CHAPTER THREE

MARTYRS OF "OUR" FAITH: IDENTITY AND THE CULT OF SAINTS IN POST-HUSSITE BOHEMIA

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When in 1415 the rector of Prague University and religious reformer John (Jan) Hus was burnt at stake in Constanz, Bohemia's attempt to religious reform evolved in the Hussite wars.[1] Their settlement in 1436 at the Council of Basel legalised the existence of the Hussite non-Catholic enclave within Western Christianity. The Basel Accord, sealed in 1436, created the legal framework for the existence of the semi-independent Bohemian Utraquist Church (*sub utraque specie* – distribution of lay chalice). The Bohemian Utraquist (Calixtine) church, as the Hussite offspring came to be called later, and its splint-offs, was viewed with a great suspicion from outside Bohemia as the Bohemian heretical church.

In the negotiations leading to the Basel Treaty of 1436, the Catholic party accused the Czech Hussites, among many other things, of their hostile approach to the cult of saints. Especially, the Catholics officials reproached them for denying the Virgin Mary and saints any merits in human salvation, and for destroying images and relics of saints.[2] This view

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[1] For the Hussite movement, see František Šmahel, *Hussitische Revolution*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Schriften 43, vol. 1-3. Hannover: Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 2002, and Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution*, *A History of the Hussite Revolution.* Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967.

[2] A comprehensive work on Hussite iconoclasm is still missing. For orientation see Horst Bredekamp, *Kunst als Medium sozialer Konflikte. Bilderkämpfe von der Spätantike bis zur Hussitenrevolution*, Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp, 1975. Milena Bartlová, Understanding Hussite Iconoclasm, *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 7 (2009), 117-126, http://www.brrp.org/proceedings/brrp7/bartlova.pdf, Milena Bartlová, Husitské

shaped later perspectives on the Hussite approach to the saints, and was often applied broadly to the whole reform movement. This simplistic view, formulated by the opponents of the Bohemian Reformation, infiltrated later scholarly discourse – it was repeated e.g. by Marxist historians of the Hussites, who inclined to ignore the religious aspect of the movement and scorned its conciliatory outcomes as too compromising and appeasing the Catholics. Until recently it was maintained also by the historians of the Reformation, who uncritically accepted the arguments of polemical treatises and failed to confront the theological reading with relevant visual and material sources. The modern Catholic historians, who went beyond Counter-Reformation silence about the Bohemian Reformation, identified largely the Utraquists' acceptance of saints with the Catholic cultic manner, ignoring their different attitude to cult, undercurrent critique, as well as the movement's diverging opinions and internal development. In reality, the view of saints' merits and intervention in Hussite and Utraquist teaching varied among different fractions of the religious movement, from refusal by the radicals to acceptance by conservatives.

This text approaches the cult of saints in Utraquism from two angles: from the point of the theological thought and normative codes, and from the point of monuments produced for religious practice. The first part sketches the development of saints' theology in Utraquism and its Catholic and Hussite inspiration, and explores nuances in teaching between different groups.[3] Then, visual and liturgical documents are brought

obrazoborectví, in: *Umění české reformace (1380-1620),* ed. Kateřina Horníčková – Michal Šroněk, Prague: Academia, 2009, 63-70 (English edition forthcoming with the title *From Hus to Luther. Visual Culture in the Bohemian Reformation (1380-1620)*). Cited in the following as *Umění české reformace*)

