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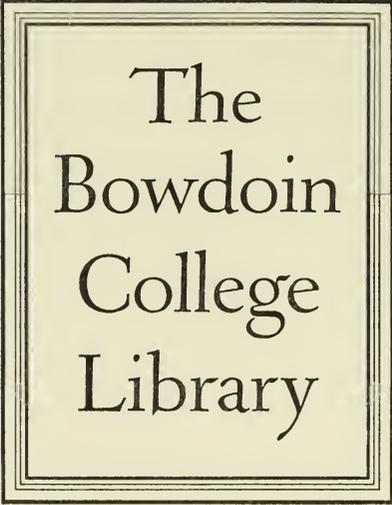
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THE BOWDOIN SCULPTURE OF ST. JOHN NEPOMUK



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OCCASIONAL PAPERS II

The Bowdoin Sculpture of St. John Nepomuk

Zdenka Volavka



BOWDOIN COLLEGE MUSEUM OF ART

BRUNSWICK, MAINE

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THIS paper was commissioned by Richard V. West during his tenure as director of the Bowdoin College Museum of Art, but the work of publishing it did not begin until after he assumed the position of director of the E. B. Crocker Art Gallery in Sacramento, California. Nonetheless, Mr. West retained a lively interest in the project and for his help, especially his careful reading of the manuscript, we are very grateful.

We are also indebted to Edward Born, the college editor, for serving as managing editor and for publishing the paper as Number 396 of the Bowdoin College Bulletin Series as well as Occasional Papers II of the Bowdoin College Museum of Art. Such simultaneous publication is often the bane of librarians, but in these days of escalating costs it cannot always be avoided.

R. PETER MOOZ
Director



Fig. 1. F. M. BROKOV: St. John Nepomuk. Oak wood, 52½ inches. Bowdoin College Museum of Art. 1968.72

The Bowdoin Sculpture of St. John Nepomuk

IN August 1969 I received a letter stating that the Bowdoin College Museum of Art had purchased a sculpture of St. John Nepomuk. Richard V. West, director of the museum at the time, thought the sculpture might be of interest to me because it was of early eighteenth-century Bohemian origin. The acquisition data did not report anything more than the probability that it was carved in Prague—a conjecture based primarily on its quality.

The figure of St. John Nepomuk (Figure 1) is less than life-size (52½ inches). The sculpture is carved in wood and is described by the museum as being of oak with no polychrome. The objects formerly in its hands are not preserved, yet there is no doubt about the iconography. The inscription on the plinth reading “S. Joannes Nepomucen[us]” is original, and both the garment and typology of the figure comply with the traditional iconography of that saint.

The sculpture is composed to be viewed from the front or three-quarters profile only. The rear view reveals a cavity in the wooden block—the usual technical element with wooden sculptures. The cavity left after the pith was carved out does not seem to have been originally covered by a board.

I originally attributed the sculpture to the workshop of the brothers Michal Jan Josef Brokov (baptized 1686—died 1721) and Ferdinand Maxmilian Brokov (baptized 1688—died 1731). After studying the rich photographic documentation provided by the museum and inspecting the piece in person, I was able to ascertain that it had been carved by Ferdinand Maxmilian Brokov.

The Work of F. M. Brokov

F. M. Brokov (Brokof, Brokoff, Prokoff) and his antipode in art, Mathias Bernard Braun, are the chief representatives of baroque sculpture in Bohemia. Several of Brokov's major works are part of the sculptural decoration of the Gothic Charles Bridge, the greatest example of baroque art in Prague. He served members of the aristocracy who after 1711 were largely ignored by Emperor Charles VI and as a result spent great amounts establishing, equipping, and embellishing their residences in Bohemia to rival the Imperial Court in Vienna. He also cooperated with the Viennese architect J. B. Fischer von Erlach on commissions in Vienna, Prague, and Silesia.

In the course of 180 years of development in Bohemia, a country of great Gothic tradition, baroque art underwent several changes which corresponded to the ideological, social, and economic fortunes of the country. The most significant change occurred at the end of the seventeenth century. After the collapse of the Reformation in 1620, Bohemia was exposed to religious persecutions and economic exploitation. The style of baroque art that was imposed first on Prague and then on the most Protestant parts of the country was an importation and played a role in the forced conversion to Catholicism. Most of the artists of this period were foreigners. In the first years of the eighteenth century, however, baroque art became domesticated. A few outstanding artists whose careers date from the last decade of the seventeenth century brought an end to the artistic paralysis that had gripped Bohemia. Brokov was one of the artists who changed Prague, formerly considered a "Protestant Rome," into one of the chief centers of Catholic baroque art.

The role that baroque art played during the Counter-Reformation in Bohemia to a great extent defined both its form and conception. It was not until the end of the seventeenth century that the expressive features of Berninesque sculpture were first introduced to Prague, partly by some passing foreigners (J. Süssner, Ottavio Mosto) and partly by the Prague artist M. V. Jäckel (1655-1738). Yet only a few years later, through works by Braun and his followers, the Prague school contributed to European baroque through its sculpture, which was more radical in form and dramatic in content than Berninesque sculpture. The passionate ardor of Braun's figures are manifested by their volumes, which seem to be shattered by an explosion, and by their surfaces, which seem to be corroded by a destructive element—all reflecting the Catholic effort to convert the heretic.

Brokov's art is the antithesis of the vehemence of Braun's sculpture.¹ In opposition to Braun's figures, which are composed in turbulent agglomerations of coarse-grained sandstone or wood, Brokov's sculptures are constructed with a dramatic yet balanced distribution of mass. The fervor of Brokov's figures is introverted. They are serene and worldly; not ecstatic, yet suggesting activity. The basic Brokov form is round and convex, the volume bulgy.

Brokov's personal style has been posing problems to monograph writers for several decades. V. V. Štech in 1935 thought Brokov's work was linked with the Prague tradition but saw in his style the effect of Viennese sculptors, especially the creators of the plague monument, the so-called Trinity column erected in the Graben, Vienna, in the 1680s.² E. Poche, on the other hand, suggested in 1947 that there could have been some relationship between Brokov and the artists of the archbishop's court at Salzburg.³ The latest Brokov biographers in general see the artist's work as having appeared suddenly, without precedent in Prague's sculptural production and inexplicable within the cultural context of Bohemia at the time. Thus, they search for the origin of his style outside Bohemia, trying to trace his teachers to Paul and Peter Strudl, the court artists at Vienna.⁴ Yet, answers to questions about Brokov's training and youth, which seem to be crucial not only for an explanation of the artist's specific style but also for an understanding of the development of baroque sculpture in Bohemia, are still more complex.

