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### **Pluralism as a framework for cultural memory and heritage narratives**

### **The case-study of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows, Olomouc (CZ)**

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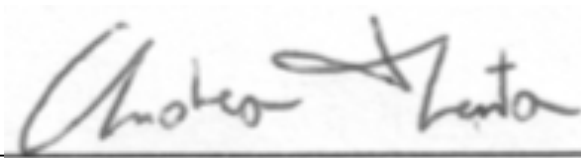
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## **Abstract (300 words):**

The past, either perceived as a burden, a cornerstone of identity, or a source of pride, has a deep influence on people's lives. The past is remembered primarily in the form of narratives; by employing media (texts, images, sculptures) people can transmit the narratives of certain past events among peers and across generations.

The most meaningful past narratives of a group form its cultural memory: their content is stable, and despite their chronological distance, people perceive them as close to their emotions; the past narratives related what is inherited by a group constitute its heritage: their interpretation tend to change according to the group's present needs, and they evoke a sense of possession. Cultural memory and heritage narratives are characterised by a lack of agreement about their content, who is responsible for their transmission, and to whom they are directed. Given the role played by the past in people's lives, disagreement on key narrative can legitimise or generate conflicts, inequalities, symbolic and material destruction.

Aiming towards an open and free society, based on the ideal-types outlined by the philosophers Karl Popper and Paul Feyerabend, this thesis proposes a pluralistic framework to construct and interpret cultural memory and heritage narratives. To demonstrate the need to adopt a pluralistic framework, this thesis will analyse the case study of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows' church, located in Olomouc, (CZ). This case study has been selected for its relation with two aspects of European society, which are now neglected but played a critical role in its development: religious faith and the military. This thesis argues that adopting a pluralistic framework for St. Virgin Mary of the Snows' cultural memory and heritage narrative would enrich the public sphere by providing alternative, transcendental perspectives about basic conditions and questions of the human existence.

## **Keywords (max 5):**

**Pluralism, Cultural Memory, Heritage, Narrative, Religion**

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## **Introduction**

This thesis deals with the concept of the past and its relevance in the present European society. Either perceived as a burden, source of pride, or economic asset, the idea of the past, just as that of the future, influences the lives and actions of millions of fellow Europeans. The past, broadly conceived as the totality of the events happened before the present time, enters people's lives under various forms: memory, tradition, culture, heritage, and history, and various combinations of all of them (not to mention the neologisms coined by scholars and laymen). This thesis aims at understanding how certain aspects of the past become meaningful for people, how are they transmitted in time and space, and their role in the pursuit of various goals (personal, cultural, or political, etc.).

The central argument of this thesis is that the past is consciously and unconsciously perceived and shared as a narrative, and predominantly in the form of a medium. Human memory almost naturally creates narratives to structure otherwise unintelligible past events: the most meaningful narratives are then transmitted in the form across generations and within groups, primarily as media (written texts, images, sculptures). The reasons for sharing narratives about the past can be numerous, ranging from the need to set some basic stage for human action in the world (mythical narratives), to provide hope and answers to existential questions (eschatological narratives). Human beings create and transmit past narratives both consciously and unconsciously, generally by employing media.

The main issue regarding past narratives is the omnipresent lack of agreement about their content, who is responsible for their transmission, and to whom they are directed. Given the role played by the past in people's lives, the construction and sharing of past narratives are often linked with power struggles: disagreement on key narrative can legitimise or generate social inequalities, interpersonal violence, symbolic and material destruction. At a higher level, the influence exerted by past's narratives on people's behaviour can even legitimise wars and cultural genocides. In this sense, this thesis recognises the inherent dissonance of past narratives as a grave issue that could cause harm and suffering among human beings.

In particular, this thesis focuses on two aspects of the past constructed and transmitted as narratives: heritage and cultural memory. Cultural memory represents what a group deems crucial to be transmitted across generations, the most important memories of the past. Heritage defines those aspects of the past, both tangible (statues, buildings, paintings) and intangible (poems, songs) which a group "inherited" from its ancestors. Cultural memory narratives, despite the chronological

distance with the event narrated, are perceived as emotionally close, as this event had recently been experienced; cultural memory narratives tend to maintain a stable form and content. Heritage narratives portray stories about those aspects of the past which “belong” to the group; heritage narratives are often re-interpreted according to present-centred needs.

### *Research question*

The research question of this thesis is related to the theoretical frameworks used by groups to construct and interpret cultural memory and heritage narratives. This thesis argues that existing approaches to these narratives obscure and harm certain individuals and groups, while exalting and privileging others; they also lack solid theoretical frameworks, and thus can be perceived by groups’ outsiders not only as harmful but as arbitrary. Aiming towards an open and free society, based on the ideal-types outlined by the philosophers Karl Popper and Paul Feyerabend, this thesis proposes a pluralistic framework to construct and interpret cultural memory and heritage narratives. In this sense, the research question of this thesis is why a group should adopt pluralism as a framework for these narratives, instead of different theoretical frameworks or more pragmatical approaches.

This thesis would also compare existing models generally employed by large groups to interpret past’s narratives, and propose a pluralistic model. Given the normative character of models, this thesis argues that the ultimate decision for adopting them is left to the groups who approach the past and construct cultural memory and heritage narratives. While a pluralistic framework appears flexible enough to allow single communities to modify it according to specific needs, a pluralistic model is much more comprehensive, normative, and could be perceived as Eurocentric, or biased by Western concepts. For this reason, the pluralistic model is merely proposed and does not concern the research question.

### *Case study: St. Virgin Mary of the Snows, Olomouc (CZ)*

To demonstrate that the past is primarily perceived as cultural memory and heritage narratives and that pluralism is a beneficial framework for dealing with them, this thesis will present a real case-study: the church of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows in Olomouc, Czech Republic. Various groups have constructed and transmitted cultural memory and heritage narratives about the church’s past, each time re-interpreting it according to what was meaningful to them. Unfortunately, this approach has often caused significant harm to the people who lived according to narratives deemed useless, or dangerous; it has also caused the destruction or neglect of valuable artefacts that occupied a central position in the former narratives. In this sense, this thesis would analyse the case study to

show how its past has been constructed in cultural memory and heritage narratives, and why pluralism would be a useful framework in dealing with them.

Precise temporal and spatial boundaries would be set to study the case of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows. Besides the church itself, it would be analysed also the city of Olomouc; besides, the case study has been put in the broader Central European context. The time frame for the analysis will span from the 16 century to the present times.

Olomouc is a middle-size city located in the historical region of Moravia, nowadays in the Czech Republic. The seat of a powerful and wealthy bishopric, Olomouc had been traditionally a Roman Catholic stronghold, inhabited by a predominantly German-speaking population. When, in the course of the Lutheran Reformation, the local Catholic bishop felt he was losing control over the burghers' religious faith, he decided in 1566 to invite the Jesuit order to support him in the restoration of the Catholic faith. The following year the Jesuits received as a donation the object of the case study, the church later (1712) entitled to St. Virgin Mary of the Snows: it rapidly became the centre of their religious activity in Olomouc, and one of the facilities of their higher educational complex.

After the suppression of the Jesuit order (1773), as part of the general militarisation of the Habsburg empire and the transformation of Olomouc in a border fortress, the church became a *Garnisonskirche*, and managed by the imperial military chaplaincy; other religious buildings in Olomouc were used by the army, including various former Jesuit edifices. The demise of the Habsburg rule over Moravia in 1918 did not alter the function of the church, which continued to serve the new Czechoslovak army until its dissolution in 1939. Shortly revived after the Nazi occupation of Czechoslovakia, the military religious services were abolished in 1950 by the communist regime; in 1952 the church was donated to the Olomouc municipality, which did use it partially as a warehouse. After the Velvet Revolution, the Jesuits could obtain again the church in 1993. Since then, it has been used as a parish church for the local Olomouc university students' community.

#### *Rationale for the selection of the case study and European dimension of the thesis*

The case study has been selected for touching two aspects of European society, which played a critical role in its development: religious faith and the military. This thesis argues that these two elements are unfairly treated in the European public sphere, especially if compared with secular and civil aspects of European society. This thesis conceives St. Virgin Mary of the Snows as a space for reflecting on the European military and religious past: it argues that Europe would be enriched by alternative perspectives about the European past, and by granting space in the public sphere to those

groups, as the potential ‘inheritors’ of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows (the Jesuit order and the Czech army military chaplaincy), who have a transcendental perspective on the meaning and value of human life. Similarly, it argues that, while militarism represents a real threat to democracy, the current status of the military in the European society has serious moral and practical implications.

#### *Rationale for data collection and data analysis*

The data collected for the analysis of the case study are primarily written texts (manuscripts, printed books, digital content, etc.); these data are divided into two categories: those related directly to the church of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows, and those focusing on the local and regional context, which do not mention the church or do it marginally. Given the complexity of the case-study, a multidisciplinary approach has been adopted to analyse the data. Narrative theories and theoretical insights from cultural memory and heritage studies have been adopted to understand the data role in constructing, reinforcing, or weakening St. Virgin Mary of the Snows’ cultural memory and heritage narratives. The findings of the data analysis, these are the texts and the authors constructing, perpetuating or suppressing various St. Virgin Mary of the Snows’ cultural memory and heritage narratives, are gathered in Annex 3 of the thesis, entitled Narratives and narrators of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows.



## Ch. 1 Turning the past into cultural memory and heritage narratives

In this chapter, there will be described the process through which individuals and groups of people perceive the past and transform it into cultural memory and heritage, generally in narrative forms. While for centuries human groups transmitted these narratives orally, the invention of media has changed significantly how cultural memory and heritage narratives are transmitted. To better understand the above-mentioned process, several key theoretical concepts will be analysed.

### *Conceptualising the past*

Following the seminal works of the historians Lowenthal and Schiffman,<sup>1</sup> the past is here defined as the totality of the events that happened before the present, is also qualitatively different from the present. The past presupposes the dimensions of time, and space. Philosophically, past, time and space can be understood through the dilemma of the tree falling in an inhabited island: while their ontological status is questionable, they assume meaning only if experienced and interpreted by human beings.<sup>2</sup> Thus, the past possesses, either *per se* or due to its human interpretation, unique qualities, differing from those of the present. Any attempt to revive and recall the past should produce an anachronistic effect: past events recreated in the present appear out of context.<sup>3</sup> In this sense, the past is the totality of events happened before the present, differing from it, and producing an anachronistic effect if revived.

This conceptualisation of the past is comparatively recent, since before the Enlightenment and Romanticism temporal and qualitative past-present differences were largely absent.<sup>4</sup> Lowenthal argues that for centuries past and present events seemed so alike that the past was a “fount of useful examples” for everyday life.<sup>5</sup> For Schiffman, early and medieval Christian authors employed in their writings the theological dimension of the “simultaneity of time.”<sup>6</sup> For St. Augustine (354-430 AD), the interpretation of past events could come only from God and the Holy Scriptures: for this reason, past, present, and future events had been already envisaged in the mind of God, even though humans could not tell His eternal will (beyond time and space).<sup>7</sup> In this sense, before the late

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<sup>1</sup> David Lowenthal, *The past is a foreign country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1985); Zachary Sayre Schiffman, *The birth of the past* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2011).

<sup>2</sup> *The Chautauquan* 3, n° 9 (June 1883), 543.

<sup>3</sup> Schiffman, *The birth of the past*, 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 7-8, 202-265.

<sup>5</sup> Lowenthal, *The past is a foreign country*, xvi.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 80-81.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 86-87.

eighteenth century, the unique and unrepeatable nature of the past, as well as its sharp separation from the present, was not perceived as such.

### *Learning, memory, and identity*

How does the past enter the lives of human beings? Following recent psychological and neurological studies, this thesis argues that, first of all, the past enters human life through learning: this is a process of storing items of information in memory units (brain areas) and by later remembering/interpreting them. For the neurologist Markowitsch, information is learnt through a specific *information processing* sequence:

- perception of the information [by individual senses]
- encoding in the brain
- consolidation in association with already existing information
- storage in the various memory units and brain areas depending on attentiveness and alertness of the neuronal network<sup>8</sup>

The process of learning has been divided by psychologists and neurologists into two major categories of tasks, direct and indirect memory tasks.<sup>9</sup> The first memory tasks performed by human beings, starting from their pre-literate infancy, can be considered unconscious, and they are defined procedural memory and priming;<sup>10</sup> according to Drachman, these two tasks account for about 95% of information people are confronted with.<sup>11</sup> The second kind of memory tasks is those of perceptual memory, semantic memory, and episodic memory:<sup>12</sup> these memory and learning tasks are consciously performed and recollected. Generally, memory tasks can be divided into two major camps (explicit-direct-conscious vs implicit-indirect-unconscious), and it is through them that humans learn information.

Conscious and unconscious learning and memory tasks are paramount blocks in the construction of identity. Identity can be broadly conceptualised as the combination of the response to the external question “Who are You?” with the answer to the reflexive “Who Am I?”<sup>13</sup> Identity construction starts already in the first year of a person’s life: this core sense of self (using Lichtenberg’s

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<sup>8</sup> Hans J. Markowitsch, “Cultural Memory and the Neurosciences,” in *Cultural Memory Studies An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, ed. by Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter 2008), 275.

<sup>9</sup> David Manier and William Hirsta, “Cognitive Taxonomy of Collective Memories,” in *Cultural Memory Studies*, 255.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 277-278.

<sup>11</sup> D. A. Drachman, “Do We Have Brain to Spare?,” *Neurology* 64 (2005):2004-05; quoted *Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 276, 278-279.

<sup>13</sup> Vivian L. Vignoles, Seth J. Schwartz, and Koen Luyckx, “Introduction: Toward an Integrative View of Identity,” in *Handbook of Identity Theory and Research*, ed. by Seth J. Schwartz, Koen Luyckx, and Vivian L. Vignoles (New York: Springer, 2011), 2.

terminology) is the result of a child's learning process "from constant repetition day after day" of several actions gathered in seven categories.<sup>14</sup> Identity is characterised by both a sense of coherence and of change: the first aspect is the result of brain's "selecting, categorizing, and integrating"<sup>15</sup> information in familiar and repetitive patterns; the second aspect does result from individual's reactions to external inputs, like information, challenges, etc.<sup>16</sup> In this sense, identity is constructed by unconscious and conscious learning and memory tasks.

### *Collective memory and media*

Since the seminal work of Maurice Halbwachs on *collective memory*,<sup>17</sup> social scientists have investigated the possibility of remembering the past not only at the individual level but also at the group level: through conscious and unconscious learning processes and memory tasks, individuals share knowledge consider meaningful to the group existence and identity. To be meaningful, an item of information generally must evoke in the audience a "variety of discrete emotions, physiological states, and/or sensory impressions."<sup>18</sup> Manier and Hirst have produced a taxonomy of collective memory systems:<sup>19</sup>

- collective episodic memory refers to what is known and has been directly experienced by the group members
- collective semantic memory refers to what is known by the group members (without being directly experienced) divided into:
  - lived semantic memory, group members feel as if they directly experience a certain event
  - distant semantic memory, the event is perceived as remote and unrelated to a member's life
- collective procedural memory refers to implicit knowledge about how to perform "community traditions, practices, rituals"

At the group level, knowledge about the past is massively shared through and stored in *media*. Media can be defined as "material or technical means of symbolic [interpretative] expression"<sup>20</sup> The ability to store information outside brain areas in media, which Ruchatz called "externalization,"

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<sup>14</sup> Joseph D. Lichtenberg, "Narrative contributions to the core sense of self, identity, and individuality," in *Narrative and Meaning: The Foundation of Mind, Creativity, and the Psychoanalytic Dialogue*, ed. by Joseph D. Lichtenberg, Frank M. Lachmann, and James L. Fosshage (New York: Routledge, 2017), 230-31.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 234.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 236.

<sup>17</sup> Maurice Halbwachs, *On collective memory* (Chicago: Chicago University Press 1992); published posthumously, as Halbwachs died in 1945.

<sup>18</sup> Joseph D. Lichtenberg, "Narrative and Meaning," in *Narrative and Meaning*, 3.

<sup>19</sup> David Manier and William Hirsta, "Cognitive Taxonomy of Collective Memories," in *Cultural Memory Studies*, 257-259.

<sup>20</sup> Combination of "Medium," Merriam-Webster (as in entry 2b n°4), <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/medium> (accessed May 5, 2020); and "Symbol (as in entry 1, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/symbol> (accessed on May 5, 2020).

has been a key aspect of human development.<sup>21</sup> The transmission and survival of media, despite the purported high value of their content, is based primarily on unconscious collective memory tasks. Through the constant priming, the procedural repetition, and the emotional appeal of media to their audience (identification), individuals slowly embody a certain symbolic knowledge that at some point seems a natural part of their life (influencing their behaviour and their interpretation of the world).<sup>22</sup> In this sense, media are deployed in unconscious learning and memory tasks, in particular at a group level, for storing and sharing knowledge about the past.

Even though collective memories are learnt mainly passively, groups can facilitate such learning through the repetition of constant actions. In recent years, it has been noticed that for institutions, which can be defined as “formal and informal groupings of people and established and recognizable practices,”<sup>23</sup> remembering the past is generally an exception, while forgetting it the norm.<sup>24</sup> As Charlotte Linde has illustrated in her research, the survival of collective memory is strongly dependant on dates, places, and artefacts designed or used for remembering regularly, occasionally, or even accidentally.<sup>25</sup> In these contexts, people share the most meaningful collective memories: founding memories, major turning points in the group’s existence, and memories of exemplary past events.<sup>26</sup>

#### *Memories as narratives*

Acquiring and transmitting symbolic knowledge does require to give it a structure, which is generally a narrative form. Recent scholarship has argued that structuring information in some narrative form is an ancient human evolutionary trait, perhaps even a biological one: humans employ narratives unconsciously as their “mode of understanding events, [... which appears] to be a generally mammalian mode of understanding.”<sup>27</sup> In their interaction with reality, humans always need to perceive some “minimal structure” surrounding them, and if this lacking they “will attempt to impose some,” generally in the narrative form.<sup>28</sup> In this sense, narratives are the most common

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<sup>21</sup> Jens Ruchatz, “The Photograph as Externalization and Trace,” in *Cultural Memory Studies*, 373.

<sup>22</sup> Markowitsch, “Cultural Memory,” 278.

<sup>23</sup> Charlotte Linde, *Working the Past: Narrative and Institutional Memory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 7.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 9.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 44, 47.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, 81, 82, 84.

<sup>27</sup> Brian Boyd’s *On the Origin of Stories: Evolution, Cognition and Fiction* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 131.

<sup>28</sup> Jean Mandler, *Stories, Scripts, and Scenes: Aspects of Schema Theory* (Hillsdale: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1984), 19-20, as quoted in George Varotsis, *Screenplay and Narrative Theory: The Screenplectics Model of Complex Narrative Systems* (London: Lexington Books, 2015), 7.

way in which people make sense “of themselves and of their social world,” as Carole Pateman noticed.<sup>29</sup>

Verbal, visual, or written narratives<sup>30</sup> tend to possess certain universal characteristics: firstly, they require a message to be conveyed to an addressee by an agent (narrator). The message’s content is the story, which is a version of the *fabula*, this is a series of logically and chronologically related events, experienced or caused by several human or human-like figures (characters).<sup>31</sup> The content of the story tends to be as meaningful as possible, to be oriented towards a dramatic goal, and centred around a major conflict.<sup>32</sup> The rationale of these characteristics is to maximise the addressee’s interest in the story, avoiding and the rejection of the narrative (what Labov described as the “So what?” challenge).<sup>33</sup>

Narratives tend to follow predominantly a three-act model (beginning-middle-end), where events unfold chronologically and following a cause-effect logic: such “a canonical form, that is, having narrative components in sequential order,” facilitates the addressee understanding and remembering of the story, compared to unstructured stories or “when narrative information is convoluted or intermixed.”<sup>34</sup> Narratives tend to employ also a certain repetition of meaningful information, which also allows the addressees to remember what happened in the previous acts, and to better understand the story content.<sup>35</sup> Narratives tend to show similar patterns, which narratologists summarised as a five-step narrative schema:

1. Setup, which introduces characters, and story temporal and spatial dimensions
2. Basic dramatic question/conflict of the story
3. A first major dramatic event, or equilibrium disruption, which sets the story in motion
4. Complicating actions, generally linked by a cause-effect logic, on the character(s) way towards the solution of the dramatic problem
5. Outcome of the character(s)’ struggle<sup>36</sup>

The events of a story, regardless of its structure, are narrated using specific narrative times, which can be faster or slower than the “real” time in which they unfolded. The use of narrative times is of

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<sup>29</sup> Carole Pateman, *The Sexual Contract* (Oxford: Polity Press 1988), 1.

<sup>30</sup> Mieke Bal, *Narratology: Introduction to the Theory of Narrative* (Toronto: Toronto University Press 2017), 5; Monika Fludernik, *An introduction to narratology*, (New York: Routledge 2009), 64.

<sup>31</sup> Fludernik, *An introduction*, 3-7.

<sup>32</sup> Varotsis, *Screenplay and Narrative*, 8.

<sup>33</sup> William Labov, *Language in the Inner City: Studies in the Black English Vernacular* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 1972) as quoted in Linde, *Working the Past*, 3.

<sup>34</sup> Mandler, Jean M. and Goodman, Marsha S., ‘On the Psychological Validity of Story Structure’, *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior*, Vol. 21 (1982): 507–523, as quoted in Varotsis, *Screenplay and Narrative*, 17.

<sup>35</sup> Varotsis, *Screenplay and Narrative*, 26.

<sup>36</sup> Edward Branigan, *Narrative Comprehension and Film* (London & New York: Routledge 1992), 14; Tzvetan Todorov, “The Two Principles of Narrative,” *Diacritics*, Vol. 1 (1971): 39, as quoted in Varotsis, *Screenplay and Narrative*, 8-10.

paramount importance for conveying different stories based on the same *fabula*, especially through the use of ellipsis or narrative stasis. In his research, the French narratologist Genette has analysed four specific narrative times:

- *summary*: narrative duration is reduced, and story events are summarized;
- *dramatic scene*: narrative and story time are nearly equal
- *narrative stasis*: the story has stopped but the narrator keeps describing things
- *ellipsis*: storytime covered by zero amount of narration; an event may have occurred but it has been skipped over by the narration and we (can) only learn of the events retrospectively<sup>37</sup>

Conceptualising memories as (primarily) narratives is crucial for understanding the rationale of survival and transmission of symbolic knowledge among peers and across generations: the more memories resemble a full-fledged narrative, theoretically the higher their chances to be shared.

### *Cultural memory and heritage*

Started at the beginning of the last century, receiving momentum since the anthropological turn of the 1980s, the study of group memories about the past produced in the last twenty-five years solid scholarship on two crucial concepts: cultural memory and heritage. Establishing clear boundaries between cultural memory and heritage is indeed problematic since both are the result of learning and memory processes about the past, both are pillars of groups' identity, and both rely on media, particularly those deemed to be extremely old. The main difference that could be drawn between the two concepts is that cultural memory, despite the chronological distance with the information remembered, is emotionally perceived as something close to the group, as its members had recently experienced it, while the latter can be defined as something "inherited" from the past, which "belongs" to present group members.

Jan and Aleida Assman were the first scholars to develop the concept of *cultural* memory. The cultural aspect of collective memory concerns the "community's specific way of life,"<sup>38</sup> the practices and beliefs which a group holds and ought to maintain "stable and situation-transcendent"<sup>39</sup> throughout time. Cultural memory responds to the question "What must we not forget?"<sup>40</sup> as a group; it dictates also why we should preserve something from our communicative memory, this is the knowledge informally produced and shared in daily inter and intra-group

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<sup>37</sup> Gérard Genette, *Narrative Discourse: An Essay in Method* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1980), 284, as quoted in Seamus O'Malley, *Making history new : modernism and historical narrative* (Oxford:Oxford University Press, 2015), 18-19.

<sup>38</sup> Astrid Erll, "Cultural Memory Studies: An Introduction," in *Cultural Memory Studies*, 5.

<sup>39</sup> Jan Assman, "Communicative and Cultural Memory," in *Cultural Memory Studies*, 110-111.

<sup>40</sup> Jan Assman, *Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 16.

interactions.<sup>41</sup> Cultural memory might refer to (fictional or real) events that happened in a very remote past, as the founding myths.<sup>42</sup> Cultural memory requires social (institutions), material (media), and mental (ideas, ways of thinking) tools<sup>43</sup> to be transmitted and survive across generations.

Cultural memory is the result of a complex process of active and passive collective remembering and forgetting. Cultural memory actively circulating among group members is defined by Aleida Assman as canon, while symbolic knowledge passively stored in media as an archive. A canon, concerning cultural memory, is the “narrow selection of sacred texts, artistic masterpieces, or historic key events in a timeless framework.”<sup>44</sup> The content of a canon is repeated and re-used continuously; it is also limited to a certain amount of knowledge, which individuals are supposed to remember precisely.<sup>45</sup> While in oral societies knowledge outside the canon is lost in the time-span of three generations,<sup>46</sup> groups employing media can retrieve past knowledge from an archive, which refers to:

the storing of documents and artefacts of the past that do not at all meet these [canonic] standards but are nevertheless deemed interesting or important enough to not let them vanish on the highway to total oblivion.<sup>47</sup>

The selection and transmission across numerous generations of a canon, the storage of knowledge in the archive, as well as the rejection of everything which is deemed unfit for both, are tasks performed by specific, elitist institutions and specialists.<sup>48</sup>

Cultural memory is shared by specialists with the rest of the group primarily by performing rituals, and secondly by interpreting media. Rituals are considered the most successful vehicle for cultural memory transmission, since they are based on the strict repetition of their content, and their public performance “consolidate[s] the coherence of the group in time and space” by requiring the group members’ gathering.<sup>49</sup> Media, by contrast, are much more a dangerous form of sharing

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<sup>41</sup> Jan Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,” *New German Critique* 65 (Spring - Summer, 1995 ): 126.