[3] Comprehensive work on the topic we still lack. The research on the cult of saints in the Bohemian Reformation focused either: 1. on the cult of Hus and the Bohemian martyrs (including literary and liturgical commemoration), 2. on critical arguments against it. For the first approach, see Joel Seltzer, Re-envisioning the Saint's Life in Utraquist Historical Writing, *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 5.1, 2004, 147-166 (on seaking a model for a Utraquist saint around 1500), Achim Thomas Hack, Heiligenkult im frühen Hussitismus. Eine Skizze, in: *Patriotische Heilige. Beiträge zur Konstruktionreligöser und politischer Identitäten in der Vormoderne*, Dieter R. Bauer, Klaus Herbers, Gabriella Signori, eds., Beiträge zur Hagiographie 5,Stuttgart: Franz Steiner 2007, 123-156 (with overview of literature regarding the first approach) or Thomas Fudge, *Jan Hus. Religious Reform and Social Revolution in Bohemia*, London – New York: I.B. Tauris 2010. A new, brief survey of the cult of Hus appeared just before this article went to print, Ota Halama, *Svatý Jan Hus. Stručný přehled projevů domácí úcty k českému mučedníku v letech 1415 – 1620,* Prague: Kalich, 2015. The second

together to demonstrate how religious practice was influenced by theology, and religious policy, and how Utraquist denominational identity was stabilised and communicated through commemoration of saints.[4] It unmasks Utraquist preference for particular saints, as well as different meanings (groups of) saints represented for Utraquist communities. Did the cult of saints function as an expression of a Utraquist religious and political identity in the reality of the Bohemian religious divide?

The Hussite and Catholic foundations

With the influence of Matthew (Matěj) of Janov, and wyclifite ideas on the Hussite theologians Jacobellus (Jakoubek) of Stříbro and Nicolas of Dresden, the radical Hussite party's view of the contemporary Catholic cultic practices of veneration of saints' relics and images was largely negative.[5] The Prague University articles against "*wyclifites*" of 1412 and consequent synod of 1413 urged fellow priests and masters to defend the cult of saints' relics, refuted by the more radical colleagues.[6] The

approach is demonstrated by Ota Halama, *Otázka svatých v české reformaci*, Brno: L. Marek 2002, where the author analyses a selection of written sources illuminating some of the critical points, without mentioning Hus' cult. Recently, art history, and liturgy contributed considerably to new perspective on the cult of Hus (e.g. Jan Royt, Ikonografie Mistra Jana Husa v 15. až 18. Století, in: *Hus na přelomu tisíciletí*, Miloš Drda, František J. Holeček, Zdenek Vybíral, eds. Husitský Tábor Supplementum, Husitské muzeum v Táboře 2001, 405-452, and other works cited in this article).

[4] For denominational memorial culture see Martin Sallmann, Reformatoren und Heilige als Brennpunkte konfessioneller Gedächtniskulturen: Martin Luther, Karl Borromäus und Johannes Calvin im Vergleich, *Schweizerische Zeitschrift für Religions- und Kulturgeschichte*, 103, 2009, 99-116. On demonstrating identity through monuments, Kateřina Horníčková, Beyond the Chalice. Monuments manifesting Utraquist religious Identity in the Bohemian urban Context in the fifteenth and early sixteenth Centuries, *European Review of History: Revue europeenne d'histoire* 20.1, 2013, 137-152.

[5] Halama, *Otázka svatých*, 12-17. Jana Nechutová, Prameny předhusitské a husitské ikonofobie, *Husitský Tábor* 8 (1985): 29 – 37. Jana Nechutová, Traktát Mikuláše z Drážďan "De Imaginibus" a jeho vztah k Matěji z Janova, *Sborník prací filosofické fakulty Brněnské university* E 9.13 (1964): 149 – 161 (demonstrating Bohemian rather than *wyclifite* origin of the critique). Kristína Sedláčková, Jakoubek ze Stříbra a tzv. Týnské kázání z 31. ledna 1417. Názory předhusitských a husitských "reformátorů" na obrazy, *Opuscula historiae artium. Studia minora facultatis philosophicae universitatis Brunensis* F 48 (2004): 7-43.