F. M. Brokov was born in a family of sculptors and according to tradition was educated, doubtless with his brother, in his father's workshop. The effect of his family may not, therefore, be entirely eliminated, although his work greatly surpasses that of his father and brother.

The Brokov Family Workshop

The father, Jan Brokov (1652–1718), came to Bohemia from Slovakia. He was born in Spišská Sobota, which in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the center of an area rich in the production of wood sculpture. Jan Brokov's certificate of origin, issued in 1675 by the council of his native city to prove that his family background was respectable, states that the reason for issuing it was his decision to be trained in the craft.⁵ Recent research linked the date of its issue with the date of his departure from Slovakia,⁶ leading some to conclude that he apprenticed somewhere in Bohemia, Silesia, or South Germany. However, no mention is made in the certificate that Jan Brokov intended to leave his native city. Therefore, there is no reason to doubt the earlier held belief that he trained in the city and country of his birth.⁷ Being a Lutheran, he left Slovakia when the persecution of non-Catholics became very strong at the end of the seventeenth century. His departure might have occurred after he had completed his apprenticeship.

The Slovak wood-carver's style of the late Middle Ages is reflected in Jan Brokov's major works between 1684 and 1696, of which the sculptural decoration of the Saturn fireplace in the castle at Libochovice⁸ and the Pieta, formerly on the Charles Bridge, are examples. That his work belongs to a strain of Central European baroque sculpture which stems from an older, local tradition instead of being influenced by the Italians strongly affected the orientation of his sons' work.⁹ Thus, Jan Brokov and his family workshop were a direct link between a late medieval carving tradition and the climax of baroque sculpture in Bohemia.

The sequence of Jan Brokov's sculpture, which starts with two St. John Nepomuk statues in 1682, runs with only short interruption until 1705. From 1706 the cooperation and participation of his son Michal Jan Josef is presumed, and after 1710 his second son, Ferdinand Maxmilian, was also at work. However, the workshop was owned and directed by the father until his death in 1718. He signed the contracts, accepted the commissions, and his name appeared as signature on most sculptures. In addition to administering the workshop, he participated actively as a sculptor until the late years of his life.¹⁰

After Jan Brokov's death, the license for the workshop, according to custom, was transferred to his wife. Its direction was in the hands of Michal Jan Josef until his death in 1721. The mother, however, remained official head of the workshop not only until the death of her second son in 1731 but until her own death four years later. Thus, works bearing the signatures "Joannes Brokoff" or merely "Brokoff" in the years 1706–1708 include the works of Jan and Michal Jan Josef Brokov; in the years 1709–1718 they include the works of all three Brokovs; in the years 1718–1721 the work of the two sons; and finally, in the years 1721–1731, the work of Ferdinand Maxmilian and eventually that of his assistant. The complex situation in the Brokov workshop has

been revealed through the patient analysis of Brokov works by three generations of Czech art historians. The study of the contemporary records has not thrown much light on the identification of these three artists' hands. Although Ferdinand Maxmilian was recognized in his century as an outstanding artist, his work was often confused with his father's, and the existence of Michal Jan Josef is not even mentioned in the topographical literature of Prague dating back to the first half of the eighteenth century.

Considering the interrelations between the master and his assistants, the situation in each major baroque workshop is difficult to study. The Brokov workshop in particular puts an exceedingly complicated case before the art historian, as it appears that the working process within it, in comparison to other sculptors' workshops, had some unusual features. The division of labor appears not to have followed the usual pattern, in which the stone was roughed out by the younger helpers and the shape of the sculpture carved by the skilled ones so that the master had only to make the last corrections and add the imprints of his personality.¹¹ In the Brokov workshop the division of labor seems to have been vertical. The sculptor who started carving the block was supposed to finish the sculpture so that two or all three sculptors worked parallel to each other on different works. Several facts give evidence of this working process. There are relatively few records on the helpers within the Brokov workshop. Three apprentices or helpers are recorded as having worked with Jan Brokov in the years 1693–1699.¹² At that time, his sons were still too young to have been able to work with him. Other records on assistants date from 1725 to 1731; that is, from the time Ferdinand Maxmilian, after the death of his brother, was alone.¹³ Even when the records do not give a precise picture of the situation in the workshop, it seems certain that the production during the years 1706–1721 was not collective work in the baroque sense but three and then two parallel streams of work by more or less independent artists. The short life-spans of both brothers indirectly support this conclusion. Michal Jan Josef died at thirty-five, Ferdinand Maxmilian at forty-three, both of pulmonary disease, which frequently occurred in carvers of Czech sandstone. Then, too, the character of the works themselves is an argument for the relatively independent working arrangement in the family.

Juxtaposing the sculptures produced in the workshop, one sees the works of three separate artists, not merely three variations of one master's style. In 1714, for instance, Ferdinand Maxmilian was the author of the monumental decoration of high baroque of the Morzin Palace, Prague. About 1714, Michal Jan Josef executed the sculpture for the plague monument at Votice which, because of its conventional character, was until recently hidden in anonymity.¹⁴ At the same time, Jan carved the stylistically conservative and artistically unpretentious statues of the high altar of St. Wenceslas Church at Votice. In spite of the disparity of artistic quality, one can find in the works of all three traditional conception and a desire for moderation in rendering.

Attribution and Dating of St. John Nepomuk

The sculpture of St. John Nepomuk in the Bowdoin College Museum of Art relates to the work of the Brokov family in subject, conception, and rendering. The composition, the way form and volume are treated, the monumental aspiration, and the definite



Fig. 2. J. BROKOV and M. RAUCHMULLER: St. John Nepomuk. Bronze. Charles Bridge, Prague, 1681-1682. (Photo: J. Ehm, Prague)



Fig. 3. J. BROKOV: St. John Nepomuk. Painted wood. St. Mary's Assumption Church, 1692. (Photo: National Institute of the Protection of Antiquities, Prague)

polish of the type and pose of the figure make it possible to attribute the statue to Ferdinand Maximilian Brokov.

St. John Nepomuk was a favorite subject of the family. A long series starts with Jan's wooden model (1681-1682) after a small clay model by Matthias Rauchmiller (Figure 2). It was then cast in bronze by the Nürnberg caster W. H. Herold and placed on the parapet of the Charles Bridge on the 300th anniversary of the saint's death, on August 31, 1683. The statue located at the place believed to be where St. John was thrown into the Vltava River became the archetype for numerous sculptures of this saint, which have been used to decorate the bridges of villages and towns in Central Europe.