<sup>42</sup> Jan Assman, “Communicative and Cultural Memory,” 112-113.

<sup>43</sup> Roland Posner, “What is Culture? Toward a Semiotic Explication of Anthropological Concepts,” in *The Nature of Culture*, ed. by W. A. Koch (Bochum: Brockmeyer, 1989), 240-95; as quoted in Erll, “Cultural Memory Studies,” 4.

<sup>44</sup> Aleida Assman, “Canon and Archive,” in *Cultural Memory Studies*, 101.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, 99-100.

<sup>46</sup> Assman, “Communicative and Cultural Memory,” 112-113. See also Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition as History* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985).

<sup>47</sup> Aleida Assman, “Canon and Archive,” 101.

<sup>48</sup> Assman, “Communicative and Cultural Memory,” 115-116.

<sup>49</sup> Assman, *Cultural Memory and Early*, 42.

cultural memory. First of all, they are not dependent on time and space as rituals,<sup>50</sup> and secondly, they can allow variations more frequently.<sup>51</sup> Both rituals and media can be experienced by the group members only through the intermediation of the specialists, which for this reason are highly esteemed within the group.<sup>52</sup>

Group's cultural memory formation is significantly influenced by intra-group interactions and by confrontations with external groups. The more complex a group become, the faster its original congruence between "ethnic, cultural, and political formations" will disintegrate, creating the need for integrating in-group differences;<sup>53</sup> by contrast, under circumstances of existential threat coming from another group, there will be a strong push for cultural distinction and self-awareness.<sup>54</sup> Within a group, those who hold political power aim at creating a sense of continuity between past and present, at creating "a set of symbolic meanings" accepted by the whole group,<sup>55</sup> and at obscuring and silencing controversial aspects of the past, as well as those who are interested in political or social change.<sup>56</sup> At the same time, cultural memory can provide the oppressed with both a form of resistance and a way to escape a grim reality.<sup>57</sup>

As various historical cases of demonstrated, cultural memory is also a defensive strategy to preserve what is considered on the brink of collapse, especially if endangered by external groups. For the Jews, cultural memory was crucial for returning to Israel during the Babylonian captivity;<sup>58</sup> while Egyptians entrenched themselves in a siege-mentality under foreign rule.<sup>59</sup> Cultural distinctiveness is strongly linked with violence since for the ethologist Eibl-Eibesfeldt it is "one of the prime causes of human aggression."<sup>60</sup> As Smith argued, "the need to defend themselves against

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<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 74.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, 81.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, 39-40, 245, 270.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 128.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 54-56.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 134.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 175, 248, 269.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 159-60.

<sup>60</sup> I. Eibl-Eibesfeldt, *Krieg und Frieden aus der Sicht der Verhaltensforschung* (Munich, Zürich: Piper, 1975); I. Eibl-Eibesfeldt, *Liebe und Haß. Zur Naturgeschichte elementarer Verhaltensweisen* (Munich, Zürich: Piper, 1976); as quoted *Ibid.*, 132.



an external foe,” provides strong internal group cohesion.<sup>61</sup> In the ancient Middle East, the clashes among groups involved also their cultural memory, to legitimate previous military conquests, or to avoid internal disintegration under foreign occupation (equating ethnicity with religion).<sup>62</sup>

Historically, heritage has been conceptualised as the material canon of a culture. Its content was highly revered by the group members, as in the case of the material remnants (relics) connected to Jesus Christ’s life, to people who witnessed Him, or to martyrs (apostolic status).<sup>63</sup> In modern times, during the Enlightenment and the various nation-building processes, a more “systematic study and cataloguing of the artefacts of the past” was conducted, first by Winckelmann, and later by cadres of experts.<sup>64</sup> Cataloguing the past, showcasing it in museums, conserving it in ruins, or vice versa restoring it to its pristine original form,<sup>65</sup> were all issues derived from the concept of heritage as intrinsically possessing certain values, like beauty, antiquity, or truth.<sup>66</sup>

In Europe, the solid status of heritage as a canon started being shattered in the 1960s and 1970s. The concept of heritage as a sacred, well-defined list of works of art was eroded by the post-WWII contestation of traditional values and the mass obsession “with bygone times.”<sup>67</sup> The creation of new sub-cultures and identities and the ever-growing process of heritage creation, defined as *heritigisation*,<sup>68</sup> prompted to modify the concept of heritage, at least in academic circles. No longer a material canon, from the 1980s onwards, with the birth of heritage studies,<sup>69</sup> this concept identifies both tangible and intangible elements of the past, which are ascribed special status and meaning by certain inheritors (to whom they belong) for political, economic, and cultural present-centred purposes.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1986), 73 ff.; as quoted *Ibid.*, 133.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 140-141.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 100-101.

<sup>64</sup> Ascensión Hernández Martínez, “Conservation and Restoration in Built Heritage: A Western European Perspective,” in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Heritage and Identity*, ed by. Brian Graham and Peter Howard (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 246.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 246-252.

<sup>66</sup> Nigel Walter, “From values to narrative: a new foundation for the conservation of historic buildings,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 20, n°6 (2014): 636-638.

<sup>67</sup> Lowenthal, *The past is a foreign*, 13.

<sup>68</sup> Harrison, Rodney, “Forgetting to remember, remembering to forget: late modern heritage practices, sustainability and the ‘crisis’ of accumulation of the past,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 19, n°6 (2013): 581, 586.

<sup>69</sup> Kynan Gentry and Laurajane Smith, “Critical heritage studies and the legacies of the late-twentieth century heritage canon,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 25, n° 11 (2019): 1148-49.

<sup>70</sup> G. Ashworth, B. Graham and J.E. Tunbridge, *Pluralising Pasts: Heritage, Identity and Place in Multicultural Societies* (London: Pluto Press 2007), 3.

Heritage “most essential and pervasive benefit” is to create a sense of familiarity in people’s present lives.<sup>71</sup> By ascribing positive traits to the past’s remnants, heritage legitimises also the present by creating a continuity of these positive messages. Besides, preserving former glories of the group, heritage constitutes an antidote to an “unacceptable present.”<sup>72</sup> However, the remnants of the past can also promote its burdens, the atrocities, errors, and crimes committed in other ages (even by our predecessors).<sup>73</sup> Heritage can create a sense of stagnation, of uncreative decadence, it can “inhibit change, embargo progress, dampen optimism.”<sup>74</sup>

Heritage’s main characteristic is its inherent dissonance, the latent threat of disagreement upon what is heritage and what it means. Ashworth and Tunbridge recognised that heritage dissonance cannot be avoided, but merely be adjusted to an “acceptable level of incongruity.”<sup>75</sup> Of all the negative outcomes of such a conflictual interaction, heritage destruction, and cultural memory erasure are the gravest. The destruction of a group’s cultural traces can make impossible the coexistence of different groups in the same place and start conflicts by “fostering exclusion and provocation of the ‘other.’”<sup>76</sup> Following Mill’s advocacy for freedom of thought, there is also a risk of “robbing the human race; posterity as well as the existing generation”<sup>77</sup> of the opportunity to perceive reality and the past from a different point of view.

The sequence of formation, transmission, and disruption of cultural memory and heritage appear differently if looked at from an in-group or out-group perspective. What appears logic and obvious internally, might sound arbitrary for external observers; while an external actor wants to understand and “describe a life he does not lead,” the group member “wants to arrange his own life.”<sup>78</sup> From an out-group perspective, this sensation of arbitrariness is reinforced by the general tendency of the group members to infer the past with present meanings, conflicts, and feelings, to establish an unbroken continuity between past and present, and ultimately to ignore the evolution of the society

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<sup>71</sup> Lowenthal, *The past is a foreign*, 49.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 39-40.

<sup>73</sup> Lowenthal, *The past is a foreign country*, as quoted in G. J. Ashworth and Brian Graham, eds., *Senses of Place: Senses of Time* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2005), 8-9.

<sup>74</sup> Lowenthal, *The Past is a foreign*, 65, 109.

<sup>75</sup> J. E. Tunbridge and G. Ashworth, *Dissonant Heritage: The Management of the past as a resource in conflict* (Chichester: Wiley 1996), 21.

<sup>76</sup> Višnja Kisić, *Governing Heritage Dissonance: Promises and Realities of Selected Cultural Policies* (European Cultural Foundation 2013): 81.

<sup>77</sup> John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty* (London: John W. Parker and Son, 1859), 33.

<sup>78</sup> Paul Feyerabend, *Against Method* (London/New York: Verso, 1993), 217.

and its members.<sup>79</sup> The issue with an arbitrary selection of what constitutes cultural memory and heritage is that the changes in interpretation and definition might be immediate and shocking, threatening or even destroying harmonious and stable narratives about the past.<sup>80</sup>

Ultimately, heritage, as cultural memory, is shared and experienced in narrative forms, even in the case of artefacts and monuments.<sup>81</sup> It is “constructed into discourses of inclusion and exclusion”<sup>82</sup> of both its components and its inheritors (to whom heritage belongs). Kisić asserted that certain heritage discourses lead more easily to group confrontation and even violence over heritage selection and interpretation. These are what Smith called “authorized heritage discourse(s),” which attributed “one single meaning innate to heritage” and ignore “the existence of alternative meanings.”<sup>83</sup> The recent personalisation of heritage (“what is meaningful for me”), and conceptualisation of group identities as mutually exclusive,<sup>84</sup> have reduced the capacity of heritage narratives to have a “broad appeal across society.”<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> A typical example of this manipulation of the past is the concept of the golden age in the nation-building process. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London, Verso, 2006): 219.

<sup>80</sup> Sheila Watson, “The legacy of communism: difficult histories, emotions and contested narratives,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 24, n°7 (2018): 781-794.

<sup>81</sup> Linde, *Working the Past*, 4.

<sup>82</sup> Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge, *Pluralising Pasts*, 4.

<sup>83</sup> Kisić, *Governing Heritage Dissonance*, 31.

<sup>84</sup> Robert D. Putnam, “E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century,” *Scandinavian Political Studies*, Vol. 30 – No. 2, (2007): 137-174.

<sup>85</sup> Walter, “From values to narrative,” 646.

## Ch. 2 Pluralism and models for past interpretations

In this chapter, there will be analysed the concepts of the open and free society, as outlined by the philosopher Karl Popper and Paul Feyerabend. It will be discussed the concept pluralism, conceived as a viable step towards a free and open society, as well as a theoretical framework in dealing with cultural and heritage narratives. The pluralistic model and other models for interpreting the past will be also presented and analysed in this chapter.

### *Imagining a free and open society*

To design a feasible framework for allowing different cultures and past interpretations to existing peacefully, Karl Popper's concept of the open society, and Paul Feyerabend's free society could provide useful and meaningful insight.

In an open society people perceive the laws regulating social life as the result man-made moral decisions,<sup>86</sup> and for this reason feel free to "raise socially, and to take the places of other members;"<sup>87</sup> by contrast, in a closed society "everyone feels that his place is the proper (one), assigned to him by the forces which rule the world,"<sup>88</sup> being them religious or ideological. In an open society people interact primarily in a rational way, appealing to a "rational faith,"<sup>89</sup> since "the appeal even to our best emotions, love and compassion," will create divisions in the society, fostering mutual misunderstanding and eventually even violence.<sup>90</sup> One of the main characteristics of the open society is its high level of abstractness, as a result of the dissolution of imposed bonds among people.<sup>91</sup>

In a free society, diversity is beneficial to mankind, while uniformity reduces people's happiness and resources (mental, emotional, material).<sup>92</sup> In a free society, all traditions (i.e., cultures) should "freely develop side by side,"<sup>93</sup> receiving equal rights, and equal access to education and positions of power. People should not consider their tradition as the only valid one, since they can show "desirable or undesirable properties" only when people compare them with each other. To solve

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<sup>86</sup> Karl Popper, *The open society and its enemies vol 1: The spell of Plato* (London: Routledge 2007), 59-60.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, 186-188.

<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, 8-9.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, 201.

<sup>90</sup> Karl Popper, *The open society and its enemies vol. 2: Hegel and Marx* (London: Routledge 2007), 260-1.

<sup>91</sup> Popper, *The open society and its enemies vol 1*, 186-188.

<sup>92</sup> Paul Feyerabend, *Addio alla ragione* (Roma: Armando, 2004), 7.

<sup>93</sup> Feyerabend, *Against Method*, 106.

their issues, in a free society people engage in an open exchange of ideas, respecting each other;<sup>94</sup> at the same time, they can reject a tradition if this will destroy a way of living which provides them material safety and spiritual well-being.<sup>95</sup> Ultimately, in a free society people can have “more important things in this world to do than winning a war, advancing science, (or) finding the truth.”<sup>96</sup>

In this sense, a free and open society is skeptical towards excessive reliance on experts, and puts special emphasis on self-responsibility and (self)-education. The role of a specialist is to provide people the information and tools for being independent in their decision-making processes.<sup>97</sup> People should freely “find their way in a society that contains groups committed to various (cultural, social, moral) standards,” and their commitment “should be the result of a conscious decision, based on a fair knowledge of alternatives, and not a foregone conclusion.”<sup>98</sup> Feyerabend states also that no theory, no method is omni-comprehensive; everything which demands absolute obedience should be avoided, since slavery, even “in the service of The Good, or of God Himself, is the most abject condition of all” in a free society.<sup>99</sup>

Popper’s and Feyerabend’s theoretical concepts of a free and open society, while problematic in their practical application, provide indeed numerous insights for solving, or at least de-escalating the tensions regarding different past interpretations.

#### *Pluralism as a feasible step towards a free and open society*

Pluralism is conceptualised as a philosophical theory, and a viable political project, for reducing tensions among groups regarding their interpretations of the past. It appears as “the most humane and promising agenda, even as we encounter strong pressures against it.”<sup>100</sup> As a feasible step towards Paul Feyerabend’s free society and the open society of Karl Popper, pluralism aims at preventing “bad or incompetent rulers” from causing harm to freedom and people’s lives.<sup>101</sup> In particular, pluralism responds to the compelling questions “how much free?” and “how much

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<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, 225-229.

<sup>95</sup> Feyerabend, *Addio alla ragione*, 13.

<sup>96</sup> Paul Feyerabend, *Science in a free society* (London: NLB, 1978), 87.

<sup>97</sup> Popper, *The open society and its enemies vol 2*, 305-306.

<sup>98</sup> Feyerabend, *Against method*, 260-1.

<sup>99</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 253.

<sup>100</sup> William E. Connolly, *Pluralism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 10.

<sup>101</sup> Popper, *The open society and its enemies vol 1*, 128-129.

open?” society could be.<sup>102</sup> In this sense, pluralism attempts to find a compromise between the benefits free and open societies provide (freedom, tolerance, autonomy) and the elements necessary to guarantee their stability (safety, the rule of law).

The main issue of pluralism is that the amount of individual responsibility it requires might be perceived as a burden, too hard to sustain. This is what Karl Popper called the “strain of civilisation,”<sup>103</sup> the angst people have to face for being makers of their faith;<sup>104</sup> and what András Sajó has called the “tragedy of liberty,” its need for “supportive and dedicated public conviction” in order to survive. Without significant efforts at a group level, “the emotional burden of freedom” for the individual is often too heavy to be carried;<sup>105</sup> this is aggravated by the individual condition in the open society, which tend to be isolated, anonymous, and unhappy.<sup>106</sup> Unfortunately, as Feyerabend admitted, “many people have not yet reached the maturity necessary for living in a free society.”<sup>107</sup>

Among the threats pluralism has to face, fear is the primary threat for pluralism: fear that people “will be exposed to persecution by others, or will lose levels of privilege and recognition (...) held in the past.”<sup>108</sup> In hostile environments, people tend to create strong, ethnically, and culturally homogeneous communities, where they feel safe, supported, understood, and clearly separated from the other groups.<sup>109</sup>

To implement pluralism in a concrete society, there are necessary tolerance and several basic aspects of democratic theory (in particular the universality of law). The first element, tolerance, appears crucial since pluralism affirms the principle of harmonious diversity in the society or *concordia discors*.<sup>110</sup> Rejecting the positivist stance “what is, is good (might is right),”<sup>111</sup> pluralism

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<sup>102</sup> Giovanni Sartori, *Pluralismo, multiculturalismo ed estranei: saggio sulla società multi-etnica* (Milano: BUR, 2000), 6.

<sup>103</sup> Popper, *The open society and its enemies vol 1*, 189.

<sup>104</sup> Popper, *The open society and its enemies vol 2*, 259.

<sup>105</sup> András Sajó, ‘Liberty and its Competitors’, in *Freedom and its Enemies: The Tragedy of Liberty*, ed. by Renata Uitz (The Hague: Eleven International Publishing, 2015), as quoted by W. Cole Durham, Jr. and Donlu D. Thayer, “Religious pluralism: Peace or poison?,” in *Religion, Pluralism, and Reconciling Difference*, ed. by W. Cole Durham, Jr. and Donlu D. Thayer (New York: Routledge, 2019), 196.

<sup>106</sup> Popper, *The open society and its enemies vol 1*, 186-188.

<sup>107</sup> Feyerabend, *Science in a free*, 107.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 186.

<sup>109</sup> Zygmunt Bauman, *Voglia di comunità*, (Bari: Laterza 2001), 61-70.

<sup>110</sup> Sartori, *Pluralismo, multiculturalismo*, 26, 36.

<sup>111</sup> Popper, *The open society and its enemies, vol 1*, 73.

opens the door for alternative norms and standards in the society. At the personal level, pluralism frees individuals from fixed identities and affiliations: it allows multiple voluntary associations and to escape from ascribed identities.<sup>112</sup> Three principles dictate tolerance, according to pluralism:

- tolerance forbids dogmatism (what is intolerable has to be explained)
- harm principle (there is no obligation to tolerate harmful behaviours)
- reciprocity (being tolerant requires being tolerated)<sup>113</sup>

Secondly, pluralism requires several basic elements of democratic theory. For pluralism to be achieved, the realm of politics must be democratic. Politics is defined here as the primary source of power in a collectivity, possessing three main attributes (sovereignty, lawful monopoly of force, territoriality). As conceptualised by Sartori, only politics is capable of “collectivized decisions,” these are decisions

“that apply, and are enforced on, a collectivity, regardless of whether they are taken by the one, the few, or the many. (...) whoever does the deciding, decides for all.”<sup>114</sup>

In democracy the makers of collectivised decisions can be dismissed without violence or revolution, contrary to tyranny.<sup>115</sup> These politically elected representatives must solve conflicts over collectivised decisions without escalating into open violence.<sup>116</sup> Pluralism thrives in a democracy, since each citizen has the right “to model his life himself, as far this does not interfere too much with others:” privacy is the norm, not the exception.<sup>117</sup> Ultimately, in democracy all its members “should be treated impartially,” so that “birth, family, connection, or influence” could not influence their stance in front of the laws and the law-makers.<sup>118</sup> Without a consensus about how to solve issues, this is adherence to the law and the rules, democracy is prone to political polarisation, considered by Sartori and other political scientists as its main destabiliser.<sup>119</sup>

### *Models for interpreting the past in modern societies*

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<sup>112</sup> Sartori, *Pluralismo, multiculturalismo*, 12.

<sup>113</sup> *Ibid*, 13

<sup>114</sup> Giovanni Sartori, “Further observations on concepts, definitions, and models,” in *Concepts and methods in social sciences: the tradition of Giovanni Sartori*, eds. David Collier and John Gerring (New York: Routledge 2009), 172-173.

<sup>115</sup> Popper, *The open society and its enemies, vol 1*, 139.

<sup>116</sup> Sartori, *Pluralismo, multiculturalismo*, 26-30.

<sup>117</sup> Popper, *The open society and its enemies vol 2*, 262.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 100

<sup>119</sup> M. Bernard and J. Kubik eds., *Twenty years after communism: the politics of memory and commemoration* (Oxford: Oxford University press 2014), 289.

As mentioned in chapter 1, the most delicate issue about heritage and cultural memory regard different groups' and cultures' interaction. This is mainly because control over past narratives exerts a powerful role within groups: as expressed by Bernard and Kubik, the act of “remembering the past, particularly collectively, is always a political process.”<sup>120</sup> In modern societies, cultural memory and heritage can legitimise those who conform with established past's interpretations and narratives; by contrast, breaking radically from mainstream interpretations of the past can put people “on the margins of the country's cultural field.”<sup>121</sup> In power struggles, past events and their heritage interpretation can be used to *culturally* delegitimise “opponents as somehow ‘essentially’ unfit for being players” in the political game (whatever its nature).<sup>122</sup> If perceived as a zero-sum game, cultural memory and heritage interpretation could potentially result in cultural fragmentation in a society:<sup>123</sup> this can foment cultural and political polarisation,<sup>124</sup> eventually resulting in the collapse of the political system and the rise of social conflict.

In modern societies, the specialists capable of influencing cultural memory and heritage (e.g. historians, or *mnemonic actors* (scholars, priests, journalists, artists, politicians) can be divided into four ideal-types: mnemonic warriors, pluralists, abnegators, and prospectives.<sup>125</sup> Warriors consider themselves the true proprietors and wardens of the past, whose content and interpretation is non-negotiable; pluralists believe that other actors are “entitled to their own visions” of the past; abnegators focus more on the present, and attempt to avoid cultural and memory conflicts; prospectives perceive themselves as post-historical actors, possessing the “key to a better future,” which are willing to pursue even with aggressive means (just like the mnemonic warriors).

The interaction between these mnemonic actors tend to produce three kinds of memory regimes in modern societies(fractured, pillarised, unified), which regulate how and when salient memory issues are remembered.<sup>126</sup> If combined with the five models (assimilation model, melting pot, core-plus model, pillar model, salad bowl) societies generally adopt for selecting and managing their

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<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, 2-3

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, 22-24

<sup>122</sup> While the authors refer here to democracy, it could be argued that also non-democratic regimes are subject to the problems caused by cultural memory delegitimation. *Ibid.*, 290.

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*, 18

<sup>124</sup> Polarisation is considered one of the most grave threats to democracy, yet it could arguably be considered a general threat to group stability. *Ibid.*, 289.

<sup>125</sup> The authors, again, refer to democratic conditions, yet the categories could arguably be applied to non-democratic polities. *Ibid.*, 12-14.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, 16-17, 29.



heritage, according to Ashworth, Graham, and Tunbridge,<sup>127</sup> there could be drawn a list of the existing models for cultural memory and heritage interpretation and inter-group relations employed in modern societies and groups. These models and regimes are theoretical constructs and are rarely fully implemented by societies, which generally use a mixed model suitable for their needs.

1. **Assimilation/Unified regime (nation-state):** in this model, a dominant group controls the past's interpretations, while minority groups are either ignored or absorbed into the mainstream culture. The past's main narrative is free from serious memory conflicts, or challenging it might prove too risky;
2. **Melting Pot/Unified regime:** in this scenario, minority cultures are not assimilated into pre-existing mainstream culture, but into an evolving composite identity distinct from the original ingredients;
3. **Core-plus Model:** in this case, minority cultural memories and heritage are at least tolerated, at best positively accepted by the majority group, which feels its dominant status secured both in cultural and political terms;
4. **Pillar Model/Pillarized regime:** separate past's interpretations coexist more or less in mutual non-interference; any change in the interaction among groups might result in a **fractured regime**
5. **Salad Bowl:** diverse groups retain their distinctive identities, sustained by distinctive heritages and, at the most liberal extreme, are collectively celebrated for so doing; it can also result in a **fractured regime**

#### *A pluralistic model for cultural memory and heritage narratives*

The existing models seem either insensitive to individuals' and groups' call for recognition, or insensible regarding how pluralistic democracy functions. Assimilationist and melting pot models tend to exclude minority past's interpretations (and their carriers) from the mainstream culture, resulting in ghettoisation and the creation of a climate of conflict among society members.<sup>128</sup> Salad bowl models tend to accept cultural diversity without reflecting on the consequences for social relations, often resulting in inter-group violence and self-isolation.<sup>129</sup> Pillar models appear prone to the same risks of salad bowl models, with groups living detached. Ultimately, core-plus models are indeed tolerant and respectful towards minorities, yet they appear paternalistic, as the hegemonic role of a certain group and culture cannot be questioned.

These models applied in modern societies seem thus unable to accommodate inclusiveness and tolerant pluralism at the same time. As a proposal, this thesis conceptualises a new model aimed at reducing social and cultural conflict and at promoting the recognition of new understandings of the past in democratic societies.