[6] Halama, *Otázka svatých*, 16.

accusations against Jeroným (Jerome) of Prague at the Council of Constance were blaming him of a similar negative view. Based on Matthew of Janov's ideas, Jacobellus' texts of 1415 and 1417 argue against veneration of relics and images, seeing them as unnecessary additions, fallacy or priestly greed that diverts faithful from the Corpus Christi.[7] Nicolaus of Dresden in his treatise on saints and sermons goes as far as to contest any role of saints in human Salvation,[8] thus theoretically preparing way for the Hussite iconoclasm.

In reaction, conservative opinions were gaining ground among more conservative part of the University masters. A conservative-Hussite pamphlet (1417–1419) defended the Catholic cultic practice, illustrating the sharp rift between ideas of the Hussite radicals, and the conservatives; the latter agreed not only to the unrestricted use of relics and images in the churches, but contrary to the demands of the radicals, they did not forbid kneeling and praying in front of them.[9] The situation culminated in the Hussite iconoclasm soon after 1415 and in the first years of the Hussite wars (1419-1421/4), that branded the Hussites as fervent iconoclasts and provoked angry reactions from the Catholic side. Yet even at this stage the Hussites were not unanimous - different views on the form of the cult existed, for example, between neighbouring urban communities, as it is shown by different reactions by leaders of Prague New and Old Towns to Taborite call for destruction of churches, altarpieces and images. [10]

Over three decades of the controversy, a broad spectrum of opinions concerning the role of saints in Christian religion resulted in two distinct traditions that shaped the Utraquist perspective on saints, one regarding the practice of cult and the second regarding the capacity of saints to intervene on behalf of faithful.[11] As were the garments and ornaments in the mass, the use of images and relics of saints was often regarded by the radicals as

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[7] Halama, *Otázka svatých*, 17.

[8] *Nicolaus von Dresden*, *Querite primum regnum dei,* edd. Jana Nechutová, Opera Universitatis Purkynianae Brunensis. Facultas philosophica 119, Brno: Univerzita Jana Evangelisty Purkyně, 1967.

[9] Blanka Zilynská, *Husitské synody v Čechách 1418-1440. Příspěvek k úloze univerzitních mistrů v husitské církvi a revoluci*. Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1985, 38. Purpose and dating of the so-called Text B related possibly to the convocation on St. Wenceslas Day in 1418 is still debated. Cf. also polemics of Jan of Jesenice and Jacobellus of Stříbro, Halama, *Otázka svatých*, 21-22.

[10] Halama, *Otázka svatých*, 29-30. Seltzer, Re-envisioning the Saint's Life, 149 (Klatovy synod of 1424).

[11] The two core questions are rooted in late medieval theological definition of sanctity, for Bohemia applied by Jaroslav Uhlíř, *Česká reformace: Svatost a/nebo zbožnost*, http://digit.nkp.cz/mns/uhlir_ceska_reformace.htm, consulted 2.1.2014.

human additions (*traditiones hominum*[12]), unnecessary or right away damaging exercise without any biblical support. In spite of theology disputes on the intervention and merits of saints, a positive role of saints was acknowledged by the majority of the movement, including the radicals – the problem was that different parties conceded them different portion of merits and competence. The two problematic perspectives needed to be reconciled with another Hussite novelty, the cultic commemoration of John Hus and Jerome of Prague that may have also eventually helped to compromise the Hussite view on saints.

The situation resulted in intermittent polemical exchange of opinions taking almost three decades between the radicals (first the Taborites, later the Unity of Brethren), the conservatives (led by a group of Prague University Masters), the emerging moderate party led by Jan Rokycana, and the Catholic party, leaving a series of interesting argumentative and normative texts, such as treatises, synodal orders, sermons, letters, articles, and songs dealing with the cult of saints.[13] Iconophobic and anti-cult standpoints were expressed in a number of them, but the opposite arguments favouring saints prevailed. The split on the question of religious practice involving saints continued well to the 1440s, and it is still echoed in the texts by more radical writers in the last third of the fifteenth century.