Although Jan participated in the sculpture merely as an artistic middleman between sculptor and caster, he affected the result stylistically in the simple bulk and heaviness of St. John's body and in the sharp folds of the rochet. The statue on the Charles Bridge was also the iconographic prototype of numerous wood and stone sculptures by him. In iconography Jan complied with the original pattern. The only variation was in the

martyr's palm, which was not an attribute in most of his statues, probably because of the difficulty of carving it in stone or wood (Figure 3).

M. J. J. Brokov also kept to the Rauchmiller-Jan Brokov style. In several sculptures which have been identified as his, he depicted St. John Nepomuk in the traditional way. One of his sculptures, in the Church of St. John Na Prádle, Prague (Figure 4), dates back to 1715 and is even closer to the archetype in rendering and iconography than most of Jan Brokov's earlier works.¹⁵ The figure is more subtle, less squarely built than his father's sculptures at Tachov (1692) or Nymburk (1696), for instance. The surfaces of his sculpture are richer and more painterly in treatment than his father's. It is also closer to the prototype in its physiognomy, and it holds in its right hand the martyr's palm. The latter feature might be considered indicative of Michal Jan Josef's conception of the saint. He depicted St. John as a martyr, silently resigned to God's will, symbolized by five stars that according to legend fell in the Vltava with St. John.

The conception is identical and the rendering similar to other statues attributed to Michal Jan Josef: St. John Nepomuk at Skramníky near Prague (signed Joannes Brokoff and dated 1715), its variation at Bor near Tachov, and the signed sculpture on the porch of the castle at Rožďalovice in North Bohemia (1717).¹⁶ Only one of Michal Jan Josef's representations of St. John departs radically from the prototype: the sculpture on the bridge in Děčín in North Bohemia. There, St. John belongs to the central part of a group depicting the three patron saints of Bohemia.¹⁷ He is shown turned away from the viewer and toward the crucifix, which, fixed on a pedestal, is the actual center of the group.

The other groups of St. John Nepomuk sculptures produced by the Brokov workshop may be attributed to Ferdinand Maxmilian. None keeps the iconography of the Rauchmiller-Jan Brokov prototype. Although the attributes of costume, crucifix, and martyr's palm are retained, their composition and inclusion in the pose of the figure differ substantially from the prototype.

The Bowdoin St. John Nepomuk also diverges from the prototype. The gesture of the arms indicates that the now-absent attributes were not held in the same position as the prototype. The hands are held away from the body so that the crucifix could not have been clutched to the chest in a gesture of complete devotion.

Could it be possible that the figure never held the palm and crucifix? Ferdinand Maxmilian's St. John in the niche of the façade of the chapel dedicated to him in St. George Church at Hradčany, Prague, does not hold the attributes.¹⁸ However, if the attributes were never a part of the Bowdoin statue, then its gesture would have to be interpreted as that of a preacher and the figure explained as a talking one. Such an interpretation would contradict both the gesture of the putto symbolizing St. John's silence and the legend surrounding him. Thus, the open-arm gesture must be read in relation to a crucifix, now missing.

The crucifix is the most recurring attribute of St. John Nepomuk statues. In the case of the Bowdoin statue, it might have been placed in both hands in a horizontal position, with the corpus in the right hand. There is such an instance in the Prague iconography: the sculpture of St. John's cenotaph in St. Vitus Cathedral (1736). The figure kneels



Fig. 4. M. J. J. BROKOV: St. John Nepomuk. Stone. Exterior of the Church of St. John Na Prádle, Prague, 1715. (Photo: National Institute of the Protection of Antiquities, Prague)



Fig. 5. ANTONIO CORRADINI and J. J. WÜRTH:
Cenotaph of St. John Nepomuk. Silver. St.
Vitus Cathedral, Prague, 1736. (Photo: J.
Ehm, Prague)

at the sarcophagus and prays in a slightly stooped position over the crucifix (Figure 5).

The cenotaph was designed by Josef Emanuel Fischer von Erlach, modeled by Antonio Corradini, and beaten in silver by the Viennese silversmith J. J. Würth. Succeeding the Rauchmiller-Jan Brokov sculpture at Charles Bridge, the cenotaph became another center of the cult of St. John Nepomuk. However, the Corradini rendering did not become domesticated; it was neither preceded nor followed in Bohemia. There is another reason for rejecting the possibility that the Bowdoin statue held a crucifix in such a manner: the glance of the saint aims at a point higher than the level of his right hand (Figure 6).

If one compares the Bowdoin statue with the other St. John Nepomuk sculptures thought to be done by Ferdinand Maxmilian, one may conclude that most probably each hand held one of the two attributes. A St. John Nepomuk on a pedestal flanked by two putti that is found at Radnické Schody (Townhall Stairs) at Malá Strana, Prague, holds in his left hand the crucifix and in his right the martyr's palm.¹⁹ The crucifix is pressed to the body in a way similar to the Charles Bridge prototype. Two other sculptures of St. John probably come closer to the original composition of the Bowdoin sculpture, however. The sculpture at Petrovice in Western Bohemia (ca. 1717) holds the crucifix in the raised left hand (Figure 7).²⁰ A sculpture at Hořín in Central Bohemia (1725) (Figure 8) shows the cross in the raised right arm.²¹ In both cases, St. John views the cross or the crucifix and holds the martyr's palm in his other arm.

Returning to the Bowdoin figure, one may conclude that the raised right arm held



Fig. 6. F. M. BROKOV: St. John Nepomuk. Oak wood, 52½ inches. Bowdoin College Museum of Art. 1968.72

a cross or crucifix in an upright position. Given the figure's line of vision, the cross or crucifix was probably not large. This gesture is unusual for Czech sculptures of St. John, but it does occur several times in Ferdinand Maxmilian's work.²² On the other hand, the gesture of the left arm, no doubt originally holding the martyr's palm, is unusual in his renderings of this saint. It makes the pose even more energetic.

The artist also departed from the usual conception of St. John. The arms thrusting into space make the figure active and expansive. The passive, resigned type, which complied with the official Catholic version, was transformed into a contemplative, but resolute, saint (Figure 9). Ferdinand Maxmilian's version is very personal. It has no analogy in Bohemian baroque sculpture.

Finally, there is another iconographic motif of the Bowdoin sculpture that deserves to be discussed, the putto (Figure 13), which is not simply treated as a decorative element. Its left hand, with a figure put to the lips, signifies St. John's specific quality of keeping silent. This motif is absent in the prototype, but it occurs in two other works by Ferdinand Maxmilian. One of the putti of the sculpture at Townhall Stairs (1709) makes the same symbolic gesture. The sculpture at Hořín shows a fish beneath the figure's feet instead of the putto (Figure 8). The fish symbolizes the Vltava River, into which the martyr was thrown, and the reticence that caused his death. Both symbols were introduced by Ferdinand Maxmilian and were rapidly incorporated into the vocabulary of St. John Nepomuk sculptures of the following generation. The Prague sculptor J. F. Platzer (1717-1787) especially used them.