The pluralistic model is a compromise between the ideal free and open society, where different cultural memory and heritage interpretations peacefully coexist, and the more realistic democratic

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<sup>127</sup> As quoted in John E. Tunbridge, "Plural and Multicultural Heritages" in *The Ashgate Research*, 301-303.

<sup>128</sup> Bauman, *Voglia di comunità*, 118-130.

<sup>129</sup> Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge, *Pluralising Pasts*, 180-206.

society, where cultural diversity could be used as pretext to cause harm. The pluralistic model answers dilemma faced by democratic society when two (or more) groups seek to appropriate and interpret the past according to their needs, resulting in dissonance and potential conflict. Moreover, it creates a framework for managing the problematic relation between the need to select a specific portion of the past, so to make it understandable, and the temptation to re-interpret it ignoring former meanings ascribed to it.

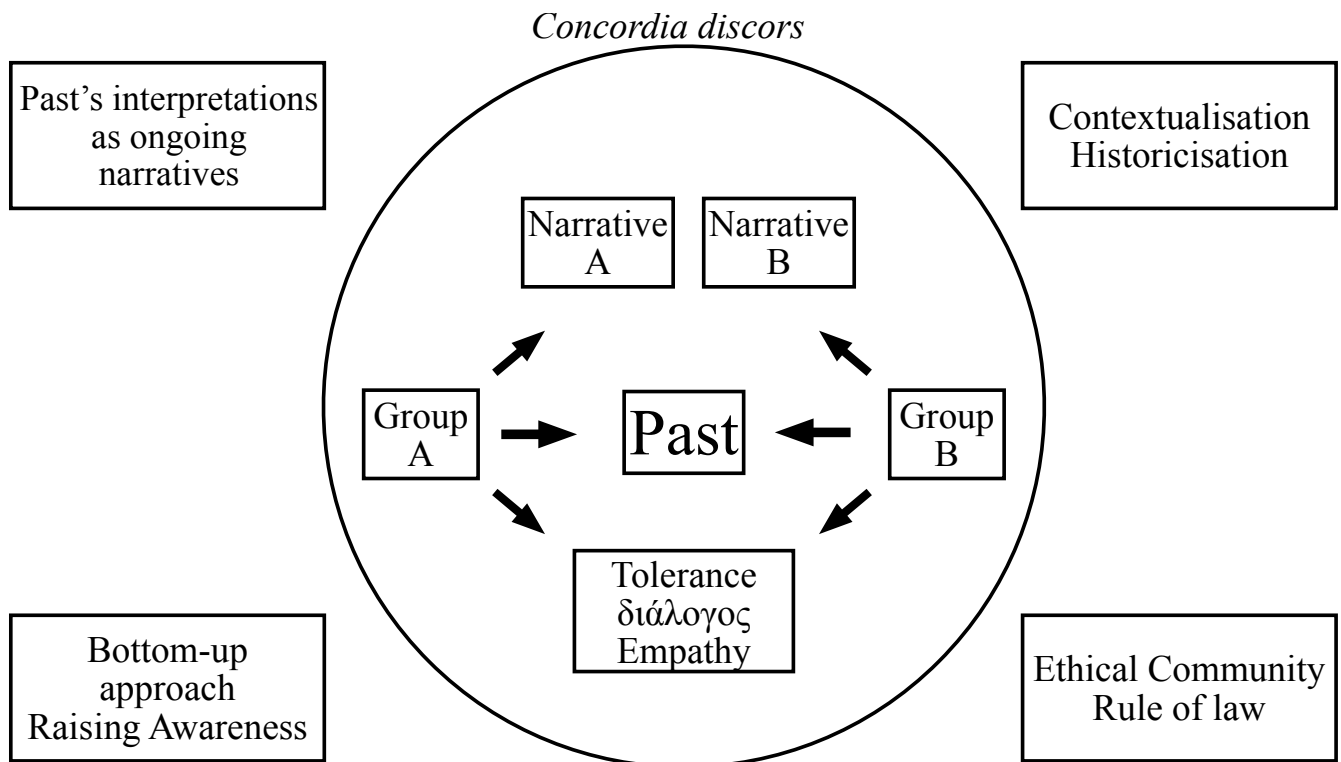


Fig. 1 Pluralistic model  
 Author: Andrea Trenta, July 2020

The pluralistic model is built on the foundational principle *concordia discors*, and it has at its core a combination of tolerance, dialogue, and empathy. The principle of *concordia discors* and tolerance have already been mentioned. The greek term *διάλογος*, which could be rendered as ‘thinking together and seeking understanding,’<sup>130</sup> is similarly a core feature of the pluralistic model, as it requires an active and conscious effort to seek compromise. Ultimately empathy, is another crucial element of the pluralistic model, as it requires to embrace the other’s emotional point of view.<sup>131</sup>

The pluralistic model is also sustained by four pillars. The first one, past’s interpretations as ongoing narratives, has been elaborated starting from Walter, a heritage studies scholar influenced

<sup>130</sup> Durham and Donlu, “Religious pluralism,” 183.

<sup>131</sup> Hans Joas, *Faith as an option: Possible Futures for Christianity* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2014), 85-87.

by Heidegger hermeneutics.<sup>132</sup> Narratives are an essential element in the constitution of a community, and even though their direction is often contested, they have a “broad appeal across society” compared to the subjectivity of the post-modern values.<sup>133</sup> Narrative prompts not only to reflect on the previous narratives, the “biography” of a certain heritage but also to dismiss the idea that “our ‘chapter’ will be the last” and to take responsibilities as ‘co-authors’ to leave space for those who follow after us to write theirs.”<sup>134</sup>

The second pillar is the need to contextualise and historicise the previous past interpretations.<sup>135</sup> It clarifies the relation between different interpretations of what constitutes the past. The second pillar aims at “recovering as faithfully as possible the meanings that agents attribute[d] to their reality” through the analysis of “webs of meaning” (never isolated meanings) and through acknowledging that “meanings are not reified substances but dynamic processes with a past.”<sup>136</sup> The contextualisation and historicisation of different interpretations would show the contrast between present “subjective knowledge (experience-near concepts)” and past “objectified knowledge (experience-distant concepts),”<sup>137</sup> and between present needs *vis à vis* former needs of the society.

The third pillar is the idea that a bottom-up approach and raising awareness among people are crucial in a free and open society. Group members aiming at improving their community by reflecting on their past should be aware of its interpretations, since any decision about the past is a political, moral decision, which should not be made superficially.<sup>138</sup> As it has been showed, destruction of ancient buildings can go unnoticed, if people ignore the interpretations attached to these material aspects of the past.<sup>139</sup> A bottom up-approach should also take into consideration those who do not seem interested in the past,<sup>140</sup> albeit several studies have shown that once aware of their past, people tend to express predominantly opinions as “heritage preservation saves the past,”

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<sup>132</sup> Nigel Walter, “From values to narrative,” 638-640.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 646.

<sup>134</sup> *Ibid.*, 645.

<sup>135</sup> Vincent Pouliot, “Subjectivism”: Toward a Constructivist Methodology,” *International Studies Quarterly* 51 (2007): 359.

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*, 368-374.

<sup>137</sup> *Ibid.*, 368.

<sup>138</sup> Gyan P. Nyaupane and Dallen J. Timothy, “Heritage awareness and appreciation among community residents: perspectives from Arizona, USA,” *International Journal of Heritage Studies* Vol. 16, No. 3 (May 2010): 226.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 227.

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, 228.

“heritage preservation preserves a better future,” and “heritage preservation rehabilitates old buildings for new uses.”<sup>141</sup>

The fourth and last pillar is constituted by the need for an ethical community, and the supremacy of the rule of law in the intergroup relations. As expressed by Bauman, the ethical community demands ethical responsibilities, balances inalienable rights and unescapable duties, and requires long-term commitments (better if institutionalised) to plan the future.<sup>142</sup> The ethical community does not vanish after having accomplished a task, and it implies a high level of risk and fear if compared with modern contingent relations “without consequences.”<sup>143</sup> A strong adherence to the rule of law, imbued with all the previously mentioned principles and values (tolerance, dialogue, democracy, etc.) is similarly crucial for the pluralistic model: otherwise, different groups could request privileges or differential treatment due to their culture, with disastrous consequences for the social stability.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, 230.

<sup>142</sup> Bauman, *Voglia di comunità*, 77-80.

<sup>143</sup> *Ibid.*, 79.

<sup>144</sup> Sartori, *Pluralismo, Multiculturalismo ...*, 26-30.

### Ch. 3 Ad Maiorem Dei Gloriam: The development of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows in the Jesuit era (1566-1773)

This chapter deals with the material and symbolic construction of the church of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows, in the period from the Jesuit arrival to Olomouc (1566) to the order's dissolution (1773). It aims at providing a comprehensive understanding of the elements influencing the church's development, reflecting in particular on the interaction between material and symbolic elements. The findings related to the cultural memory and heritage narratives constructed in this period are included in Annex 3: Narratives and Narrators of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows.

#### *The Jesuit mission in Olomouc*

In the early 1520s, the Olomouc burghers were influenced by the religious ideas of Martin Luther. The new faith, brought by printed leaflets and preachers, spread rapidly among the urban population, and soon infected the entire Moravian Margrave “dilla fece lutherana.”<sup>145</sup> Protestantism was embraced not only by laymen, but also by monks (especially Franciscans),<sup>146</sup> and parish priests: as a result, poor religious discipline and promiscuity became blatant and widespread.<sup>147</sup> Another consequence was that Catholic masses and processions were deserted by the burghers, so much so that bishop Mark Kuen spoke about the Olomouc flock being “stolen” by Lutheran preachers.<sup>148</sup> Ultimately, the scarcity of valid monks and priests turned the once-revered temples into empty shrines, abandoned by almost by their occupants, and left in ruins.<sup>149</sup>

The first Jesuit fathers set foot in Olomouc in 1566 in this context of Catholic faith's dismay. Their mission aimed not only at re-establishing orthodoxy at the local and regional level but also at transforming the city into an important religious-educational hub of the Roman “rete di solidarietà e di occasioni di promozione culturale e sociale,”<sup>150</sup> built in those years. From their classrooms' chairs and churches' pulpits, the Jesuits prepared the new European cadres for the “officii di

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<sup>145</sup> Antonín Kalous, “Between Hussitism and Reformation, 1450s-1520s,” in *The Transformation of Confessional cultures in a Central European City: Olomouc, 1400-1750*, ed. by Antonín Kalous (Roma, Viella, 2015), 63.

<sup>146</sup> Ondřej Jakubec, “Olomoučtí minorité a jejich kláštery,” in *Olomoucké kláštery*, ed. by Irena Marie Kubešová (Olomouc: Statutární město Olomouc, 2005), 24.

<sup>147</sup> On the poor discipline in the city monasteries, see Ondřej Jakubec, “Město a Biskupové,” in *Dějiny Olomouce vol I*, ed. by Jindřich Schultz and Jana Burešová (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2009), 298.

<sup>148</sup> Kuen was bishop from 1553 to 1565. *Ibid.*, 296.

<sup>149</sup> Letter from bishop Prusinovský to Jesuit Father General Borja, Oct. 31st 1566, edited in B. Navrátil, *Jesuité olomučtí za protireformace* (Brno, 1916), 15.

<sup>150</sup> Francesco Gui, *I gesuiti e la rivoluzione boema: alle origini della guerra dei trent'anni* (Milano: Franco Angeli, 1989), 106.

governo, di cancellerie e consigli di città, precipi o baroni:”<sup>151</sup> together with the Catholic armies, these cadres were a key instrument in Rome’s strategy to recover the territories lost to the heretical confessions. Thus, the establishment of the local Jesuit college in 1566 was hailed by Pope Pius V in such a spirit:

Confidamus enim nos quoque, ex eo gymnasio Deo favente multos prodituros,  
quorum opera ad extirpanda multis in locis zizana futura sit utilis.<sup>152</sup>

### *Settlement on the Předhradí hill*

Widespread monastic decadence prompted bishop Prusinovský, patron of the college, to move the Jesuits in some derelict monastery. After an initial turbulent period,<sup>153</sup> Prusinovský envisaged to locate the Jesuit activities in a more comfortable venue: the Jesuits were to obtain the Conventual Franciscan monastic complex on the Předhradí hill, while the Franciscans would have received the Augustinian nunnery of St. Jacob.<sup>154</sup> The rationale for this reshuffling appeared obvious to the bishop: the Augustinian nunnery had been empty “*ultra hominum omnem memoriam;*”<sup>155</sup> the Franciscan monastery was partially in ruins, and almost abandoned (“*unus saltem, rarissime duo fratres manent*”); the Jesuit needed a larger complex to carry out properly their activities without risking their lives (and those of their pupils) crossing the roads of heretical districts every day.<sup>156</sup>

If providing the Jesuits their temple was relatively easy, the path towards full legal control over it appeared more complicated. Already in April 1567, Prusinovský received approval for his project by Pope Pius V;<sup>157</sup> on May 1567 the bishop brokered an agreement with the Franciscan provincial de Cingulo to swap the monasteries.<sup>158</sup> Once obtained the complex from the Franciscans, the Jesuits started to rebuild it, and after two years of works, it was finally renovated.<sup>159</sup> The Jesuits officially entered the complex on October the 4th, 1569, and on the same date Prusinovský celebrated the first mass in the new temple.<sup>160</sup> The possession of the new church, however, did not imply complete

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<sup>151</sup> Letter written on April the 25th, 1605 by nuncio Ferreri to Pope Leo IX, as quoted *Ibid.*

<sup>152</sup> Letter to bishop Prusinovský (bishop 1565-1572). Olga Uhrová-Vavrová, *Listář Olomoucké Univerzity, 1566-1947* (Olomouc, 1947), 13.

<sup>153</sup> At the beginning, the Jesuits lived and taught in a relatively small private house, B. Navrátil, *Jesuité olomučtí za...*, 12 (note 1).

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>155</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, 19-22.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, 24-27.

<sup>158</sup> *Ibid.*, 29-34.

<sup>159</sup> Annual letter from Jesuit father Pyrringer to the Jesuit General Borja. *Ibid.*, 77

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48

disposal over its development: the Franciscan past would severely constraint the church's material and symbolical development, in particular, a bitter controversy between the two religious orders started in the 1630s.

*A neglected historiographical issue: the controversy between Jesuits and Franciscans*

One of the less researched aspects of the Olomouc Jesuits' past is the controversy that opposed Jesuits and Franciscans for almost ninety-years (1630s-1710s) over the Jesuit church jurisdiction. The main reason for this neglect lies probably in the hectic archival distribution of Jesuit sources. Concerning the Moravian Land Archive of Brno (MZAB), analysed for this thesis, modern historians have predominantly used three funds, the E-28 "Jezuité Olomouc," the G-1 "Bočkova sbírka," and the G-12 "Cerroniho sbírka." Moreover, historical research on the controversy is hampered by the lack of a fund gathering the Olomouc Conventual Franciscan sources.<sup>161</sup>

An unedited source describing this controversy was discovered in the MZAB fund G-10 "Sbírka rukopisů," only partially scrutinised by modern historians.<sup>162</sup> The source is the "Controversiae Patres Societatis Iesu inter, et Patres Conventuales Olomucii," written in 1712 by Rector Miller.<sup>163</sup> The *Controversiae* reproduces copies or incorporates original documents related to the above-mentioned controversy. This manuscript, together with the "Historia Fabricae collegii Olomucensis,"<sup>164</sup> and other primary, secondary, and edited sources, allowed to reconstruct the complex church's heritage and cultural memory development until the order's dissolution in 1773.

Of particular importance were three other manuscripts written by Miller: his "Diarium Rectoris Collegii Olomucensis"<sup>165</sup> and his "Anfang und End der alten"<sup>166</sup> (written in 1712-1715 during his

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<sup>161</sup> I thank Dr. Tomáš Černušák, chief archivist at the MZAB, for this information.

<sup>162</sup> In particular, the fund G-10 has not been analysed in: *Jezuitské sídlo uměleckého centra Univerzity Palackého v Olomouci. Dějiny- Stavební a umělecké dějiny - Obnova a využití* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2002); Jiří Fiala et al., *Univerzita v Olomouci (1573-2009)* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2009); *Olomoucké Baroko*, ed. by Martin Elbel and Ondřej Jakubec (Olomouc: Muzeum Umění Olomouc, 2010); and the already mentioned Kalous, *The Transformation of Confessional*.

<sup>163</sup> *Controversiae Patres Societatis IESU inter, et Patres Conventuales Olomucii, annis diversis actae, ratione Monasterii, et Templi, et eiusdem tituli, olim ad hos pertinentium. A. 1712 in hunc librum congestae*, MZAB, G10, inv. č 223.

<sup>164</sup> The *Historia* was known by Gregor Wolný, *Kirchliche Topografie von Mähren I. Abteilung Olmützer Erzdiöcese I band* (Brünn, 1855), yet Wolný referred to it as stored in *Boczek Sammlung* in Brno's archives, which probably later became the fund G-1. The version analysed for this thesis is stored in MZAB, G10, Sbirka rukopisů, sign. 187.

<sup>165</sup> MZAB, E 28, Jezuité Olomouc, karton 45, sign. 5.

<sup>166</sup> This text appears problematic for several reasons: primarily, the name of Johann Miller has been apposed posthumously; secondly, within the text the title *Mariae-Schnee* is never mentioned; ultimately, in 1714 Miller was pushing for a completely different title. *Anfang und End der alten, wie auch der unter dem Titel und Nahmen Mariae-Schnee*, Státní okresní archiv Olomouc (SOKA), AMO, knihy, inv. č. 5708, sign. 1737.

Olomouc rectorate); and his “*Historia Provinciae Bohemiae*,”<sup>167</sup> written for the Jesuit Bohemian Province’s 100th anniversary (1723). Another valuable source was the *Diarium*,<sup>168</sup> written by Miller’s successor Carolus Pfefferkorn (1715-1718).

### *Origins of the controversy*

Surprisingly, the main reason for the Jesuit-Franciscan controversy on the church (and complex) was the 1567 *bull*a from Pius V. In the eyes of the Pontiff, the concession of the Franciscan monastery was a temporary solution, a tactical move to advance the Catholic mission in Olomouc. Once orthodox faith was restored, the Franciscans could have regained their monastery (which, being them a monastic order, belonged to the Holy See):

quotienscunque in partibus illis catholica religio restituta sit et vigeat ac fratres ordinis huiusmodi illos inibi restituere voluerint, [...] Guillelmus episcopus praedictus seu eius successor, collegium et societas praedicta monasterium seu domum praedictam (...) omnino restituere teneantur<sup>169</sup>

This provision was immediately perceived as problematic,<sup>170</sup> and to guarantee a permanent donation and avoid any future litigation over the complex, in May 1567 Prusinovský promised the Franciscan provincial de Cingulo to renovate St. Jacob’s nunnery and to provide the monks a monetary annual perpetual census. Compared with the Papal *bull*a, however, this agreement was legally weak. Prusinovský invoked the approval of the Emperor Maximilian the II (conceded on October 1567),<sup>171</sup> and of the Franciscan order’s vice-protector Cardinal Simonetta, who unfortunately never sanctioned the deal.<sup>172</sup>

### *The initial church’s title and iconography development (1569-1640)*

In the Jesuit churches, material and symbolic aspects were deeply intertwined and reinforced each other’s precise function in the Jesuit theological design. The Jesuits aimed to combine profound theological teachings with direct engagement of the believers in the greater glory of

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<sup>167</sup> Národní knihovna České Republiky (NKČR), XXIII.C.104/1 (XXIII.C.104a); NKČR C.104/2 (XXIII.C.104b).

<sup>168</sup> MZAB, E 28, Jezuité Olomouc, karton 45, sign. 5.

<sup>169</sup> Navrátil, *Jezuité olomučtí za*, 25-26.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 37-38.

<sup>172</sup> *Ibid.*, 31-33. Cfr. 33, note 8, where Navrátil appeared aware of the Jesuit-Franciscan controversy, yet (like Wolný) he referred to Bočková sbírka, specifically to Bočková sbírka č.12 290/8 (probably nowadays in the fund G-1 ) and not to Miller’s *Controversiae*, MZAB, G10, inv. č 223, pp. 46-47. The wording of the quotations in the two manuscripts is the same.



God:<sup>173</sup> the religious media representations (primarily images) were intended to guide them in their journey towards God, and to distinguish between Good and Evil on this religious path.<sup>174</sup> In the Olomouc case, the juridical uncertainty caused by Pius V's *bull*a firstly affected the symbolic elements of the church's title and its holiday or *festum dedicationis*. Secondly, it affected the church's iconography and its physical structure. The symbolic elements of the church, as its title, functioned as a catalyst for the creation of artworks and objects of devotion, while the expressions of the Jesuit religious life (holidays, processions, devotions) were often centred around specific material artefacts.

Regarding the church's title, the first sources (1560s-1590s) agreed all on the same point: the church was referred to as "ecclesia" or "templum S. Francisci, or kostel Sv. Františka na Předhradí."<sup>175</sup> The very first holy mass in the new church was celebrated on October the 4th, St. Francis holiday; in the diocesan calendar this day was thus registered as "Patrocinium ad S. Francisci Seraphici apud Patres Societatis."<sup>176</sup> Concerning the church's holiday, however, it appeared difficult to determine its exact date. The Jesuits affirmed that "ab hominum memoriam" it was celebrated on the Sunday after the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (15th of August).<sup>177</sup> In this sense, given the traditional link between a *festum dedicationis* with a church's patron holiday (*festum titolare*), there appeared to be a contradiction between the church's title and its holiday: thus, the Jesuits soon became suspicious of the church's "Franciscan" past.

Initially, however, the Jesuits were more focused on their educational and missionary role than in canonical disputes: the church was the core of a vibrant religious activity,<sup>178</sup> the main objects of devotion were the Virgin Mary and Jesus, jointly venerated also in the Order anagram.<sup>179</sup> The Corpus Christi procession occupied a central place in the Jesuit rituality, despite being often deserted by the Olomouc population and patriciate.<sup>180</sup> The Jesuit devotion of the Virgin prompted the formation of several Marian congregations among students and burghers, the most important

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<sup>173</sup> Heinrich Pfeiffer S. I., "L'iconografia," in *Ignazio e l'arte dei Gesuiti*, ed. by Giovanni Sale S. I. (Milano: Jaca Books, 2003), 172-173.

<sup>174</sup> Gauvin Alexander Bailey, "Il contributo dei Gesuiti alla pittura italiana e il suo influsso in Europa, 1540-1773," in *Ignazio e l'arte*, 125-129.

<sup>175</sup> Letter from Olomouc bishop Pavlovský to Václav Zygota (1589). Navrátil, *Jesuité olomučtí za*, 486.

<sup>176</sup> MZAB, G10, inv. č 223, 2.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 76, 132.

<sup>178</sup> Ondřej Jakubec, "The Divided City, 1520s-1600," in *The Confessional Cultures*, 69.

<sup>179</sup> Pfeiffer, "L'iconografia," 171.

<sup>180</sup> Jakubec, "Město a Biskupové," 290-291.

(*Latina Maior*) being that of Assumption of the Virgin Mary in 1580.<sup>181</sup> Strong support to the Marian cult came also from bishop Pavlovský, which in 1591 donated the new church's main altar adorned with a painting of the Virgin Mary.<sup>182</sup> These symbolic and iconographic choices probably reflected the devotion to the church's patron Saint (the Virgin).

When the Jesuits obtained their church, the Franciscans brought all their belongings away,<sup>183</sup> leaving no material legacy, so that almost everything had to be donated by benefactors.<sup>184</sup> This material paucity favoured the autonomous development of a Jesuit heritage, and allowed them to pursue their Marian interpretation of the church's past. A founding pillar of the new church's heritage was the burial of bishop Prusinovský, who had invited the order in Olomouc: his memory was deemed so important by the Jesuits that after his death he was buried "ante summum altare." A celebratory marble relief, commissioned by his sister Helen, praised him as "hujus Collegii et scholarum Societatis Jesu fundatori templique Instauratori liberalissimo."<sup>185</sup>

The suppression of the Bohemian estates' uprising (1618-1620), during which the church was probably severely damaged,<sup>186</sup> meant the beginning of a 'golden' era for the Olomouc Jesuits, and the Order in general. The triumphant atmosphere of the military successes went hand in hand with the steady expansion of the Jesuit religious devotion: in 1622 the first two Jesuit Saints were canonised, the Jesuit founder Ignatius of Loyola and of his pupil, the missionary Francis Xavier. This event altered the Jesuit style and iconography: from then onwards, the Jesuits opted for monumental, dramatic media representation as a tool for convince their audience; more importantly, a vigorous cult of the two Saints took place in all the Jesuit centres:<sup>187</sup> in Olomouc, the news was celebrated with parades and prayers.<sup>188</sup>

The following year the Jesuit Bohemian province was created, and to celebrate this achievement the Jesuit General Mutio Vitelleschi donated to the Olomouc college the precious relics of St.

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<sup>181</sup> Navrátil, *Jesuité olomučtí za*, 206-207, 220-221, 223-225.

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 29.

<sup>183</sup> "(...)clenodia eiusdem templi et monasterii, suppellex domestica et aliae res mobiles fratribus eiusdem ordinis minorum integre reserventur et deinceps pro usu ipsorum in aliud monasterium illis deputatum transferantur et tradantur [...]" *Ibid.*, p 31.