Imitating Ecclesia primitiva

At Prague Hussite synod of 1421, the authority of Roman church was challenged by stating the authority of the bible and early apostolic church,[14] regarded as an ideal Christian society by the Hussites. Early Christian martyrs were seen as witnesses and perpetuators of ideal community that practiced Christian cult in the simple fashion and, thus, as appropriate model for the life of faithful and religious practice. This view persisted in the Hussite documents into 1430s, and it lingered on among more radical theologians, but gradually, the tone of the leading Hussite party documents turned more moderate. The articles of agreement between Prague Hussite and the radical Orphans (*Sirotci*) priests of early January

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[12] Amedeo Molnár, *Jan Želivský. Dochovaná kázání z roku 1419*, I, *Od neděle velikonoční do pátí neděle po sv. Trojici*, Nákladatelství Československé akademie věd, Praha 1953, 16.

[13] Halama, *Otázka svatých*, 15-64. Zilynská, *Husitské synody v Čechách*.

[14] Zdeněk Nejedlý, *Prameny k synodám strany pražské a táborské v létech 1441-44*, Nakladatelství Královské české společnosti nauk, 1900, http://www.archive.org/details/pramenyksynodam00nejegoog, 6-7.

1432 (forming the core of emerging Utraquism) gave the Apostels and the primitive church overall authority in the questions of cult, drawing on division between human additions to cult and the divine inspiration: all Christian rules should be kept

> "*...secundum intellectum spiritus sancti et sanctorum, praecipueque attendentes matrem magistramque omnium nostrum sanctam ecclesiam primitivam.*"[15]

The agreement of early January 1432, and of St. James' day synod of 1434 both touched the two issues in the cult of saints, the questions of religious practice and intercession. Jan Rokycana, who at the January synod led the joined Prague Hussite and Orphans party, defended the intercession of saints and benefits of the faithful' appeals and prayers to saints in the article 9 and 13 of the Prague synod agreement of 9 January 1432.[16] The articles stress the need of both respectful approach towards the saints, and of a *moderate* attitude in its cultic expressions, including keeping the saints' feasts in all modesty and refraining from excesses: "*sed in moderamine prout decet ad sanctos se habere*" .." et…"*foret respectus ad sanctos*". The basic framework of the articles is inspired by earlier conservative views among the Hussite camp, but their "moderate" warnings against the cult of saints that threatens to outshine God due to inappropriate and immoderate conduct, echoes more radical ideas in the background. With the exception of the article on saints' feasts, St. James' synod of 1434 confirmed all the points in favour of the cult,[17] re-

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[15] Nejedlý, *Prameny k synodám strany pražské a táborské*, 7.

[16] *Articulus nonus. Credimus et ex Scriptura conperientes tenemus, quod sancti in celis cristianis hic fidelibus suis oracionibus et caritativis auxiliis pro capacitate sive eorum disposicione suffragantur. Quos fideles possunt licenter postulare et exorare pro auxilio et intercessione, circa hoc tamen cultu latrie soli Deo debitum eis non impendentes, sed in moderamine prout decet ad sanctos se habere, ad eosdem habentes, et quiquid deordinati foret respectus ad sanctos et supra mensuram postulacionis, hoc abicientes. ...Articulus tredecimus. Tenemus quod festivitates sanctorum, presertim Domini nostri Iesu Christi, que sunt beate virginis marie, apostolorum Cristi Iesu, martirum sanctorum et cetere antique in ecclesia Dei, in celebracione ab antiquo observante modo debito , non solum ab opere servili corporalis laboris , sed et a peccatis abstinendo, veluti ebrietatibus et ceteris deordinacionibus, sunt festivande...* Articuli magistrorum et sacedrotum antique civitatis Pragensis per regnum Bohemie sub anno Domini Millesimmo. CCCC. Tricesimo secundo, in: *Confessio Taboritarum*, ed Amedeo Molnár – Romolo Cegna, Roma 1983, 343-344 a 345. Cf. Halama, 46, ft. 149.