Fig. 7. F. M. BROKOV: St. John Nepomuk. Wood. Church of the Visitation of St. Mary, Petrovice, ca. 1717. (Photo: J. Ehm, Prague)



Fig. 8. F. M. BROKOV: St. John Nepomuk. Stone. Hořín, 1725. (Photo: J. Ehm, Prague)

How does the Bowdoin sculpture fit into the whole of the work by F. M. Brokov? Its energetic gesture and resolute pose are similar to the St. John Nepomuk sculptures at Hořín and Petrovice, as previously mentioned. The composition and structure of the stance of those works differ from the Bowdoin figure, however. The raised arm holding the crucifix, the gaze, and the bent head are on the side opposite the free leg, which is forward. The Bowdoin figure has the displayed arm on the same side as the free, advanced leg. This has made the stance of the figure rather complicated. To achieve balance in the structure, the opposite hip and arm exceed the axis of the figure. Thus, the action of the figure originates in the right leg, makes a curve to the left hip and arm, and turns again to the displayed right arm. The head does not simply lean in the direction of the displayed arm. It creates, with the neck, still another small curve. The Hořín and Petrovice sculptures are much more elementary in construction of pose and distribution of mass. In them, the curve originates in the free leg and ends in the displayed arm.



Fig. 9. F. M. BROKOV: St. John Nepomuk. Oak wood, 52½ inches. Bowdoin College Museum of Art. 1968.72

The sophisticated construction of the Bowdoin figure, which is unique among Ferdinand Maxmilian's sculptures of St. John Nepomuk, is not alone among the artist's other works, however. It can be found in two sculptures which are signed with his father's name but which have been considered since 1921 to have been done by him. The central figure in the group of the Jesuit St. Francis Borgia at Charles Bridge (Figure 10) reveals the same pattern in its structure.²³ Only the dramatic accent of the pose is softened, the displayed arm being very slightly extended into space. The central figure in the group of St. Ignatius Loyola (Figure 11), delivered in 1711 for the Charles Bridge by Brokov's workshop, shows the identical pose with even more dramatic emphasis.²⁴ The pose of St. Ignatius is the mirror image of the Bowdoin figure. The displayed arm of the former is merely swayed more to the side than that of the latter.

The comparison of St. John Nepomuk with St. Ignatius and St. Francis Borgia also explains the gesture of the left hand of the Bowdoin sculpture, unusual among St. John Nepomuk sculptures since it exposes too ostentatiously the martyr's palm. It seems that



Fig. 10. F. M. BROKOV: St. Francis Borgia. Stone. Charles Bridge, Prague, 1710. (Photo: J. Ehm, Prague)



Fig. 11. F. M. BROKOV: St. Ignatius. Modelletto (?). Painted linden wood. City Museum, Prague, ca. 1711. (Photo: City Museum)

Ferdinand Maxmilian either adapted the gesture of both figures from the groups at Charles Bridge or they all had some common source. Both sculptures at Charles Bridge represented saints who were preachers. That Brokov made St. John like them reveals his unusual conception of the saint.

To incorporate the sculpture of St. John Nepomuk fully into F. M. Brokov's work, one must consider the putto, an element absent in both the St. Ignatius and St. Francis Borgia groups. The putto of the Bowdoin sculpture is similar to the one on the right side of the St. John Nepomuk at Townhall Stairs. The putto sitting and holding a scroll that is a part of the group of St. Vincent of Ferrara and St. Prokopius at Charles Bridge (1712) shows the same proportion and hairstyle. Two putti on St. Adalbert (1709), another work at Charles Bridge (Figures 12a, 12b), are also similar to the Bowdoin putto.²⁵ The putto standing at St. Adalbert's right hand, on the lower part of the pedestal, coincides with the Bowdoin putto in facial features and hairstyle. The putto on the opposite side is similar to the Bowdoin putto in pose (Figures 13, 14, 15, 16).

Authorship of the St. Adalbert sculpture, signed by Jan Brokov, belongs to the problems still unsolved by art historians. Both Michal Jan Josef and Ferdinand Maxmilian have been suggested as the artist.²⁶ However, the close relationship of the putti of that monument to the putto of the Bowdoin sculpture casts doubt on the accuracy of its attribution to Michal Jan Josef. Analysis of the structure of the Bowdoin St. John supports the belief that the St. Adalbert monument was done by F. M. Brokov. A



Figs. 12a, 12b. F. M. BROKOV: St. Adalbert. Stone. Charles Bridge, Prague, 1709. (Photo: J. Ehm, Prague)



Fig. 13. F. M. BROKOV: Putto. Detail of St. John Nepomuk. Bowdoin College Museum of Art. 1968.72



Fig. 14. F. M. BROKOV: Putto. Detail from the pedestal of St. Adalbert. Stone. Charles Bridge, Prague, 1709. (Photo: J. Ehm, Prague)

similar yet complicated structural pattern is found in the figures of the Bowdoin St. John, St. Francis Borgia (1710) (Figure 10), and St. Ignatius Loyola (1711) (Figure 11). The simpler pattern then occurs in the sculptures of St. Adalbert (Figures 12a, 12b), St. Cajetan at Charles Bridge (1709) (Figure 17),²⁷ St. John of Matha at Charles Bridge (1714), and the St. John Nepomuk statues at St. George Church in Prague (1717–1722), at Petrovice, and at Hořín. Thus, both structural patterns are found in works attributed to Ferdinand Maxmilian. On the other hand, these patterns are absent in Michal Jan Josef's works.

All these factors must be considered as one attempts to determine when the Bowdoin St. John was carved. The exact pose appears in only two other works, and both are major works done at the beginning of the artist's career. One can reasonably conclude, then, that the Bowdoin figure was executed very early.

A few words should be said about the material of the Bowdoin statue. Although



Fig. 15. F. M. BROKOV: Putto. Detail from the pedestal of St. Adalbert. Stone. Charles Bridge, Prague, 1709. (Photo: J. Ehm, Prague)



Fig. 16. F. M. BROKOV: Putto. Detail from the pedestal of St. Adalbert. Stone. Charles Bridge, Prague, 1709. (Photo: J. Ehm, Prague)

F. M. Brokov was familiar from his youth with wood because it was the favorite material of this father—which his early monographers realized—the fact that most of the sculptures first attributed to him were done in stone gradually led many to consider him a stone-carver. Attributing wood-carved sculptures to him came later. Indeed, some of the works in a group of wood-carvings were brought together as late as 1947 and attributed to him.²⁸ Sculptures in wood, it is now known, were done throughout Ferdinand Maxmilian's career. His first works in wood, models for the St. Adalbert group (in a private collection) and for the St. Ignatius Loyola group (in the Prague City Museum), are approximately thirty-one inches high and date back, respectively, to about 1709 and 1711.²⁹ His last works are the small models of the sculptures of the Czech patron saints which are found in the Church of St. Thomas in Prague.³⁰ The figures were intended to be executed in silver, and the series was finished by Ignác Miller after Ferdinand Maxmilian became sick. They are dated 1730.