<sup>184</sup> Annual letter from Jesuit father Pyrringer to the Jesuit General Borja. *Ibid.*, pp. 77-78

<sup>185</sup> Vylvlečka, *Príspevky k dějinám kostela Panny Marie Sněžné*, (Olomouc: Našinec, 1917), 27-28.

<sup>186</sup> For an example of the rebels iconoclasm, see the description of the devastation of Prague's Cathedral. A Podlaha, E. Šittler, *Chrámový poklad u Sv. Víta v Praze. Jeho dějiny a popis* (Praha, 1903), 106-108.

<sup>187</sup> Bailey, "Il contributo dei Gesuiti," 146,150

<sup>188</sup> Tomáš Parma, "The Stormy Path to a Single Religion, 1600-1650," in *Transformation of Confessional*, 108-109.

Pauline.<sup>189</sup> In the Counter-reformation, the relics had immense religious value, and their devotion distinguished Catholic faith *vis a vis* Protestant faith. The relics proved the historical continuity between the original Church and the Roman Catholic Church (apostolic succession), as well as the importance of the cult of martyrs and Saints, denied by the Protestants.<sup>190</sup> Immediately the relics became the object of ardent devotion, primarily against the plagues that often devastated Olomouc:<sup>191</sup> to make the 1623 plague cease, it was organised a public procession of the holy relics of Pauline, culminating with their *translatio* in the Jesuit church, and followed by eight days of prayers and liturgies.<sup>192</sup>

In this religious euphoria, the Jesuits attempted to expand their church, by erecting new chapels and rectifying the church's title *de iure*: these moves were met with hostility by the other Catholic institutions in Olomouc, in particular the Franciscans. In 1636 the Jesuit General Muzio Vitelleschi was informed by the Jesuit Bohemian Provincial that the Olomouc Jesuits intended to adopt the title of St. Francis Xavier, and this had caused a legal reaction from the Franciscans.<sup>193</sup> In 1640, the Franciscans produced a 20-point document, slamming the Jesuit attempt to alter the church by erecting new chapels and changing its title. In a bitter tone, the Franciscans accused the Jesuits of stealing precious space to the other religious institutions on the Předhradí, including the parish church "Beatae Virginis Assumptae" (the Jesuit title's claim was thus illegitimate). The Franciscans launched also a severe accusation to the Jesuits in their 100th anniversary:

Et IESU crucifixi patientiae tantum presumant habere, quantum ipsi novitii unius seculi pluris habere cogerentur aliis cedere, et non aliena accipere, ut virtutis imitatores et aptissimi zelatores.<sup>194</sup>

The Olomouc bishopric canon, together with the city council, sided with the Franciscans, blocking both the construction site and the title's change:<sup>195</sup> the Jesuit expansion, altering the religious balance in town, was thus stopped.

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<sup>189</sup> The Olomouc Jesuits believed the Saint's relics were those of the daughter of St. Artemius and St. Candida, lived in the IV century. *Martyrologium Romanum* (Romae, 1584), 166.

<sup>190</sup> For the equation of the relics to idolatrous cults, see Jean Calvin, *Traictè des Reliques* (Geneve, 1543); for the Roman Catholic apostolic succession, see Cesare Baronio, *Annales Ecclesiastici vol. I-XII* (Roma, 1588-1607).

<sup>191</sup> In the course of the XVII century the protection of St. Pauline was invoked in several plague outbreaks (1627, 1633, 1634, 1679-80. See Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu (ARSI), Boh. 95, LA 1633, 117; ARSI, Boh. 95, LA 1634, 153; St. Pauline's devotion was promoted by the Jesuits also through annual processions, songs, and plays. NKČR, sign. XXIII.C 105/2, LA 1656, 1659. NKČR, XXIII.C 105/08, LA 1672, 1674.

<sup>192</sup> Parma, "The Stormy Path," 111-112.

<sup>193</sup> MZAB, G10, inv. č 223, p. 73.

<sup>194</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 45-52.

<sup>195</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 53-55, 59-62.

In a 1642 letter, Vitelleschi clarified that the Jesuits had no intention to change the church's title: according to the Olomouc Jesuits the Franciscan church's title was posthumous, and thus they were just rectifying the original one.<sup>196</sup> The Jesuits could not pursue their plans, since in the same year the Swedish troops occupied Olomouc, leaving the town only in 1650. During the Swedish occupation, much of the Jesuit heritage was stolen or destroyed. The Swedish soldiers "in Collegium cum uxoribus incasati, licet omnia Templi altaria, et scamna, quidque ligneum, confregissent, et hieme his cubicula sibi calefecissent."<sup>197</sup> St. Pauline's relics, deemed too precious to be lost, were hidden by the Jesuits underground, and retrieved only at the end of the war.<sup>198</sup>

*Jesuit rationale for solving the controversy (1650-1688)*

The controversy over the complex, as well as Jesuits' plans to renovate the church, started again in the 1660s. Regarding the church's title, General Oliva requested the Olomouc Jesuits to argue their claim over the Marian original title.<sup>199</sup> Thus, the Jesuits produced a well-articulated explanation of the church's origins, which could prove the legitimacy of their development designs.

Primarily, the Jesuits claimed that the church had been erected and dedicated to the Virgin Assumption by the nobleman Jaroslav Sternberg in 1241, well before the Franciscans arrival,<sup>200</sup> and approximately one hundred years before the foundation of the Virgin Assumption parish church.<sup>201</sup> Sternberg had invoked the Virgin defending Olomouc from a Tartar's siege; with her blessing, he led the Olomouc burghers to victory, and after the battle, honoured his vow and erected a temple to the Virgin. This foundational story derived from the combination of the existing myth of the 1241 Tatar siege of Olomouc (fabricated at the beginning of the XIV century)<sup>202</sup> and a Spanish myth of 1238, engraved between 1588 and 1612.<sup>203</sup> It is unclear who crafted this "Marian" myth, yet given

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<sup>196</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66.

<sup>197</sup> NKČR C.104/2 (XXIII.C.104b), p. 1141

<sup>198</sup> ARSI, Boh. 97 I, LA 1652, p. 118.

<sup>199</sup>MZAB, G10, inv. č 223, pp. 73-74.

<sup>200</sup> In the 1660s, the Jesuits were convinced that the Franciscans had taken possession of the church in 1383. *Ibid.*, 69-72, Medieval charts mention the presence of Franciscans in Olomouc already in 1230, and the existence of a monastery is attested from 1267, Václav Richter, *Raněstředověká Olomouc* (Praha; Brno: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1959), 134-135.

<sup>201</sup>According to Bartoloměj Paprocký, this church was founded by "nějaký Henrich rychtář Olomoucký" in 1327. See Bartoloměj Paprocký z Hlohov a Paprocké Vůle, *Zrcadlo slavného Markrabství moravského* (Olomouc: Bedřich Milichthaler, 1593) 386 r.; However, church's existence is attested since 1253. Vyvlečka, *Příspěvky k dějinám*, 13-14.

<sup>202</sup> For an account on the numerous versions of the myth, see Tomáš Somer, "Forging the past: facts and myths behind the Mongol invasion of Moravia in 1241," *Golden Horde Review* vol. 6, n° 2 (2018): 238-251.

<sup>203</sup> Kateřina Dolejší and Leoš Mlčák, "Zobrazení legendy o zázračném vítězství Jaroslava ze Šternberka nad Tatary," in *Olomoucké Baroko vol 2.*, 108.

the absence of church's references in the previous versions of the tale, it probably originated in the first half of the XVI century in Olomouc Jesuit circles.<sup>204</sup>

Secondly, they explained how the church's original title was lost, and replaced with its Franciscan title. The Jesuits claimed that the Franciscan title was the product of popular devotion and ignorance, and had nothing to do with the original *patrocinium*. To prove this, they referred to the cases of the Olomouc Poor Clares' nunnery and Observant Franciscans' friary. In the case of the Poor Clares' nunnery, their church was dedicated to St. John Baptist, while the church of St. Bernardine's monastery was dedicated to the Immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.<sup>205</sup>

Thirdly, the Jesuits claimed they had solid material and written evidence regarding the original denomination to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. According to a 1663 source, in 1598 the Jesuits had inscribed behind the church's main altar, donated by Pavlovský in 1591, the following text: "de extracto hoc R.R. P.P. Societatis IESU templo B. V. Assumptae nuncupato, deinque eiusdem summo altari consecrato." In addition, approximately around the early 1630s, the Jesuits discovered a globe while renovating a church's tower: on its rusty and old surface there was written:

Anno domini incarnationis 1383. Templum hoc a fundamentis extractum atque perfectum est, in honorem praepotentis DEI, Beatissimae Virginis et DEIparae Assumptae, aliorumque Sanctorum, quod pulcherrimo monumento testatum scripto serae posteritati reliquit Fr. Andreas D. Francisci religiosus anno Christi 1527 die 8 Decembris.<sup>206</sup>

Even with a similar comprehensive explanation, however, the Jesuit attempt to gain control over the church's development failed. As for the construction of the new chapels, the Jesuits were stopped once again in 1665 by the Franciscans.<sup>207</sup>

Regarding the church's title, in the early 1680s the Jesuits convinced bishop Karl Liechtenstein-Kastelcorn about the need to modify the diocesan calendar's entries concerning the Jesuit church's;<sup>208</sup> in 1685 he removed from the Sunday after the Assumption of the Virgin Mary's entry the "dedicatio in Ecclesia S. Francisci Seraphici apud P.P. S. IESU," changing it into the "dedicatio

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<sup>204</sup> Dolejší and Mlčák advance the idea that either Olomouc rector Pedro Jimenez or convict's regent Jakub Hack possessed a copy of Granthomme's engraving, and commissioned the production of its Olomouc's version. For additional information, see *Ibid.*, 107-113.

<sup>205</sup> MZAB, G10, inv. č 223, 69-72, 75-77, 79-82, 89-90, 129-134.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, 69-72, 129-134. See Vyvlečka, *Příspěvky k dějinám*, 14, who refers to such a discovery in vague terms, and without documental evidence postpone it to 1679. He probably influenced Václav Richter, *Raněstředověká Olomouc*, 137, and more recently Ondřej Jakubec, "Konventní kostel olomouckých minoritů ve středověku," *Střední Morava* vol. 6 (1998):39.

<sup>207</sup> MZAB, G10 inv. č 223, p. 95, 105, 117.

<sup>208</sup> According to Lichtenstein-Kastelcorn, also his predecessor Cardinal Dietrichstein (bishop 1599-1636) realised that the diocesan calendar had to be changed. *Ibid.*, p. 145.

in Ecclesia apud P.P. S. IESU.”<sup>209</sup> He also removed from the October’s calendar entry the “Patrocinium apud S. Francisci”<sup>210</sup> attributed to Jesuit church. The Franciscans considered these changes a continuation of the previous attacks to their order, and protested vigorously: citing the Pius V’s *bull*a and other original documents, they forced Liechtenstein to reintroduce in 1688 all the Franciscan entries in the diocesan calendar.

### *Fabrica templi collegii Olomucensis*

The Jesuit dismay for their failure to restore the original title rapidly turned into an opportunity: the same bishop suggested to the frustrated Jesuits that by erecting a new church the denomination and holiday could have been re-imposed.<sup>211</sup> Thus, for several years since 1687, the Jesuits discussed the project to erect a new church, postponing its realisation due to limited funds (“sola semper evertit illa quaestio: unde sumtus?”).<sup>212</sup> Eventually, the project could start in 1710, after the death of the wealthy widow Iustina Thomasin from Opava. Iustina left her substantial capital (about 38 thousand florins) to her two sons. One of them, Micheal, was a member of the Jesuit order and donated all his family inheritance to the Olomouc college.<sup>213</sup>

Having pooled the necessary capital, Miller’s predecessor Jan Capeta (rector 1708-1711) worked on getting a church design approved by Rome, as the standard Jesuit procedure required:<sup>214</sup>

R. P. Decessor varias circa fabricam dispositiones fecerat; inter alias curavit [...] Romam mitti delineationem totius fabricae, et templi, et collegii, quae idea ab A.R.P.N Generali approbata fuit 27 Iulii 1711 [...].<sup>215</sup>

The church’s design was by no means original: the two-tower facade was evidently inspired by the Viennese Universitätskirche (1627), whose blueprint was copied so frequently in Central Europe to be considered a sort of Jesuit “corporate identity;”<sup>216</sup> the one-nave plant was also based on a very old Jesuit tradition, chosen at the very beginning of their preaching activity for pragmatic

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<sup>209</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 143

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 141.

<sup>211</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 151

<sup>212</sup> NKČR C.104/2 (XXIII.C.104b), pp. 992-994.

<sup>213</sup> Micheal donated his half to the order; Henricus was a missing in action soldier. Not having received any information from his brother for many years, Michael decided to donate also the other half to the *Societas. Ivi*; cfr. also MZAB, G10, sign. 187., p. 11, 53.

<sup>214</sup> This practice had started with the Jesuit General Oliva in 1613, while before a larger interpretative freedom had been given to the local Jesuits. Richard Bösel, “L’architettura della Compagnia di Gesù in Europa,” in *Ignazio e l’arte...*, p. 71.

<sup>215</sup> MZAB, G10, sign. 187, 1.

<sup>216</sup> Richard Bösel, “L’architettura della Compagnia...”, 110.

reasons.<sup>217</sup> Authorising the construction of the new church, the Jesuit hierarchy in Rome and Prague saw the unique opportunity to finally impose on it the “original” Virgin Assumption title.

On June the 6th 1712, in the holiday of the popular Jesuit anti-plague St. Pauline, the founding stone of the church was deposed and the church publicly announced with the title “B. V. MARIAE in Caelos assumptae.”<sup>218</sup> During this public ceremony, a series of valuable relics and artworks were displayed, attesting the symbolic and material endowment of the new church. Most of the objects mentioned by Miller were connected with the two Jesuits Saints, Ignatius and Francis Xaxier: these were a “granum de rosario” wore by St. Francis Xavier in his missionary activity in Goa; a “Brachium in sindone” once attached to S. Francis Xavier’s arm, two old pictures of the Saints (“Imago S. Ignatii cum quadrato; Imago P. Fran: Xaverii sub tugurio agonizantis”), and ultimately two medals of the Saints.<sup>219</sup>

Unfortunately, even this time the Jesuits’s project encountered a strong general opposition. The bishopric consistory sided with the Franciscans regarding the church’s title, defending the Franciscan tradition and reserving the Assumption title to the already-mentioned nearby parish church:

(...)Ven. consistorium nequeat placidare titulum tam veteris, quam novi templi; non veteris; eo quod hoc sempre habuerit, et habeat patrocinium S. Francisci Seraphici; non etiam novi, quia ecclesia B. V. Parochialis in possessione Patrocinii B. V. In Caelos assumtae hodiedum est.<sup>220</sup>

Rector Miller refused the Assumption title as well (“si pro titulo B. V. MARIAE in nova ecclesia retinendo, me opponerem”), and started searching for another possible denomination. About 1714, he received inspiration from an old Madonna statue preserved in the church:

(...) tempore RR. PP. Minoritarum supra columnam ad pilastrum templi e regione cathedrae steterat, anno autem 1602 quo Congregatio latina maior aram novam curavit, statua ista in medium illius collocata fuerat, in templo novo ad medium in altari summo ponenda sit; illaque in dextra IESUM sedentem teneat (...) <sup>221</sup>

Miller claimed that this statue was 500 years old, or even more,<sup>222</sup> and that it had been received by the Jesuits “ante Provinciae Bohemiae erectionem cum Ecclesia PP. Conventualium.”<sup>223</sup> According

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<sup>217</sup> Giovanni Sale S. I., “Il progetto del ‘Gesù’ di Roma: breve storia di una difficile collaborazione tra committente e fruitore d’opera,” in *Ignazio e l’arte*, 52-56.

<sup>218</sup> MZAB, G10, sign. 187, 88-89.

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*, 38.

<sup>220</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>221</sup> *Ibid.*, 89.

<sup>222</sup> Vyvlečka, *Příspěvky k dějinám*, 39

<sup>223</sup> NKČR C.104/2 (XXIII.C.104b), 1144.

to Miller, the statue had successfully survived a fire of 1496, the iconoclast fury of the anti-catholic rebels in the 1619-20 Moravian Estates' uprising, and ultimately even the long Swedish occupation in 1642-1650.<sup>224</sup> Based on the statue iconography, and in obvious reference to the 'mother' of all the Jesuit churches, Il Gesù in Rome (dedicated to the most-holy name of Jesus),<sup>225</sup> Miller conceived the title "ecclesia (et ara) SSm Nominum IESU, et MARIAE." He stated a series of reasons for adopting this title, the most important being that no church in Olomouc possessed a similar title, "et forsā in tota Ecclesia."<sup>226</sup> He then wrote a letter to the father Provincial, hoping to change his mind.

Despite Miller's enthusiasm and argumentation, in his reply (17 Mar. 1714) the father Provincial rejected his proposal: taking also in consideration the consistory opposition, he opted for the title "Regina Angelorum," which was consistent with the former title "Magna Domina in Caelo assumpta."<sup>227</sup> The Rector was thus pressed by his superior to conform this decision, and despite his reluctance to give up, after several letters exchanged in the course of 1714 appeared ready to compromise.<sup>228</sup> Just before leaving his office (13 Feb. 1715), however, Miller resorted to contact directly the Jesuit General in Rome for proposing his vision on the church's title. He did not receive any answer and had to leave the issue unsolved to his successor ("Reliquam de hoc curam relinquo P. Successori meo").<sup>229</sup>

#### *The 1715 great plague and cult of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows*

Miller's successor Carolus Pfefferkorn changed completely the denomination insofar devised by the former rector; this provoked also a profound modification of the church's interior iconography. The main reason for this abrupt change seems to have been a combination of the grave plague that infected Olomouc in the summer 1715 and the problematic aspects of keeping the titles previously proposed.

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<sup>224</sup> NKČR C.104/2 (XXIII.C.104b), 1144; Recent analysis however proved that the statue was indeed crafted in the 1380s, Jana Hrbáčová, "The Madonna from the Church of the Virgin Mary of the Snow," Muzeum Umění Olomouc MUO, <http://www.muo.cz/en/collections/sculpture--45/the-madonna-from-the-church-of-the-virgin-mary-of-the-snow--318/> (accessed June 14, 2020)

<sup>225</sup> Sale, "Il progetto del 'Gesù'," 61-62.

<sup>226</sup> *Ibid.*, 90-91.

<sup>227</sup> *Ibid.*, 94-95.

<sup>228</sup> March the 23rd (Miller); April the 2nd (Miller); April the 9th (Jesuit Provincial) April the 14th (Miller). *Ibid.*, 93-97.

<sup>229</sup> *Ibid.*, 107-108.



In the late-spring 1715, Pfefferkorn was confronted with a dramatic situation. In May he received news that the plague was approaching, and was advised to prepare for leaving the town.<sup>230</sup> Olomouc had already been hit by the plague in the previous two years, but these outbreaks did not prompt Miller to change the church's denomination: as in other occasions, St. Pauline had protected the town and her believers.<sup>231</sup> This time, however, even the devotion to St. Pauline did not save Olomouc from a terrible scourge, which might have costed up to 3000 lives,<sup>232</sup> a high toll considering the city dimensions. On June the 5th Pfefferkorn and his men left the town, and the day after Olomouc was put in quarantine: the plague forced the Jesuits to stay out of town for 8 months.<sup>233</sup> Soon after their return, on February the 16th, 1716, the church was officially consecrated with its final denomination:

Hodie [...] D. Comes Iulianus a Braida suffraganeo Olomucensis mane hora media septima incepit consecrare novam Ecclesiam nostra, B. V. ad Nives dictam.<sup>234</sup>

It is not clear why Pfefferkorn decided to adopt this title, derived from the Roman legend of miracle of the Snow;<sup>235</sup> probably, it was due to the popularity enjoyed among the Jesuits by this miracle and by the icon *Salus Populi Romani*, preserved inside Santa Maria Maggiore. Generally liberal regarding religious scenes' artistic style,<sup>236</sup> the Jesuits were conscious of the power and the deep theological meaning behind icons. In the orthodox theology, icons are perfect representations of God's divine plan, or economy,<sup>237</sup> and should always be reproduced identically, as any artistic variation of the icon is considered idolatry.<sup>238</sup> Given the perfection of their image, icons are rarely attributed to normal human beings, and are considered "acheiropoietic images, created by miracles:"<sup>239</sup> in the case of *Salus Populi Romani*, the tradition attributes it to the Apostle Luke, direct witness of Christ and the Virgin.

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<sup>230</sup>MZAB, E 28, karton 45, sign. 5, 46 v. - 47 r.

<sup>231</sup> *Ibid.*, 18 r., 35 v.-37 r. ;MZAB, E 28, karton 45, sign. 4, 241 v.-244 v.

<sup>232</sup> Leoš Mlčák, "Mor, hlad, války a živelné pohromy v Olomouci," *Olomoucké Baroko vol. 2*, 128.

<sup>233</sup>MZAB, E 28, Jezuité Olomouc, karton 45, sign. 5. 47 r.

<sup>234</sup> *Ibid.*, 48 r.

<sup>235</sup> According to the legend, the Virgin Mary indicated in a dream the Esquiline hill to a rich childless couple and to Pope Liberius (352-366); the day after (August the 5th) the three reached the hill, finding it covered by snow. On the miracle spot they erected St. Maria Maggiore's basilica. Ondřej Jakubec, "Olomoucký jezuitský kostel a protimorový kult P. Marie Sněžné," *Olomoucké Baroko vol 2.*, 155.

<sup>236</sup> Bailey, "Il contributo dei Gesuiti," 128

<sup>237</sup> Marie-Jose Mondzain, *Image, Icon, Economy: The Byzantine Origins of the Contemporary Imaginary* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 21.

<sup>238</sup> *Ibid.*, 82.

<sup>239</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.

The first Jesuit devoted to the icon was the General Borja, who requested Pope Pius V a copy of the icon, and who actively promoted its cult.<sup>240</sup> According to the Jesuit tradition, *Salus Populi Romani* was brought in Moravia by Borja himself in 1571, and handed to the newly established Brno college in 1572.<sup>241</sup> The first signs of devotion in Olomouc are attested around the end of the XVI century.<sup>242</sup> Later, it was engraved in a university thesis by Antonín Martin Lublinský in 1686. Depictions of the icon were also included in Matthias Tanner's *Societas Jesu Apostolorum Imitatrix* (1694).<sup>243</sup> In this sense, Pfefferkorn might have been inspired to choose the church's definitive title, St. Virgin Mary of the Snows, by a combination of factors: the desire to end the title's controversy, the recent plague, and ultimately the Jesuit cult of *Salus Populi Romani*.

The finale stage of the church's iconographical development, virtually completed in 1721, gravitated around three main religious themes.

The first was obviously the legend of the Miracle of the Snow and of the icon of the *Salus Populi Romani*. Its main expressions were the monumental fresco of the Miracle of the Snow was depicted on the vault of the nave by Karel Josef Harringer (May 1716-October 1717),<sup>244</sup> and the painting on top of the main altar, realised by Jan Schmidt in 1721, which portrays the famous icon *Salus Populi Romani*.<sup>245</sup> The grandiose style and the vivid colourfulness of the vault were directly inspired by the frescos of Il Gesù and St. Ignatius' churches in Rome, realised in the 1670s and 80s.<sup>246</sup> The second theme was a mix of local, Jesuit, and conventional religious figures, which represented the Church's and Jesuit heritage and cultural memory. This symbolism and religiosity was manifested by the altars and paintings of the St. Pauline, of the Jesuit Saints Aloysius Gonzaga and St. Charles Borromeo, of the martyrs St. Lawrence and St. Valentine (their altars had been erected already in 1602), and of traditional Saints like Joseph and Michael Archangel.<sup>247</sup>

The third aspect of the church's iconography was the sophisticated dualism St. Ignatius (father of the order) - St. Francis Xavier (his main disciple). This dualism did influence the church's

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<sup>240</sup> Bailey, "Il contributo dei Gesuiti," 126.

<sup>241</sup> Jesuit General Francisco Borja requested Pope Sixtus V permission to make a copy of the icon, which soon spread all over Central Europe (Ingolstadt, Krakow, Vienna, Bavaria). Jakubec, "Olomoucký jezuitský kostel," 153.

<sup>242</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>243</sup> *Ibid.*, 153-155.

<sup>244</sup> Vyvlečka, *Příspěvky k dějinám*, 75-76.

<sup>245</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>246</sup> Bailey, "Il contributo dei Gesuiti," 158, 166.

<sup>247</sup> Vyvlečka, *Příspěvky k dějinám*, 39, 76-77.

iconography and permeated also other aspects of the church, as the burial disposition. Thus the remnants of the already mentioned “fundator” Vilém Prusinovský,<sup>248</sup> were deposited under the chapel of St. Ignatius; the body Friederich Breuner (died 1637), dean of the Olomouc chapter, “optime meritis confundator hujus universitatis,” was put under the chapel of St. Franciscus Xavier.<sup>249</sup> This symbolic dualism emerged also in religious celebrations, such as the consecration of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows in 1716: the rector Pfefferkorn preached from the altar of St. Ignatius, while the “Ecclesiae fundator” Michel Thomas (who had donated the Thomasian capital) preached from the altar of St. Francis Xavier.<sup>250</sup>

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<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, 27-28.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, 34-35.

