, written down, according to Václav V. Tomek, sometime after the year 1416. It is also a source of great detail on the entire necropolis, such as the description of the rules observed during the first of the two anniversaries for Queen Anna of Šwidnica, Charles IV's third wife. At that time, the emperor's mausoleum was modified as follows:

One red tapestry with four angels and stars shall be hung up over the chests surrounding the emperor's sepulchre, and it shall be hung as high as the banners between which it hangs. And the belt shall be stretched from both sides around the tops of the statues, and this should be done by the mansionars in the right choir by the emperor's sepulchre; the tumbarius shall only exhibit the sceptre and the orb with the royal crown. And also the sepulchre is to be covered with the Blanche.¹⁰⁸

This tapestry was also hung over the tomb on the anniversary of the emperor's first wife Blanche:

The mansionars shall prepare the emperor's sepulchre on the left side of the choir at the corner of the grave. The Blanche shall be suspended over the sepulchre, and the grave shall be wrapped in other tapestries called Blanche. The crown and the sceptre with the orb shall be placed.¹⁰⁹

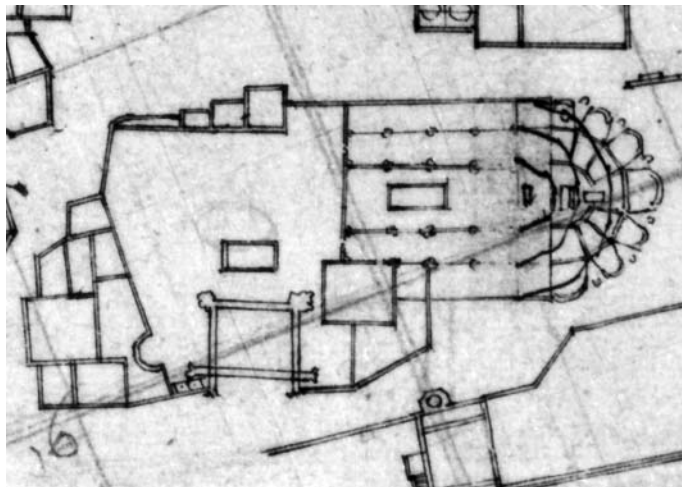


FIG. 18. Giovanni Pieroni, ground plan of Prague castle, the 1620s after earlier drawing of c. 1560, detail showing the cathedral. Florence, Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, 4521 A
By permission of Ministero dei beni e delle attività culturali e del turismo

The emperor's anniversary was, however, celebrated in a different way. The precious textiles were not wrapped around the tomb, nor were they hung over it, but were placed directly on top of it:

On the day of St John the Apostle after the second Vespers, which are sung in the middle of the choir in front of the tomb of St Adalbert [and] of the Innocents, the great bell of St Wenceslas shall ring out during the Vespers for the dead. The Vespers for the dead are sung in the choir of the blessed Virgin, and the *kobka* below in which the emperor rests shall be covered. The next day the mass for the dead takes place in the choir, and the *kobka* itself shall be covered by the same purple [tapestry] without a timber plank, and the commenda shall be held at the same place, in the middle of the emperor's sepulchre, and mass shall be celebrated on the small middle altar.¹¹⁰

Similar rituals were performed at the emperor's tomb on the anniversary of Queen Johanna of Bavaria (d. 1386), Wenceslas IV's first wife,¹¹¹ and Queen Anna, probably of Świdnica, Charles's third wife.¹¹² In both cases the emperor's tomb was said to be located in the 'right choir'. On the other hand, the instructions for commenda for Charles's fourth wife, Empress Elizabeth, required timber plank 'on the left side, or in the left choir'.¹¹³

The c. 1436 inventory mentions that 'above the tomb of the Lord Emperor, his sons, daughters and wives, a candle was lit, day and night', and that candle was in the care of the mansionars' precentor.¹¹⁴

These accounts, again, confirm that the imperial burial place in St Vitus's Cathedral contained a stone tomb-chest, which was erected over the vaulted crypt, referred to as 'kobka' or a cellar in old Czech (Fig. 2:20). What material the tomb-chest was made of is not mentioned, but it was probably marble, like the tombs of St Sigismund and St Adalbert (after the 1396 translation), or a combination of marble and sandstone or silicite (*opuka*), the material of the tombs of the princes and kings in the radiating chapels. The epitaph mentioned by Archbishop Jan Očko might have decorated the edge of the slab that sealed the approximately 0.6 m high (the equivalent of 2 ft given by Ebendorfer) tomb, or the border of the canopy that was erected over the tomb. The statues, mentioned in the commenda for Queen Anna of Świdnica, were either fitted on the corbels attached to the columns or were placed on the upper part of the canopy. There might have been an effigy of the emperor on top of the tomb. The banners, which would have been mounted somewhere in the canopy and were still in their place in 1458 when Ladislaus the Posthumous was buried, can be identified. They were most certainly those displaying the arms of the lands ruled by Charles that were carried in the funeral procession on 11 December 1378. The event was described in great detail in the Augsburg Chronicle of Burkhard Zink, who noted twelve banners, but curiously failed to mention that of Moravia.¹¹⁵

As we have seen, the bodies of Charles's family and other kings and emperors were buried in one crypt. But from further accounts it appears that some of them may have had their own cenotaphs. In 1393, the widow of Charles IV, Empress Elizabeth, died and according to the wording of the *Old Bohemian Chronicles* she was 'buried in the castle at St Wenceslas [i.e. at St Vitus's] in a grave beside Emperor Charles'.¹¹⁶ Though her body was laid to rest in the family crypt beneath the imperial mausoleum, nevertheless a separate tomb slab was created. Evidence of this is found in amendments made to the cathedral's statutes in 1398 by Archbishop Olbram of Škvorec, in which the mansionars were ordered not to step on the 'pavement' of the (unnamed) queen.¹¹⁷ Although not explicitly stated, this could have been a reference to Elizabeth, who had

died six years earlier. This slab was probably placed somewhere west of the emperor's tomb since the annual ceremonies for the empress, unlike the other queens, were held in the 'left choir', where the timber platform and the crown, sceptre and orb were located (Fig. 2:21).¹¹⁸ The cenotaph of another member of Charles's large family, his son Duke Jan of Görlitz, who died in 1396, was apparently set up in its vicinity (Fig. 2:22). The commenda ordinal explicitly states that the duke lay 'in the left choir next to the elevated emperor's tomb'.¹¹⁹ Somewhere in this section of the choir were also the cenotaphs of King Ladislaus (1440–57) and King George of Poděbrady (1420–71) (Fig. 2:24–25). The site of George's grave is mentioned in the *Old Bohemian Chronicles*, where it is stated that he was buried 'in the new choir, next to King Ladislaus on the side of the chapel of St Wenceslas'.¹²⁰ These words suggest that a separate tomb and a crypt were made for each funeral, but archaeological research which has been conducted on the area described in the *Old Bohemian Chronicles*, that is, the westernmost bay of the Virgin choir, revealed no traces of any crypt.¹²¹ In addition, Jan Rakovnický's aforementioned account states that both these kings were laid to rest together with the others in the 'imperial crypt'. Hájek noted that the individual cenotaphs were protected by wooden covers, which probably took the form of house-shaped wooden chests, like that on the top of St Vitus's and Prince Vratislav's tomb in St George's basilica (Fig. 9). A cover like this is what was likely referred to as '*cistas, quae stant circa sepulcrum Caesaris*', the chest over which the tapestry was suspended draped on the anniversary of Queen Anna of Świdnica. Following the death of George of Poděbrady and Ladislaus the Posthumous, it seems that there was no more room in the western part of the choir, so the area between the emperor's mausoleum and the Virgin altar was selected for other monuments, such as that of Anna of Jagiellon.

The commenda ordinal is the best account on the topography of the Virgin choir and it provides yet more valuable data of its original appearance. At the same time it is a very complicated source because it describes the cathedral in a way that does not conform to its appearance after 1416, the year given by Tomek as *terminus post quem* of the text. The difficulty in understanding the text is exacerbated when one and the same place is being described in two different ways, as in the case of the imperial tomb. Three times it is referred to as being 'in the right choir', and then once, conversely, 'in the left choir'. In addition, the grave (or rather the cenotaph) of Jan of Görlitz, which is supposed to be next to the imperial tomb, is indicated as being located 'in the left choir'. This confusion is resolved in the text outlining the procedure for commemorating Queen Anna's anniversary, which makes it clear that the right choir refers to the right-hand section (*in parte dextra seu in choro dextro*).¹²² In the requirement stipulated for the annual ceremonies for Empress Elizabeth, it is similarly indicated that the timber platform is to be placed 'on the left side or in the left choir' (*ad sinistram partem seu super sinistrum chorum*).¹²³ References to the imperial tomb as once located on the left and another time as located on the right, therefore, simply meant that it was set up on the point in between the two sections of the choir. From what point the choir was visually divided into the right and left and whether the line dividing the choir in two parts ran west–east or north–south is shown in the accounts giving the location of the altars within the Virgin choir.

There were three (or four) altars directly associated with the imperial burial place and these were established by Charles's wives or by the emperor himself long before the new Virgin choir was completed. As we have seen, the first two were dedicated

to St Louis and the Holy Innocents (both prior to 1348), and the third one to St Nicholas (prior to 1353). They are recorded in the *c.* 1436 inventory as the 'three altars at the head [of the grave] of the Lord Emperor, endowed by Queen Blanche, Queen Anna and Empress Elizabeth', where the greater mansionars said mass every day.¹²⁴ However, judging from the formulation in the commenda ordinal, it seems that the information in the inventory should not be taken literally and that only one of the altars stood at the head of the emperor's tomb. It is the one mentioned in the commenda for the emperor, which took place 'in the middle of the emperor's tomb', after which mass was celebrated at the 'small central altar',¹²⁵ that is, the altar of the Holy Innocents (Fig. 2:23).

The other two 'small' altars were then in the *right* section of the choir, where mass was sung for Queen Anna (Fig. 2:17–18). In reference to one of two occasions when this occurred, the site is specified more precisely as 'in the right corner of the choir' (*altario, quod in acie chori dextri*).¹²⁶ That is also where mass was held for Queen Johanna of Bavaria (*in parvo altari in dextro choro*).¹²⁷ If the altar was located in the corner of the Virgin choir, it must have been the east corner and if this corner is referred to as the 'right corner', it means that the right side, mentioned in sources, is the east side of the choir.

The small altar in the corner must have been matched by the altar on the other side and these two altars, dedicated to St Louis and St Nicholas respectively, would have thus flanked the altar of the Virgin. A fourth altar, mentioned only by the chronicler Francis of Prague, could perhaps have been the one dedicated to St Florentius (Fig. 2:27).

The mansionars' choir was initially divided into right and left — that is, east and west — sections as early as the 1343 foundation charter, while still located in the Romanesque basilica. Half of the body, including six priests, three deacons and three subdeacons, had their place in the right choir and another half in the left choir. It was thus this early division in the Romanesque church that was later transferred to the Virgin choir in the Gothic cathedral.¹²⁸

Taking together, the Virgin choir was dominated by a single centrally placed tomb-chest, protected by a canopy, which belonged according to the epitaph, to the deceased 'supreme monarch of the world', with the cenotaphs of members of his extended family and of other kings and queens were distributed around it like satellites.

The Virgin choir seems to have had yet another albeit temporary function as a shelter for the relics of St Adalbert, the cathedral's patron saint (Fig. 2:23). The tomb of St Adalbert is too often mentioned in sources in connection with the mansionars' choir for it to be simply a coincidence. By *c.* 1416, however, when the ordinal of the commendas acquired its known form, Adalbert's remains had already been resting for twenty years in the newly constructed eastern bays of the nave, having been moved there in 1396. This must mean that some commenda texts, which include references to St Adalbert's grave, were written down prior to this translation. This is perhaps best demonstrated by the description of the commenda for Canon Martin Hispanus, which was held:

in the middle of the choir next to the tomb of St Adalbert, at most three steps from a small marble stone where it is carved: Lawrence the Priest, against the altar of St Martha, and also at most one step from the wooden benches, where the priests sit in the left choir, when St Procopius is celebrated, against the altar of St Procopius.¹²⁹

The altar of St Procopius was set up to the north of the mansionars' choir (Fig. 2:32), as recorded in the commenda for Scholastic Zdislav, carried out at the stone opposite the aumbry of an unnamed fraternity:

at most three steps from the altar of St Marta, against the first entrance to the chapel of St Sigismund or where the stone lies between the marble stone under which the cantor Jan lies and the said Petřín stone and opposite the said aumbry.¹³⁰

Which of the two doorways into the chapel of St Sigismund being referred to here is not specified, but it was probably the one on the west side (Fig. 2:VIII) since the aforementioned fraternity's case could only have been in the corner of the crossing pillar (Fig. 2:31).¹³¹ The altar of St Martha is therefore to be found attached to the outside of the northern grille of the mansionars' choir, in its westernmost bay (Fig. 2:30). Evidence for this comes from the wording of the commenda for Jan, called Sparrow, the altar priest at St Procopius. It was performed 'next to the elevated altar of St Martha with the iron lattice on the left side, that is, at the place where the Gospel is read'.¹³² The altar of St Procopius is found in a similar relationship to the choir as the altar of St Martha, but on the opposite side placed against the southeast pillar of the crossing (Fig. 2:33). This is illustrated by another entry in the order, describing the commenda for Canon Jan, called the Pole, which was to be held

next to the chapel of St Wenceslas, which is next to Petřín stone beside the marble stone, which is midway between the altar of St Procopius and the iron grille where Přebyslava lies, the sister of St Wenceslas, at most one step away from the grille, directly against the altar of St Procopius.¹³³

Since the Wenceslas chapel faced the westernmost bay of the mansionars' choir, the venue of the commenda for Martin Hispanus was in this westernmost cathedral bay, which again supports the theory that it was where the tomb of St Adalbert was originally placed.