Fig. 17. F. M. Brokov: St. Cajetan. Stone. Charles Bridge, Prague, 1709. (Photo: J. Ehm, Prague)

Thus, the fact alone that the Bowdoin sculpture is carved in wood furnishes no support for its dating. The kind of wood in which it was carved—oak—seems to be unique in Ferdinand Maxmilian's work and is rare in Czech baroque sculpture. The model of St. Ignatius Loyola is of linden wood,³¹ as is the model of St. Adalbert. Two kneeling Negroes attributed to F. M. Brokov³² and St. Vitus with St. Ludmila, attributed to the Brokov workshop³³ (in the National Gallery at Prague), are also done in linden.³⁴ It is also the material of the previously mentioned sculptures in the Church of St. Thomas in Prague (1730)³⁵ and of thirteen life-size figures for the Calvary group in the Church of St. Gall in Prague, a late work.³⁶ Linden wood appears to be the prevailing material by far in Czech baroque sculpture. Of ninety pieces in wood included in an exhibition organized in 1933, for example, only nine were of materials other than linden wood.³⁷ As a rule, the harder woods occur either in the early or late periods of Czech baroque, that is, in the seventeenth century and the late eighteenth century. The use of oak by Ferdinand Maxmilian may indicate the start of his career rather than the middle or the end. He might have been affected in his choice of material by his father or another master who trained him in the wood-carver's style.

Problems Related to F. M. Brokov's Apprenticeship

It is common that the features connecting a baroque artist with the master in whose workshop he trained emerge primarily at the beginning of the artist's career.³⁸ Does the Bowdoin sculpture cast any light on the personality of F. M. Brokov's teacher, the identity of whom is still not certain? Brokov grew up, there is no doubt, in his father's workshop. But even as early as the eighteenth century writers who appreciated his art felt the necessity of discovering another teacher as they tried to explain the divergence in quality between the son's work and his father's. F. M. Pelzel thought that Ferdinand Maxmilian's teacher had been the Prague sculptor F. O. Quitainer.³⁹ Although there are several instances in the history of baroque sculpture in which a young artist trained first in the workshop of his father and then left to get more experience at an academy or with another artist, historical evidence precludes the possibility that Ferdinand Maxmilian trained with Quitainer.⁴⁰

As noted earlier, present-day scholars are inclined to search for Ferdinand Maxmilian's teacher within the Strudl workshop in Vienna. Without claiming to have found the complete solution to the problem, I should like to point out evidence that links his works to one of Prague's workshops.

The pattern of the structure of the figure is the key stylistic feature of Ferdinand Maxmilian's work. This is because, in opposition to Braun and other sculptors of the Berninesque style, he does not use the activated garment of the figure as a major structural or expressive element. He puts into operation the body, limbs, head, and even physiognomy. Such works as St. Francis Borgia and Bowdoin's St. John show this clearly. Thus, the occurrence of that particular pattern may be significant and not merely accidental.

As I have already noted, two principal structural patterns are found in Ferdinand Maxmilian's work. His more sophisticated pattern is also found in a figure of St. Adalbert



Fig. 18. FRANTIŠEK PREISS: St. Adalbert. Wood. Detail of the high altar of the monastic Church of the Visitation of St. Mary, Doksany, 1703.



Fig. 19. F. M. BROKOV: St. John Nepomuk. Oak wood, 52½ inches. Bowdoin College Museum of Art. 1968.72

by F. Preiss (1660–1712) on the upper part of the high altar of the monastic Church of the Visitation of St. Mary at Doksany (Figure 18; compare with Figure 19).⁴¹ The sculptural part of the high altar dates back to 1703. Brokov's simpler structural pattern appears in a life-size sculpture of St. Adalbert on the high altar of St. Nicolas Church, Louny (Figure 20). It is also by Preiss and was done sometime between 1700 and 1706.⁴²

If one compares St. Adalbert at Doksany with Brokov's St. John Nepomuk (Bowdoin), St. Francis Borgia (Charles Bridge, 1710; Figure 10), and St. Ignatius Loyola (Charles Bridge, 1711; Figure 11), one finds that the pose of St. John Nepomuk is closest to the pose of the Preiss pattern. Slight alterations in the gesture of the displayed arm in the other two patterns cause them to differ from the St. Adalbert sculpture.

A comparison of the stance of Preiss's St. Adalbert at Louny with the simpler pattern found in Brokov's works is equally revealing. Closest in similarity are Brokov's St. Adalbert (Charles Bridge, 1709; Figures 12a, 12b) and St. Cajetan (Charles Bridge, 1709; Figure 17). A variation of the stance appears in St. John of Matha (Charles Bridge, 1714), and free modifications of it are found in three sculptures of St. John Nepomuk (St. George Church, Prague, 1717–1722; Petrovice, ca. 1717; and Hořín, 1725).



Fig. 20. FRANTIŠEK PREISS: St. Adalbert. Wood. Church of St. Nicholas, Louny, 1700–1706.

From these observations, I draw two conclusions: 1) If one assumes that the structure of the statues' poses is a significant element in Brokov's work, one may presume that Ferdinand Maxmilian trained in Preiss's workshop, probably sometime between 1703 and 1707. 2) Proceeding from the assumption that elements adopted from a teacher emerge most clearly at the start of an artist's career, one is able to date the Bowdoin St. John as having been done between 1708 and 1710.

It is true that some works of the Preiss workshop include radical elements absent in Ferdinand Maxmilian's work. Occasionally, Preiss or one of his assistants utilized the figure's garment to express spiritual excitement. However, several of Preiss's works are free of all action in the drapery. The energetic but peaceable gesture of the figure is dominant. Such is the case, for instance, in the over life-size sculpture of St. Charles Borromeo on the high altar of St. Ursula's Church, Prague (1709) (Figure 21). Not by its gestures so much as by its serenity, rendering, and monumental appearance is this sculpture very close to the Bowdoin St. John.