<sup>250</sup> MZAB, E 28, karton 45, sign. 5, 48 r.

#### **Ch. 4 Mit Gott, für Kaiser und Vaterland: St. Virgin Mary of the Snows from the *Garnisonskirche* era to the present times (1785-2000s)**

This chapter deals with the symbolic and material transformation of the Jesuit church of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows in the period from 1785, when it became a military church, until 1993, when the Jesuit order returned to Olomouc and started again its religious services in the church. Due to the inaccessibility of military archival sources in the Covid-19 pandemic, the analysis of the post-1773 church's development has been integrated with two interviews, reported in full in Annexes 1 and 2. The findings related to the cultural memory and heritage narratives constructed in this period are included in Annex 3.

##### *The Jesuits contribution to militarisation of the Habsburg empire*

The Thirty Years war had devastating consequences for the Habsburg domains, revealing the inadequacies of the dynastic military structure. The over-dependence on mercenary troops and their loyalty to unreliable commanders, like Albrecht Wallenstein,<sup>251</sup> instigated the creation of a standing army, devoted only to the Emperor: thus, in 1649, Ferdinand III decided to keep under the imperial banner a stable force of nine infantry regiments and ten cavalry regiments.<sup>252</sup> The Swedish occupation of Olomouc (1642-1650), which left it almost but destroyed,<sup>253</sup> prompted Ferdinand III to transform the city into a fortress. The 1655 imperial decree, which included other Moravian and Silesian towns like Brno, Wrocław, Nisa and Uherské Hradiště, was aimed at securing the fragile imperial borders, through which enemy troops had poured with easiness during the Thirty Years War.<sup>254</sup>

The Jesuit order played a crucial role in this imperial militarisation, functioning as the main corps of military chaplains of the army. This 'military' attitude was a common trait of the Jesuits since their origins: Ignatius of Loyola, himself a soldier before founding the order, described his companions as "light horsemen, who must always be ready, night or day, against the hap of alarms and surprises, to assault or support, (...) to go everywhere and skirmish on all sides."<sup>255</sup> The Jesuit interest in military activities was certainly derived from the constant threat posed to the Roman

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<sup>251</sup> John A. Mears, "The Thirty Years' War, the "General Crisis/" and the Origins of a Standing Professional Army in the Habsburg Monarchy," *Central European History* Vol. 21, No. 2 (June 1988): 133.

<sup>252</sup> *Ibid.*, 126.

<sup>253</sup> After the occupation, Olomouc lost about 80% of its population, with only 1/3 of the houses inhabitable, and slightly more than 10% of the shops still open for business. See Parma, "The Stormy Path," 95-96.

<sup>254</sup> Richard Zatloukal, "Olomoucká Pevnost ve světle archeologických nálezů," in *Olomoucká Pevnost: Olomouc Fortress* (Olomouc: Státutární město Olomouc, 2004), 9.

<sup>255</sup> as quoted in Denis De Lucca, *Jesuits and Fortifications: The Contribution of the Jesuits to Military Architecture in the Baroque Age* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 4.

Church by Protestants and the Ottomans in the early modern era.<sup>256</sup> As early as 1563, the Jesuits offered their help as military preachers in fighting the Turks, and in 1587 they supported the Spanish troops in their ‘just war’ against the Protestant Dutch. The Jesuit played also a key role in convincing kings and commanders to wage war in the name of the Roman Church, for instance by persuading the reluctant Polish King John III to aid Vienna in the 1683 Ottoman’s siege.<sup>257</sup>

As imperial military chaplains, the Jesuits overshadowed all the other religious orders assigned to this duty. From 1643, when the first imperial military chaplains were authorised by the Pope Urban III,<sup>258</sup> to 1773, when the military chaplains were reorganised in the “Apostoliches Feld-Vikariat,” 18 Jesuits occupied the major position of “Feld-Superiore.”<sup>259</sup> The Jesuits casted such a long shadow on the imperial military chaplaincy that, once their order was suppressed, it was practically impossible to find substitutes able to perform their duties: as for the imperial educational system, they simply could not be dismissed from their posts. The first chief of chaplains in the *Apostoliches Feld-Vikariat* era was a former Jesuits, Father Johann von Kerens SJ, and of his three successors, two of them were ex-Jesuits.<sup>260</sup>

As an order actively involved in education, the Jesuits influenced the young cadres of the European nobility to join the Roman Catholic struggle against infidels and heretics.<sup>261</sup> The Jesuits dedicated significant energies to the moral justification of war: in 1569 Father Antonio Possevino wrote a treatise on this topic, “Il soldato christiano,” the first of a series of Jesuit works on this topic.<sup>262</sup> In the schoolrooms of their colleges, the Jesuits were also involved in the mathematical and engineering aspects of the art of war, especially regarding the design of fortresses.<sup>263</sup> In the case of Olomouc, modern academic literature has not revealed any Jesuit involvement in the construction of the city fortress; similarly, the Olomouc Jesuits’ role as military chaplains and advisers, and their influence over the students in military matters are under-studied topics in modern scholarship.

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<sup>256</sup> *Ibid.*, 9-10.

<sup>257</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

<sup>258</sup> Emmerich Bielik, *Geschichte der K.u.K Militär-Seelsorge und des Apostolischen Feld-Vikariates* (Wien, 1901), 346-347.

<sup>259</sup> De Lucca, *Jesuits and Fortifications*, 42-43.

<sup>260</sup> Martin Flosman, *S orlem i lvem: příběhy českých duchovních od 17. století do první světové války, 1. díl* (Praha: Nakladatelství Epoque, Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů, 2019), 65-66.

<sup>261</sup> *Ibid.*, 24, 27.

<sup>262</sup> De Lucca, *Jesuits and Fortifications*, 53-65.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, 69-78.

### *Olomouc fortification and the dissolution of the Jesuit Order*

The construction of the Olomouc fortress was never taken into serious consideration by the Habsburg monarchs for almost a hundred years. Due to the role of Silesia as main Imperial border, and the constant lack of funds, the various attempts to build a state-of-the-art fortress (made in 1658, and later in 1699 and 1717) resulted all in failures.<sup>264</sup> It was only after the rapid capitulation of the city in the Succession War, and the subsequent loss of Silesia to Prussia, that Empress Maria Theresa decided to invest heavily in the city fortress:<sup>265</sup> for the Habsburg, Olomouc should function as a buffer zone between any Prussian invader and Vienna. From 1742 to 1757, one of the most complex defence systems in the whole Europe was built around Olomouc: with construction costs reaching the staggering amount of 10 million golden florins,<sup>266</sup> the new fortress was completed just before another Prussian siege, this time successfully resisting the invaders.

The victorious fortress soon became the main aspect of Olomouc, which received the official title of imperial and royal main border fortress.<sup>267</sup> This new denomination was hailed with great enthusiasm by the Olomouc burghers and officials, still traumatised by the blow inflicted to the city prestige by the Swedish occupation. The occupation had tarnished the city's status of *primus inter pares* in the Moravian Margrave, depriving it of its status of regional capital, then conferred solely to Brno. The municipal officials had attempted repeatedly to regain the former title, with no avail.<sup>268</sup> The erection of the border fortress and the prestige gained through the victorious defence of the Prussian siege were cherished by the city burghers: in a folk song composed in that era, Olomouc was defined as the "klíč od Morave Války s Pruskem."<sup>269</sup> In this sense, the fortress represented a key component of the city identity.

When the city fortress was completed, the Habsburg cultural milieu had dramatically changed, if compared to the post-Thirty Years War period. The baroque piety, the passion for dramatic and sensational rituals, had turned into a more intellectual interpretation of the religious faith, at least among the elite: Enlightenment rationalism had reached Central Europe.<sup>270</sup> Both Empress Maria Theresa and his son Joseph II perceived baroque religious practice as outdated, in need of reform,

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<sup>264</sup> Vladimír Kupka, "Olomouc fortification in drawings and in reality," *Olomoucké Baroko vol.1*, 448-449.

<sup>265</sup> Zatloukal, "Olomoucká Pevnost," 10-11.

<sup>266</sup> Vladimír Kupka, Olomoucké fortifikace na plánech a ve skutečnosti," *Olomoucké Baroko vol. 2*, 300.

<sup>267</sup> Michael Viktořík, *Táborová pevnost Olomouc: Modernizace olomoucké pevnosti v 19. století* (Němec-Veduta: České Budějovice, 2011), 17.

<sup>268</sup> Vítězslav Prchal, "Wars with Prussia and the transformation of Olomouc into a fortress," *Olomoucké Baroko vol. 1*, 448

<sup>269</sup> Vítězslav Prchal, "A přeměna Olomouce v pevnost," *Olomoucké baroko vol. 2...*, p. 292

<sup>270</sup> Derek Beales, *Joseph II, Volume II: Against the World, 1780-1790* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 273-274

especially regarding contemplative monastic orders: at the eyes of the rulers, these monasteries appeared useless to the state interests and plenty of idle individuals. Thus, from the 1750s, at the imperial court circulated the idea that all contemplative monastic orders had to be suppressed, their male members sent to parishes needing pastoral care, and the nuns to serve in hospitals or educational facilities.<sup>271</sup> This process was ultimately carried out by Joseph II from January the 28th, 1782, with an imperial decree.<sup>272</sup>

Contrary to the monastic orders, the Jesuits' dissolution in 1773 was not prompted by the Habsburg crown, who had entrusted them numerous key functions. Joseph II had been educated by them, and despite his rationalistic perception of faith, he often praised the Jesuits. He and his mother Maria Theresa had also for long time a Jesuit confessor. As Beales put it, the "threat to the existence of the Jesuits came from outside"<sup>273</sup> the Habsburg domains, primarily from the Spanish and Portuguese kingdoms.<sup>274</sup> While not explicitly favouring the Jesuit dissolution, the imperial family appeared insensitive to the Jesuit cause and did little to protect the order: when the news of the Papal suppression bull reached Vienna, they gave order to start the preparations for confiscating their properties, to be used for financing state-controlled public higher education.

The combination of these suppressions with the defensive military needs produced a decisive transformation of the Olomouc city-scape. A brand-new armoury was erected between 1769 and 1771 on the Předhradí, traditionally under control of the Olomouc bishop and the canon.<sup>275</sup> The Jesuit properties, which amounted to almost 230 thousand golden florins, were confiscated and in 1776 their college was given to the imperial army;<sup>276</sup> later on their boarding school was transformed into a military facility, too.<sup>277</sup> Of the seven monasteries in Olomouc, the Cartusian one became a bakery for the garrison troops, the Premonstratensian monastery of Hradisko a military hospital, the Augustinian a military warehouse, and the Poor Clares' nunnery housed the artillery corps.<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>271</sup> *Ibid.*, 278-279.

<sup>272</sup> *Ibid.*, 284.

<sup>273</sup> Derek Beales, *Joseph II, Volume I: In the Shadow of Maria Theresa, 1741-1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 460-64.

<sup>274</sup> Miquel Batllori, "Entre la supresión y la restauración de la Compañía de Jesús. 1773–1814," *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* Vol. 43 (1974): 364–393.

<sup>275</sup> Martin Elbel, "Consolidation, 1700-1750," in *The Transformation of cultures*, 158-159.

<sup>276</sup> Jiří Fiala, "The University in Olomouc and in Brno (1774-1782)," in *Univerzita v Olomouci*, 64.

<sup>277</sup> Jiří Fidler, "Army in the former Jesuit boarding school in Olomouc, in *Jezuitský sídlo uměleckého*, 364-365.

<sup>278</sup> Václav Nešpor, *Dejiny Mesta Olomouce* (Olomouc: Votobia, 1998), 203-204; its first edition was published in 1936.

Ultimately, in 1785, the Jesuit church of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows was transformed into a *Garnisonskirche* for the soldiers stationed in Olomouc.<sup>279</sup>

*The Garnisonskirche as cornerstone of the Hasburg military culture*

After the dissolution of the Jesuit university and the secularisation of the monastic institutions, Olomouc was dominated by the imperial army and its culture. Despite being re-modelled after rationalistic principles, without an educated public Olomouc rapidly became a stagnant and provincial town, “where the ideals of the Enlightenment could not properly develop.”<sup>280</sup> In Olomouc there stationed around five-six thousand soldiers, which represented a third of the total population: such a high proportion meant that almost everything rotated around the army, from the economy to the social and cultural life, to religious manifestations too.<sup>281</sup> Notwithstanding military choir and parades, and the pride for the local divisions, stationing in a garrison could be a dull and meagre experience: especially for career officers, “boredom (often) led to gambling, drinking, whoring, and debts.”<sup>282</sup>

In this sense, the *Garnisonskirche* and its military chaplains played a crucial role in moralising the troops, and providing a certain structure in their life. Religious life for soldiers included three common prayers every service day, plus the mandatory attendance to the holy mass in Church on Sundays and holidays.<sup>283</sup> Particular value was attached to the Emperor’s birthday, Easter celebrations, and the Corpus Christi holiday.<sup>284</sup> The *Kaiser* was the object of special religious devotion: sermons hailing “Emperor, King, Fatherland” were often preached in field and regular masses,<sup>285</sup> special prayers for him were invoked, and hymns in his honour were chanted too. The vast majority of the Olomouc garrison was composed of Roman Catholics, and Catholicism had a predominant role in Habsburg symbolism,<sup>286</sup> yet religious services were opened also to religious minorities: all faiths were allowed in the army, if they were loyal to the imperial throne.<sup>287</sup>

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<sup>279</sup> Vyvlečka, *Príspevky k dějinám*, 104.

<sup>280</sup> Filip Hradil, “Olomouc in the second half of the Eighteenth century,” in *Olomoucké Baroko vol. 1*, 450.

<sup>281</sup> Nešpor, *Dejiny Mesta Olomouce*, 215-218.

<sup>282</sup> John R. Schindler, *Fall of the Double Eagle: The Battle for Galicia and the Demise of Austria-Hungary* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, Potomac Books, 2015), 55-56.

<sup>283</sup> Flosman, *S orlem i lvem: příběhy českých duchovních od 17. století do první světové války, 1. díl*, 94.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*, 102-103.

<sup>285</sup> Schindler, *Fall of the Double*, 45.

<sup>286</sup> Patrick J. Houlihan, *Catholicism and the Great War: Religion and Everyday Life in Germany and Austria-Hungary, 1914–1922* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 21-23.

<sup>287</sup> Schindler, *Fall of the Double*, 45.



Together with the officer corps, the military chaplaincy was a staunch opponent of political and social modernisation, adhering to the supra-national Habsburg imperial ideology. The main preoccupation of the imperial officers was to constrain the nationalistic tendencies in the society and the army, since they were considered traitorous.<sup>288</sup> Socialism and anti-militarism were also considered a menace, sometimes even more dangerous than nationalism.<sup>289</sup> The military chaplains were similar to the officers in certain aspects: primarily, they swore loyal oaths directly to the Emperor. They considered themselves as shepherds of the flock, assigned to the difficult duty to translate old values in the modern environment: to gain their soldiers' respect, the chaplains were expected to show high moral and theological standards.<sup>290</sup> In this sense, the transfer of the imperial court to Olomouc during the dramatic 1848 revolution,<sup>291</sup> demonstrated the garrison's loyalty and the authority exerted over the troops by officers and military chaplains.

*The first world war and the renovation of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows*

As the “last refuge of the old imperial spirit of blind devotion to the supreme and sacred lord”<sup>292</sup> in era of nation-states, the imperial army was crucial for the survival of the Habsburg dynasty. However, after 1848, the army's crucial role contrasted with the general population and the political indifference to meet its requests: as it was noticed, the empire could not count on “a united patriotic desire to improve the state of our armed forces.”<sup>293</sup> Clear signs of frustration towards the social and cultural development in the Empire were expressed by the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, who wrote to general Franz Conrad von Hötzendorf in early 1908:

“The root problem is that today the monarchy is totally in the hands of Jews, Freemasons, socialists, and Hungarians, and these elements make the army, especially its officers, unhappy . . . in a crisis I don't know if I can rely on the army!! That's the main thing.”<sup>294</sup>

This feeling of isolation of the army prompted its generals to change a long-established defensive military strategy. Based on the main principle to “avoid risk when possible,” Habsburg military “metodizmus” commanded a moderate usage of military resources, and aimed primarily at forcing the enemy to sit at the diplomatic table, for negotiating with him in favourable terms: in the

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<sup>288</sup> *Ibid.*, 51.

<sup>289</sup> *Ibid.*, 53.

<sup>290</sup> Houlihan, *Catholicism and the Great*, 26.

<sup>291</sup> Nešpor, *Dejiny Mesta Olomouce*, 225-228.

<sup>292</sup> L. Eisenmann, *Le Compromis Austro-Hongrois de 1867* (Paris, 1905); as quoted in Norman Stone, “Army and Society in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1900-1914,” *Past & Present* Vol. 33 (Apr., 1966): 95.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*, 96.

<sup>294</sup> Schindler, *Fall of the Double*, 62.

words of Maria Theresa, for the Empire it was “better a mediocre peace than a successful war.”<sup>295</sup> By contrast, decades of social and political turmoil convinced the imperial senior officers that only a war could save the Empire. When in 1912-13 a conflict in the Balkans appeared imminent, it was considered by the Chiefs of Staff of the Habsburg army as a necessary “trial of strength.” Thus, at least in the military circles, it was hardly surprising that a military intervention in Serbia was deemed “the only response” to the Archduke’s assassination in 1914.<sup>296</sup>

The war was also a great demonstration of imperial loyalty from the military chaplains, who enthusiastically joined the fight and then endured its horrors and tolls. In 1914, the Apostolic Field-Vicar Bielik invoked the Almighty to sustain the imperial army in this conflict:

“Lord of armies, allotter of battles, stand by us! We place our hope in you! Hear our prayers, bless our weapons and give us victory! Give us courage and valor [...] either we triumph, o there on the field of battle will be our graveyard: we die with God, for the throne and the Fatherland!”<sup>297</sup>

During the war, chaplains often showed an excessive chauvinism, captured in the infamous saying “praise the lord and pass the ammunition.” The tone of the sermons between 1914 and the mid-1916 was particularly aggressive,<sup>298</sup> and only after almost two years of massacres it started to become more dubious about the rightness of the war, and the sense of the loss of so many lives.<sup>299</sup> Unfortunately, the content of the religious sermons and the feelings of the officers (and soldiers) stationed in Olomouc during WWI have not been studied significantly.

The most important event regarding the *Garnisonkirche* during the war was the renovation of the church, commissioned by the garrison’s commander Adam von Brandner. This event was described at length by three monographs on the church, two written in German and one in Czech.<sup>300</sup> These texts agree all on the exceptionality this renovation, which also spared from the frontline numerous artists. Vyvlečka wrote about this unusual patronage of arts during a wartime in 1917:

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<sup>295</sup> A. Wess Mitchell, *The Grand Strategy of the Habsburg Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 82, 88.

<sup>296</sup> Stone, “Army and Society,” 110.

<sup>297</sup> Houlihan, *Catholicism and the Great*, 54.

<sup>298</sup> *Ibid.*, 11.

<sup>299</sup> *Ibid.*, 113.

<sup>300</sup> Josef Kachník, *Beschreibung und Wertung der Oelgemälde und Fresken in der garnisonkirche maria Schnee zu Olmütz* (Olmütz, 1917); Josef Tittel, *Die Restaurierung der Maria-Schneekirche : (k.u.k. Garnisonkirche) in Olmütz in der Jahren 1916-1918 : historische und kunsthistorische Notizen zu der Geschichte des Gotteshauses* (Olmütz : Buchhandlung Friedrich Grosse, 1918); and Vyvlečka, *Príspevky k dejinám*.

“Války nikdy nepřály vědám a nikdy nepovznesly umění, ba zničily zpravidla výsledky staletého důmyslu a práce lidské. A proto zajímavým zjevem jest a trvalou památkou pro Olomouc bude obnova vojenského chrámu Páně u Panny Marie Sněžné (...)”<sup>301</sup>

Josef Tittel, Olomouc canon, documented in his text the visit of the Emperor Charles I to Olomouc for the 1917 solemn inauguration of the church.<sup>302</sup> Tittel described the consecration ceremony of the church by the *Feldbischof* Bielik, on the notes of the “Gebet vor der Schlacht,” and the positive remarks of the *Kaiser*, enchanted by the religious artworks in the church.<sup>303</sup>

*St. Virgin Mary of the Snows in the two Czechoslovak Republics (1918-1993)*

After the war, the demise of the Habsburg regime was followed by radical cultural changes concerning religion and the military. To legitimise its power, the Czechoslovak republic reinterpreted the past according to a new narrative: at the end of the Middle Ages the Christian reformer Jan Hus had started the great Czech democratic revolution, rejecting the Roman Catholic dogmas and the Imperial subjugation; its followers had heroically resisted against several imperial crusades, but the Czech nation had been ultimately crushed by the Habsburg armies in the battle of the White Mountain. After 1620, the Czech nation had been deprived of its culture and its rights under the absolutist imperial rule, finally overthrown in the 1914-1918 world conflict.<sup>304</sup>

The Czechoslovak society was thus pervaded by a general anti-catholic and anti-Habsburg spirit, especially among the ethnic Czech citizens and politicians.<sup>305</sup> Catholicism lost its privileged position, and it was substituted by the state-sponsored Czechoslovak Church, modelled after the medieval Hussite church.<sup>306</sup> The army was redesigned according to democratic and Czechoslovak nationalistic principles: the traditional hierarchy (and brutality) in the officer-soldiers relation had to change into mutual respect for the fellow citizen; military tradition was totally revolutionised, with the glorification of ‘new’ Czech historical heroes;<sup>307</sup> ultimately, military chaplaincy ceased to be a

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<sup>301</sup> Vyvlečka, *Příspěvky k dějinám*, 5

<sup>302</sup> Tittel, *Die Restaurierung der*, 82-91

<sup>303</sup> *Ibid.*, 92.

<sup>304</sup> Ernest Geller, “The Price of Velvet: Thomas Masaryk and Václav Havel,” *Czech Sociological Review* Vol. 3, No. 1 (Spring 1995): 45-57.

<sup>305</sup> Martin Flosman, *S orlem i lvem: příběhy českých vojenských duchovních v dramatickém dvacátém století, 2. díl* (Praha, Nakladatelství Epocha, Ústav pro studium totalitních režimů, 2019), 14-15.

<sup>306</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>307</sup> Edvard Beneš, *Demokratická armáda, pacifism a zahraniční politika* (Praha: Svaz čs. důstojnictva, 1936) 16-17, 20, 22, 35-36, 68.

forceful indoctrination serving dynastic needs, and became more a voluntary choice of those soldiers seeking for spiritual support.<sup>308</sup>

Despite these drastic changes, military religious life remained almost unaltered in Olomouc. While elsewhere attendance to religious functions dwindled, in Olomouc the military chaplain was very satisfied with the general attendance.<sup>309</sup> The life of the garrison's soldiers, as it had happened before the war, was still centred around the *Garnisonskirche*. In the church there were celebrated not only the traditional Catholic holidays, but also the main events of the soldiers' community life: marriages, funerals, and baptisms.<sup>310</sup> Ultimately, as a sign of the powerful role still exerted by the tradition, the devotion to the Virgin of the Snows was never abandoned, and every August the Miracle of the Snows was celebrated in the church.<sup>311</sup>

The main change affecting the Olomouc *Garnisonskirche* concerned the Altar of the Repose, used during Easter for celebrating the death and resurrection of Jesus. This altar, perhaps fabricated during the Habsburg era and composed of a panoply of ancient weapons, was generally stored in the main military armoury of Olomouc, and moved to the church for the celebrations. In 1923, without informing the Olomouc chaplaincy, it was moved to Prague, to adorn the newly founded Czechoslovak Military Museum. Despite petitions and promises, after three years it became clear that it would have never been returned. Unfortunately for the Olomouc chaplains, worried about the good maintenance of the church,<sup>312</sup> their request to reimburse them for commissioning another altar was rebuffed by the Museum, which feared that this would have created a precedent and caused a long series of similar monetary requests from other garrison churches.<sup>313</sup>

The real threat to the survival of the Olomouc *Garnisonskirche* came only after the Czechoslovak loss of national sovereignty in 1938, which was truly never regained until 1989. After the Munich agreement and the creation of the Nazi protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, the Czechoslovak army and its religious services were disbanded: as a result, the Garrison church inventory transferred to the Olomouc bishopric's consistory.<sup>314</sup> After WWII, Czechoslovakia fell in the Soviet

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<sup>308</sup> Oldřich Pejs, "K některým aspektům organizace duchovní služby v čs. armádě v letech 1918-1939," *Historie a Vojenství* vol. 40, n° 3 (1991): 13.

<sup>309</sup> Flosman, *S orlem i lvem: příběhy českých vojenských duchovních v dramatickém dvacátém století*, 2. díl, 114.

<sup>310</sup> *Ibid.*, 115.

<sup>311</sup> *Ibid.*, 122.

<sup>312</sup> *Ibid.*, 132.

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.*, 134-136.