It was clearly the existence of the precious relics that created the name 'choir of St Adalbert', used in the order for the memorial offices for Bishop Jan II of Dražice. The Vespers for the dead were prepared *in medio chori S. Adalberti*, where the mitre was displayed while mass was being celebrated 'in the Virgin Mary choir'.¹³⁴ The aforementioned memorial ceremonies for Emperor Charles IV, celebrated in the Virgin choir, were also performed in this way 'in front of the tomb of St Adalbert of the Innocents'.¹³⁵

If the phrase '*S Adalberti de Innocentibus*', as Tomek recorded it, is to make sense, it probably needs to be modified to: 'in front of the tomb of St Adalbert [and] the Innocents'.¹³⁶ Read in this way, it allows us to locate the tomb of St Adalbert in the 'left choir', placed on or against the altar of the Holy Innocents, founded by Queen Blanche.

The reason why St Adalbert was placed here for some time, before being moved along with the remains of the Five Brothers into the nave in 1396, was probably for structural reasons. Since St Adalbert's translation in the Romanesque basilica his tomb was located somewhere in the area behind the southern entrance,¹³⁷ which was torn down in c. 1365 to make way for the south porch of the new cathedral and the western wall of the Wenceslas chapel.¹³⁸ Since the Virgin choir was completed at the same time, it was there that a new resting place was sought for St Adalbert. It must have been the central position of the altar of the Holy Innocents within the choir and its proximity to the imperial tomb that favoured this particular altar as the location

of the saint's relics. Nevertheless, it turned out to be only a temporary solution, since the patron saint's relics were moved again shortly after the cornerstone to the cathedral's nave was put in place.¹³⁹

The mansionars' choir was furnished with richly carved choir stalls, the destruction of which was lamented by Hájek (Fig. 2:28). His regret over their loss would have certainly been justified because they were the work of Peter Parler, begun in 1386, as stated in the inscription above his triforium bust.¹⁴⁰ The reason for his admiration of these stalls — whether it was their sculptural quality or their innovative architecture — is, unfortunately, unknown. If the right choir was reserved for half of the mansionars, including six 'lesser' mansionars and six 'greater' mansionars, and accordingly another half found its place in the left choir, as stipulated in the foundation charter, there might have been in total four groups of the stalls to accommodate them.

THE WESTERN CHOIR OF ST ADALBERT?

ST VITUS'S CATHEDRAL had yet one more area that was referred to as a choir in contemporary documents and that, although it was never a choir in a liturgical sense, it could at least have been intended for that use (Fig. 2:V). In 1392 the cathedral's nave was founded,¹⁴¹ and in 1396 the body of St Adalbert and the remains of the Five Brothers were moved and placed at the heart of this space.¹⁴² Two almost identical accounts describing this act, but only one of them — that of the chronicler Beneš the Friar Minor — refers to it as another of the cathedral's choirs: '*sanctae Pragensis ecclesiae alterius chori*'. The other text was carved as the memorial inscription into the southern buttress of the cathedral's spire, but the very phrase '*alterius chori*' is missing. Another contemporary account is a memorial plate attached to St Adalbert's relics and placed in the new tomb which describes the transfer of the relics in 1396 and refers to the new site as the 'new church' (*in istud medium nove ecclesie Pragensis*).¹⁴³ It is therefore unclear what the planned liturgical function of Adalbert's shrine and its surrounding space was. To answer this question the phenomenon of the imitation of the Romanesque basilica in the layout of Gothic cathedral needs to be stressed here. It is a recognised phenomenon of St Vitus's that its ground plan broke with the traditional concept of Gothic cathedral,¹⁴⁴ in favour of an arrangement which follows the earlier church on that site. The Wenceslas chapel conceived as an independent element protruding from the body of the cathedral, the location of the principal entrance of the cathedral to the south and the positioning of the spire linked to it, have all been constructed in an attempt to recreate the features of the 11th-century basilica. Not all key elements, however, were imitated so closely, as was the case with the Virgin choir, located in the western choir of the Romanesque basilica, which was translated into the eastern part of the cathedral. As we have seen, this was the result of a thorough change of the ground plan carried out in the 1350s, and there is therefore a possibility that the early concept of the cathedral did include the western choir. What shape this hypothetical choir was to take is obscure, but in this early stage of design a solution would have probably been favoured which would have conformed to the standard appearance of Gothic cathedrals. If so, one may then think of the site chosen for St Adalbert near the transept as the suitable place for this intended liturgical space (Fig. 21).

The grave and the tomb-chest of St Adalbert with an attached altar, were located in the middle of the easternmost two bays of the nave (Fig. 2:36). In this position it was aligned with the high altar with St Vitus's body in the canons' choir and the

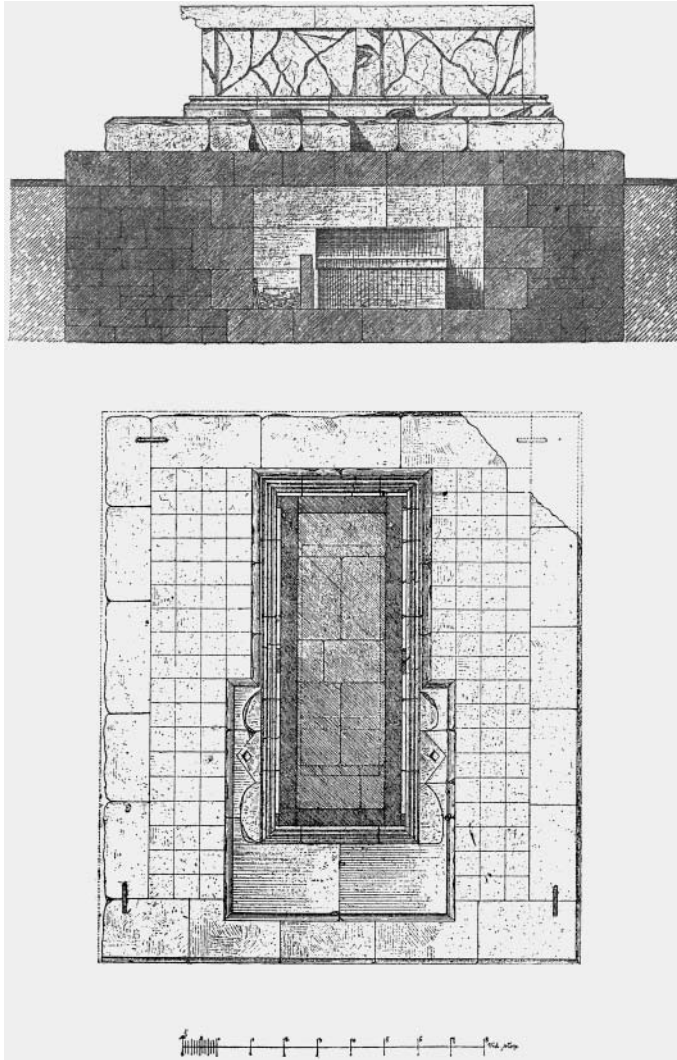


FIG. 19. Prague, St Vitus's Cathedral: ground plan and elevation of the tomb of St Adalbert as discovered in 1880. After F. Lehner, 'Hrob a ostatky sv. Vojtěcha', *Method*, 6 (1880), 42–43
Drawing Josef Mocker

Virgin altar in the mansioners' choir, and, as a freestanding feature, the area around the St Adalbert's tomb was probably to be enclosed in the same manner as these two choirs. The entire enclosure, however, could not have been executed because the tomb was placed directly against the old Romanesque tower which stood here, as one of the last remains of the basilica, until the mid-16th century (Fig. 20).¹⁴⁵

Although only in a temporary form, the area functioned as a chapel surrounded by the grille referred to in sources. A reference from the 1397 inventory mentions 'altar in the chapel of St Adalbert, the patron of the Prague church'.¹⁴⁶ The same reference is made in the commenda ordinal that originated after 1416, where the commenda for Šebkoň, the canon at Karlstein, was described as taking place 'in the middle [of the church], next to the chapel of St Adalbert'.¹⁴⁷ The existence of the enclosure is

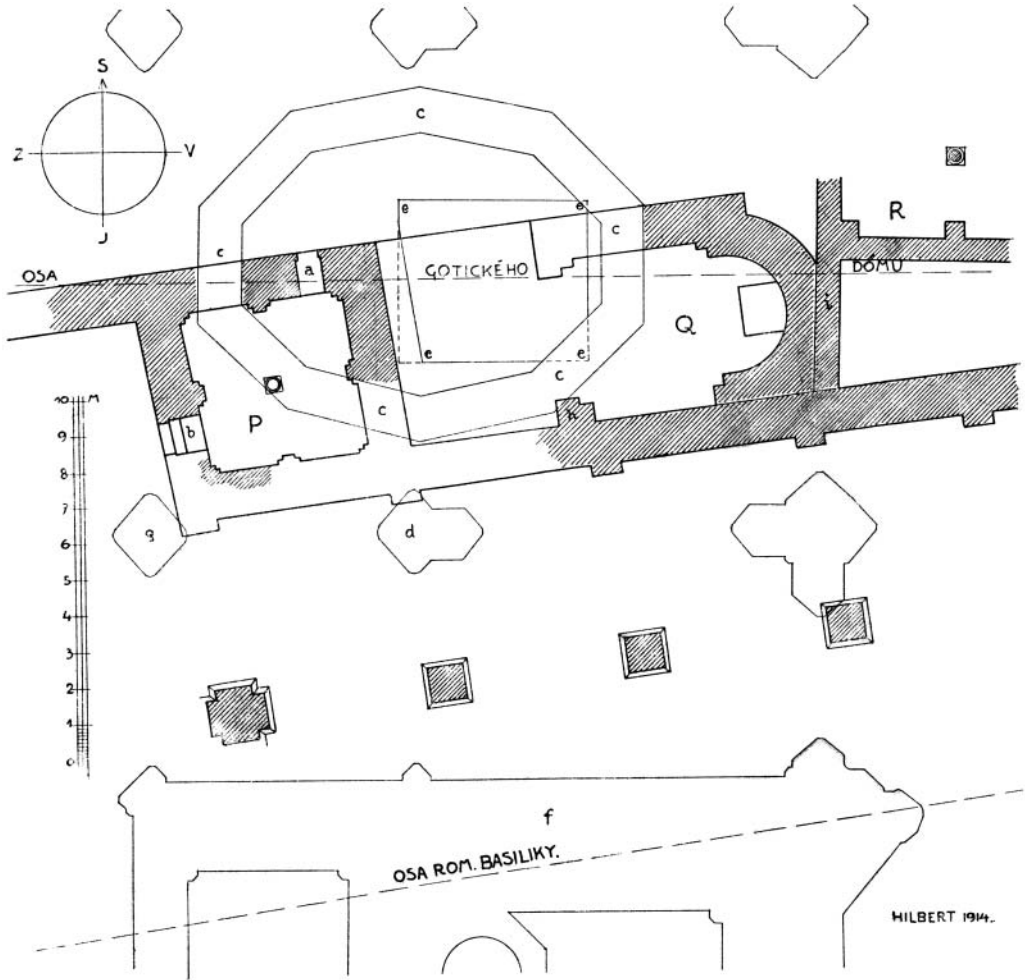


FIG. 20. Prague, St Vitus's Cathedral: ground plan of Romanesque north tower and grave of St Adalbert