The similarities between F. M. Brokov's sculptures and those of the Preiss workshop may be demonstrated in other examples. Brokov's angels—including those in the group of St. John the Baptist at Malá Strana in Prague, which recently has been used as an example to illustrate the Strudls' influence on Brokov⁴³—are similar to Preiss's angels

in the three altars of the Church of St. Nicolas in Louny. The ornamental part of the pedestal of the St. Barbara at Charles Bridge group (1707) by Brokov also reveals a relationship to Preiss's altars at Louny. Moreover, the figures of the Brokov group are similar to the figure of St. Ursula which is above the porch of the Church of St. Ursula in Prague. Preiss carved this figure sometime after 1700.

Preiss ran a workshop at Hradčany in Prague, where he was also a member of the council. His teacher most probably was Jeroným Kohl (1632–1709), the court sculptor in Prague and disciple of the Prague sculptor A. J. Heidelberg, who died before 1668. By 1700 Preiss was one of the leading artists of Prague. A man of ambition, he proposed, with the architect F. M. Kaňka and the painter M. V. Halbachs, to Emperor Josef I in 1709 the founding of an academy of art in Prague. This evidence of his pedagogic aspirations is certainly relevant to the problem under discussion. One should also mention that the sculpture of St. Francis of Assisi, one of Preiss's best works, signed with his initials and dated 1708, was attributed to F. M. Brokov in the eighteenth century.⁴⁴

Questions and a Hypothesis about F. M. Brokov's Life

Although he was considered an outstanding artist and was widely known among his contemporaries, relatively few facts are known about F. M. Brokov's life. The records are minimal when compared, for instance, with the documentation on Braun. Is there any reason for this lacuna other than historical accident?

Let me present some data on the lives of the Brokovs. Jan Brokov was known as a fervent Lutheran. In a statement dated February 1697 he mentions his passionate fights over religion with Catholics: "... saepenumero cum Catholicis acerrima disputatione conflixerim. . . ."⁴⁵ His conversion to Catholicism occurred in 1682. His statement brings his conversion into relation with work on the model of the sculpture of St. John Nepomuk in 1681–1682: "Quocirca statuum S. Joannis elaborando cor meum in corpore meo transverti, Lutheranam haeresim abijciendo, & Anno 1682, in Stockau Professionem Catholicae fidei emisi." It seems that the conversion happened neither easily nor all at once. Jan Brokov was not married until September of 1686.⁴⁶ It was probably the second time he and his wife married, this time in a Catholic church; their first legitimate sons were born before 1686.⁴⁷ M. J. J. and F. M. Brokov were baptized in a Catholic church in 1686 and 1688.⁴⁸

Both latter sons remained single. Although the leading personality of the workshop after 1709, Ferdinand Maxmilian never claimed to have received the owner's license. Even after his brother's death, his mother remained the licensed director. Unlike Braun, Ferdinand Maxmilian never got rich. Was this intentional or misfortune? Did he avoid contacts with the authorities for some reason, or was such avoidance accidental?

In the documents of the Prague Catholic parishes his name appears a few times, but only because he was a godfather or a witness to a marriage. His death, on March 8, 1731, is also recorded.⁴⁹

Ferdinand Maxmilian worked almost entirely alone. His art seems to have had for him a deeper than usual significance. As discussed, he fundamentally changed the St. John Nepomuk iconography.



Fig. 21. FRANTIŠEK PREISS: High altar of St. Ursula's Church, Prague, 1709. Painted Wood.
(Photo: M. Smrkvoský, Kutná Hora)

The cult of St. John Nepomuk, organized by the Jesuits, pushed by the Catholic clergy, and supported by the Emperor's court, was of great ideological and political importance in Bohemia. It was meant to destroy the cult of Jan Hus, still strong among non-Catholics. That is why the celebrations of the beatification (1721) and canonization (1729) of John Nepomuk and the construction of the cenotaph over his tomb in the cathedral were organized as grandiose, first-rate events.

The Rauchmiller-Jan Brokov concept of St. John complied with the effort of the Counter-Reformation to offer non-Catholics a passive, resigned martyr instead of the resolute preacher and reformer, Jan Hus. In contravening the conventional iconography, F. M. Brokov endowed St. John Nepomuk's personality with new character, energy, and activity. He was also the first to emphasize the Saint's determination to remain silent by adding to his figure new symbols. According to popular medieval tradition, St. John Nepomuk was the confessor of the wife of Wenceslas IV and was tortured and thrown in the Vltava after having refused to reveal the Queen's confessional secrets to the King.⁵⁰ The Queen was also known to have attended, later on, the sermons of Jan Hus.

Do F. M. Brokov's interpretive deviations from the norm say anything about the artist's personal attitude and intention, or do they merely indicate the approach of a great artist who only reluctantly accepts an iconographic stereotype?

The tragic history of Bohemia taught people many methods of survival. The Counter-Reformation did not admit any other than the Catholic Church. There were, therefore, many Czechs who left their country, such as the graphic artist Václav Hollar who later gained fame in London. There were also many emigrants who, preferring to lose their religion rather than their country, subsequently returned to Bohemia. The painter Karel Škréta is an example. Finally, there were many who remained and converted, such as Jan Brokov. However, inhabitants of entire cities, for example Slaný, an old center of Hussites, converted to Catholicism under duress, and upon the issue of the toleration decree in 1782 threw Catholic books and pictures from the windows.⁵¹ By their silence, both they and their religion survived for more than a century and a half.

It seems probable that F. M. Brokov's art grew from other than Catholic ideas. Such would explain much of his fervent, yet not radical, serene and spiritual art.

Conclusions

1) St. John Nepomuk in the Bowdoin College Museum of Art belongs among F. M. Brokov's works. The distribution of mass, the fullness of volume, and the structure of pose correspond to the sculptures whose attribution to F. M. Brokov is accepted by all contemporary writers. The sharp treatment of the surface detail is due to the hard material that Brokov only rarely used.

2) The subject matter is typical of Brokov. The iconography of the sculpture corresponds with the artist's innovations in this field. It seems probable that the saint originally held in his right hand a crucifix or cross in a vertical position and in his left hand the martyr's palm. This distribution of the attributes has its analogy in several Brokov sculptures of St. John Nepomuk from 1717 to 1725.

3) By its quality and artistic rendering the sculpture belongs to the first group of the

artist's major works. Stylistic analysis places it in the period 1708–1710.

4) The sculpture was not necessarily part of a group. St. John Nepomuk very often occurred as a solitary piece in Czech baroque art. Even though its original location has not yet been found, the size of the sculpture leads one to believe that its location was in a public rather than a private place.

5) The sculpture of St. John Nepomuk is of historical significance. It raises several problems about the artist, his training, and his specific role in the history of Czech baroque sculpture.