<sup>314</sup> *Ibid.*, 260.

political and cultural camp, and the communist Moscow acolytes soon liquidated any remnant of democracy. According to the new regime, soldiers and officers needed only the scientific truths of the “dialectical materialism,”<sup>315</sup> and thus military religious services were deemed useless, if not poisonous: they were altogether cancelled in 1950.<sup>316</sup> This had tremendous consequences for the Olomouc *Garnisonskirche*. The church was donated to the city of Olomouc in 1952, and no religious services were allowed until the 1989 Velvet revolution.<sup>317</sup> For a certain period the Olomouc municipality discussed about transforming the church into a cultural venue for concerts and exhibitions, yet with no avail.<sup>318</sup>

#### *The return of the Jesuits and the present era (1993-2010s)*

After the Velvet Revolution in 1989, Czechoslovakia commenced its path towards democracy and a more liberal society: this obviously effected the religious life in the country, suppressed more or less officially since 1948. In the case of the Jesuits, on December the 12th 1989 Father František Tomášek SJ preached in the Olomouc Cathedral the first holy mass for the University students after the demise of communism;<sup>319</sup> in 1993, Father Michael Altrichter was the first Jesuit after 200 years who could return to St. Virgin Mary of the Snows: immediately the church was opened by the Jesuits for high school and university students pastoral care.<sup>320</sup> Regarding the military religious services, they were officially reintroduced in the Czech Army in 1998.<sup>321</sup>

In the words of Father Miroslav Herold SJ and Father Jaroslav Knichal, Chief of Chaplains of the Czech Army, interviewed for this thesis, the Czech society and the military have changed significantly in the last thirty years.

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<sup>315</sup> Thomas Durell Young, *Anatomy of Post-Communist European Defense Institutions: the Mirage of Military Modernity* (London-New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), 15.

<sup>316</sup> Oldřich Pejs, “Vojenští duchovní v poválečné československé armádě (1946 - 1950),” *Historie a vojenství* vol. 41, n°4 (1992), 163, 165.

<sup>317</sup> Michal Altrichter, Milan Togner, Vladimír Hyhlík, *Olomouc: Univerzitní kostel Panny Marie Sněžné* (Velehrad: Historická společnost Starý Velehrad, 2000), 7.

<sup>318</sup> Annex 1, Interview with Father Miroslav Herold SJ, A14.

<sup>319</sup> Pavel Ambros, “Od obnovy k dynamické stabilitě? Přítomnost jezuitské komunity v Olomouci po roce 1989,” in *Všechno je milost: Sborník k počtě 80. narozenin Ludvíka Armbrustera*, ed. by Vojtěch Novotný (Praha: Univerzita Karlova Nakladatelství Karolinum, 2008), 351.

<sup>320</sup> *Ibid.*, 344.

<sup>321</sup> DUCHOVNÍ SLUŽBA AČR, AČR Army CZ <http://www.acr.army.cz/struktura/generalni-stab/osobni-stab/duchovni-sluzba-acr-12264/> (accessed on July 30th, 2020).

In the cases of the Jesuits, after an initial euphoria, the order started “una discesa dalle “nuvole” nella realtà quotidiana,” understanding the limits of its action within the Czech society.<sup>322</sup> The primary aim of the Jesuits was to re-enter the Olomouc academic sphere as Christians and Catholics. While the University has shown openness and respect for the Jesuit order, as a consequence of decades of anti-religious communist education there is still a certain resistance to fully understand and speak about Catholic values. Large strata of the Czech society are religiously unaffiliated or uninterested. Moreover, given the presence of radical ideologies in the Czech society, the pursuit of a Catholic way of life would probably bring social tensions, sooner or later, in the life of a believer.<sup>323</sup>

The Jesuit order accepts this minority role with patience, understanding the distance with the majority of the Olomouc population, yet seeking to change the status quo with its testimony of faith. Among the initiatives organised by the Jesuits, Father Herold has emphasised the importance of two of them: the 2015 congress about St. John Ogilvie SJ, martyr and patron of the Olomouc Jesuit community,<sup>324</sup> and the 2016 celebrations of the 300th anniversary of the church’s construction, which involved other local Catholic institutions and the community of believers.<sup>325</sup> These events, together with the public opening St. Virgin Mary of the Snows to the general public in various occasion,<sup>326</sup> reflect the desire of the Jesuits to establish a contact with the Olomouc larger community: the response is normally very positive, with high numbers of visitors, yet most of the people are not used to perceive the church as a religious space.<sup>327</sup>

The Olomouc Jesuits put great emphasis on the artistic and historical value of the church. In the words of Father Herold, the modern Olomouc Jesuits are preserving the legacy of their predecessors, continuing their same mission: “svolgere questo ruolo di uno spazio che prega per questa città, per il bene dei suoi abitanti.”<sup>328</sup> The relics of St. Pauline, the 1715 plague and the Miracle of the Snows, the historical relationship between Jesuits and Olomouc bishops, these are

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<sup>322</sup> To quote the responses of Father Herold and Father Knichal, there will be used the following system: Annex 1 redirects to the first Annex attached to the thesis: A1 equates to the answer provided to the first question of the interview. Annex 1, A1.

<sup>323</sup> Annex 1, A2.

<sup>324</sup> Annex 1, A16.

<sup>325</sup> Annex 1, A3.

<sup>326</sup> The most popular are the yearly event called Night of the Churches, and the summer tours of the church. The Olomouc municipality provides financial support to the Jesuits in these occasions. Annex 1, A4.

<sup>327</sup> Annex 1, A4.

<sup>328</sup> Annex 1, A14. In this sense, it appears interesting that both the Jesuits and the military chaplains perceive their current function as more or less the same as it was hundreds’ of years ago. See Annex 2, A11.

well known topics for the Jesuits, who cherish their past, celebrate it in religious ceremonies, and are actively seeking new ways to present it to the Olomouc community.<sup>329</sup> The Jesuit perception of the *Garnisonskirche* period is indeed limited, and concern the figure of the Emperor Charles I, recently beatified by the Roman Catholic church.<sup>330</sup> At the same time, the Jesuits respect the military period of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows, considered one of the two “polmoni” of the Church and a crucial aspect of Olomouc itself.<sup>331</sup>

Regarding the military chaplaincy, its recent activity has been characterised by an international profile and an ecumenical approach (this second aspect has been also stressed repeatedly by the Jesuits). Currently, the Czech military chaplaincy is open to ten different Christian confessions. Father Knichal has stressed the entry of the country in the EU and the army in the NATO coalition: numerous progresses in the Czech democratisation have been made, even though “se stále učí žít ve svobodě.”<sup>332</sup>

In general, the perception of the chaplaincy regarding its own past appears rather limited. There is a striking contrast between the Jesuit order, which appears well-informed about its own past, and the military chaplaincy, which could not nominate one single item of the church deemed “special.”<sup>333</sup> In addition, the one-hundredth year since the military renovation of the church in 1917 has not been neither commemorated, nor celebrated by the chaplaincy;<sup>334</sup> similarly, not a single Jesuit church which served as *Garnisonskirche* is currently related, even remotely, with the chaplaincy.<sup>335</sup> Ultimately, during his service in Olomouc, Father Knichal reported that there was no mentioning of the church in the military: according to him, the vast majority of the citizens ignores the military past of the church.<sup>336</sup>

However, the Czech military chaplaincy appears eager to re-discover its own cultural memory and heritage, and opens the door for a joint effort with the Jesuits.<sup>337</sup> In addition, although there has

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<sup>329</sup> Annex 1, A3, 6-8, 16.

<sup>330</sup> Annex 1, A9.

<sup>331</sup> Annex 1, A13.

<sup>332</sup> Annex 2, A1.

<sup>333</sup> Annex 2, A5.

<sup>334</sup> Annex 2, A4.

<sup>335</sup> Annex 2, A3.

<sup>336</sup> Annex 2, A14. In addition, the plaque outside the church does not mention the *Garnisonskirche* era. Contemporary touristic guides devote few words (5) to describe the military period of the church. Leoš Mlčák ed., *Průvodce Olomoucí: umělecké památky města* (Olomouc: statutární město Olomouc, 2011), 80.

<sup>337</sup> Annex 2, A10.

been no dialogue between military chaplains and Jesuits (something confirmed also by Father Herold), there is respect for the Jesuits order's pastoral care. What is essential, according to Father Knichal, is that the church serves the spiritual needs of the people, a function that has not changed throughout the centuries, except during the communist times; this era is described by Father Knichal as the saddest moment for the church, when it was turned into a warehouse.<sup>338</sup>

Asked about what future they do wish for the church and the ancient Jesuit complex, Father Herold and Father Knichal agreed on numerous points. They both hope that future relations could improve, and that the complex and the church might become a point "kde se potkávají historické kořeny se současnými úkoly a úsilím," in the words of Father Knichal.<sup>339</sup> The goal of the Jesuits is not to materially reappropriate this space, but to fully reintegrated in the Olomouc university life, also in a symbolic way . Despite preferring to focus on a Jesuit-oriented interpretation of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows' and the surrounding complex, Father Herold has shown historical and cultural sensitivity regarding the *Garnisonskirche* period: including this military period in a common presentation of the church would be perceived by the Jesuits as a value.<sup>340</sup> Ultimately, both Father Herold and Father Knichal have expressed a favourable opinion about the possibility to celebrate together important (religious) anniversaries related to the church and its past.<sup>341</sup>

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<sup>338</sup> Annex 2, A11.

<sup>339</sup> Annex 2, A15.

<sup>340</sup> Annex 1, A15.

<sup>341</sup> Annex 1, A14; Annex 2, A15.



## Ch. 5 Pluralism and Europe's relation with its military and religious past

In this chapter, moving from St. Virgin Mary of the Snows, this thesis will discuss the current European relation with its military and religious past. As for the case study, these two elements have been crucial in the construction of the Europe; yet, as in the present-times of the church, they seem neglected by large strata of the society. In the case of military and religious cultural memory narratives, they pertain to single groups and not anymore to the broader European community. As for heritage narratives, they follow the current needs of the society: in the case of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows, the church is experienced more as a museum than a religious centre.<sup>342</sup> In this sense, this thesis argues that pluralism might enrich Europe by giving legitimacy to different, more transcendent, perspectives on its military and religious past, as well as by giving enough space in the public sphere to those who wish to live according to these perspectives.

### *The contemporary European troubles with the military and religion*

At first glance, pluralism appears as a pillar of the modern European society, here defined as the twenty-seven European Union member states. After WWII, Western European countries adhered to the United Nations, signed and ratified its Universal Declaration of Human Rights, started a decolonisation process, and provided rights to previously discriminated or unrecognised groups, such as women, homosexuals, ethnic, cultural, and religious minorities.<sup>343</sup> With the end of the Cold War and the “return to Europe” of former communist regimes,<sup>344</sup> this process extended to millions of people who had lived until then under the constant threat of the state-security apparatus, and were *non-conformity* to political requests was often met with brutality.<sup>345</sup> In this sense, in the last seventy year pluralism has been disseminated extensively in Europe.

However, this thesis argues that such a pluralistic wave has left behind two aspects of the European society which played a crucial role in its past: religious faith and the military appear unfairly treated in the European public sphere, if compared to the secular and civil aspects of the

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<sup>342</sup> See, for this, Annex 1, A4.

<sup>343</sup> Paddy McQueen, “Social and Political Recognition,” International Encyclopedia of Philosophy, [https://www.iep.utm.edu/recog\\_sp/](https://www.iep.utm.edu/recog_sp/) (accessed May 29, 2019); Richard Rorty, *Achieving our Country: Leftist Thought in Twentieth Century America*, (Cambridge Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press 1998); for essential literature on feminism and post-colonialism, see Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Norton 1997); Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House US 2014).

<sup>344</sup> Michal Kopecek, “Politics, Antipolitics, and Czechs in Central Europe: The Idea of ‘Visegrád Cooperation’ and its reflection in Czech politics in the 1990s,” in *Questionable Returns* vol. 12, ed. by A. Bove (Vienna: IWM Junior Visiting Fellows Conferences, 2002), 4.

<sup>345</sup> Regarding Central Europe, for the imposition of the Martial Law in Poland in 1980, see Anthony Kemp-Welch, *Poland Under Communism: A Cold War History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 302-323; for the Warsaw Pact occupation of Czechoslovakia in 1968, see Tim Beasley-Murray, “Ruins and Representations of 1989: Exception, Normality, Revolution,” in *The Inhabited Ruins of Central Europe: Re-imagining Space, History, and Memory*, ed. by Dariusz Gafijczuk and Derek Sayer (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 27-29; for the Soviet Invasion of Hungary in 1956, see Silvio Pons, *The Global Revolution: a history of International Communism 1917-1991*, (Oxford: Oxford University press, 2014) 211.

European society. Besides the praise of peace, prosperity and rational progress, such a civil-secular interpretation of the European past contains more problematic aspects: primarily, it *casts out of the public sphere* those people who form religious and military communities; in addition, it silences, or worse it ridicules, alternative perspectives about the meaning and value of human life, in particular any *transcendental dimension* of the human activity; ultimately, it endangers morally and physically the European integrity by ignoring the possibility to *use military force* while facing external threats.

Primarily, to clear the ground from potential accusations of warmongering or religious fanaticism, there would be analysed the gravest aspects of the religious and military European past. For centuries these two elements of the European society have proven to be a source, and not an antidote, to violence and intolerance. In the case of militarism, particularly from the late 19 century, Europe has been dominated by “men of violence,”<sup>346</sup> who equated military confrontations with the total annihilation of their enemies; as for religious fanaticism, European religious institutions have traditionally oppressed people who did not follow their doctrine, modelling Europe as a “persecuting society.”<sup>347</sup> In certain occasions, as in early modern Europe, militaristic and religious ideals converged, providing legitimation to start mass-scale war operations as the Thirty Years War.<sup>348</sup>

There are numerous problems connected with the presence of a strong military in the society, its deployment in war, and an uncritical approach to its culture. Primarily, despite treaties and international agreements on legitimate ways to conduct war, military forces generally produce injustices and violence which escape legal frameworks and control. Secondly, military operations can easily become inhuman, causing both immediate (injuries, killings) and long-term (material and psychological damage) harmful effects. Thirdly, an extensive, repetitive, performative presence of the military in the society can influence culture so to make legitimate and almost natural human sacrifice and acts of military violence.<sup>349</sup> Ultimately, the creation of a powerful military apparatus often produces a “protection racket,” which extort resources and privileges threatening the society with alleged security risks.<sup>350</sup>

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<sup>346</sup> Volker R. Berghahn, *Europe in the Era of Two World Wars: From Militarism and Genocide to Civil Society 1900–1950* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006), 5, 25, 31.

<sup>347</sup> R. I. Moore, *The Formation of a Persecuting Society: Authority and Deviance in Western Europe 950–1250* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2007).

<sup>348</sup> For the religious background and the first phase of the Thirty Years War, see Gui, *I Gesuiti e la rivoluzione boema*.

<sup>349</sup> Noa Roei, *Civic Aesthetics Militarism, Israeli Art and Visual Culture* (London-New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 19, 27, 164.

<sup>350</sup> Cheyney Ryan, “War, Hostilities, Terrorism: A Pacifist Perspective,” in *Pacifism’s Appeal Ethos, History, Politics*, ed. by Jorg Kustermans, Tom Sauer, Dominiek Lootens, and Barbara Segaert (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019) 22–24.

Religion, too, poses problematic questions to any society. Primarily, religious believers often fail to live in harmony with those professing another creed, or having none. As Asher Maoz put it:

‘If you know that truth lies with you, why should you tolerate contrary teachings?  
Why should you sanction the freedom to practice a religion that you know is  
false?’<sup>351</sup>

As a consequence of this epistemological intolerant stance, religious institutions have often elaborated sophisticated tools and processes to ensure internal cohesion and loyalty, and to persuade or force external submission.<sup>352</sup>

The excessive role of military and religious institutions in the European society has been challenged in the last seventy years. After WWII, and European young generations started a process of “liberalization” of their lifestyle from their parents’, governments’, and churches’ unchallengeable doctrines, “individualization” of their goals, emotions, and dreams, and ultimately of “secularization” of their existence, which implied the perception of religion as “irrational and premodern,” something to be left out their public life.<sup>353</sup> The disappearance of the Soviet threat has accentuated this tendency to remove military and religious aspects from the European society.

Primarily, regarding religion in Europe, it seems in rapid decline in terms of affiliation and attendance,<sup>354</sup> it has retreated into the private sphere, its public importance being often belittled. It has been noticed that “rather than rejecting the idea of God,” post-WWII Western culture shows instead a vast ignorance and absence of God from the public discourse.<sup>355</sup> As a result, the cultural memory of Christianity, which played a crucial role in shaping the European culture in the last two millennia, is nowadays eroding.<sup>356</sup> Pope Benedict XVI lamented in 2008 that believers often have

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<sup>351</sup>W. Cole Durham, Jr. and Donlu D. Thayer, “Religious pluralism: Peace or poison?,” in *Religion, Pluralism, and Reconciling Difference*, ed. by W. Cole Durham, Jr. and Donlu D. Thayer (Oxon and New York: Routledge 2019), 184.

<sup>352</sup> For the development and techniques of the Roman Catholic Inquisition, see Adriano Prosperi, *Tribunali della coscienza: Inquisitori, confessori, missionari* (Torino: Giulio Einaudi Editore, 2009).

<sup>353</sup> Renée Wagenvoorde, “The Religious Dimensions of Contemporary European Populism,” in *Religion and European society: a primer*, ed. by Benjamin Schewel and Erin K. Wilson (Chichester: Wiley, 2020), p. 111

<sup>354</sup> Grace Davie and Erin K. Wilson, “Religion in European Society: The Factors to Take into Account,” in *Religion and European*, 20; for future projections, see *The future of World religions: population growth projections, 2010-2050*, Pew Research Center, April 2, 2015, <https://www.pewforum.org/2015/04/02/religious-projections-2010-2050/> (accessed on Dec. 1 2019), 147-151.

<sup>355</sup> James Emery White, *Meet Generation Z: Understanding and Reaching the New Post-Christian World* (Baker Books 2017), p. 20.

<sup>356</sup> Davie and Wilson, “Religion in European Society,” 5.

“to suppress a part of themselves – their faith – in order to be active citizens.”<sup>357</sup> Some scholars even argued that in the European public sphere “to be religious is to be intellectually dishonest.”<sup>358</sup>

Concerning the role of the military in the European society, since 1989 it has entered a visible crisis.<sup>359</sup> In Western Europe, the disappearance of the Soviet external threat allowed the general public to ask for military budget cuts and welfare “peace dividend.”<sup>360</sup> In Central Eastern European countries, the new political regimes could not tolerate armies which refused any civilian oversight and democratic scrutiny.<sup>361</sup> The 1990s military revolution transformed both military systems from being more or less ‘national’ forces, involving millions of young European conscripts, into professionalised, volunteer forces.<sup>362</sup> Globalisation and deployment of troops in remote war zones, for reasons generally ignored by the general public, have emphasised the “instrumental character of the armed forces” *vis a vis* their role as a public institution devoted to the citizens’ security.<sup>363</sup> These trends produced a “widespread attitude of avoidance towards military service,”<sup>364</sup> and widened the civil–military gap.<sup>365</sup>

The problem of this secular/civil supremacy over the military/religious sphere lies in its being a cultural construction, which is disguised as the ‘natural’ outcome of the European development. To better understand this cultural European peculiarity, a comparison with the United States of America might be beneficial. Despite being an obvious oversimplification, the dichotomy “Americans are from Mars; Europeans are from Venus,”<sup>366</sup> could reveal how much Europe has culturally changed in the last fifty-seventy years. Regarding military and religion, Europe appears diametrically opposed to America at least on two aspects: firstly, while the latter praise religiosity and religious freedom, the first worries about the influence of “religious fanatics” on American politics; and secondly,

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<sup>357</sup> Pope Benedict XVI, Address to the United Nations, New York, April the 18th, 2008, [http://www.vatican.va/holy\\_father/benedict\\_xvi/speeches/2008/april/documents/hf\\_ben-xvi\\_spe\\_20080418\\_un-visit\\_en.html](http://www.vatican.va/holy_father/benedict_xvi/speeches/2008/april/documents/hf_ben-xvi_spe_20080418_un-visit_en.html) (accessed on July the 22nd, 2020)

<sup>358</sup> Joas, *Faith as a Option*, 1.

<sup>359</sup> Sabine Mannitz, *The “Democratic Soldier:” Comparing Concepts and Practices in Europe* (Geneva: Ubiquity Press, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces, 2013), 47.

<sup>360</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-11.

<sup>361</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>362</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>363</sup> *Ibid.*, 22.

<sup>364</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

<sup>365</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>366</sup> Robert Kagan, as quoted by Andrew S. Gross, “A Brief History of the Future: The Concept of the “New” In American Literature and Culture,” in *Die US-amerikanische Gesellschaft im Spiegel ihrer zeitgenössischen Literatur*, ed. by Hans-Peter Burmeister (Pößneck, Bertelsmann Media on Demand, 2003), 131

while Europe prefers to resort to multilateralism and diplomacy in dealing with political opponents, the US tend to strongly assert itself in the international arena, eventually with military might.

Focusing on the dismissal of religion in favour of secularism, it can be argued that it reveals latent European illiberal anti-pluralistic tendencies. European preference for “state authority”<sup>367</sup> over religious freedom, does often go hand in hand with the attribution of moral authority to non-elected committees, which bear no political responsibility for their actions.<sup>368</sup> In praising specialists, European also appear to downplay the despotic and aristocratic character “the reign of scientific intelligence,”<sup>369</sup> and the damage caused by innovations and reforms “that might work in restricted domains, but (are) incapable of sustaining a harmonious life.”<sup>370</sup> As Feyerabend demonstrated, religious traditions “have disappeared or deteriorated not because science was better, but because the apostles of science were the more determined conquerors, because they materially suppressed the bearers of alternative cultures.”<sup>371</sup> This seems to be the case of Europe.

Similarly, the European celebration of the civil society *vis a vis* military institutions contains disturbing moral and practical implications. Internally, this trend has transformed citizenship in “a set of privileges for which no complementary sacrifices are required”; alien to military culture, Europeans are spectators and not agents of what they perceive as endless and aimless conflicts.<sup>372</sup> In the international arena, this stance confirmed the idea that “Europe is an economic giant, a political dwarf and a military worm.”<sup>373</sup> While failing to provide lasting solutions to all the ‘supranational’ security crises faced from 1992 onwards (Yugoslavia, Libya, Ukraine, Syrian crisis), this European ‘civil’ strategy has resulted primarily in an appeasement and strengthening of anti-democratic regimes. Instead of proving to be a “force for good,” Europe appears too often willing to broker “peace at any price,”<sup>374</sup> either moral or economic.

#### *Pluralism as the answer to the religious-military European dilemma?*

These reflections confirm the need of a pluralistic framework for approaching the European military and religious past. Without pluralism, thinking about the past might prompt the assumption

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<sup>367</sup> Durham and Thayer, “Religious pluralism,” 195.

<sup>368</sup> Russell A. Berman, *Anti-Americanism in Europe: A Cultural Problem* (Stanford, California: Hoover Institution Press, 2008), 92-93.

<sup>369</sup> As quoted in Feyerabend, *Addio alla ragione*, 23.

<sup>370</sup> *Ibid.*, 133.

<sup>371</sup> Feyerabend, *Science in a free*, 102-103.

<sup>372</sup> Cheyney Ryan, “War, Hostilities, Terrorism,” 28-30, 34.

<sup>373</sup> as quoted in Rok Zupančič, Nina Pejič, *Limits to the European Union’s Normative Power in a Post-conflict Society EULEX and Peacebuilding in Kosovo* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer Open, 2018) 18.

<sup>374</sup> Berman, *Anti-Americanism*, 92.

that “cultural homogeneity and authoritarian education are necessary conditions for the transmission of faith” and military virtues as heroism and sacrifice. A plurality of perspectives could advance the possibility that faith does not represent “neither the holding of a ticket in a lottery, nor the holding of a policy in an insurance company,”<sup>375</sup> and that violence and war might be structural conditions of a militarised culture, rather than consequences of external aggressions.<sup>376</sup> On the other hand, it could also offer other life-goals than “gaining of short-term and generally material advantage,” or give immediate “satisfaction” to their emotional needs.<sup>377</sup>

In this sense, pluralism would defend the positive aspects of the “age of contingency,” in which Europeans seem to live. It would allow people to have a vast array of “action options,” which could result in a “growing number of experiences” in their lives. Dialogue and empathy appear crucial in this context, since people’s choices, in terms of values and commitment, could be easily perceived as “random.”<sup>378</sup> Regarding religion, as Jürgen Habermas pointed it out, believers expression in the public sphere must be articulated in a “language which is equally accessible to all citizens” since the rationale of political decision making cannot be based merely on faith or dogmas.<sup>379</sup> Similarly, “the secular citizens must open their minds to the possible truth content” in religious discourses and in living according to religious principles.<sup>380</sup>

Concerning the military, pluralism might reduce the civil-military gap, favouring a more scrupulous democratic control of the collective means of force.<sup>381</sup> It would give voice to these pacifist perspectives which consider human suffering, both caused and suffered by the military, as a moral responsibility of the society and its members. At the same time, pluralism would refrain the society from removing military ideals of heroism, sacrifice and justice from the public sphere: without higher moral standards than survival, there is the risk that the dreadful “spectacle of blood becomes more horrible than the sight of desolating tyrannies and triumphant hypocrisies.”<sup>382</sup>

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<sup>375</sup> Popper, *The Open Society and its Enemies vol 1*, 305.