Drawing Kamil Hilbert

attested by the *c.* 1415 inventory, which mentions one altar 'at the entrance to the tomb of St Adalbert'. This passage also reveals how quickly the area around the tomb became filled up with altars. In addition to the altar dedicated to St Catherine, there was also the altar of Sts Christopher and James, the altar of the Ten Thousand Martyrs, and the altar of Sts Agatha and Alexius 'onto the side' of St Adalbert's.¹⁴⁸ The first altar also played part in the aforementioned description of the commenda for Canon Šebkoň, which took place 'behind the altar of St Catherine and the grave of St Adalbert'.¹⁴⁹ There was some kind of sculpture located next to the altar of St Christopher and 'opposite the window of the mansionars' sacristy' where the anniversary of Kunš, the altar priest of the altar of St Gothard, was celebrated.¹⁵⁰

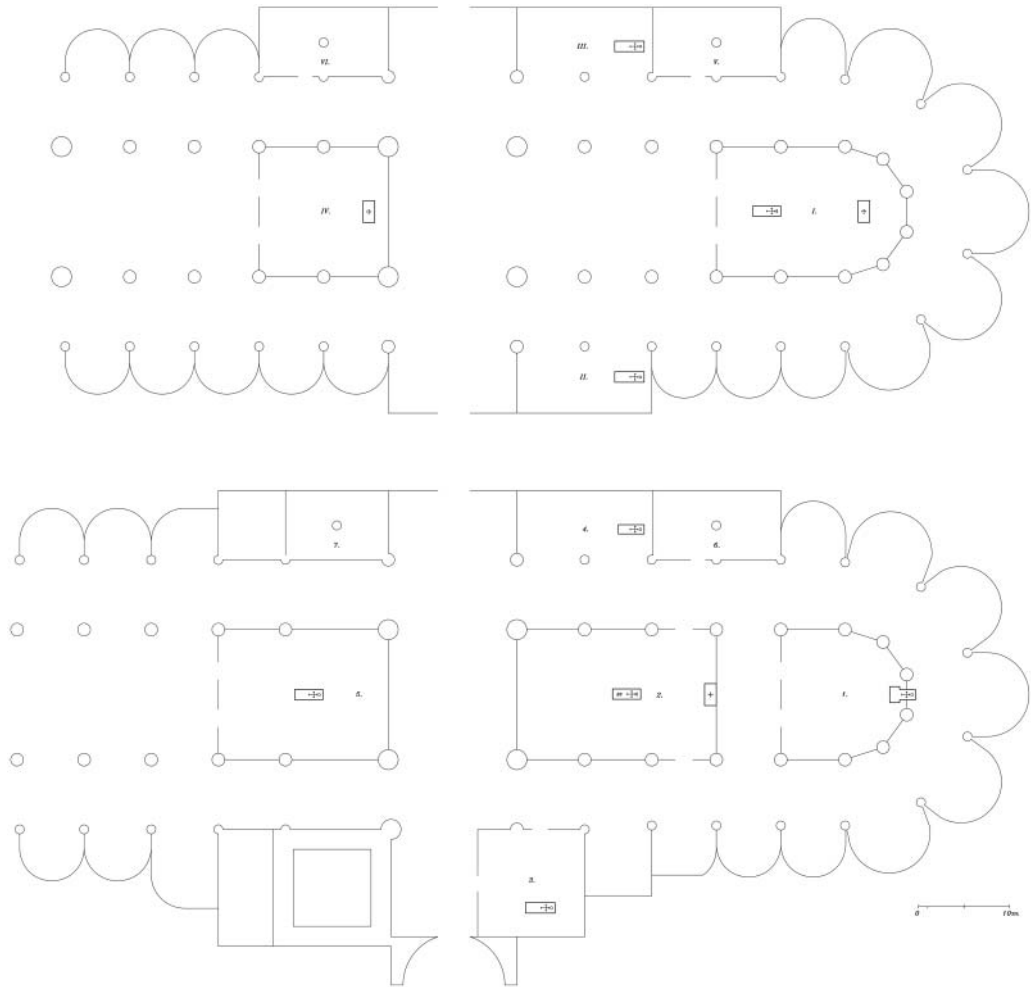


FIG. 21. Prague, St Vitus's Cathedral: reconstruction of two concepts of the layout of main liturgical spaces. Above: initial concept; beneath: situation after the change in the 1350s, with additional changes of 1368 and 1396.

I: canons' choir with altar of St Vitus and the site of royal burial; II: chapel of St Wenceslas with the tomb of St Wenceslas; III: chapel of St Adalbert with tomb of St Adalbert (possible location); IV: mansionars' choir with altar of the Virgin; V: canons' sacristy; VI: sacristy of mansionars (possible location)

- 1: canons' choir with altar of St Vitus; 2: mansionars' choir with altar of the Virgin and imperial mausoleum;
- 3: chapel of St Wenceslas with tomb of St Wenceslas; 4: chapel of St Sigismund with tomb of St Sigismund;
- 5: planned choir of St Adalbert (?) with tomb of St Adalbert; 6: canons' sacristy; 7: mansionars' sacristy

Reconstruction and drawing Petr Uličný

In its temporary form St Adalbert's tomb and its surroundings thus served as a partly freestanding chapel, occupying eastern part of the nave, and therefore it cannot be excluded that, once the nave was finished to its planned extent, the tomb would have become the site of cathedral's third choir. This assumption may be strengthened by the fact that, before the translation into the nave, the tomb of St Adalbert was located in the mansionars' choir, giving its western half the title 'the choir of St Adalbert'. The central position of Adalbert's relics within the nave of the cathedral consequently offers evidence for the possible planned existence of three choirs of St Vitus's Cathedral.

The temporary residence of St Adalbert's relics in the Virgin choir was just one step in their remarkable pilgrimage through St Vitus's, during which the form of their display changed. Along with Bishop Adalbert's remains, seized in 1039 by Prince Břetislav I (d. 1055) from the cathedral of Gniezno, three magnificent plates that had adorned Adalbert's former grave there were also brought to Prague.¹⁵¹ The chronicler Cosmas described the largest as five cubits long and ten hands high; that is, 2.5 × 0.8 m. It was adorned with gems and crystals and along one edge it was fitted with an inscription stating that it weighed 300 pounds (about 150 kg).¹⁵² Although there is no account of how or even whether these plates were used to adorn Adalbert's grave in Prague, this can be inferred from the fact that until the 14th century St Adalbert's tomb was always decorated with gold and precious stones, and that it possibly influenced Charles IV's dazzling decoration of St Wenceslas's tomb. In 1129, St Adalbert's tomb was restored with gold, silver and crystal by Bishop Menhart,¹⁵³ apparently in connection with the elevation of the saint's skull from the tomb into a separate reliquary.¹⁵⁴ The tomb was later remodelled by Bishop Jan IV of Dražice, probably to compensate for the damage caused in 1336 by King John of Luxembourg, who, in need of money, removed the decorations from St Wenceslas's tomb and gave orders to have the area around the tomb of St Adalbert dug up in the hope of finding a treasure.¹⁵⁵ Evidence that the tomb's decorations were damaged is also found in the cathedral's foundation charter issued by the same king in 1341, which (as an act of expiation for his previous deed, though not explicitly described as such) set aside funds for the construction of the church and for the decoration of the tombstones of St Wenceslas and St Adalbert with silver plates, gems and silver and gold statues.¹⁵⁶ The reliquary with the body of St Adalbert seemed to have survived the king's pillage in 1336 since it is reported in both the 1355 and the 1387 inventories as the 'tomb of Saint Adalbert, silver and gold, with images, which was made by Lord Jan, bishop of Prague'.¹⁵⁷ The 1368 inventory then adds that a priest was assigned as a *tumbarius*,¹⁵⁸ or guardian, to look after the saint's tomb.¹⁵⁹

The reliquary chest, which records indicate was installed above the altar,¹⁶⁰ is also referred to in two very different accounts. In c. 1350, it was described by the chronicler Francis of Prague as 'of gold and silver, beautiful and costly work, wonderfully decorated with various images and sculptures', the like of which was never before seen in Bohemia.¹⁶¹ It was viewed in quite a different light by Francis's contemporary John Marignola, who, in his *Chronicle of the Bohemians* (c. 1355), wrote that the Eastern Christians, though they also worshipped images, rejected the various 'masks, faces and severe statues' that are found in many (Western) churches, and he cites the tomb of St Adalbert in Prague as an example.¹⁶² Regardless of whose view one chooses to accept, Francis's words of admiration or Marignola's more disapproving outlook, it was certainly a work worthy of attention. Ultimately, however, even the exceptional nature of this reliquary did not save it from being buried in the new grave in the western part of the cathedral, though without its precious cover.

A survey and an excavation carried out in 1880 revealed that the monument to St Adalbert constructed in the cathedral's nave took the form of a simple red-marble tomb with a moulded cornice and plinth, resembling in its simplicity the tomb-chest of St Vitus (Fig. 19).¹⁶³ Its western side was intended for the altar, and for that purpose the plinth was extended around that part of the tomb. Otherwise austere in form, its only remarkable feature is the carefully selected stone used in it: the tomb-chest itself was made of red marble, the pedestal of white marble, and the tiles surrounding the plinth of green serpentinite. The surfaces of the tomb, later covered by the Baroque altar, were heavily cracked in the 1541 fire.¹⁶⁴ This is reported in great detail by Hájek:

From the tower the fire fell through the windows on the new roofs that covered the large church, where it is the custom to preach generally at the grave of St Adalbert, and the church burned down to the ground. Only the tomb of St Adalbert itself, in the middle of the church, which is of white marble, remains, [but is] very cracked.¹⁶⁵

It was not the architecture that the excavation in 1880 was interested in, but rather the content of the tomb, and to the great joy of the archaeologists the relics of the saint himself were found in the underground crypt. They were stored in a box, which also contained documents testifying to the authenticity of the relics dating from 1346 and 1396,¹⁶⁶ and enclosed within a wooden, lead-coated, house-shaped tomb. Since the authenticity of the relics has also been confirmed by recent anthropological analysis,¹⁶⁷ one has to marvel at the complex journey that Adalbert's remains made through St Vitus. Firstly, they may have been placed in an altar-tomb in Wenceslas's rotunda.¹⁶⁸ Further translation may have followed, but they are mentioned next in the 14th century, when they were removed by Bishop Jan IV of Dražice and stored in a separate, lavishly decorated reliquary displayed on the altar of the basilica, located probably in the proximity to the Wenceslas chapel. During the construction of the new cathedral they had to be temporarily placed in the Virgin choir while the new Wenceslas chapel was being erected, and only in 1396 were they put in their final place in the cathedral's nave. In its final location, however, the reliquary was stripped of its remarkable decorations, still in place in 1387, and put inside an austere tomb made of modest materials.¹⁶⁹ Instead of architecture of great beauty and artistry, which would be expected in Prague around 1400, a tomb alike that of St Wenceslas, and in contrast with the original intent of the new cathedral's foundation charter of 1341, the bishop's tomb was ultimately nothing more than a simple solid block made of plain yet carefully selected stones. This may not have been the final form, however, given that the part of the cathedral around it was still under construction. The placing of the St Adalbert's relics inside the stone tomb was final, however, and this was in keeping with the politics of their presentation. The bodies of all four patrons of the cathedral, that is of St Wenceslas, St Vitus, St Adalbert and from 1368 the new patron St Sigismund,¹⁷⁰ were now placed in permanent, carefully selected location, spread around the whole church, and awaiting miracles as attested in a list of such phenomena that were claimed to have occurred at the tomb of St Sigismund.¹⁷¹ Their heads or other important parts (such as a hand) of the saint's body were, however, detached, kept in a reliquary, and were meant to be put on display only during feasts.