[17] Zilynská, *Husitské synody*, 115-116, 118.

introduced alms and prayers, but again repeated warning before simony and greed of priests, who push to misuse the cult of saints to their benefits, and insisted on the priority of the divine mandate before the human one. Regardless of the objections raised by the radical Taborites and whilst setting bounds to the expressions of cult, the emerging Utraquist party around Rokycana (drawing its authority from the negotiations on the Compactates) returned to the Catholic-oriented views concerning the intervention of saints in human Salvation. According to the articles, the saints are capable of intercession on behalf of the faithful *sive eorum disposicione*, i.e. according to their individual competence. The radical rhetoric was abandoned, for the time being.

Although in general the Taborite party held a positive view on the early Christian saints and saw them as authority and model to follow in life and cult, they differed from the rest of the Hussites in view why, and how one should venerate them. In 1420-1424, the Taborites formulated their view on the saints' cult that refutes the external expressions of cult that for radical preachers was *cultus inordinatus*,[18] such as celebration of saints' feasts, fasting, vigils. It also reveals distrust towards the saints, who were not named in the New Testament, and doubts saints' competence in intercession.[19] Consistently with the Taborite teaching of the 1420s, the Taborite theologian Nicolas (Mikuláš) Biskupec of Pelhřimov compiled respondent treatises to both above-mentioned articles of 1432 and 1434. His arguments he summarised in *De invocatione sanctorum in coelis* of 1434 that – on the basis of authority of the Bible - expressed impropriety of those forms of saints' veneration that should be reserved only to God, denied intercession and casts doubts on their role in Salvation:

> "*from the authority of the doctors it is clear that invocations and prayers are (the forms of) cult that is appropriate only for God...and that from the authority of Scripture cannot not be inferred that saints in heaven should be asked for help and intercession by praying and invocations, as the priest and others got used to teach, leaving the people to suffer in great superstition and perfidy – therefore we do not pray and invoke the saints, nor seek we help from them and thus impede cult that is deserved only to God... following Augustine we say it is appropriate that the saints should*

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[18] Jan N. Sedlák, *Liturgie u Husa a Husitův*, Studie a texty k náboženským dějinám českým 2.5. Olomouc: matice cyrilometodějská 1915, 161.

[19] Halama, 39, ft. 116. *16. Item in festis apostolorum et aliorum, in cathalogo legis nove positorum, fiant predicaciones as ipsos imitandum, sed populus ad laborem moneatur....21. Item vigilie sanctorum...cassentur. 22. Item de desiderando sanctorum suffragia in Scriptura sacra nullibi habemus de hoc faciendo exemplum explicite vel preceptum.*

be honoured and imitated, but the saints are to be honoured through imitation, but not venerated through religion." [20]

Nicolas and the Taborite party honoured the Apostles as witnesses and protagonists of *ecclesia primitiva*, an ideal community that they themselves wanted to emulate. They accepted saints as important *exempla* worthy of commemoration, and imitation in life, but they saw cult, and teaching on intercession and purgatory as dangerous deceit by the greedy priests. Even though in 1432 and 1434 important steps were made in bringing close the teachings of the Taborites and Rokycana's Utraquism, the questions intercession and the cult of saints remained dividing points.

Nicolas' ideas were developed in the writings of Petr Chelčický (ar. 1390-1460), original thinker close to the radicals, in his writings of 1430s-1440s. The founding ideologue of future Unity of Brethren takes on similar critical view on the cult of saints, refuses intercession of the Virgin Mary and saints, and blames priests for trading with holy and favouring saints before God, when the source of their beneficiary power – to which