<sup>376</sup> Jorg Kustermans, Tom Sauer and Barbara Segaert, “Conclusion: On the Appeal of Pacifism,” in *Pacifism’s Appeal*, 233-234.

<sup>377</sup> Joas, *Faith as a Option*, 127.

<sup>378</sup> *Ibid.*, 73.

<sup>379</sup> Jürgen Habermas, “Religion in the Public Sphere,” *European Journal of Philosophy* Vol.14, No. 1 (2006): 1-25.

<sup>380</sup> Jürgen Habermas, “Glauben und Wissen,” in *Zeitdiagnosen* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 2003), 256.

<sup>381</sup> Mannitz, *Democratic Soldier*, 50.

<sup>382</sup> James Martineau, *Studies on Christianity: a series of papers* (London: Longmans Green, 1872), pp. 352-352

## **Conclusion: Pluralism as the future for St. Virgin Mary of the Snows' past?**

In conclusion, the findings of this thesis will be summarised, and the questions posed in the introduction, in particular the main research question, will be answered.

In the first chapter it has been analysed how the past enters people's lives and becomes meaningful, so much to be transmitted across generations. People perceive past events both consciously and unconsciously, and they are generally structured in narrative forms and using media. The aspects of the past people deem crucial to be shared and remembered constitute a group cultural memory; the aspects of the past people consider belonging to them are defined heritage. To turn a past event into cultural memory or heritage it is necessary to produce an emotional effect on the audience with a constant repetition and strict adherence of the original narrative. The most problematic issue related with past narratives is the lack of agreement about their content, which often causes conflicts among people.

The second chapter introduced the open and free societies, utopian communities where individuals can share their past narratives without entering conflict. Given their ideal-type nature, the theoretical framework of pluralism has a feasible way to reduce conflicts originated by contrasting past narratives. This chapter analysed various models through which cultural memory and heritage narratives are organised in modern societies: they have been found unable to provide a theoretical solution to inherent dissonance of past narrative.

To prove that a pluralistic framework could better help in reducing tensions caused by past interpretations, the case study of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows it has been analysed. In the chapters 3 and 4, the continuity, innovation, and disruptions related to the church's past narratives have been presented. This thesis argues that this cycle of construction and destruction is the outcome of power struggles, and the willingness of certain groups to prevail over others. Focusing on the European dimension of religion and the military, two key elements of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows' past, this thesis has demonstrated that even in contemporary European democracies this cycle of cultural and heritage construction and destruction does respond primarily to power relations, and it is thus arbitrary.

Ultimately, to answer the thesis' research question, why pluralism should be adopted as a framework for St. Virgin Mary of the Snows' military and religious past? This thesis recognises the importance of "an attitude of epistemic humility"<sup>383</sup> towards the questions raised by the presence of religion and the military in modern European societies. Human life, in all its manifestations, should be investigated with caution and respect: all alleged truths, even the scientific ones, recently considered by Western scholars as the corner stone of knowledge and the society, are primarily

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<sup>383</sup> Kustermans, Sauer and Segaert, "Conclusion: On the Appeal of Pacifism," 237.

narrative reductions of larger, existential complexities: worse than that, as Feyerabend criticised, the employment of these ‘truths’ to ensure the “‘progress’ of knowledge [or religion, or the state] in many places meant killing of minds”<sup>384</sup> and bodies. In this sense, instead of pushing for a normative model, this thesis proposes pluralism as a framework for reflecting on St. Virgin Mary of the Snows’ past and its potential usage: it must be left to the communities the right to correct themselves and decide how to “achieve more humane ways of living.”<sup>385</sup>

It would be argued that, adopting pluralism as a framework, St. Virgin Mary of the Snows could function as a space for engaging and reflecting on its religious and military pasts’ narratives. As it has been shown, St. Virgin Mary of the Snows has served different purposes in the last three hundred years. Reflecting on St. Virgin Mary of the Snows’ past, thus, creates space for military and religious narratives in the Olomouc public sphere, and increases the chances to establish a free and open society. A pluralistic framework would also favour the inclusion in the public sphere of those groups who consider religious and military activities so meaningful to dedicate their lives to them, such as the Olomouc Jesuits and the Czech Army military chaplains. Ultimately, by favouring the construction of a broader and richer local Olomouc culture, pluralism could provide its members alternative meaningful explanations to basic conditions and questions of the human existence.

This thesis considers pluralism as a feasible framework for this task, for several reasons. Primarily, the main tenets of pluralism reduce largely the arbitrariness and violence inherent in the cultural memory/heritage selection, preservation, and destruction’s decision-making processes. Secondly, the two communities which might trace a direct link with St. Virgin Mary of the Snows’ past, the Jesuits and the Czech military chaplaincy have expressed their support for pluralism. This embodiment of the basic pluralistic principles has been revealed both in the interviews conducted with key-representatives of these communities, and in the stance adopted by the larger religious and military institutions which include these communities, these being the Roman Catholic Church and the Czech Republic Army.

Regarding the Jesuit order, remarkable steps ahead have been made by the Roman Catholic Church since the 1960s. In the Second Vatican Council’s declaration “*Nostra Aetate*” (28 October 1965) the Roman Catholic Church stated that it “rejects nothing which is true and holy in these religions (Hinduism, Buddhism, Judaism and Islam).”<sup>386</sup> In addition to this historical document, the Council issued the declaration “*Dignitatus Humanae*,” (7 December 1965):

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<sup>384</sup> Feyerabend, *Against method*, 3.

<sup>385</sup> *Ibid.*, 251.

<sup>386</sup> Iain T. Benson, “The search for pluralism in Islam, Roman Catholicism, and Judaism,” in *Religion, Pluralism, and*, 56.



(G)overnment is to assume the safeguard of the religious freedom of all its citizens, in an effective manner, by just laws and by other appropriate means. [...] <sup>387</sup>.

To understand the epochal change brought into the Roman Catholic Church by this declaration, it is important to mention the note of Father John Courtney Murray SJ to “*Dignitatus Humanae*,”:

The Church does not deal with the secular order in terms of a double standard – freedom for the Church when Catholics are a minority, privilege for the Church and intolerance for others when Catholics are a majority. <sup>388</sup>

Similarly, concerning the Czech Army, a great structural and cultural leap forward has been made since 1989. In the course of the forty-one years of communist dictatorship, the Czechoslovak army had little appeal on the national population, and after the Warsaw Pact invasion of 1968 it was considered almost as an occupying force. <sup>389</sup> After the Velvet revolution, it has undergone the largest process of “lustration” in any European post-communist country, investigating and removing from their position numerous former communist military leadership and rank-and-file officers. <sup>390</sup> In this sense, despite the need for additional time and concrete reforms to complete the transition towards Western standards, according to security analysts new young cadres of civilian defence experts are emerging: <sup>391</sup> this provides legitimate hope that future civil-military relations will improve as well as the cultural gap between soldiers and citizens reduced.

These stances, paralleled with the goodwill, sensitivity, and historical nuisance expressed by the Olomouc Jesuits and the Czech Army military chaplaincy in the interviews, generate a certain optimism regarding of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows’ future: reflecting on its role in the past, its military and religious significance, might enrich all the communities involved in this process, being them the Jesuits themselves, the military chaplaincy, the University, and even the larger lay public. In this sense, a starting point for reflecting on St. Virgin Mary of the Snows’ past could be working together on a narrative text which would give enough space for both traditions. Paying more attention to anniversaries, and eventually religious celebrations, seems another valuable advice. Ultimately, conceptualising the Jesuit complex as a unit, and not as a mere aggregate of independent buildings used by isolated and unrelated institutions, could also be another step towards a pluralistic interpretation of the church’s past.

In conclusion, adopting pluralism as a framework would favour the perception of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows not (only) as a beautiful, yet distant, monument, but as the home of living communities formed by fellow citizens, which could constantly inspire the present.

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<sup>387</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 57

<sup>388</sup> *Ibid.*, 57-58.

<sup>389</sup> Durell Young, *Anatomy of Post-Communist*, 21.

<sup>390</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

<sup>391</sup> *Ibid.*, 94-96.

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Annex 1: Interview with Reverend Father Miroslav Herold S.J  
Conducted in Italian in Olomouc (CZ), on 13/07/2020  
Q= Question; A= Answer

**Q1. Reverendo Padre Herold, ormai è passata una generazione dalla caduta della dittatura comunista in Repubblica Ceca, e un po' di meno dal ritorno dell'ordine dei Gesuiti ad Olomouc. Come prima domanda di questa intervista, vorrei chiederle come a suo avviso sono cambiate Olomouc e la società ceca in questo periodo?**

A1. Io vedrei i cambiamenti degli ultimi trent'anni in una tensione tra le aspettative originali, portate dal grande cambiamento dell'anno 1989 nella nostra storia del paese, e la possibilità di realizzare concretamente queste aspettative. Il cambiamento dopo il comunismo fu non soltanto nel sistema politico, ma anche nell'organizzazione della società, e nella sensibilità spirituale della popolazione. C'erano dei sogni, delle speranze di riedificare la società, e se noi tocchiamo il tema di una comunità dei credenti cattolici, di condividere la vita di fede insieme. Quello che penso sia importante sottolineare in questo sviluppo, è che una certa euforia iniziale man mano cambiava, come dire, in una discesa dalle "nuvole" nella realtà quotidiana, in cui si vedeva la difficoltà di realizzare interamente le aspettative che la società riponeva nelle singole chiese, e in particolare in quella cattolica. E noi cattolici non sapevamo nemmeno cosa fare esattamente, concretamente, in questo sviluppo. Solo con il tempo, giorno dopo giorno, si concretizzava quello che noi credenti potevamo fare ad Olomouc, specialmente noi gesuiti, della generazione giovane, piena di speranze, che voleva costruire un nuovo tipo di mondo dopo il comunismo, nella democrazia, nella libertà piena.

E allora la nostra azione si rivolgeva piuttosto verso il mondo universitario di Olomouc, che è tanto tipico per questa città, perché la percentuale degli studenti ad Olomouc, come sappiamo, è molto elevata. Dunque l'aspettativa della prima generazione dopo la caduta del comunismo era soprattutto quella di entrare nel mondo accademico da credenti cattolici, ma anche assieme ad altri cristiani presenti nella comunità universitaria, e di offrire quei valori che abbiamo come cristiani, e di dividerli... man mano si scopriva però come non fosse facile essere molto aperti su questi temi, perché la sensibilità della grande società era talvolta, non direi ostile, ma forse impreparata ad accogliere queste iniziative cristiane. Si scopriva che, dopo alcune generazioni di formazione comunista anti-cristiana, le giovani generazioni non erano preparate ad accogliere i valori ed il linguaggio cristiano. Si rese piano piano allora evidente il fatto che noi siamo davanti a una sfida di cambiare il nostro linguaggio, di cercare nuove forme di comunicazione, di come stare da cristiani nella vasta società che è in maggioranza non cristiana, o almeno che non vive secondo una cultura

cristiana. Questa direi sia la trama di sviluppo più importante della presenza dei cristiani nella società negli ultimi trent'anni. E parlo di cristiani, perché le iniziative iniziali qua, tra i giovani studenti di Olomouc dopo la caduta del comunismo, non erano solo cattoliche. C'erano tre aspetti, quello ecumenico, sacramentale, e pastorale, ed inizialmente non si sapeva come organizzare la vita degli studenti e dei lavoratori accademici dal punto di vista della vita religiosa e della fede. Alla fine si è arrivati a fondare una cura pastorale vera e propria nel senso cattolico, ma anche aperta verso una certa sensibilità ecumenica.

**Q2. Dunque lei ritiene che in generale la società si sia spostata verso un pluralismo? O ha mantenuto una difficoltà ad accettare messaggi diversi?**

A2. Io direi che in questi trent'anni siamo arrivati a un certo pluralismo, che comunque, a mio avviso, combatte contro dei radicalismi. Le tensioni tra varie mentalità, le correnti di pensiero, anche politico direi, sono talmente grandi che ho l'impressione ci troviamo in una guerra di idee. Sicuramente il pensiero cristiano entra in questo discorso molto fortemente. Se una persona vuole veramente vivere secondo la propria opinione cristiana, e talvolta anche parlare apertamente di valori e di accenti vita cristiana, prima o poi deve aspettarsi di entrare in una qualche tensione. Questo si rispecchia anche nel mondo accademico, che comunque è abbastanza aperto verso un discorso libero, di dialogo. Ma non è tanto facile anche in questo mondo.

**Q3. Parlando della chiesa di Santa Maria della Neve, in questa decade appena trascorsa è stato celebrato il 300 anniversario dalla consacrazione della chiesa nella sua forma e nel suo titolo attuali. Cosa ha significato questa ricorrenza per i Gesuiti di Olomouc e come è stata vissuta?**

A3. È stato un momento molto importante per noi, per rivedere la storia, per sapere che noi Gesuiti di Olomouc siamo stati portati sulle spalle dei giganti, dei nostri predecessori. E per ricordare che esiste una continuità, anche se marcata da una discontinuità, che ci ha portato fino a questo punto. Abbiamo festeggiato questo anniversario non solo tra noi Gesuiti, ma anche con i nostri amici, con i visitatori della chiesa, con i credenti che amano Santa Maria della Neve. Dunque, la ricorrenza è stata riconosciuta come un momento veramente importante, non solo nelle celebrazioni liturgiche, ma anche in vari altri eventi. Ciò che noi Gesuiti volevamo era di sapere un po' di più quale fosse stata l'idea fondatrice della chiesa, chi avesse reso possibile la costruzione dell'edificio, la generosità dei fedeli, cosa fosse successo alla chiesa dopo la dissoluzione della Compagnia. E poi come divenne la chiesa nella gestione dell'esercito, ed infine come potremmo oggi continuare e



riprendere modernamente in un modo nuovo e molto creativo quel messaggio dei Gesuiti del passato. Dunque, come abbiamo riconosciuto in questo anniversario, ma anche attraverso la nostra esperienza degli ultimi anni, ciò che ci unisce al passato e rappresenta la continuità con i nostri predecessori si trova nel nostro servizio, nel rapporto con gli studenti, nella collaborazione con l'università, come fanno due membri della nostra comunità che lavorano nella facoltà di teologia. Sicuramente l'anniversario è stato un momento per fermarsi per un attimo, e fare "influire" il passato dentro di noi, e riflettere su come potremmo arricchirlo per il futuro.

**Q4. Lei ritiene che la chiesa e il suo ricco passato abbiano un significato anche per gli abitanti di Olomouc fuori dalla comunità dei credenti?**

A4. Una buona domanda, di attualità, su cui bisogna riflettere ogni giorno direi. Non è molto facile rispondere. Ho l'impressione che la presenza della chiesa cattolica in questa città sia molto importante, e si senta, anche se siamo una minoranza nella società. La presenza dell'arcivescovo, la quantità notevole di sacerdoti, di comunità religiose maschili e femminili... anche visualmente è evidente che questa città sia molto, molto segnata dal passato. Mi fa molto piacere scoprire che nell'evento della Notte delle Chiese, in questa mostra ci sia un interesse nella chiesa, non solo da parte degli abitanti di Olomouc, ma anche di molte persone dei dintorni. È un'occasione per entrare almeno una volta l'anno negli edifici di culto, in un modo più civile, non essendo magari "angustati" da un certo dettame del culto e del rito, e di visitare liberamente questo spazio. Noi Gesuiti facciamo tutto il possibile per accogliere gli interessati, e per mostrare loro che questo è uno spazio aperto a tutti, per dirgli "se avete qualche domanda o impressione e volete condividerle, venite qua, non solo in questo momento." È bellissimo vedere quanta gente viene a visitare la chiesa, parliamo di migliaia di persone nell'arco di una singola notte.

Penso sia un segnale di un certo interesse, ma come ho notato, nel quotidiano la gente di solito è un po' spaventata o non si sente a suo agio ad entrare in chiesa quando c'è una celebrazione. La maggioranza della società non sa più come muoversi, come comportarsi per non offendere la sensibilità dei credenti. Molto semplicemente, magari non si sentono a casa.

Vorrei poi aggiungere che grazie ai nostri collaboratori, negli ultimi anni grazie ad un magnifico supporto della città di Olomouc, noi potevamo offrire un servizio ai turisti quasi ogni giorno per settimana nella stagione estiva. La chiesa era aperta per sei-otto ore, grazie a questo supporto finanziario offerto dalla città di Olomouc ad alcune chiese. Questo ci permetteva di introdurre la chiesa ai turisti e ai visitatori. Il programma è stato incontrato con un certo piacere da parte del

pubblico. E finora uno dei nostri collaboratori nella sua generosità rende abbastanza spesso la chiesa accessibile al pubblico, specialmente nei fine settimana d'estate.

Il fatto che la comunità di studenti, organizzata di gran parte nel Movimento universitario cattolico (VKH), sia molto giovane, viva, aperta per tutti, rende la chiesa uno spazio per quelli che desiderano sapere qualcosa di più sulla loro dimensione spirituale. Hanno la possibilità di dialogare, e ho visto numerose persone giovani che vengono e, talvolta, decidono di farsi battezzare e cambiare totalmente paradigma di vita.

**Q5. Dunque vi è una apertura della comunità gesuitica verso il resto di Olomouc?**

A5. Sì, direi di sì. Però, come ho detto, c'è una certa titubanza da parte della maggioranza della società ceca. Esiste ormai uno iato abbastanza grande.

**Q6. La chiesa, come sappiamo, è abbellita da numerose opere d'arte, affreschi, statue, reliquie. A suo avviso vi è un oggetto che coglie la sua essenza più di altre?**

A6. Come possiamo leggere nelle *litterae annue* dell'anno 1716-1717, la chiesa di Olomouc era pensata dai Gesuiti con il titolo Santa Maria della Neve in riferimento alla famosa basilica Mariana di Roma e l'icona della Madre di Dio in essa conservata, la *Salus populi Romani*. Direi che per Olomouc stessa questo titolo abbia un'importanza molto grande, in una continuità con quello che precedeva. Già l'antica chiesa che i Gesuiti utilizzarono, che era prima una parte del monastero dei Francescani Conventuali, era una chiesa Mariana. I gesuiti non sapevano esattamente a quale titolo era stata dedicata, pensavano a Santa Maria degli Angeli, o magari alla Vergine Assunta.

Non era chiaro il concetto della vecchia chiesa, ma era però chiaro ai Gesuiti il legame tra la chiesa e le reliquie di Santa Paolina vergine martire, apportate dalle catacombe romane, che essi nel 1623 avevano inserito nella chiesa con una processione trionfale. Dunque i Gesuiti, come uomini di sentimento romano-cattolico del loro tempo, sapevano esattamente che per la chiesa cattolica fosse importante questo rapporto fisico tra i territori periferici, dove la Chiesa cattolica viveva e si sviluppava, e la parte centrale della Chiesa, la residenza del pontefice e un simbolo dell'unità della Chiesa. Questo rapporto geografico, tra la madre, Roma, e le figlie, per esempio Olomouc, era importantissimo, era rinforzato dalla presenza fisica delle reliquie. Ma anche dal punto di vista storico, si voleva affermare chiaramente la continuità della chiesa barocca di Olomouc con Roma, come una figlia fedele della madre, discendente della chiesa primordiale, dei martiri della prima generazione, dei primi secoli.

**Q7. Dunque lei ritiene che questo aspetto reliquiario sia il più importante?**

A7. Sì, direi questo aspetto è uno di grande importanza assieme ad alcuni altri (p. e. ad un legame pluridimensionale della comunità gesuita di Olomouc con tutto il corpo dell'Ordine ecc.). Questo aspetto reliquiario (non soltanto di S. Paolina, ma anche di molti altri santi martiri) faceva poi parte di un discorso molto più importante. Santa Paolina fu proclamata patrona di Olomouc anche dal Senato. Il periodo in cui veniva costruita la chiesa moderna di Santa Maria della Neve, era un'epoca di contrasto. Se da una parte c'era questa crescita di un nuovo edificio così sontuoso, dall'altra vi era la morte che distruggeva la popolazione di Olomouc, perché in quello stesso periodo in città infuriava la peste. E Santa Paolina fu ritenuta patrona contro la peste, contro le malattie epidemiche, e varie volte dal 1623 si pensava e si credeva che salvò la città contro queste pestilenze maligne. Dunque i Gesuiti pensarono di porre l'accento su questo aspetto della chiesa, come ad affermare "che noi combattiamo contro la sfiducia, contro l'assenza di ogni speranza, dicendo che dobbiamo completare questo edificio, e che questo edificio sarà un punto esclamativo per tutta la popolazione di questa città, che Dio ha dato una nuova chance a tutti noi che abbiamo sopravvissuto per poter continuare la nostra vita." E per allora per conservare questa sfida, i gesuiti decisero di dedicare la chiesa a Santa Maria della Neve, richiamando alla leggenda e alla simbologia di Santa Maria Maggiore a Roma.

Se uno entra nella chiesa dovrebbe osservare bene il quadro titolare sopra l'altare maggiore, ma ancora di più l'affresco sul soffitto, e poi la quarta cappella a destra, dove originariamente si trovavano le reliquie di Santa Paolina. Questa corrispondenza faceva sì che, se uno sapeva leggere questo simbolismo, sapeva riconoscere che i Gesuiti intendevano comunicare che "noi siamo quelli che fanno parte del grande organismo della chiesa di Roma, sappiamo che anche la nostra madre, Roma stessa, è stata salvata dalle pestilenze, anche lei ha ottenuto tramite l'intercessione della Madonna (in connessione con la sua icona nella basilica della Neve) la protezione divina, anche noi abbiamo ricevuto questo dono, una bella sfida per il futuro nella nostra vita, e noi abitanti di questa città siamo invitati a fare qualcosa di bello per la nostra vita, e questo dovrebbe rimanere per ogni generazione degli abitanti di Olomouc."

Inoltre, bisogna ribadire come tutto questo facesse parte di una concezione leggendaria di Olomouc nell'epoca rinascimentale, secondo cui il nome della città derivava di Iulii Mons, a testimoniare la fondazione della città da parte di Giulio Cesare; le fontane barocche e alcuni altri segni visuale nel paesaggio urbano richiamavano poi il modello romano e il legame con Roma stessa, e in questo contesto i Gesuiti volevano esprimere lo stesso legame in modo più religioso e spirituale.

E penso che da questo punto di vista i Gesuiti fossero molto aggiornati, poiché sempre, in ogni luogo dove andavano, prendevano molto sul serio le tradizioni locali, e le sviluppavano, offrendo

delle nuove dimensioni alla possibilità di rendere grandioso questo patrimonio. E credo che questo si possa trasportare all'età di oggi, perché per noi l'interesse è lo stesso, cioè come poter stare a contatto con la popolazione di Olomouc e sentire le sensibilità di quello che la gente vive oggi, e come sviluppare tutto ciò. Vediamo per esempio come le ricostruzioni degli edifici, l'abbellire il patrimonio che abbiamo ereditato siano cose molto importanti, e noi cerchiamo di fare lo stesso con la nostra chiesa.

**Q8. Vi è invece qualcosa che faceva parte di questa chiesa, che aveva un valore particolarmente importante, e che ora non c'è più?**

A8. Sicuramente le reliquie di Santa Paolina, che sono ora conservate nella cattedrale. Perché questa Santa, patrona di Olomouc, dopo la soppressione dell'ordine è stata nominata compatrona della arcidiocesi. Questo mostra chiaramente il cambiamento di uso, del simbolismo, e dell'importanza della chiesa. La compagnia non c'era più, e dunque ci fu un appropriamento esteso di quello che prima era custodito dal nostro ordine religioso. Ormai le reliquie sono adesso il patrimonio di noi tutti, nell'arcidiocesi.

Nell'ultimo tempo è stata accennata, dopo la ricostruzione del reliquiario di Santa Paolina, che è esposto nella cripta della cattedrale, l'idea di trasporre questo reliquiario nella chiesa gesuitica, per un anno, o almeno per un certo periodo. L'intera cappella di Santa Paolina nella chiesa è costruita in un modo che manca solo questo reliquiario: sarebbe bello riportarlo nella chiesa per far risalire l'aspetto completo dell'idea iniziale della cappella.

Dai testi della chiesa del periodo barocco, quello che risulta chiaro è che, dalla chiesa originaria dei Francescani conventuali, è rimasta la statua miracolosa della Madonna. Anche l'arredamento della chiesa antica, come i circa quattordici altari, sono stati mano a mano cambiati.