Although the area around the tomb of St Adalbert, as well as the whole western part of the cathedral, was not finished before the 19th century and no evidence of the original plans survives, there is at least one clue to what was envisioned. The remains of Adalbert's brother Gaudentius (Radim), the first archbishop of Gniezno were transferred to Prague together with those of Adalbert in 1039.¹⁷² Gaudentius's relics

were first placed in the second eastern crypt of the Romanesque basilica, which bore his name. When it was pulled down to make way for the new cathedral, they were temporarily placed in the old chapel of the Holy Trinity behind the main south entrance, close to Adalbert's grave. When this chapel was also replaced, the relics were moved again, first perhaps alongside Adalbert's relics to the mansioners' choir, and eventually into the western apse of the Romanesque basilica, which was standing as late as 1562 (Fig. 2:VI). The evidence is the mention of a 'chapel' of St Gaudentius during its demolition in that year.¹⁷³ The chapel is still shown on the Uffizi drawing dating from the same period, c. 1560, as the apse of the Romanesque basilica (Fig. 18). However, this was again a temporary location since that last remaining section of the old church was also to be dismantled. From its location, one can however read its planned place in the Gothic cathedral, which would probably not have been far from there, most likely in the company of his brother Adalbert, to the west of his tomb and on the site of the Romanesque north tower.¹⁷⁴

CONCLUSION

WITH the publication of Tomek's *Základy starého místopisu pražského* (*Foundations of the Topography of Old Prague*) in 1872, virtually all available data on the topography of St Vitus's Cathedral were published, and even today almost nothing more can be significantly added to this. However, a new interpretation of known data, along with the emergence of a few unpublished documents, can greatly clarify the likely form of St Vitus's Cathedral prior to the Hussite Wars, especially its principal parts, the canons' and the mansioners' choirs, and how this unique area evolved. It is now possible to plot the transfer of the Virgin choir and of the tomb of St Gaudentius, as well as the journey of St Adalbert's relics through the church, with some amazement. Equally fascinating is to observe how the ideal place for a royal burial ground was sought and how the concept of the satellite cenotaphs developed. It is also exciting to observe how the Virgin choir with the tomb of Emperor Charles IV was finally placed at the centre of a symbolic cross, so that Charles, and his family, could more easily find the path to salvation. Most importantly, the choirs of St Vitus's Cathedral emerge as the outcome of a complicated marriage between many factors, including liturgy, coronation rituals, royal burial and contemporary piety. This unique creation thus accommodated the functional requirements of the cathedral and those of its most celebrated patron, Emperor Charles IV, 'the supreme monarch of the world'. As a consequence of a number of disasters that struck the cathedral over the centuries, unfortunately only a tiny reflection of all the works of art that once filled the choirs of St Vitus's cathedral can be found there today. It was therefore the purpose of this article to recapture that part of the lost history of one of the most remarkable Gothic cathedrals.

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NOTES

1. This is a revised version of an article published as P. Uličný, 'Chóry katedrály sv. Víta v Praze', *Průzkumy památek*, 18/II (2011), 47–82.
2. P. Frankl, *Gothic Architecture*, rev. P. Crossley (New Haven and London 2000), 200–04; C. Wilson, *The Gothic Cathedral: The Architecture of the Great Church 1130–1530*, rev. 2nd edn (London 1992), 224–32; N. Nussbaum, *German Gothic Church Architecture* (New Haven and London 2000), 126–34.
3. P. Crossley, 'Peter Parler and England: A Problem Revisited', *Wallraf-Richartz Jahrbuch*, 44 (2003), 53–82; C. Wilson, 'Why did Peter Parler Come to England?', in *Architecture, Liturgy and Identity. Liber Amicorum Paul Crossley*, ed. Z. Opačić and A. Timmermann (Turnhout 2011), 89–109.
4. For the history of St Vitus's cathedral, see W. W. Tomek, *Základy starého místopisu Pražského*, 4 vols (Prague 1872), IV, 99–119; A. Podlaha and K. Hilbert, *Soupis památek historických a uměleckých v království českém. Král. hlavní město Praha: Hradčany 1: Metropolitní chrám sv. Víta* (Prague 1906); D. Líbal and P. Zahradník, *Katedrála svatého Víta na Pražském hradě* (Prague 1999); J. Kuthan and J. Royt, *Katedrála sv. Víta, Václava a Vojtěcha: Svatyně českých patronů* (Prague 2011). For the patrons of the cathedral, see P. Crossley, 'The Politics of Presentation: The Architecture of Charles IV of Bohemia', in *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe*, ed. S. R. Jones, R. Marks and A. J. Minnis (New York 2000), 99–172; M. Bartlová, 'The Choir Triforium of Prague Cathedral Revisited: The Inscriptions and Beyond', in *Prague and Bohemia. Medieval Art, Architecture and Cultural Exchange in Central Europe*, ed. Z. Opačić, *BAA Trans.*, xxxii (Leeds 2009), 81–100.
5. H. Vlhová, 'Středověké liturgické rukopisy z katedrály sv. Víta na Pražském hradě', (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Univerzita Karlova, Prague, 2000); J. Maříková-Kubková and D. Eben, 'Organizace liturgického prostoru v bazilice sv. Víta', *Castrum Pragense*, 2 (1999), 227–40; P. Uličný, 'Christ in Motion: Portable Objects and Scenographic Environments in the Liturgy of Medieval Bohemia', in *Czech Stage Art and Stage Design* (Theatralia/Yorick 2011/I), ed. C. M. Billing and P. Drábek (Brno 2011), 24–64.
6. A. Podlaha and E. Šittler, *Chrámový poklad u sv. Víta v Praze* (Prague 1903), III–CII; Tomek, *Základy* (as n. 4), 245–52.
7. For the history of rotunda, see A. Merhautová, *Raně středověká architektura v Čechách* (Prague 1971), 218–24; for its form, see J. Frolík, J. Maříková-Kubková, E. Růžičková and A. Zeman, *Nejstarší sakrální architektura Pražského hradu*, *Castrum Pragense*, 3 (Prague 2000), 145–08.
8. For the history of basilica, see Merhautová, *Raně středověká architektura* (as n. 7), 225–33; for its form, see J. Maříková-Kubková and I. Herichová, *Archeologický atlas Pražského hradu 1: Katedrála sv. Víta – Vikářská ulice*, *Castrum Pragense*, 10 (Prague 2009).
9. *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum* [...], II, ed. J. Emler and V. V. Tomek (Prague 1874), 100–01. Z. Hledíková, 'Pražská metropolitní kapitula, její samospráva a postavení do doby husitské', *Sborník historický*, 19 (1972), 5–47. Other clergy were active in the church as well; there is record of a dean in 1120 who was in charge of services and there was an archdeacon and a scholastic who performed other functions, the latter in charge of education at the chapter school.
10. *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae 4: Annorum 1333–1346*, ed. J. Emler (Prague 1892), 411–13 (no. 1029).
11. *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum* [...], IV, ed. J. Emler (Prague 1884), 511.
12. *Monumenta historica Bohemiae* [...], ed. G. Dobner, 6 vols (Prague 1764–85), III, 323–31 (no. III); Z. Hledíková, 'Fundace českých králů v 14. století', *Sborník historický*, 28 (1982), 10–12; J. Ryba, 'Mansionáři v pražském kostele', *Pražský sborník historický*, 30 (1998), 5–87; J. Beránek, 'Sbor mansionářů pražské metropolitní kapituly: Příspěvek k dějinám liturgického zpěvu v předhusitských Čechách', *Miscellanea musicologica*, 29 (1981), 9–48; K. Benešová, 'Ideál a skutečnost (Historické a badatelské peripetie kolem královského pohřebiště v katedrále sv. Víta v Praze v době Lucemburků)', in *Epigraphica et sepulcralia*, I, ed. D. Prix and J. Roháček (Prague, 2005), 19–48.
13. *Monumenta historica*, III (as n. 12), 331–32 (no. IV). Reprinted also in *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia* [...], ed. L. Klicman (Prague 1903), I, 383 (no. 646).
14. Bartlová, 'Choir' (as n. 4), 95: 'Margareta dicta Blanzie, Romanorum et Boemie regina illustrissima que construxit et dotavit altare sancti Lodovici, regis Francie in choro novo sancte Marie in ecclesia Pragensi [...]'.
15. *Monumenta historica*, III (as n. 12), 308: 'In anniversario Domine Blance Romanorum et Boemie regine, que construxit altare Sanctorum Innocentium, et Lodvici Regis Francie in Choro Sancte Marie in ecclesia Pragensi [...]'.
16. *Ibid.*, 342–43 (no. XII): '[...] unum cereum, qui juxta sepulcrum clare memorie Illustris Wenceslai primogeniti karissimi die noctuque frequenter ardeat sine intermissione qualibet [...]'.

17. Bartlová, 'Choir' (as n. 4), 95: '*Anna Romanorum et Bohemie regina, que construxit et dotavit altare sancti Nicolai in medio chori sancte Marie in ecclesia Pragensi* [...]']

18. Tomek, *Základy* (as n. 4), 118: '*Item tria altaria in capite domini imperatoris, quae dotaverunt Blancze regina et Anna regina et Elisabet imperatrix, in quibus mansionarii majores tenetur omni die missas legere, prout in eorum statutis continetur*'.

19. *Monumenta historica*, III (as n. 12), 351–52 (no. XVI): '*Racione cujus donacionis in tribus altaribus per nos in dicto choro Marie de licencia, et auctoritate Venerabilis Arnesti Archi-Episcopi Pragensis Principis nostri creatis, et erectis, majores Mansionarii singulis diebus qualibet ebdomada, tres missas, videlicet in altari Sancti Nicolai Episcopi, et Confessoris primam; Secundam in altari Sancorum Innocentum Martyrum; terciam in altari Sancti Ludovici Regis, et Confessoris dicere pro nostra, nostrorumque progenitorum salute absque discontinuacione dicere et celebrare teneantur, et hoc nullatenus pretermittant*'.

20. *Ibid.*, 352 (no. XVI): '*Mansionarii de ante dicta villa [Chleby] [...] decem et octo sexagenas grossorum Pragensium [...] ut Precentor, qui pro tempore fuerit, vel ejus vices gerens, in tribus anniversariis, videlicet anniversario recolende memorie Domine Blancze, quondam Regine Romanorum et Bohemie, confortis nostre dilecte quatuor sexagenas exponat [...]. In secundo vero anniversario, eciam felicis memorie Anne Regine quandam confortis nostre, totidem sexagenas, et modo nunc expresso expendant, et exponant. In tercio vero anniversario nostro, postquam divina vocacione ab hac luce migravimus, totidem sexagenas, et modo superius expresso, ipse Precentor, vel ejus vices gerens, similiter distribuatur, et expendant*'.

21. *Ibid.*, 353–54 (no. XVI): '[...] *Sancti Nicolai Presulis, Sancorum Innocentum Martyrum, et Sancti Ludovici Regis, quorum tytulis sepe dicta noscuntur altaria, ut premissum est, insignita, eadem altaria Precentori, et Mansionarii antedictis, seu ipsorum Collegio, auctoritate ordinaria incorporamus [...]*'.

22. *Ibid.*, 359–60 (no. XIX): '[...] *pro sue, et progenitorum, ac clare memorie Dominarum Romanorum et Boemie Reginarum successive confortum suarum animarum salute, in Choro Ecclesie Beate Marie Virginis in Ecclesia Pragensi ad honorem Dei tria altaria, unum sub Sancti Nicolai Episcopi et Confessoris vocabulis, et aliud sub Sancorum Innocentum Martyrum, et reliquum sub Sancti Ludovici Regis Confessoris vocabulis de consensu Venerabilis Fratris Nostri — Archi-Episcopi, et dilectorum Capituli Pragensis de bonis suis fundavit, erexit, ac — Precentori et Mansionariis ipsius Ecclesie pro dote ipsorum altarum, ac certis anniversariis in dicta Ecclesia perpetuo peragendis, quandam villam aut certos perpetuos annos sufficientes redditus eciam assignavit [...]*'. Reprinted in *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia* [...] II: *Acta Innocentii VI. 1352–1362*, ed. Jan B. Novák (Prague 1907), 81 (no. 192).

23. *Fontes*, IV (as n. 11), 456: '*Eodem tempore [1353] dominus rex quatuor altaria construxit in ecclesia Pragensi et unum ex hiis fecit in honorem sancti Nicolai consecrari*'.

24. Bartlová, 'Choir' (as n. 4).

25. In the charter dated to 1350: '*Mansionarii Chori Sancte Marie Pragensi Metropoli*' (*Monumenta historica*, III (as n. 12), 337). In the charter dated to 1351: '*Mansionariorum Chori Sancte Marie in Ecclesia Pragensia*' (*ibid.*, 339). In the document dating c. 1417, both terms: '*in Choro Sancte Marie*' (*ibid.*, 308), '*in choro mansionariorum*' (*ibid.*, 309) and '*Mansionariis Chori Beate Marie Virginis in castro Pragensis*' (*ibid.*, 316).

26. *Ibid.*, 324 (no. III): '*Karoli [...] ad honorem Dei Omnipotentis, et Beate Marie Virginis, Beatorum Martyrum Viti, et Wenceslai, atque Adalberti, et aliorum Sanctorum Omnium, nec non pro sue, Progenitorum, Predecessorum, successorum suorum, cunctorumque fidelium, vivorum et defunctorum animarum salute, et cultus divini Nominis incremento in Ecclesia Pragensi viginti quatuor Clericorum secularium numerum, seu Collegium, Precentore in eo computato, quorum duodecim Presbyteri, sex Dyaconi, et sex Subdyaconi fore deberent, et quos Mansionarios velit nuncupari, quinque tenerentur, et deberent cottidie in spa manere Ecclesia, et eciam residere, ac personaliter, et non per alium horis Canonicis continue interesse, de novo creavit, statuit, et etiam ordinavit [...]*'.