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[20] Halama, 51. *Circa invocacionem sanctorum in celis percipientes ex communi sententia doctorum, quod invocacio sive oracio saltim proprie dicta est cultus soli deo exhibendus, et non videntes expressam Scripturam legis sub eterna dampnacione obligantem ad tenendum pro fidei articulo, quia sancti in celis a fidelibus his viantibus pro suffragio et intercessione necessario sint orandi aut invocandi modo, quo communiter sacerdotes et alii populares ex eorum instruccione consueverunt, et notantes populum per hoc in magna supersticione et perfidia continue laborare, ea intencione ipsos non oramus nec invocamus, nec suffragia eorum ab eis postulamus, ne cultum soli Deo debitum ipsis impendamus, quamvis sicut decet eos dicamus honorandos ac imitandos, scientes secundm Augustinum, quod sancti sunt honorandi propter imitacionem, sed non adorandi propter religionem. Suffragia autem sanctorum non negamus, quibus suffragantur hominibus in ecclesia militante , et ea non asserimus a Deo nullatenus postulanda.* Cf. Nicolas of Pelhřimov (Mikuláš z Pelhřimova), *Vyznání a obrana Táborů*, František M. Dobiáš and Amedeo Molnár, eds., Prague: Nakladatelství ČSAV, 1972, p. 115f. (saints were given to us for imitation, not veneration... no man except Christ, deprived of his body, is a reliable a true mediator between God and faithful, nor defender or intercessor for the sinful in front of God...). Cf. Jan z Příbramě, *Život kněží Táborských*, Jaroslav Boubín, ed., Podbrdsko fontes, Příbram: Státní okresní archiv Příbram, 2000, p. 56, parts *Panna Maria ani jiní světí nemohú nám spomoci, Abychme nevolali k svatým na pomoc, Kosti a těla svatých ohavili. Obrazy zkazili.* For distinction by church fathers between worship owed to Christ and that of saints, see Kenneth Woodward, *Making Saints: How the Catholic Church Determines Who Becomes a Saint, Who Doesn't and Why*, New York: Touchstone 1991, 58.

he consents to - is coming only from God and through God.[21] Petr sees saints as co-actors, and partakers of grace, but argues against saints' competence to redeem sins, denies the use of images in cult, and, as Nicolas, declares that the only proper way of honouring saints is leading a good, saintly life imitating them. He resolves that keeping memory of saints is beneficial as it can inspire faithful to leading saintly lives:

> *"(the faithful) should not venerate (saints) other way than by being saint themselves, through one's own life honour them, and be to their credit, joy, and sanctity, and add to their credit (by leading) one's own saintly life, following them in their conduct, and deeds, of which they left us true examples and true instructions how to lead saintly life. And this is the great help of the saints..."*

Whereas due the critique of trading with holy (*svatokupectvi*), indulgences, improper celebration of feasts, invocations and alms the cult of saints may have lost attractiveness for some, the idea of saints representing ideal Christian life for the contemporaries persevered in Utraquism as well as the Unity of Brethren.

In pointing out the importance of genuine imitation of saints in life, Nicolas and Petr might have actually drawn on an earlier thought of John Hus. Already before his sett-off to Konstanz, Hus was at least aware (if not supportive) of the christomimetic potential of his future fate.[22] In his letter written in fall 1414, he speaks of Christ's death as *exemplum* given to the followers of Christ - that is us, who suffer for him and for our salvation. "Why should not we suffer the same way as did Christ himself?" he asks. Hus had a first-hand experience with this notion. He was accused by the Council of Constance that in 1412, he held commemoration for three beheaded students in Prague, who exhorted by his sermon in the Bethlehem chapel went around Prague impeding indulgence selling and provoking turmoil.[23] Although he was not personally responsible for this "precedent-setting" act,[24] and may have not even been present, he was aware of what has happened, as he a few days later held a sermon, where