**Q9. Dopo la prima soppressione dell'Ordine, la chiesa è stata utilizzata per un lungo periodo di tempo, quasi centocinquantanni, come edificio di culto per l'esercito, prima asburgico e poi cecoslovacco. Quale è la percezione dei Gesuiti di questo periodo storico?**

A9. Per dire la verità direi che questo tema sia assente. Quello che noi Gesuiti riconosciamo, o che a me personalmente fa veramente piacere, ed è segnalato nella storia della chiesa e anche visualizzato in una iscrizione, è che durante il periodo che lei ha appena menzionato l'imperatore Carlo d'Asburgo stesso abbia deciso di restaurare la chiesa nel 1916, durante la prima guerra mondiale. L'iscrizione nomina questo sovrano, e fa sì che noi possiamo apprezzare l'interesse dell'esercito e del sovrano di tenere in un buon stato, ed avere cura di questa chiesa. L'iscrizione commemorativa

in latino si può leggere sopra la porta verso la scalinata per il coro della chiesa. È bello riconoscere il nome di questa persona ormai beatificata, Carlo d'Asburgo. È una cosa che personalmente mi fa piacere sapere, questo particolare della storia della chiesa, ma non c'è un legame tra la Compagnia di Gesù, noi e l'esercito. E un destino di questo genere è stato comune per altre chiese gesuitiche, per esempio nel caso della chiesa di Brno, che è stata una chiesa di guarnigione. Nel contesto della repubblica ceca, abbiamo altri luoghi dove è successa una cosa simile, dove poi la compagnia di Gesù è rientrata in possesso di questi edifici. Piuttosto noi consideriamo come una cosa provvidenziale il fatto che, pur avendo davanti a noi una discontinuità tanto lunga, potevamo comunque rientrare in questa città. Diciamo che in un certo senso è una cosa, non direi miracolosa, ma interessantissima.

**Q10. Come descriverebbe il rapporto tra i gesuiti di Olomouc e le altre istituzioni che utilizzano il vecchio complesso gesuitico? Esiste un rapporto, c'è un dialogo?**

A10. È una domanda abbastanza difficile. Non è che ci sia un rapporto specifico, da un punto di vista generale non c'è un grande dialogo o una collaborazione su qualcosa. Quello che vorrei ribadire è che c'è un dialogo molto tecnico, perché il mantenimento, il buon uso della chiesa richiede talvolta di entrare nei territori dei nostri vicini, o nei loro edifici, per vedere se ad esempio il tetto della chiesa è stato rotto. Un discorso molto tecnico.

Ciò che è molto bello, o positivo, è che gli spazi sotterranei, o le cripte antiche, originarie della chiesa sono utilizzate come depositi del Lapidarium, non nell'uso di noi stessi, ma noi Gesuiti facciamo possibile che siano utilizzati per il bene della città e questa istituzione culturale. Ma non è una cosa pensata, non c'è un vero progetto. Un altro elemento che risulta per noi molto positivo è che una gran parte del complesso antico gesuitico sia utilizzato dall'università per motivi culturali ed educativi. Questo sicuramente è molto apprezzato dalla compagnia. È bello che un nostro collaboratore della parrocchia accademica di Santa Maria faccia anche parte delle attività culturali del convitto dell'università.

Nel nostro immaginario sarebbe di un certo senso profondo se si potesse utilizzare anche il resto, o almeno una parte dell'antico collegio come edificio dell'università di Olomouc, magari il rettorato e altri uffici. Magari qualche parte di qualche facoltà. Sarebbe ottimo. Se potessi dare una mia visione, dal punto di vista di un gesuita che vive ad Olomouc, io apprezzerei che la collaborazione delle istituzioni universitarie con la parrocchia accademica sia un po' più sviluppata, anche dal punto di vista culturale. Sarebbe bellissimo avere una chiesa aperta proprio per la comunità accademica, fisicamente al centro delle istituzioni universitarie.

**Q11. Esistono dei contatti con i cappellani militari?**

A11. Io personalmente non so molto di questo. So che l'esercito, che gestisce l'edificio del collegio, è stato spesso molto aperto verso di noi per mostrarci l'edificio, ma non è che ci sia una regolare volontà di costruire un rapporto. Non mi risulta.

**Q12. Lei ritiene che un approccio condiviso al passato della chiesa e del complesso gesuitico possa migliorare o peggiorare il rapporto tra le istituzioni?**

A12. Io direi che un approccio condiviso sia piuttosto benefico per le relazioni. Sì, sicuramente.

**Q13. Lei ritiene che un approccio condiviso al passato della chiesa e del complesso gesuitico possa avere un effetto positivo o negativo sulla compagnia e sulla sua missione?**

A13. Io lo vedrei come una cosa positiva, perché noi contiamo sulla vita reale, e io lo ritengo un arricchimento. Anche, ad esempio, parlando di questo progetto di cambiamento di uso dell'edificio del vecchio collegio, io non sarei contro alla presenza dell'esercito, ma anzi a favore di una continuazione della sua presenza almeno in una parte del complesso. Perché anche questo offrirebbe alla città di Olomouc un messaggio chiaro, cioè che l'esercito è stato per un lunghissimo periodo della storia di questa città una parte indispensabile della comunità cittadina. Non lo vedrei come una cosa in contrasto con la nostra presenza, con il nostro lavoro. Piuttosto come una cosa da sviluppare, se ci fosse la possibilità. Semplicemente, anche di far sapere ai visitatori della città e anche ai cittadini, che questo edificio era originariamente in uso alla compagnia, e poi aveva una storia molto importante nelle mani dell'esercito. Far sapere che c'erano questi polmoni dell'esistenza di questo edificio, ambedue. Direi che potrebbe essere ancora più importante e più bello.

Mi potrei immaginare due o tre stanze di un piccolo museo, o una certa mostra, che potrebbe ribadire questa importanza storica. Perché questo tema è da sviluppare maggiormente rispetto al legame tra noi gesuiti e l'università di Olomouc, che penso sia ormai abbastanza evidenziato. I Gesuiti svolgevano un ruolo veramente importante per la università nel passato, per esempio per la biblioteca scientifica di Olomouc, che è stata fondata sul patrimonio gesuitico dal fondo bibliotecario. E ho anche in mente alcune piccole collaborazioni tra l'università e noi Gesuiti moderni.

**Q14. Lei ritiene che vi possano essere delle celebrazioni di festività o anniversari assieme ai cappellani militari all'interno della Chiesa?**

A14. Guardi, non mi è mai venuta mai questa idea, mai. Perché non ho mai incontrato questo interesse da parte dell'esercito. Ma se ci fosse, sarei completamente d'accordo che la nostra chiesa possa essere utilizzata anche così. Direi che sarebbe una cosa bella, di nuovo, poter sviluppare questo patrimonio della chiesa. Quello che può offrire la nostra chiesa, anche nel modo celebrativo, è di svolgere questo ruolo di uno spazio che prega per questa città, per il bene dei suoi abitanti, con tutta la ricchezza della storia di questa città. Come penso che avessero veramente in mente i Gesuiti quando la costruivano. E allora anche la presenza militare, e la storia dell'uso della chiesa da parte dell'esercito, potrebbero essere ribadita o sviluppata. Ma non mi risulta che ci sia stato un interesse da parte dell'esercito, non l'ho incontrato.

Da questo punto di vista, penso che valga la pena ribadire che durante il periodo comunista, in cui il sistema politico si rispecchiava molto anche nell'esercito, si pensava di trasformare la chiesa da un edificio di culto a uno spazio soltanto culturale, in uno spazio per fare concerti, per eventi culturali. L'idea era di rimuovere totalmente il sacro dall'edificio, cosa che per un certo periodo è avvenuta. Nel progetto del regime comunista l'esercito non era più un'istituzione che doveva entrare in un discorso religioso, e dunque era chiaro che, secondo loro, non avesse bisogno di una chiesa. Da quello che so, la chiesa era stata utilizzata per un certo periodo come chiesa filiale della cattedrale. Poi, dopo la caduta del regime comunista è diventata di nuovo una chiesa filiale. E noi poi siamo subentrati nel 1993.

**Q15. Lei ritiene che questi vari aspetti debbano essere inseriti in una presentazione e descrizione unitari della chiesa?**

A15. È difficile rispondere a questa domanda. Perché, per una certa chiarezza di idee, magari sarebbe meglio fare un discorso incentrato sulla presenza dei Gesuiti a Olomouc, sul mondo accademico in questa città, e sul servizio alla società. Fare un discorso sulla collaborazione tra la città e la chiesa, che era stata sviluppata nel barocco e che noi adesso vogliamo, con un pizzico delle nostre forze, offrire di nuovo per movimentare la generazione giovane di oggi e per collaborare insieme, nella Moravia e dentro Olomouc stessa. Mettendo da parte il periodo d'uso della chiesa della guarnigione di questa città.

Ma direi che, per motivi di giustizia, di giustizia storica, anche il periodo dell'uso della chiesa da parte dell'esercito debba far parte del discorso unico, perché rispecchia la storia vera di questa città, e non è una cosa di cui vergognarsi. Piuttosto è una cosa da ribadire, come una parte integrale dello sviluppo dell'organismo della chiesa. Io riterrei che debba far parte di un discorso unico, ma magari ponendo un accento sulla situazione presente, chiedendoci cosa possiamo adesso fare con tutto ciò.

**Q16. In conclusione, quale futuro lei vorrebbe dunque per la chiesa, per il vecchio complesso gesuitico e per le relazioni tra varie istituzioni che oggi lo utilizzano?**

A16. Quello che vedo, è che ciò che noi oggi possiamo fare molto più liberamente non è tanto una collaborazione con le istituzioni che adesso hanno nelle mani proprie varie parti dell'antico complesso gesuitico, quanto collaborare con altre istituzioni della chiesa cattolica ad Olomouc, o anche con altre chiese, se vogliamo. A questo livello si fanno alcuni passi avanti, e sono molto felice di dire che la nostra chiesa mostra una certa apertura verso altri rappresentanti della chiesa locale, sia al livello diocesano che di altri ordini religiosi. L'edificio stesso della chiesa non appartiene alla compagnia di Gesù, e nemmeno gli edifici in cui noi adesso abitiamo nella città di Olomouc appartengono al nostro ordine. Noi utilizziamo degli edifici che appartengono all'Arcidiocesi di Olomouc e al capitolo metropolitano; sono gli edifici in cui noi abitiamo e in cui, in collaborazione con una comunità religiosa femminile e con dei cattolici laici, svolgiamo le nostre attività: il Centro Aletti Velehrad – Roma, la casa editrice Refugium, una considerevole biblioteca aperta al pubblico, la parrocchia accademica, collaborazione con il Movimento universitario cattolico ecc.

Il che vuol dire che la nostra collaborazione a Olomouc è stata segnalata sin dall'inizio [nel 1993] da un legame chiaro con l'arcivescovo, con l'arcidiocesi. Noi siamo molto molto grati alla chiesa locale, che ci ha voluti, che ci ha aperto le porte, che ci ha detto "venite di nuovo qua," e per noi è stato un invito confortevole, da un certo punto di vista anche provvidenziale. Potevamo collegarci con una storia molto gloriosa, e che sin dall'inizio era segnalata dal legame tra la diocesi e i gesuiti, perché sin dall'inizio [nel 1566] siamo stati invitati dai vescovi qua, e questo è successo anche dopo la rivoluzione di velluto. E dunque vorremmo essere fedeli in gratitudine a questo invito, e fare tutto il possibile per potenziare la collaborazione tra i cattolici in questa città. Io stesso personalmente, quando tenevo cura della parrocchia accademica, in occasione dell'Anno di vita consacrata invitavo varie volte i religiosi dei vari ordini presenti in questa città, per poter celebrare con noi, per poter condividere il patrimonio spirituale che loro hanno e sviluppano fin oggi. Come noi, anche loro lavorano per il bene della città, e anche degli studenti. Dunque ci sono molte possibilità su come andare avanti in questo senso.

Vorrei infine menzionare un altro momento, di cui ricorreva l'anniversario, che è stato un momento di una certa collaborazione tra l'arcivescovado di questa città e l'università stessa. Si è trattato dell'anniversario di San John Ogilvie, che ha studiato qua a Olomouc, ha deciso di entrare nella Compagnia di Gesù, e poi è morto martire nella sua patria, nella Scozia. Questo Santo è il patrono della nostra comunità qua a Olomouc. Per noi è un modello, uno studente che ha vissuto un periodo



molto importante della propria vita ad Olomouc, che ha deciso di cambiare la sua vita proprio qui, e poi è diventato una persona tanto fedele alla propria missione da dare la propria vita per la fede. Un simbolo che volevamo ribadire fortemente, non solo con le celebrazioni nella nostra parrocchia, ma anche con una conferenza (19-20 maggio 2015). Il patronato sopra questa conferenza è stato generosamente concesso sia dall'arcivescovo di Olomouc che dal rettore dell'università, il che vuol dire che ci possono essere queste attività simboliche in cui le varie istituzioni posso incontrarsi.

Q= Question; A= Answer

**Q1. Otče Knichale, uběhlo zhruba dvacet let od pádu komunistického režimu v České republice a znovuzavedení vojenských duchovních služeb v armádě. Jak se dle Vašeho názoru změnila česká společnost a česká armáda během těchto dvaceti let?<sup>392</sup>**

A1. Osobně bych řekl, že máme už 30 let od pádu komunistického režimu a 20 let od obnovení vojenské duchovní služby. Česká společnost za to období prošla neuvěřitelnou cestou. Přesto si myslím, že se stále učí žít ve svobodě. Stala se pevnou součástí EU. Stejně tak i česká armáda. Prošla od vstupu do Severoatlantické aliance výraznou proměnou. Je jednak menší, na druhou stranu je od roku 2005 profesionální a vojáci získávají zkušenosti na zahraničních misích. Řekl bych, že od vstupu do aliance dospěla a z lidského hlediska je na vysoké úrovni. A její součástí se stala také duchovní služba.

**Q2. Kostel Panny Marie Sněžné v Olomouci byl více jak sto padesát let využíván jako kostel posádkový, nejprve habsburskou armádou, poté armádou československou. Jaký význam má kostel pro český vojenský ordinariát (či pro instituci vojenských kaplanů)?**

A2. Rád bych na tomto místě zdůraznil, že od okamžiku obnovení Duchovní služby v roce 1998 fungujeme na principu ekumenického společenství. V naší armádě nejsou dvě skupiny duchovních: vojenský ordinariát a evangelická skupina. Existuje pouze jedna Duchovní služba, která v současnosti zahrnuje 10 křesťanských církví.

**Q1. Jaký význam obecně mají další bývalé posádkové kostely pro českou armádu a vojenský ordinariát?**

A2. Nepamatuji si, že by novodobá duchovní služba prakticky využívala některý z bývalých posádkových kostelů. V dnešní době využívá rezort obrany vojenský kostel sv. Jana Nepomuckého v Praze na Hradčanech a vojenskou kapli sv. Barbory v Hranicích.

**Q3. Nedávno uběhlo sto let od obnovy kostela během první světové války. Jaký význam mělo toto výročí pro český vojenský ordinariát?**

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<sup>392</sup> In this question, I confused the years passed since the re-introduction of the military religious services in the Czech Republic with the fall of communism in Czechoslovakia. I do apologise for this gross mistake.

A3. Duchovní služba se nepodílela na oslavách či připomínce sto let obnovy kostela během první světové války. Toto je nový impulz pro Duchovní službu, která by se měla podívat a zmapovat posádkové kostely v naší zemi.

**Q4. Je v tomto kostele nějaký zvláštní předmět či zvláštní připomínka, které se pojí k českému vojenskému ordinariátu a armádě?**

A4. Vůbec netuším, zda v kostele Panny Marie Sněžné je nějaký předmět, který se pojí s vojenskou duchovní službou.

**Q5. Jak je známo, kostel byl zbudován jezuitským řádem. Jak vnímáte toto “jiné” historické období kostela?**

A5. Vnímám to “jiné”, že v daném čase sloužil kostel jinému účelu než byl postaven či měl jiného správce. Ale pokud se nemýlím, tak vždy sloužil člověku. Smutnější období bylo, když kostel sloužil jako skladiště.

**Q6. Dnes je starý jezuitský areál, jehož je kostel součástí, sídlem různých institucí (Vojenské archivy, jezuitská farnost, Univerzita Palackého, Vlastivědné muzeum). Jak byste popsal vztah mezi armádou a ostatními institucemi?**

A6.

**Q7. Byl někdy mezi českým vojenským ordinariátem a jezuitským řádem veden dialog ohledně kostela a jeho minulosti? Pokud ne, bylo by záhodno jej navázat?**

A7. Za mého působení v Armádě ČR od roku 2003 si nepamatuji, že by Duchovní služba AČR vedla dialog s jezuitským řádem ohledně kostela. Určitě se nebráníme ke společnému dialogu přistoupit.

**Q8. Máte za to, že společný přístup ke kulturnímu dědictví bývalého jezuitského areálu v Olomouci může prospět vztahu mezi různými institucemi, které v něm dnes sídlí?**

A8. Samozřejmě. Hlavním cílem nás všech či všech institucí by měl být společný přístup ke kulturnímu dědictví bývalého jezuitského areálu.

**Q9. Dle Vašeho mínění, může společný přístup k minulosti kostela Panny Marie Sněžné prospět českému vojenskému ordinariátu?**

A9. Určitě může. Pokud bychom společně s jezuitským řádem našli nějaké dokumenty, informace ohledně doby, kdy kostel sloužil jako posádkový kostel. Možná najdeme společný impulz k tomu, že v určitém dnu v roce, např. bohoslužbou, vzpomeneme na všechny vojenské duchovní, kteří v posádkovém kostele sloužili.

**Q10. Je pluralistická vize minulosti kostela Panny Marie Sněžné v souladu s posláním českého vojenského ordinariátu?**

A10. Když čtu o historii vojenské duchovní služby, tak vnímám, že se ta současná v mnohém ve své podstatě neliší od služby našich předchůdců. Vždy šlo na prvním místě o službu vojákovi v jeho každodenní službě. Ať už doma nebo v zahraničí. Dnes to nazýváme službou přítomnosti. Posádkový kostel Panny Marie Sněžné v dané době sloužil duchovní službě, která ho využívala pro potřeby vojáků. Dnes slouží vojenské kostely a kaple ke stejným účelům.

**Q11. Co si myslíte o možnosti poskytovat vojenské duchovní služby v kostele Panny Marie Sněžné (dle římskokatolického či řeckokatolického ritu)?**

A11. Pro účely poskytnutí náboženských úkonů pro příslušníky rezortu obrany máme v dnešní době vojenský kostel v Praze. Vůbec se však nebráníme tomu, pokud někdo z rezortu obrany využije kostel Panny Marie Sněžné k uzavření manželství či k jiným náboženským úkonům za účasti vojenského kaplana a po dohodě s jezuitským řádem.

**Q12. Byl byste nakloněn oslavám některých výročí či událostí v kostele, případně společně s jezuitou?**

A12. Určitě bych byl nakloněn k oslavám a připomenutí významných výročí či událostí společně s jezuitským řádem.

**Q13. Máte za to, že by různé aspekty minulosti kostela Panny Marie Sněžné měly být součástí jednotného popisu a prezentace kostela?**

A13. Myslím si, že ano. Když jsem v Olomouci působil jako vojenský kaplan na Velitelství společných sil, tak si nevybavuji, že by někdo někde zmiňoval informaci o posádkovém kostele. Předpokládám, že mnoho olomouckých obyvatel netuší k čemu sloužil tento kostel.

**Q14. Co byste do budoucna popřál starému jezuitskému areálu, kostelu a vztahům mezi institucemi, které v areálu dnes sídlí?**

A14. Všem bych přál, aby kostel Panny Marie Sněžné byl místem, kde se potkávají historické kořeny se současnými úkoly a úsilím; minulost s přítomností i s tím, co má přijít.

### Annex 3: Narratives and Narrators of St. Virgin Mary of the Snows

Reconstructed adopting theoretical concepts described in Ch. 1 and 2.

Side A	Cultural Memory Narratives: meaningful past's experience(C)	Heritage Narratives: Inheritance from the past (H)	N= not found in the data analysis	
Main Narrators	Mnemonic actor role	Narrative Setup	Basic dramatic conflict (unsolved issue)	Main equilibrium disruption (often originates the narrative)
Olomouc Jesuits (until 1688)	Warrior: Own narrative as 'true'	C= Pre-existing Marian Devotion H= Church's donation	C= Church's title H= Church's enlargement	C= Legal feud with the Jesuits H= Marian Altar, Globe found in 1630s,
Olomouc Franciscans (as reported in Jesuit sources)	Warrior	C= Medieval foundation of the church H= moving to St. James' monastery (in poor conditions)	C= Church's title H=Church's enlargement	C= Jesuit attempt to change title H= Jesuit attempt to enlarge the church
Johann Miller SJ	Warrior Prospective: Own narrative solves historical 'dilemma'	C= pre-existing Marian Devotion H= Sternberg foundation	C= Church's title H= Lack of funds for St. James' monastery	C= Consistory refusal of the former title H= Church's construction
Carolus Pfefferkorn (as reported in his Diarium)	Abnegator: Avoid narrative conflict (Jesuits-Franciscans) Prospective	C= 1715 Plague H= St Pauline and Salus Populi Romani	C= N. H= N.	C= 1715 Plague H= Church's construction
Imperial Military chaplaincy (as reported in Vyvlečka, Tittel and Flosman)	Pluralist: Other narratives as valid	C= Garnisonkirche H= Baroque church renovation (mention of former periods)	C= N H= N	C= WWI H= Church's restoration
Czechoslovak Military chaplaincy (as reported in Flosman)	Pluralist	C= Habsburg empire H=Joseph II's religious order suppressions	C= N H= N	C= 1939 Nazi occupation H= 1923 transferral of the Altar of Repose
Communist Czechoslovak Army (as reported in Flosman, Annexes 1 and 1)	Abnegator: (uninterested in past narratives) Prospective	C= 1948 H= N	C= N. H= N.	C= 1952 donation of the church to the Olomouc cityhall H= Transformation of the church in a warehouse
Father Herold SJ	Pluralist	C= 1566 Jesuit arrival in Olomouc H= Baroque church renovation	C= establishing closer relations with the University and the City H= Relics of St. Pauline in the Cathedral	C=1993 return to Olomouc H=1993 return to Olomouc
Father Knichal, Chief of Chaplains of the Czech Army	Pluralist (yet uninformed about past narratives)	C= Pre-communist military chaplaincy/ H= N	C= N. H= N	C=1998 Restoration H=Transformation of the church into a warehouse

Side B	Cultural Memory Narrative (C)	Heritage Narratives (H)		
Main Narrators/	Accidents (positive and negative)	Final Outcome (narrative end)	What and who is missing (but is described elsewhere)?	Overarching memory/ heritage model-regime(s)
Olomouc Jesuits (until 1688)	C= Devotion to St. Pauline, Canonisation of St. Ignatius and St. Francis Xavier; Prusinovský burial H= St. Pauline relics, massive heritage loss in 1619 and 1642-1650	C= Planning a new church H= Planning a new church	C= Franciscan devotion H= Franciscan pre-1566 artworks	Pillar/fractured (until 1619) Assimilation/Unified (post-1620 Catholicism)
Olomouc Franciscans (until 1715)	C= N H= N	C= Legal victory in 1688; H= Failed attempt to halt the construction in 1712	C= N H= N	Assimilation/Unified (Intra-Catholic minor narrative conflicts)
Johann Miller SJ	C= N H= '500+ years old' Marian Statue	C= Title's issue left unsolved H= New church under construction	C= Franciscan devotion H= Franciscan pre-1566 artworks	Assimilation/Unified (Intra-Catholic minor narrative conflicts)
Carolus Pfefferkorn	C= Salus Populi Romani devotion, Miracle of the Snows H= Transferral of sponsors' tombs in the new church	C= New Title and cults H= New iconography of the church established	C= Reference to previous narrative conflicts, Franciscans H= Numerous pre-baroque era artworks	Assimilation/Unified (Intra-Catholic minor narrative conflicts)
Military chaplaincy (Habsburg era)	C= Imperial cult H=Altar of Repose	C= Solemn consecration of the church H= Restoration successfully concluded	C= Franciscan period, title's controversy H=Pre-baroque era artworks (except Marian statue)	Melting Pot/Unified regime( tensions with the Habsburg supra-national ideology since at least 1848)
Military chaplaincy (Czechoslovak republic)	C= N H=loss of the Altar of Repose	C= Suppression of the religious services H=Church' inventory transferred to the Cathedral	C= Franciscan period, title's controversy H=Pre-baroque era artworks (except Marian statue)	Melting Pot/Unified regime (interethnic tensions)
Czechoslovak Army (Communist era)	C= Attempt to transform the church into a cultural venue H= General neglect	C= 1989 Velvet revolution H= Donation of the church to the Bishopric	C= No link with pre-communist narratives H=No link with pre-communist narratives	Assimilation/Unified regime (Intra communist narrative conflicts, suppressed in 1968)
Father Herold SJ	C= Devotion to St. John Ogilvie, 300th Anniversary of the church H=Night of the churches, Summer tours	C= Looking forward to cooperate with Catholic institutions and the University H= Finding new ways to promote the church's past.	C= Franciscan period, title's controversy H= Pre-baroque era artworks (except for St. Pauline relics and Marian statue)	Core-plus (religious narratives are tolerated only when do not threaten dominant secular narratives)
Father Knichal, Chief of Chaplains of the Czech Army	C= N H= N	C= Looking forward to celebrate anniversaries in the church H= Interested in rediscovering the <i>Garnisonskirche's</i> past	C= Almost no link with pre-communist narratives H=No link with pre-communist narratives	Assimilation/Unified (difficult path towards freedom)