27. *Ibid.*, 376–77 (no. XXX): '[...] *Karoli [...] quod in Ecclesia Pragensi in honore Sancti Wenceslai fundata preter principalem, et majorem chorum ipsius Ecclesie alius chorus in honore Beate Marie Virginis, per ipsum Imperatorem canonicè fundatus, et dotatus existit, in quo ipse Imperator elegit sepulturam, et due electe memorie confortes sue eciam requiescunt, et in quo per vos, qui viginti quatuor estis, seu esse debetis, ad serviendum in ipso choro specialiter deputati Misse, et alie hore canonice, videlicet prima, terciā, sexta, et nona diebus singulis ab aurora diei usque ad horam prime, in qua hora dicto choro majori incipiuntur hore canonice decantari, juxta ipsius Ecclesie consuetudinem sollempniter decantantur [...]*'. Reprinted in *Monumenta Vaticana*, II, 418 (no. 1047); and W. W. Tomek, 'Příběhy stavby kostela sv. Víta na hradě Pražském', *Památky*, 8 (1861), 58.

28. *Fontes*, IV (as n. 11), 438–39.

29. *Ibid.*, 493: '*Eodem anno Karolus, domini regis Bohemie primogenitus, marchio Moraviae, cupiens obtinere in celestibus pro terrenis retribucionem sempiternam, ad honorem Dei omnipotentis et beate genitricis eius virginis Marie, atque sanctorum martirum, patronorum ecclesie pragensis, Viti, Wenceslai atque Adalberti et omnium sanctorum, et specialiter propter divini cultus augmentum ac decorem ecclesie*

Pragensis, in qua idem princeps sibi et suis elegit sepulturam, creavit in ipsa Pragensi ecclesia de novo et dotavit collegium mansionari[or]um [...].

30. *Monumenta historica*, III (as n. 12), 316–21.
31. *Fontes*, IV (as n. 11), 533: ‘Anno Domini MCCCLXV, die dominico post festum Circumcisionis Christi reverendus pater, dominus Iohannes, archiepiscopus Pragensis, iam accepto pallio archiepiscopali, consecravit duo altaria in ecclesia Pragensi, videlicet sancti Viti et sancte Marie in novo choro Pragensi’.
32. The dedication in 1385 is recorded at the slab mounted in the south tower buttress. Tomek, *Základy* (as n. 4), 110: ‘Item anno Domini Mccclxxxv in festo sancti Remigii consecratus est chorus Pragensis in honore beatae Mariae et sancti Viti per Reverendum patrem, dominum Johannem archiepiscopum Pragensem tertium, apostolicae sedis legatum secundum, olim Misnensem episcopum’. The inscription above the bust of Peter Parler in the triforium, however, gives the date of 1386. Bartlová, ‘Choir’ (as n. 4), 95.
33. Ryba, ‘Mansionáři’ (as n. 12), 32–34. In 1510 King Ladislaus Jagiello tried to renew the original college. Uličný, ‘Chóry’ (as n. 1), 51.
34. D. C. Mengel, ‘A Holy and Faithful Fellowship: Royal Saints in Fourteenth-century Prague’, in *Evropa a Čechy na konci středověku. Sborník věnovaný Františku Šmahelovi*, ed. E. Doležalová, R. Novotný and P. Soukup (Prague 2004), 145–58; idem, ‘Bones, Stones, and Brothels: Religion and Topography in Prague under Emperor Charles IV (1346–78)’ (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Notre Dame, Indiana, 2003), 325–72.
35. J. Homolka, ‘Zu den ikonografischen Programmen Karls IV’, in *Die Parler und der Schöne Stil 1350–1400: Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgen*, ed. A. Legner, 5 vols (Cologne 1978), II, 616; idem, ‘Ikonografie katedrál sv. Víta’, *Umění*, 26 (1978), 566.
36. *Regesta diplomatica* 4 (as n. 10), 411 (no. 1029): ‘[...] hodie in dei nomine ob reuerenciam dicti beatissimi Wenczelay et sanctorum Viti et Adalberti et beatissime Ludmille, ac aliorum patronorum nostrorum, quorum titulis dicta Pragensis ecclesia extitit gloriosius insignita [...]’.
37. V. Lorenec, *Nové Město pražské* (Prague 1973), 69 and fig. 19 on p. 73; P. Uličný, ‘Svatá města Řím a Jeruzalém v sakrální topografii Prahy’, *Logos*, 1/2 (2004), 120–21.
38. Maříková-Kubková and Eben, ‘Organizace’ (as n. 5), 237–40.
39. On the contrary, Mengel, ‘Holy’ (as n. 34), sees the act of bringing of Sigismund’s body merely as a strengthening of the allegedly fading cult of St Wenceslas.
40. Podlaha and Šittler, *Chrámový poklad* (as n. 6), 44–46.
41. *Ibid.*, where it is mentioned twice; first in ‘*Inventarium capsarum*’, as ‘*Una capsula de amatistinis lapidibus, in qua fuit beatus Vitus apportatus, circumdata argento, deaurata*’ (XV, no. 110), and second in ‘*Inventarium tumarum corporum sanctorum*’ as ‘*Primo tumba sancti Viti de lapidibus amatistinis, circumdata argento deaurata et insertis aliis gemmis cum corpore ipsius*’ (VII, no. 162).
42. *Ibid.*, XXXIII (no. 89): ‘*Tumba s. Viti de lapidibus amatistinis, argentea deaurata, ubi erat prius s. Viti corpus*’. According to the 1368 inventory the same reliquary contained the heads of the Eleven Thousand Virgins. *Ibid.*, XVII (n. 4): ‘*in qua nunc recondita sunt capita XI milia virginum*’. Emanuel Poche suggested that this reliquary chest was initially placed on St Vitus’s tomb and that the saint’s body was removed and placed on the altar only in connection with the consecration of the new altar in 1365. E. Poche, ‘Jak vypadal původní oltář svatovítské katedrály v Praze’, in *Památková Péče 1945–1970* (Prague 1973), 131–35. However, this assumption must be wrong, since he overlooked the fact that by 1355 the saint’s body was no longer in the chest.
43. Podlaha and Šittler, *Chrámový poklad* (as n. 6), II (no. 1:24): ‘*Caput sancti Viti argenteum deauratum*’. In the aforementioned letter from Charles IV the head and body of St Vitus are identified separately: ‘*caput et corpus beatissimi Viti martiris*’. *Ibid.*, 45.
44. Podlaha and Šittler, *Chrámový poklad* (as n. 6), XL (no. 299): ‘*Novem cortinae, quae sunt deputatae ad sanctum Vitum circum altare ad reliquias locandas; repertae sunt tantum septem*’ and *Ibid.*, XLI (no. 311): ‘*Cortina sancti Viti de duobus nachonibus, qua tegitur sepulchrum sancti Viti*’.
45. W. Hayek of Libočan, *O nesstianee przhodie kteráž gse stala skrze ohen w Menssim Miestie Pražském, a na Hradie Swatého Waclawa, y na Hradczanech etc. Leta M.D.xxxj* (Prague 1541), p. Aiiiiv: ‘*Na hrobě pak S. Víta přikrytí shořalo, a ta truhla neb ten přikrov dřevěný také prohořal, ale hrob mramorový červený, v kterémžto svaté tělo odpočívá, zuostal bez poškrvny*’.
46. The relief was done by Kašpar Bechteler in 1621–23. V. Kotrba, ‘Georg neb Cajetan Bendl či Caspar Bechteler’, *Umění*, 22 (1974), 319–20.
47. P. Chotěbor’s forthcoming article in *Svorník*, 13 (2015).
48. V. Kotrba, ‘Tumba knížete Vratislava v bazilice sv. Jiří na Pražském hradě’, in *Sborník k sedmdesátinám Jana Květa* (Prague 1965), 123–30.
49. *Staré letopisy české z vratislavského rukopisu*, ed. F. Šimek (Prague 1937), 10: ‘*Neb byly tři truhly dobře okované udělány, aby lidé do nich peníze kladli na ten žold proti králi nápuľskému: jedna truhla neb kapsa byla přikována na hradě pražském v kostele sv. Václava za oltářem sv. Víta, kdežto nejuvíce lidé okolo chodie, druhá na Vyšehradě, třetí u Matky boží před Týnem*’.

50. Tomek, *Základy* (as n. 4), 248: '[...] fit commenda Menhardo episcopo retro S. Vitum in primo ordide, ubi epitaphia episcoporum sunt directe contra sepulcrum S. Viti, ubi solent homines flectere [...]'].

51. *Fontes*, IV (as n. 11), 74–75: '[...] ecce anno Domini MCCXCVII [...] universo iubilante populo Prage in ecclesia cathedrali iuxta altare summum beati Viti martyris [...] princeps dominus Wenceslaus secundus, rex Bohemie sextus [...] est [...] corona sceptroque regio, sancta consecratione et unccione previa legaliter insignitus'].

52. For the coronation ordinal, see J. Cibulka, *Český řád korunovační a jeho původ* (Prague 1934); Crossley, 'Politics', 166–71.

53. Cibulka, *Český řád* (as n. 52), 78: 'Tunc princeps [...] cum processione ante altare sancti Viti deducatur et ibi super sede regaliter preparata prostrato [...]'].

54. V. Žůrek, 'Korunovace českých králů a královen', in *Slavnosti, ceremonie a rituály v pozdním středověku*, ed. M. Nodl and F. Šmahel (Prague 2014), 23–24.

55. Cibulka, *Český řád* (as n. 52), 145–52.

56. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Moraviae. Urkunden zur Geschichte Mährens XIII: Vom Jahre 1400 bis 1407*, ed. V. Brandl (Brünn 1897), 27–28: 'domina Zophia [...] coronata fuit in castro pragensi ante altare sancti Viti [...] Demum corona super caput imposita, que fuit recepta de altari et de capite sancti Viti, ibi tubicine et fistulose insonuerunt, tunc evangelio lecto fuit ducta super thronum factum super altare sancti Viti cum panis preciosis deauratis. [...] Demum loco panis episcopus Leuthomisslensis et patriarcha accepto capite sti. Viti super thronum portarunt ad osculum faciendum, demum communionem factam per archiepiscopum regina de throno flectens ad altare sancti Viti accepit corpus et sanguinem domini nostri Jesu Christi [...]'. V. V. Tomek, *Dějepis města Prahy*, 12 vols (Prague 1855–1901), III, 405–06, wrongly argues that the throne was set up in front of the altar and not on the altar itself. Even further from the original wording is Jiří Spěváček, who claimed that the crown was removed from the head of St Wenceslas and not of St Vitus. J. Spěváček, *Václav IV.: 1361–1419* (Prague 1986), 309.

57. On the contrary, most recently Žůrek, 'Korunovace' (as n. 54), 34–35, takes no notice of these important changes and argues that Sophia's coronation followed exactly Charles IV's ordinal.

58. *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum* [...], VII, ed. J. Emler (Prague, no date), 40: 'Do nomen sie den konig mit grosir hirlichkeit vnd furten en uff eyn stul hoe enpor hinder den hoen altir vff sante Viti grap und saczten en nedir. Do hup man an das ewangelium; do das gelesen wart. Do wart dem konige das buch brecht. Dornoch wart dy messe gancz awsgesungen mit grosir frewden und ynnigkeit vnd bleibe dy czet vff den stule siczen'. I am grateful to Prof. Václav Bok for the improvement of the translation.

59. Podlaha and Sittler, *Chrámový poklad* (as n. 6), XII (no. 1): 'caput sancti Viti argentum deauratum'.

60. For more on this ritual, see J. Žemlička, *Čechy v době knížecí (1034–1198)* (Prague, 1997), 331–35, and D. Třeštík, *Mýty kmene Čechů (7.–10. století): Tři studie ke "Starým pověstem českým"* (Prague, 2003), 156–58.

61. This practice is recorded by the chronicle Přibík Pulkava. *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum* [...], ed. V. J. Emler (Prague, 1893), 7. The existence of the earlier habit of showing Přemysl's shoes, which continued in the time of Charles IV, is attested by the record of the chronicle of Thomas of Pavia (d. c. 1280). K. Kubínová, 'Dosud přehlížené svědectví o Přemyslových opánkách a možně a o korunovaci českých králů', in *Ars vivendi. Professori Jaromír Homolka ad honorem*, ed. A. Mudra and M. Ottová (Prague, 2006), 79–85.

62. For the location of the stone, see I. Borkovský, 'Poloha kopce "Žiži" na Pražském hradě', *Časopis společnosti přátel starožitností*, 62 (1954), 17–18.

63. Tomek, *Základy* (as n. 4), 248: 'Et primo supra tumbam S. Viti inter ymagines beate virginis et salvatoris pendet primum cortina rubea cum ymagine beate virginis'.

64. J. Homolka, 'Konzole mit Adam und Eva um 1385?', in *Die Parler* (as n. 35), II, 673–74.

65. Prague, Muzeum hl. města Prahy, Sbírka grafik, inv. no. H 1179: 'Eigentliche abbildung wie Kays. Mayt. Ferdinandus secundus den 21 Iunii. 1617. Zum Böhmischen König gekrönt worden zu Praag'.