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[21] Halama, *Otázka svatých*, 60-61.
[22] Hack, Heiligenkult im frühen Hussitismus, 134, 148.
[23] Hack, Heiligenkult im frühen Hussitismus, 142-3.
[24] David Holeton, and Hana Vlhová-Wörner, A Remarkable Wittness to feast of Saint Jan Hus, *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 7 (2009), 157, ft. 5. http://brrp.org/proceedings/brrp7/holeton_vlhovaworner.pdf, consulted 11.1. 2014.

he called them martyrs.[25] Through imitation of Christ' suffering, Hus approaching death does not understand saints' cult as commemoration of the past, nor intercession for future, but sees sanctity rather as model for the *present* time, and true re-enactment of *ecclesia primitiva* in his own days. This hagiographical matrix was a concept acceptable also to the radicals, and fitted well the early period of the Hussite movement, when there was sufficient number of martyrs of faith to be remembered.[26] The cults of the Constance martyrs, Hus and Jerome of Prague, matched this concept of sainthood perfectly. Christ, the Apostles and early Christian martyrs who gave their lives for their faith in the time of persecution represented the appropriate parallel to the forming cult of the Hussite martyrs, as expressed in the sermon of Jan Želivský in 1419.[27] It may seem a paradox, but the need to establish an acceptable theological and hagiographical framework for a dignified commemoration of the contemporary Hussite martyrs might have, in fact, contributed to the easing of views on some aspects of the liturgical and cultic commemoration of saints.

Consolidation of teaching on saints in Utraquism

Facing the possibility to reconciliation with the Basel Council, Rokycana and the Utraquist party turned its back on the views of the Taborites. For the consolidation of the position on saints in Utraquism, now the strongest party of the movement, were important the results of the Compactate Accord of 1436 and the series of regulations enforced in the period of 1437 to 1444. The agreement with the legates of the Basel council authorised by the conservative University masters imposed in Prague the return to traditional forms of religious practices connected to the saints' cult, such as ceremonies, manipulation with relics, feasts, pilgrimages and images; in effect, many images of saints returned to the Prague churches as was noted in Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini's History of Bohemia.[28] But the Hussite iconophobia and uneasiness towards saints was not easily forgotten – especially the problem of images was treated

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[25] He was not the only one to regard them as saints. At their funeral at the Bethlehem Chapel, a responsory *Isti sunt sancti* was sung, Seltzer, Re-envisioning the Saint's Life, 153.

[26] Hack, Heiligenkult im frühen Hussitismus , 146-7.

[27] Molnár, *Jan Želivský*, 131.

[28] Alena Hadravová, Dana Martínková, and Jiří Motl, eds. *Aeneae Silvii Historia Bohemica / Enea Silvio Historie česká,* Prague: Koniasch Latin Press, 1998, 169.

carefully in the forming Utraquist Church orthodoxy. We can trace this cautiousness in the Czech *Articles on the keeping of the Basel Accord*, a vernacular executive instruction of 1437 based on the Compactate Accord. It follows closely the template written in Latin by the Council legates, ordering the return to the traditional form of cult. It differs from the original only in the passage on images, where it gives more precise explanation of their role in cult, and instruction, how to approach them:[29]

> "…*good images (*poctivé obrazy*, honourable, worthy) are not called gods by Christians, nor worshipped as gods, nor is faith put in them to bring salvation, nor any future judgement expected from them, merely for the commemoration of sainted forefathers (they are) revered, however they nor any creature are not to be worshipped as god. As Saint Gregory and other sainted fathers proclaimed, we have images put in front of our eyes so that seeing them bodily should move us so that whensoever we behold an image we shall raise our minds to that, whose image we see, we may kneel in front of it in reverence, but we pray only to that one, whom we remember through the image seeing him born, martyred or seated on the right (of the Father). …*"

An important corrective to the Latin document, the text yields to memorial function of images of saints, but limits honouring saints through them – all reverence must be directed only to Christ. The text illustrates the shift in understanding, the images of saints underwent as a result of the polemic on the status of saints and images in cult. Based on the authority of St. Gregory the Great, images of saints are here deprived of any cultic and intercessory power; they function only as media of memory. Faithful may