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NOTES

1. The differences between these two artists were first studied in the context of the Czech baroque tradition by V. Volavka, "Ignác Platzer a jeho postavení v české plastice" [Ignac Platzer and his position in Czech sculpture], *Narodní Listy* 22 October 1927, p. 3, and more recently by Z. Volavková-Skořepová, *O sochařském díle rodiny Platzerů* (Prague, 1957), p. 53.
2. V. V. Štech, *Prager Barockbildhauer* (Prague, 1935), pp. 42, 45-46. This work appears in Czech and German versions.
3. E. Poche, *Karlův most* [Charles Bridge] (Prague, 1947), p. 10.
4. O. J. Blažiček, *Ferdinand Maxmilian Brokof* (Prague, 1957), pp. 8-9. Věra Nejedlá, "Příspěvek k dílu bratří Michala Jana Josefa a Ferdinanda Maxmiliana Brokofů" [Contribution to the work of the brothers M. J. J. and F. M. Brokov], *Umění* 16, no. 5 (1968): 448-461.
5. The certificate appears in O. Pollak, "Johann und Ferdinand Maxmilian Brokoff," *Forschungen zur Kunstgeschichte Böhmens* 5 (Prague, 1910): 18.
6. Blažiček, *Ferdinand Maxmilian Brokof*, p. 6. V. Nejedlá, "Příspěvek k dílu Jana Brokofa" [Contribution to the work of Jan Brokov], *Umění* 12, no. 1 (1964): 1-6.
7. J. Herain, *Karlův most v Praze* [Charles Bridge in Prague] (Prague, 1908), p. 43. K. B. Mádl, "Dílo Ferdinanda Maxmiliana Brokova" [Work of Ferdinand Maxmilian Brokov], *Umění* 1, no. 1 (1921): 24 et passim.
8. Attribution made in Nejedlá, "Příspěvek k dílu Jana Brokofa," p. 9.
9. For examples of this kind of sculpture see E. Tietze-Conrat, "Eine Niederoesterreichische Skulpturengruppe vom Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der k.k. Zentral-Kommission*, N.F. 4, no. 2 (1906): 67-80. A. Feulner, "Skulptur und Malerei des 18. Jahrhunderts in Deutschland," *Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft* (Potsdam, 1929), pp. 3-10. Volavková-Skořepová, *O sochařském díle rodiny Platzerů*, pp. 16-23.
10. He is, for instance, the author of the sculptures of the high altar of St. Wenceslas Church at Votice, which he did from 1707 to 1716. See Nejedlá, "Příspěvek k dílu Jana Brokofa," p. 22.
11. Work procedures in the workshops of baroque sculptors were studied by V. Volavka and Z. Volavková, *De Statua* (Prague, 1959), pp. 226-259, 335-346.
12. G. J. Dlabacz, *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexicon für Böhmen und zum Teil auch für Mähren und Schlesien* (Prague, 1815), 2:403, speaks about Stephan Worowetz (Borovec), an apprentice from 1694 to 1699. Nejedlá, "Příspěvek k dílu Jana Brokofa," p. 24, mentions the apprentice Pavel Rožiata. A. Wiecek,

“Jan Jiří Urbanský český sochař ve Slezsku,” [Czech sculptor in Silesia] *Umění* 12, no. 2 (1964): 135–149, discusses documents relating to Jan Jiří Urbanský, an apprentice from 1693 to 1697.

13. His tax declaration for 1725 mentions one helper. The tax declaration appears in B. Matějka, “Přestavba a výzdoba chrámu Sv. Tomáše” [Reconstruction and decoration of St. Thomas Church at Malá Strana], *Památky Archeologické* (Prague, 1896), 17:55. In 1729–1730 his helper was A. Dorazil.
14. Attributed to M. J. J. Brokov by Nejedlá, “Příspěvek k dílu bratří Michala Jana Josefa a Ferdinanda Maxmiliána Brokofů,” pp. 472–473.
15. This sculpture of St. John Nepomuk was formerly in Charles Square, Prague. It was attributed to M. J. J. Brokov by V. V. Štech in *Československé malířství a sochařství nové doby* [Czechoslovak modern painting and sculpture] (Prague, 1938), pp. 86–87, 179.
16. The St. John Nepomuk at Skramníky is first mentioned in Dlabacz, *Allgemeines historisches Künstler-Lexicon für Böhmen und zum Teil auch für Mähren und Schlesien*, 1:231, as the work of J. Brokov. Blažiček, *Ferdinand Maximilian Brokof*, p. 8, views it as the work of both brothers. Štech, *Československé malířství a sochařství nové doby*, p. 183, and Nejedlá, “Příspěvek k dílu bratří Michala Jana Josefa a Ferdinanda Maxmiliána Brokofů,” pp. 462–463, 472, attribute it to M. J. J. Brokov. Štech, *Brokovové-[Brokovs]*, *Kniha o Praze* (Prague, 1933), p. 43, attributes the variation at Bor to M. J. J. Brokov. The sculpture at Rožďalovice is the counterpart of the figure of St. Wenceslas. Pollak, “J. und F. M. Brokoff,” *Kunstgeschichtliches Jahrbuch der k. k. Zentralkommission* (Vienna, 1908), p. 150, published both as works of F. M. Brokov. Štech, *Československé malířství a sochařství nové doby*, p. 183, attributes them to M. J. J. Brokov.
17. The group (1714), signed “Joan Prokoff fecit,” was deemed by Pollak, “J. und F. M. Brokoff” (1910), p. 68, the work of Jan Brokov. Štech, *Československé malířství a sochařství nové doby*, p. 183, attributes it to M. J. J. Brokov.
18. The sculpture probably dates back to the period of the construction of the chapel, 1717–1722. It was published in F. Ekert, *Posvátná místa královskeho hlavního města Prahy* [Sacred places of the capital] (Prague, 1883), 1:88, and attributed to Jan Ferdinand Brokov (sic). Pollak, “J. und F. M. Brokoff” (1910), p. 53, attributes it to F. M. Brokov.
19. The sculpture is signed “Joan Brokoff fecit” and dates back to ca. 1709. Štech, *Československé malířství a sochařství nové doby*, pp. 175, 177, 179, attributes it to M. J. J. Brokov. Nejedlá, “Příspěvek k dílu bratří Michala Jana Josefa a Ferdinanda Maxmiliána Brokofů,” p. 462, has attributed it to F. M. Brokov.
20. The sculpture is one of seven carved in wood and found in the Church of the Visita-