66. M. Ebel, J. Mendlová and P. Vlček, *Josef Jäger – kopiáře* (Prague 1998), 28 (no. XXIX).

67. *Casparus Arsenius a Radbusa: Liber informationum de altaribus, foundationibus, et aliis divinis officiis in metropolitana ecclesia Pragensi* [...] conscriptus A. D. 1624 [...], ed. A. Podlaha (Prague 1915), 1. The altarpiece was then replaced by the still preserved work, donated by Emperor Ferdinand III. Podlaha and Hilbert, *Soupis památek* (as n. 4), 240–47.

68. Without any more detailed information the fragment is marked as having come from the high altar. I am grateful to Petr Chotěbor and Milena Bravermanová from the Správa Pražského hradu for drawing my attention to this fragment.

69. For the interpretation of the tabernacle as the image of the Heavenly Jerusalem, see Uličný, 'Chóry' (as n. 1), 57–58.

70. A. Timmermann, *Real Presence: Sacrament Houses and Body of Christ, c. 1270–1600* (Turnhout 2009), 39–62.

71. *Ibid.*, 41–43. For more on documentation relating to the tabernacle in Kolín, see K. B. Mádl, *Soupis památek historických a uměleckých v politickém okresu kolínském* (Prague 1897), 36.

72. Tomek, *Základy* (as n. 4), the attached ground plan 'Chráms sv. Víta, nové stavby v roce 1419'. The most recent reconstruction of the choirs in their original size is provided by K. Benešová, *Ideál* (as n. 12), 41. It is correctly drawn, however, only in an otherwise unacceptable reconstruction by O. Kletzl, 'Zur künstlerischen Ausstattung des Veitsdomes in vorhussitischer Zeit', *Germanoslavica*, 1 (1931–32), the attached ground plan 'Veitsdom, Prag: Grundriß (1344–1426)'.

73. Prague, Národní Muzeum, Sbírka grafik, H2-64139: 'Aigentliche Contrafactur aller unterschiedlichen Acten, wie Ihre Khön: Mtt' in Hungarn den 23. May. A° 1611, Zum Khonig in Behemben Krönt worden'. The coronation is, without particular details on the choir arrangement, described by J. Závěta z Závětice, *Koronovánj Geho milosti Matthyásse Krále Uberského etc. toho gména druhého na Královstvj České, Léta Páně M.DC.XI w pondělí Swatodusnj na Hradě Pražském w kostele S. Wjta sstiasně wykonané* (Prague, 1611).

74. W. M. Pešina, 'Krátké popsánj kr. chrámu páně pražského sw. Víta', *Časopis pro katolické duchovenstvo*, 10 (1837), attached ground plan 'Přjloha k Popsánj Pražského Chrámu Páně sv. Wjta. 1837'.

75. *Monumenta historica*, III (as n. 12), VI, 88: 'in ecclesia Pragensi ante majus altare s. Viti in novo choro foris cancellum'.

76. J. Maříková-Kubková, et al., 'Předběžná zpráva o průzkumu staré královské hrobky v chóru katedrály sv. Víta na Pražském hradě', *Castrum Pragense*, 6 (2005), 99–124.

77. Even today, however, one feature recalls the original plan, and that is the wreath of royal tombs — of Charles's predecessors — in the radiating chapels that sit like satellites around the canons' choir, where Charles's own tomb was originally supposed to be located.

78. Late in the 14th century the space before the canons' choir was filled by four altars. The first one was the altar of Sts Philip and James, founded by Jan of Görlitz (1389), soon followed by the altar of Sts Cosmas and Damian (before 1397). These two altars, erected on the western corners of the choir, were mirrored by two others, one of St Benedict (1397) and one of St Catherine (1409), attached to the edge of the Virgin choir. Uličný, 'Chóry' (as n. 1), 63–65.

79. Theories about the location and form of the Virgin choir vary. The most curious reconstruction was put forth by O. Kletzl in 'Zur künstlerischen Ausstattung' (as n. 72). His attached plan, placed the choir in the ambulatory behind the altar of St Vitus. The latest theory is that the choir was located in the third bay and directly connected to the canons' choir. See M. V. Schwarz, 'Katedralen verstehen. (St. Veit in Prag als räumlich organisiertes Medienensemble)', in *Virtuelle Räume. Raumwahrnehmung und Raumvorstellung im Mittelalter*, ed. E. Vavra (Berlin 2005), 52.

80. Tomek, *Základy* (as n. 4), 251: 'It. tertio die post Scolasticae fit anniv. Bohunconi canonico Pragensi; vigiliae minores; fit commenda inter choros ante altare SS. Filippi et Jacobi in capite lapidis marmorei, sub quo jacet Paulus miles de Wlasyim, tendendo ad cancellum chori b. virg. et attingendo cancellum'.

81. *Ibid.*, 251: 'It. in die Agathae fit annivers. Budislao decano Pragensi; fit Requiem, fit commenda penes cancellum chori beatae virginis retro primum hostium cancelli a sacristia transeundo penes summam juncturam, ubi hostium junctum est cancello, seu penes sepulchrum Bohaty Nikolay ad cancellum tendendo'.

82. *Ibid.*, 249–50.

83. *Ibid.*, 248: 'It. in anniversario dni. Veneri vigiliae minores, in missa Requiem; fit commenda penes cancellum transeundo de choro beatae virginis cum hostio sinistro statim penes hostium [. . .]'.

84. A. Podlaha, 'Z účtů kostela Svatovítského v Praze z konce XV. a z poč. XVI. stol.', *Památky archaeologické*, 26 (1914), 129: '[. . .] od opravování zámku a mříže v kůře Matky Božie z té strany na poledne [. . .]'.

85. Tomek, *Základy* (as n. 4), 117.

86. *Ibid.*, 246. It was probably only after the fire of 1541 that the Virgin choir was fitted with the altarpiece painted by Lucas Cranach the Elder, which was destroyed when the church was taken over by Calvinists in 1619. An engraving of the coronation of Matthias II attests that a Rudolphine artist painted the scene of the Adoration of the Shepherds on the rear side of the altarpiece, and this may have been done at the same time that the grille was removed, probably during the construction of the new mausoleum in 1589. See Uličný, 'Chóry' (as n. 1), 65.

87. Podlaha and Sittler, *Chrámový poklad* (as n. 6), VIII (no. 265): 'Magna pars corporis sancti Florencii Argentinensis episcopi et confess'. His jaw is listed in the same inventory. *Ibid.*, X (no. 312). The relics of the saint were gathered by Charles in the Monastery of Niederhaslach. See J. V. Polc, "'Vášeň" Karla IV. po ostatcích svyťch', in *Idem, Česká církev v dějích* (Prague 1999), 140.

88. Podlaha and Sittler, *Chrámový poklad* (as n. 6), XVII (no. 172): 'Tumba sancti Florencii episcopi Argentinensis et confessoris, argentea deaurata cum imaginibus'. The same inventory mentions that as well as his jaw the church owned also his arm. *Ibid.*, XIII (no. 81).

89. *Ibid.*, XVII (no. 172, n. 8): '[. . .] quam habent mansionarii in choro'.

90. *Ibid.*, XXXIII (no. 98): 'Tumba S. Florencii, episcopi Argentinensis et confessoris, argentea deaurata cum imaginibus, quam mansionarii habent extentam in duabus fereis columpnis super sua altaria'.

91. *Ibid.*, LXII (no. 20): 'Sepulchrum S. Florentii'.

92. Based on the recent rediscovery of the crypt in the canons' choir, location of the necropolis in the Virgin choir has been questioned. Maříková-Kubková, 'Předběžná zpráva' (as n. 76), 102–03; Benešová, 'Ideál' (as n. 12), 19–48. But, as demonstrated on documents listed in the present paper, there is no serious reason to challenge this notion, stated already by Václav V. Tomek, a great expert on St Vitus's Cathedral. He, however, located it in the westernmost bay of the Virgin choir under the gallery. Tomek, *Základy* (as n. 4), appendix on p. 253. The site of the royal burial ground has been sought in different locations already earlier, by Kletzl, 'Zur künstlerischen Ausstattung' (as n. 72), before the high altar, and most recently by Michael V. Schwarz in the third bay from the west. M. V. Schwarz, 'Felix Bohemia Sedes Imperii. Der Prager Veitsdom als Grabkirche Kaiser Karls IV.', in *Grabmäler der Luxemburger. Image und Memoriam eines Kaiserhauses*, ed. M. V. Schwarz (Luxemburg 1997), 130.

93. Staré letopisy (as n. 49), 122: 'A pochován v hrobě děda svého, císaře Karla, v kostele sv. Víta, [v] kuoře Matky boží, na hradě pražském, kdežto i podnes korůhve jeho zemí nad jeho hrobem visí [...]']

94. Tomek, *Základy* (as n. 4), 118, see n. 18.

95. Prague, Národní archiv, SM 20/2: '[...] super altare divae Virginis Matris Mariae, ante quod tumulus praefatae dilectissimae conthoralis nostrae piissimae recordationis existit.'

96. Ibid: '[...] ut etiam pro tumulo praefatae serenissimae coniugis nostrae tegmen seu velamentum ex veluto nigri coloris cum cruce alba conficiatur et quotidie durante dicto officio missae tumulus eodem tegumento seu velamine cooperiatur [...]']

97. Prague, Národní archiv, APA, C 104 2a,b, kart. 2010b: '[...] Irer Mt. etc sonndere begrabnus, neben der Kay. Mt. etc grab [...]']. Uliěný, 'Chóry' (as n. 1), 66.

98. Hayek, *O nesstiastnee przhibodie* (as n. 45), p. Aiiiir: 'Skrze závorníky pak skleповé oheň padaje dierami, zapálil varhany, kteréž všechny na zemi spadly i shořaly, a odtud se zapálily stolice, kteréž byly z dříví javorového a dubového s obrazy, výborným dílem řezané, též i výborní pulpíťové všecko tu shořalo. Shořaly také všickni příkrovové na hrobích královských. Odtud šel oheň do kaply S. Sigmunda [...]']

99. W. Preffát z Wlkanowa, *Cesta Z Prahy do Benátek, a odtud potom po Moři až do Palestiny, to gest do Kraginy někdy Zidovské, Země Swaté, do Města Geruzaléma k Božijmu Hrobu [...]* (Prague 1563): 'Vnitř v kostele svatého Víta na tom placu, který jest mezi kruchtou a kórem, tu rozuměj, jako by stál ten okrouhlý kostel, prostřed kterého hrob Boží jest, a ti hrobové, kteří prostřed toho placu — císaře Karla a jiných — stojí, co by byl Boží hrob'.

100. *Paměti Mikuláše Dačického z Heslova*, ed. A. Rezek, 2 vols (Prague 1878–80), I, 166–67: 'Na hradě praž. v kostele hlavním sv. Víta uprostřed téhož kostela vyňata jsau těla z místa pohřebního, císařského a královského, totiž: Karla císaře toho jména čtvrtého, krále čes., krále Václava, syna jeho, římského a čes. krále, Ladislava Posthumusa, čes. a uh. krále, Jiřího, čes. krále, císaře Ferdinanda, čes. a uher. krále, a syna jeho císaře Maximiliana toho jména druhého, čes. a uher., též Anny, manželky nadepsaného cis. Ferdinanda, i některá jiná těla rodu jich; nebo se to místo pohřební znovu stavělo a rozšiřovalo, a zatím se ta těla do jedné kaple v též kostele poodložila a některým lidem ukazována byla. Po dokonání toho stavení, místa toho pohřebního, zase tam vnesena a položena jsau, nad nimiž surchu pěkná příprava a vytesání obrazův jich z kamene alabastrového bílého jest mistrovsky způsobena'.

101. J. Dvorský, 'Pražské paměti Jana Piláta Rakovnického z Jenštejna z let 1578–1605', *Pražský sborník historický*, 7 (1972), 167: 'Item byl jsem na zámku ten pondělek po Narození blahoslavené Panny Marie v kostele sv. Víta s panem Křížem Chmotským a s panem Tomášem, tu jsme viděli v sklypu císařským císaře Karla IVho, krále Jiřího, krále Ladislava, královnu Annu, Ferdinanda a Maxmiliána císařův a dvě dcerky Maximiliána'.

102. 'Urkunden, Acten und Regesten aus dem k. k. Statthaltereii-Archiv in Prag', in *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, ed. K. Köpl, 12 (1891), LXXVII (reg. 8266). Colin was paid for the stone-cutting work as early as 25 August and 4 October. Ibid., reg. 8264 and 8265.

103. Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu, HBA, inv. no. 53: 'Erstlichen hab ich auff der Kay. May. meines allergnedigsten herren beuelch und anordnung im höchsternantisten Prager schloßes thumkirchen, zu solchen bergrebnuß unter der erden, da die alten Kay. und Könige liegen, ein gewelch 5 ½ claffter hoch, in die weit fünf claffter und unter der erden zwo claffter und aine halben eln machen laßen. Multiplica 55 claffter, von solchen hab ich zue graben geben und den schuet hinaufzulaußen sechsundzwanzig taler, siebenundeinhalb weiß gr. bezahlt – 26 ss'. Fathom (Klafter = 1.8 m), should be read as cubit (Elle = 0.6 m), which gives the height 3.3 m across 3 m. Transcription kindly corrected by Barbora Klipcová. See also J. Morávek, 'Královské mausoleum v chrámu sv. Víta a jeho dokončení v letech 1565–90', *Umění*, 7 (1959), 53.

104. H. Zimmermann ed., *Thomas Ebendorfer: Chronica regum Romanorum*, I (Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptores rerum germanicarum, Nova series XVIII), (Hannover 2003), 545–46: 'Karolus [...] sepultus in ecclesia cathedrali ante aram sancti Viti in regio mausoleo quadris lapidibus structo et ad duorum pedum altitudinem a pavimento in sursum elevato, desuper ferreo munito cancello, quod et ego in tribus locis ruptum et apertum et per quorundam furiam conspexi temeratum'.

105. Maria Brykowska, who discovered the plan, is uncertain about the date of its origin. She recalls the structures which were pulled down after the fire of 1541 still depicted on the plan, such as the belfry at the church of the All Saints, and thinks Bonifaz Wohlmuth would have been responsible for its execution; drawing on the watermark, she gives eventually its date as late as the early 17th century. M. Brykowska, 'Plány Pražského hradu a Valdštejnského paláce z první poloviny 17. století ve svírkách Uffizi ve Florencii', *Pražský sborník historický*, 29 (1996), 107–11. M. Brykowska, 'The Architecture of the Prague Castle in light in the Uffizi', in *Rudolf II, Prague and the World*, ed. L. Konečný, B. Bukovinská and I. Muchka (Prague 1998), 220–22. See most recently, P. Uličný, 'Stavební podoba Pražského hradu za prvních Habsburků (1526–1657). Ikonografické a plánové prameny', *Castrum Pragense*, 13 (2015, forthcoming).

106. *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum* [...], III, ed. J. Emler (Prague 1882), 429: 'Anno mill. trecen. LXXVIII, tercia Kal. Decembris / Quartus ego Carolus magni quondam tremor orbis, / Cesar et invictus, modo victus morte, sub ista / Fossa tegitur, deus alme precor meus astra subintret. / Spiritus, o cuncti, pro me pia solvite vota, / Quos moriens liqui, quos vivens optime fovi. / Et sic anima eius requiescat in sancta pace'.

107. J. V. Šimák, *Bohemia v Lipsku* (Prague 1929), 21: '1378. Obijt astutor Karolus imperator et rex Bohemie, qui multa memorabilia gessit per astutiam suam, vt videlicet in cronico suo nostro. Epitauium eius scriptum Prage supra kapellam: Karolus augustus celo terreque venustus, clauditur hac archa princeps mundique monarcha'. Less accurate transcription is given in *Monumenta Germaniae historica, Scriptorum*, 16, ed. G. H. Pertz (Hannover 1859), 45–46, n. g.

108. Tomek, *Základy* (as n. 4), 249: 'Item tertia die ante Margarethae fit anniversarium Annae reginae Boemiae, quae fuit mater regis Wenceslai; suspenditur una cortina ruffa cum quatuor angelis et cum stellis super istas, quae stant circa sepulcrum Caesaris, et debet pendere ita alte ut vexilla, inter illa medians, et zona ex utraque parte debet trahi penes summas statuas, et debet fieri praeparatum in sepulcro Caesaris per mansionarios in choro dextro, solum quod debet imponi per tumbarium sceptrum et pomum cum corona regia, et etiam circumferentia sepulcri cooperiatur cum Blancze; fiunt vigiliae majores; fit commenda ibidem in choro; missa cantatur in altario, quod est in acie chori dextri'. The Blanche is the name of the tapestry.

109. *Ibid.*, 249: 'It. in anniv. dnae. Blancze Romanorum et Boemiae reginae vigile [sic] majores; praeparatur per mansionarios sepulcro Caesaris in choro sinistro in acie sepulcri; cortina una dicta Blancze suspenditur supra sepulcrum, et cum aliis cortinis dictis Blancze circumdatur sepulcrum, inponitur corona cum pomo et sceptro; fit commenda ibidem in sepulcro; abbas S. Karoli debet officiare missam defunctorum, et curvatura debet sibi concedi absque paveculo dependenti'.

110. *Ibid.*, 250: 'It. in die Johannis apostoli post secundas vesperas, quae canuntur in medio chori ante sepulcrum S. Adalberti de Innocentibus, pulsatur ad vesperas defunctorum ad magnam campanam S. Wenceslai et vespere defunctorum canuntur in choro beatae virginis, et cooperitur kobka, sub qua jacet Caesar; in crastino vero fit missa defunctorum in choro, et etiam cooperitur kobka solum cum aliquo nach sine assere et fit commenda ibidem in medio sepulcri Caesaris, et missa celebratur in parvo altari mediocri'.

111. *Ibid.*, 250: 'It. in vigilia Silvestri fit anniversarium Johanna reginae; vigiliae majores, in missa Si enim, et praeparatur per mansionarios in sepulcro Caesaris in choro dextro penes kobkam seu penes summum Caesarem, inponitur corona et sceptrum cum pomo; fit commenda ibidem et etiam missa defunctorum canitur in parvo altari in dextro choro, et magna campana pulsatur'.

112. *Ibid.*, 250–51: 'It. in vigila purificationis S. Mariae fit anniv. Annae Roman. et Boemiae reginae; vigiliae majores; pulsatur magna campana, praeparatur assere in sepulcro Caesaris in parte dextra seu in choro dextro penes summam tumbam Caesaris, quae jacet in medio sepulcri, et cooperitur per mansionarios, solum quod per nos inponitur corona cum sceptro et pomo; fit commenda ibidem, et missa defunctorum cantatur in altario parvo in dextro choro'. 'Summam tumbam' recalls another such term given in the ordinal, for example, in the course of the Mass for the Dead for Prince Vratislav, when the grave of St Wenceslas is described in the same way. *Ibid.*, 251: '[...] in capella S. Wenceslai penes summum sepulcrum S. Wenc. [...]'. Similarly, the altar of St Marta. *Ibid.*, 248: '[...] penes summum altare sanctae Marthae [...]'. Or a parapet in the chapel of Sts Simon and Jude. *Ibid.*, 248–49: '[...] penes summum murum sub ymagine S. Bartholomaei [...]'].

113. *Ibid.*, 251: 'It in vigilia Juliana virginis fiunt vigiliae majores; pulsatur magna campana Elizabeth imperatrici, et praeparatur per nos in sepulcro Caesaris; inponitur assere ad sinistram partem seu super sinistrum chorum, et tegitur cum rubeo desuper, et inponuntur insignia, videl. corona, sceptrum et pomum; missa defunctorum. In die S. Juliana cantatur in parvo altari in choro sinistro per abbatem S. Karolli vel alium praelatum; fit commenda ibidem. Et aliqui dicunt, quod deberet suspendi una cortina rubea cum duobus angelis'. In other cases, the wooden plank or platform was prepared before the altar of the Virgin, as during the rituals for Louis, king of Hungary, the princes Spytihněv and Bořivoj, the bishops Jan of Dražice and Pelgrim, the Jodicus, the margrave of Moravia and Margaret of Opavia and Rudolf, the duke of Saxony. *Ibid.*, 249–52.

114. *Ibid.*, 118: 'Item supra tumbam domini imperatoris, filiorum et filiarum et uxorum ejus tenetur ardere lumen cereum die noctuque, quod procurabit praecentor mansionariorum de bonis per imperatorem et imperatricem emptis [...] scribatur in coro'.

115. This was pointed out by F. Šmahel, *Smuteční ceremonie a rituály při pohřbu císaře Karla IV.*, in F. Šmahel, *Mezi středověkem a renesancí* (Prague 2002), 149.

116. *Staré letopisy* (as n. 49), 3: 'Téhož léta o masopustě [14. 2. 1393] umřela císařová Alžběta v Hradci, vdova, císaře Karla manželka, a nesena do Prahy a položena a pochována na hradě u svatého Václava v hrobě vedle císaře Karla'.

117. J. Emler, 'Opravy a doplňky statutu kostela Pražského učiněné od arcibiskupa Wolframa', *Věstník královské české společnosti nauk. Třída filosoficko-historicko-jazykozpytná 1889-1890*, 308: 'Item comperimus, quod nonnulli mansionari infra divina solent stare in pavimento domine regine sine habitu, quod de cetero fieri inbibemus'.

118. Tomek, *Základy* (as n. 4), 251, see n. 113.

119. *Ibid.*, 251: 'It. eadem die prius fiebat anniversarium Johanni marchioni Brandenburgensi et duci Gorlicensi, sed jam non fit, et tamen hoc est in voluntate tumbarii, quia jam census non dantur pro exequiis, et jacet in choro sinistro penes summam tumbam Caesaris, et si fiunt exequiae, tunc pulsatur magna campana, et praeparatur asser in sepulcro, et inponitur pileollus, et ibidem fit commenda'.

120. *Scriptorum rerum Bohemicarum* [...], III, ed. F. Palacký (Prague 1829), 203: 'Téhož léta [1471] umřel král Jiří [...] A pochován v pondělí na den matky božie v kóru novém, podlé krále Ladislava k straně k kaple S. Václava'. M. Millauer, *Die Grabstätten und Grabmäler der Landesfürsten Böhmens* (Prague 1830), 64, however, argues that his grave was before the high altar and was covered with an elevated slab of red marble which was removed in the 17th century.

121. Maříková-Kubková and Herichová, *Archeologický atlas* (as n. 8), figs 37 and 41-43.

122. Tomek, *Základy* (as n. 4), 250-51, see n. 112.

123. *Ibid.*, 251, see n. 113.

124. *Ibid.*, 118, see n. 18. Quite logically, Tomek was led by this wording to locate all the altars around the imperial mausoleum. *Ibid.*, the ground-plan attachment.

125. *Ibid.*, 250, see n. 110.

126. *Ibid.*, 249, see n. 108.

127. *Ibid.*, 250, see n. 111.

128. *Monumenta historica*, III (as n. 12), 326 (no. III): 'Mansionarii predicti scilicet chori dextri duodecim, precentore incluso, sex presbyteri, tres dyaconi, et tres subdyaconi, chori quoque sinistri duodecim, sex presbyteri, tres dyaconi, et tres subdyaconi, singuli utpote presbyteri duodecim, loca, juxta prioratus seu senioratus ordinem sive statum obtinerent'.

129. *Ibid.*, 249: 'It. in anniv. dni. Martini dicti Hispanus canonici Pragensis vigiliae minores; fit commenda in medio chori prope S. Adalbertum, quantum posset ter calcare a lapide marmoreo parvo, in quo sculptum est: Laurentius presbyter, contra altare S. Martae, et etiam quantum posset semel calcare a sede lignea, in qua solent sacerdotes sedere in choro sinistro, quando celebratur de S. Procopio, contra altare S. Procopii'.

130. *Ibid.*, 251: 'It. in die Blasii fit missa defunctorum Requiem; fit commenda Zdeslao scolastico Prag. contra almariam fraternitatis, ubi lapis Petrinus jacet statim, quando transitur ad ambitum in prima fronte, quantum posset ter calcare ab altari S. Martae contra hostium primum capellae S. Sigismundi, seu qui lapis jacet inter lapidem marmoreum, sub quo jacet Johannes cantor, et inter lapidem Petrinum ex opposito praedictae almariae'.

131. The fraternity's chest and the first entrance into the chapel of St Sigismund are also recalled in the commenda for Friedrich of Nuremberg, held 'in front of the chapel of S. Sigismund, where the marble stone lays against the first entrance, which is against the chest or aumbry of the fraternity, at most one step from the entrance against the altar of S. John'. *Ibid.*, 250: 'It. eadem die in octava Agnetis fit anniv. Friderico de Normberga medio praebendato; fit commenda ante capellam S. Sigismundi, ubi lapis marmoreus jacet contra hostium primum, quod est contra cistam seu almariam fraternitatis, quantum posset semel calcare ab hostio contra altare S. Johannis [...]'.

132. *Ibid.*, 248: 'It. in anniversario dni. Johannis dicti Passer, altaristae S. Procopii, vigiliae minores, in missa Requiem; fit commenda penes summum altare sanctae Marthae, attingendo cancellum ferreum ex parte sinistra vel in illa parte, ubi evangelium legitur'.

133. *Ibid.*, 249: 'It. in anniversario dni. Johannis dicti Polonus, canonici Pragensis, vigiliae minores; fit commenda penes capellam S. Wenceslai, ubi lapis Petrinus jacet penes lapidem marmoreum, qui mediat inter altare S. Procopii et cancellum ferreum, ubi jacet Przibislawa soror germana S. Wenceslai, quantum posset semel calcare a cancello directe contra altare S. Procopii'.

134. *Ibid.*, 250: 'It. in die assumptionis b. virg. Mariae fiunt vesperae defunctorum Johanni episcopo Pragensi xxio. Praeparatur in vesperis in medio chori S. Adalberti, et inponitur infula; in missa vero in coro beatae virginis; pulsatur magna campana, fit commenda retro sepulcrum S. Viti in parte dextra sepulcri, cumputando quartum lapidem marmoreum inter lapides episcopales in parte dextra, in quo lapide scriptum est: Johannes episcopus Pragensis'.

135. *Ibid.*, 250, see n. 110.
136. This hypothetical reading should be compared with the original, which is, however, not possible to trace down now.
137. Maříková-Kubková and Eben, 'Organizace' (as n. 5), 232.
138. See the ground plan in Maříková-Kubková and Herichová, *Archeologický atlas* (as n. 8), pl. 2.
139. Probably shortly after the tomb of St Adalbert was moved to a new part of the cathedral the west-ernmost bay of the Virgin choir was given a new face with the construction of the music gallery. See Uličný, 'Chóry' (as n. 1), 73. There were several important features of the cathedral located in the area of the transept. In particular, the altar of the Holy Cross was set up against the western (rather than northern, as often reconstructed) wall of the Wenceslas chapel, which played an important role in the coronation ceremony of Bohemian kings and during Easter plays. There were also the graves of Bl Podiven — the servant of St Wenceslas — and Bl Přibyslava, the saint's sister, at the north-west corner of the chapel near the altar of St Procopius. See *ibid.*, 73–74.
140. Bartlová, 'Choir' (as n. 4), 95: '[...] et perfecit chorum isntum anno domini M CCC LXXXVI, quo anno incepit sedilia chori illius [...]'].
141. The account from the chronicle of Beneš the Friar Minor is cited by Tomek, *Základy* (as n. 4), 111: '*In festo Penthecostes hora vesperarum positus est primus lapis fundamenti sanctae Pragensis ecclesiae alterius chori per serenissimos principes dominos Wenceslaum primum Romanorum regem et Bohemiae regem et dominum Johannem Gorlicensem ducem, marchionem Brandenburgensem, [...] ac Reverendum patrem dominum Johannem archiepiscopum Pragensem tertium [...]']*. For the inscription on the slab in the south-tower buttress, see R. Rouček, *Chrám sv. Víta, dějiny a průvodce* (Prague 1948), 64: '*Item anno domini MCCCLXXXII in festo penthecostes hora vesperorum positus est primus lapis fundamenti sanctae Pragensis ecclesiae per serenissimos principes dominum Wenceslaum primum Romanorum regem et Bohemie Regem et dominum Johannem gorlicensem ducem, Marchionem Brandenburgensem [...]']*.
142. Tomek, *Základy* (as n. 4), 111; Rouček, *Chrám* (as n. 141), 64.
143. A. Naegle, 'Die neueste Untersuchung der Reliquien des hl. Adalbert in der Prager St. Veitskirche', *Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen*, 56 (1918), 228: '*Anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo nonagesimo sexto in festo Scti. Adalberti dominica die Jubilate, que fuit dies vigesima secunda mensis Aprilis, translata est hec capsula cum corpore seu reliquiis Scti. Adalberti episcopi et martyris, Patroni regni Bohemie predicti, de antiqua ecclesia in istud medium nove ecclesie Pragensis cum reliquiis Sanctorum quinque fratrum et multis aliis reliquiis aliorum Sanctorum, quorum nomina ignoramus*'.
144. Crossley, 'Politics' (as n. 6), 101–06.
145. The tower was pulled down as result of 1541 fire. *Jan Beckovský: Poselkyně starých příběhů českých*, ed. A. Rezek, 2 vols (Prague 1879), II, 360. A survey carried out in 1913 revealed that the western edge of the pavement around the tomb was chamfered in order to get around the tower that was still standing when the tomb was built. K. Hilbert, 'Nové poznatky o románské basilice na Hradě Pražském', *Památky archaeologické*, 26 (1914), 11–13.
146. J. Pelikán, 'Inventář oltářů kostela sv. Víta v Praze z r. 1397', *Památky archaeologické*, 32 (1946), 129: '*Altare in capella sancti Adalberti patroni ecclesie Pragensis [...]']*.
147. Tomek, *Základy* (as n. 4), 251: '*It. in die Dorotheae fit Requiem; fit commenda Ssebkonii canonico de Karlstyn in medio penes capellam S. Adalberti, ubi lapis Petrinus parvus jacet, magnus ad duas ulnas in longitudine penes lapidem Petrinum magnum et latum, sub quo multa ossa fidelium requiescunt, tendendo ad altare fraternitatis vel modicum sub lapide parvo arenoso, tendendo ad capellam S. Adalberti; et aliqui discunt, quod deberet fieri commenda retro altare Katherinae et sepulcrum S. Adalberti*'. This part of the ordinal must thus have been written after the translation of the relics from 'the choir of St Adalbert' to 'the chapel of St Adalbert'.
148. Tomek, *Základy* (as n. 4), 246: '*Altaria in introitu ad tumbam S. Adalberti: Item S. Katherinae [...], Item SS. Jakobi et Christofori [...] Altare decem milia militum [...] Altare S. Agnetis et Alexii ad latus S. Adalberti [...]']*.
149. *Ibid.*, 251, see n. 147.
150. *Ibid.*, 249: '*It. in anniv. dni. Cunssonis altaris S. Gothardi vigiliae minores; fit commenda retro sepulcrum S. Adalberti, quantum posset bis calcare directe ab acie statuae, quae attingit altare S. Cristofori contra fenestram sacristae [sic] mansionariorum, et etiam penes lapidem arenosum, tendens ad praedictam fenestram, ubi quondam fuit salix; sed dnus. Raczko dicit, quod ante altare fraternitatis inter murum et lapidem marmoreum, ubi jacet dna. Elzka de Wartinberk alias de Straznicz*'.
151. The slabs for the grave of St Adalbert in Gniezno were probably donated by Emperor Otto III on the occasion of the arrangement of the bishop's tomb in 1000. P. Kubín, *Sedm přemyslovských kultů* (Prague 2011), 185.
152. *Fontes*, II (as n. 9), 71–77. For the slabs, see D. Stehlíková, 'Svatovojtěšská úcta v památkách uměleckého řemesla', in *Svatý Vojtěch. Tisíc let svatovojtěšské tradice v Čechách* (Prague 1997), 20–21.

153. *Fontes*, II (as n. 9), 207: 'Eodemque anno [1129] dominus Meynhardus, episcopus Pragensis ecclesiae, renovat sepulcrum sancti Adalberti pontificis auro et argento et cristallo'.
154. Stehlíková, 'Svatovojtěšská úcta' (as n. 152), 21.
155. *Fontes*, IV (as n. 11), 425.
156. *Regesta*, IV (as n. 10), 412 (no. 1029): 'Et primo pro decore et exaltacione seu structura sepulchrorum beatorum Wenceslai et Adalberti, quorum corpora inibi recondita feliciter existunt, cum argenteis tabulis et ymaginibus deauratis, cum gemmis et lapidibus preciosis'.
157. Podlaha and Šittler, *Chrámový poklad* (as n. 6), XVII (1355 inventory, no. 164): 'Tumba beati Adalberti argentea deaurata cum imaginibus, quam fecit dns Johannes episcopus Pragensis', and XXXIII (1387 inventory, no. 90): 'Tumba sancti Adalberti argentea deaurata cum imaginibus, quam fecit dns Johannes episcopus Pragen'.
158. *Ibid.*, XVII (n. 6): 'quam habet plebanus in potestate'.
159. Tumbarius's tasks were set down in the statutes of St Vitus's Cathedral, issued by Arnošt of Pardubice in 1350. *Statuta metropolitanae ecclesiae Pragensis anno 1350 conscripta*, ed. A. Podlaha (Prague 1905), 36.
160. The altar is mentioned in 1305. Tomek, 'Příběhy' (as n. 27), 53: 'altare sive sepulcrum S. Adalberti, altare circa tumbam S. Adalberti'.
161. *Fontes*, IV (as n. 11), 436: 'Porro plena fruens adhuc sospitate mandavit fieri et procurari thumbam s. Adalberti in ecclesia Pragensi de auro et argento decenti et sumptuoso opere ymaginibus diversis et sculpturis artificialibus mirifice decoratam. Et talis in regno Boemie non fuit prius reperta'.
162. *Fontes*, III (as n. 105), 512: '[. . .] nam licet illi christiani venerentur picturas, abhominantur tamen larvas, facies et horrendas sculpturas, sicut sunt in multis ecclesiis. Patet in sepulcro sancti Adalberti in Praga'. For this, see K. Engstová, 'Jan Marignola a památky doby Karla IV. (K významu písemných pramenů pro výzkum hmotných památek)', *Český časopis historický*, 97 (1999), 493–501.
163. K. Hilbert, 'Nový nález v dómu svatovítském', *Památky archaeologické*, 31 (1919), 139–47.
164. F. J. Lehner, 'Hrob a ostatky sv. Vojtěcha', *Method*, 6 (1880), 37–46.
165. Hayek, *O nesstiastnee przhiodie* (as n. 45), p. Aiiiia: 'Od té věže padal oheň okny na krovy nové, kterými byl přikryt kostel veliký, tu kdež se obecně káže nad hrobem svatého Vojtěcha, a ten kostel všecken z gruntu vyhořel. Hrob toliko sám S. Vojtěcha, jenž jest z bílého mramoru uprostřed kostela, zůstal velice zpukaný'.
166. The earlier of the two authentications states that the box was opened by Archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice in the presence of Charles IV on 11 January 1346. Naegle, 'Die neueste Untersuchung' (as n. 143), 227–28: 'Anno Domini MCCCXLI, die XI. Mense Januarii Ego Arnestus primus archiepiscopus Pragensis in presencia Serenissimi Principi Domini Karoli, Marchionis Moravie nec non Primogeniti Domini Joannis Regis Bohemie, qui ipsam Ecclesiam Pragensem in archiepiscopalem aput sedem apostolicam erigi procuravit, aperici fecit hanc capram repertam in tumba beati Adalberti episcopi et Martytis, in qua una cum reliquis in ea reconditis erat carta tenore infra scripti: Hinc sunt cineres Scti Adalberti episcopi et Martyris, qui circa ossa fuerunt et quinque fratrum et sunt reliquie plurimorum Sanctorum, quorum nomina ignoramus, que pridie Calendaris Octobris sunt recondie'. M. Kostílková, 'Oltářní tumba v kapli sv. Vojtěcha, nález ostatků sv. Vojtěcha roku 1880 a jejich další osudy', in *Svatý Vojtěch. Sborník k miléniu*, ed. J. V. Polc (Prague 1997), 154 (fig. 34 and n. 42).
167. E. Vlček, 'Porovnání pozůstatků připisovaných sv. Vojtěchovi z Prahy a sv. Adalbertovi z Cách', in *Svatý Vojtěch* (as n. 166), 168–95.
168. Frolík et al., *Nejstarší sakrální architektura* (as n. 7), 204–05.
169. The wooden house-shaped box discovered beneath St Adalbert's tomb, in which the remains of the bishop's body were deposited, was 1.2 m long, 0.46 m wide and 0.75 m high. K. Hilbert, J. Matiegka and A. Podlaha, 'Ohledání ostatků sv. Vojtěcha ve velechrámu sv. Víta', *Památky archaeologické*, 29 (1917), 187 (fig. 63 on 186).
170. Hilbert, 'Nový nález' (as n. 163), 139–47.
171. Mengel, 'Holy and Faithful' (as n. 34), 145–58.
172. For his biography, see V. Tkadlík, 'Svatý Radim', in *Bohemia Sancta. Životopisy českých světců a přátel božích* (Prague 1989), 113–19. V. Ryněš, 'Radim Gaudencius v české dějinné tradici. Příspěvek k otázce krypt Spytihněvovy svatovítské basiliky', *Časopis národního muzea. Historické muzeum*, 136 (1967), 1–7.
173. *Jednání a dopisy konsistoře katolické a utrakvistické II: Akta konsistoře katolické*, ed. K. Borový (Prague 1869), 325 and 329–30 (nos 828 and 834).
174. Uličný, 'Chóry' (as n. 1), 79–81.