- tion of St. Mary at Petrovice, which was constructed in 1715–1717. It was attributed to F. M. Brokov by O. J. Blažíček, “F. M. Brokov, řezbář” [F. M. Brokov, the carver in wood], *Cestami umění* (Prague, 1949), pp. 176–177.
21. The sculpture is signed “Brokoff” and dated. It was published by A. Podlaha, *Soupis památek uměleckých a historických* [Inventory of artistic and historical antiquities] (Prague, 1901), 6:36.
 22. The gesture can also be found in the sculpture of St. John Nepomuk in the niche on the façade of St. John Nepomuk Chapel in St. George Church at Hradčany in Prague.
 23. The group is signed “Ioannes Brokoff Fecit.” It was attributed by Pollak, “J. und F. M. Brokoff” (1910), p. 37, to both Jan and F. M. Brokov. Mádl, “Dílo Ferdinanda Maxmiliana Brokova,” p. 24 et passim, attributes it to F. M. Brokov. The sketch by the Prague painter J. J. Heinsch, suggested by J. Neumann in *Český barok* (Prague, 1969), p. 128, as the model for the group, did not specify the structure and precise pose of the central figure, which was created by F. M. Brokov himself.
 24. The original group, signed with Jan Brokov’s name, was damaged by high water. It is now in the Lapidarium of the National Museum in Prague. The modelletto of the group is in the City Museum in Prague. The group was suggested as a work of F. M. Brokov by Pollak, “J. und F. M. Brokoff” (1910), p. 69. The modelletto has been attributed to F. M. Brokov by Mádl, “Dílo Ferdinanda Maxmiliana Brokova,” p. 24 et passim.
 25. Pollak, “J. und F. M. Brokoff” (1910), p. 69, attributes St. Adalbert to F. M. Brokov; Štech, *Československé malířství a sochařství nové doby*, p. 177, to M. J. Brokov. Blažíček, *Ferdinand Maximilian Brokof*, pp. 8, 10, attributes it to the Brokov workshop and emphasizes its resemblance to works by F. M. Brokov.
 26. O. J. Blažíček and V. Ryneš, “Brokofovský model” [Brokovian model], *Umění* 12, no. 2 (1964): 177–186. See the polemics of Štech, “Brokofové” [Brokovs], *Umění* 12, no. 6 (1964): 631, and Blažíček, “Dovětek k brokofovskému modelu” [Concerning the Brokovian model], *ibid.*, pp. 631–632.
 27. The monument of St. Cajetan is signed with the name of Jan Brokov. As early as 1772 it was attributed to F. M. Brokov—by the professor of aesthetics at Charles University, Lothar Ehemant, in the first writing on the artistic problems of the sculptures at Charles Bridge (Supplement to *Neuer Titular und Wirtschaftskalender auf das jahr 1772*, Prag 1771). St. John of Matha is part of the group of St. Felix of Valois and St. Ivan. The group is signed “Opus Ioan Brokoff.” Pollak, “J. und F. M. Brokoff” (1910), p. 70, attributes the group to F. M. Brokov.
 28. Blažíček, “F. M. Brokov, řezbář,” pp. 176–182.

29. The dating of the latter is approximate since there is no evidence whether it is a modelletto for the group at Charles Bridge or a reduction of the group carved ex post facto.
30. B. Matějka, "Přestavba a výzdoba chrámu sv. Tomáše" [Reconstruction and decoration of St. Thomas's Church at Malá Strana in Prague] *Památky Archeologické* 17 (1896–1897): 126 et passim.
31. I thank the City Museum of Prague for the photograph and for this information.
32. Published in V. Volavka and H. Frankensteinová, *Barokní dřevěná plastika* [Baroque sculpture in wood, catalogue of the exhibition] (Prague, 1933), nos. 13 and 14.
33. Attributed by Štech in *Československé malířství a sochařství nové doby*, pp. 178, 180.
34. I thank the National Gallery in Prague for the photograph and the curator for the information on the latter sculptures.
35. Volavka and Frankensteinová, *Barokní dřevěná plastika*, nos. 46–48.
36. The Calvary group was restored recently by K. Stadnik, whom I thank for the information on this kind of wood.
37. Volavka and Frankensteinová, *Barokní dřevěná plastika*.
38. For a detailed discussion of the influence of a baroque artist on an apprentice see the study of the relationship of the Prague sculptor I. F. Platzer to G. R. Donner and the Viennese Academy in Volavková-Skořepová, *O sochařském díle rodiny Platzerů*, pp. 39–86.
39. F. M. Pelzel, *Abbildungen böhmischer und mährischer Gelehrten und Künstler, nebst kurzen Nachrichten von ihren Leben und Werken* (Prague, 1775), 2:171.
40. See Blažíček, *Ferdinand Maximilian Brokof*, p. 8, and Nejedlá, "Příspěvek k dílu bratří Michala Jana Josefa a Ferdinanda Maxmiliana Brokofů," pp. 446–447.
41. Attributed to F. Preiss by Blažíček, *Sochařství baroku v českých* [Baroque sculpture in Bohemia] (Prague, 1958), p. 107.
42. Documents pertaining to the arrival of the three altars in the Church of St. Nicolas at Louny appear in B. Matějka, "Hlavní oltáře děkanského chrámu v lounech" [High altars in the church of Louny], *Časopis společnosti přátel starožitností českých* (Prague, 1895), 3: 1–3, 65–67.
43. Nejedlá, "Příspěvek k dílu bratří Michala Jana Josef a Ferdinanda Maxmiliana Brokofů," pp. 448–449, 452.
44. The attribution was done by Pelzel, *Abbildungen böhmischer und mährischer Gelehrten und Künstler*, p. 173, and appears in eighteenth-century writings about Prague (mentioned by Pollak, "J. und F. M. Brokoff" [1910], p. 69).

45. J. T. A. Berghauer, *Protomartyr S. Johannes Nepomucenus* (Augustae Vindelicorum et Graecii, 1736), 2:129. Reprinted in Herain, *Karlův most v Praze*, pp. 43-44, and in Pollak, "J. und F. M. Brokoff" (1910), p. 19.
46. Herain, *ibid.*, pp. 42-45.
47. Nejedlá, "Příspěvek k dílu Jana Brokofa," p. 8.
48. Herain, "Karlův most v Praze," pp. 43, 45, and Pollak, "J. und F. M. Brokoff" (1910), p. 20.
49. Herain, *ibid.*, p. 47.
50. Josef Pekař, "Tři kapitoly z boje o sv. Jana Nepomuckého" [Three chapters from the story of St. John Nepomuk] in *Z duchových dějin českých* (Prague, 1941), pp. 141-177.
51. J. Hulínský, "Záznamy purkmistra Nedvěda" [Records of Mayor Nedvěd] *Legendy ze Slaného a Slánska* [Legends from Slaný and its neighborhood] (Slaný, 1931), p. 118.