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[29] Michal Šroněk, Artykuly na držení kompaktát a teorie obrazu v době pohusitské, *Umění* 5-6, 2010, 384-387. *"That is for the images in churches to be of Christ and the Virgin Mary and other saints. And the priests are to teach the people according to the provisions of the Holy Church, which says De consecrat. Dist. III: good images (*poctivé obrazy*, honourable, worthy) are not called gods by Christians, nor worshipped as gods, nor is faith put in them to bring salvation, nor any future judgement expected from them, merely for the commemoration of sainted forefathers (they are) revered, however they nor any creature are not to be worshipped as god. As Saint Gregory and other sainted fathers proclaimed, we have images put in front of our eyes so that seeing them bodily shoul move us so that whensoever we behold an image we shall raise our minds to that, whose image we see, we may kneel in front of it in reverence, but we pray only to that one, whom we remember through the image seeing him born, martyred or seated on the right (of the Father). And sometimes the painting is like the word, bringing to memory the son of God, bringing to our mind not sorrow, but joy of Ressurrection."* (trans. Silvia Hromádková)

knee before images of saints, but prayers are reserved only to Christ, whose representations in his human form and suffering are welcome to evoke religious enthusiasm and empathy. The same text also demands the return to pilgrimages, which used to be criticised by Hussite theologians (e.g. Jacobellus of Stříbro). Following the agreement, the Council legates tried to re-introduce ceremonies that involved the relics after 1437,[30] followed by the conservative theologians Jan of Příbram and Prokop of Plzeň, who in the 1440s promoted the traditional forms of the cult of saints. This strategy did not hold on for long. Rokycana found relics and pilgrimages inacceptable, criticised them openly, and his fellows choose rather to ignore them.[31]

In the 1440s, when the conservative (Utraquist, but pro-Catholic) party of Menhart of Hradec steered Prague, further steps were undertaken to the restoration of the cult of saints in its Catholic extent.[32] The key moment to entrench the conservative attitude to saints is the Kutná Hora Utraquist synod of 1441 and the polemics with the Taborites that arose around its pro-Catholic perspective on cult.[33] Its results were confirmed by the articles of land Diet in 1441 (Čáslav) and 1444 (Prague) that sealed the official teaching of Utraquism and the defeat of the Taborites on the issue. The political situation is different as in the 1430s – although under pressure from the conservatives, the archbishop-elect Rokycana is now in the position of an official authority, whose task is to bring the Taborites to discipline, and he clearly cannot allow any open disobedience. The synod articles of 1441 are directed against their teaching and embrace – with Rokycana's support – more favourable standpoint towards the pro-Catholic views of Rokycana's former opponent, Jan of Příbram. The early church (*ecclesia primitiva*) is not mentioned once as an authority, and no division between human and divine mandates can be observed in the text.

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[30] Kateřina Horníčková, Memory, Politics and Holy Relics: Catholic Tactics amidst the Hussite Reformation, in *Materializing Memory Archaeological material culture and the semantics of the past*, BAR Series, Oxford: Archaeopress 2009, 97-103.

[31] Following *Žaloby katolíků*, 51, 28, Rokycana personally forbid processions with relics. Blanka Zilynská, Ansichten der böhmischen Utraquisten des 15. Jahrhunderts zur Wallfahrt, in: *Wallfahrt und Reformation / Pouť a reformace. Zur Veränderung religiöser Praxis in Deutschland und Böhmen in den Umbrüchen der Frühen Neuzeit*, Europäische Wallfahrtsstudien 3, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang 2007, 79-108. On rare occurence of consecration relics in Utraquism, Kateřina Horníčková, *Between Heaven and Earth: Treasure in Late Medieval Bohemia*, Ph.D. Diss, Budapest 2009, 174-6, 186.

[32] Zilynská, *Husitské synody*, 104.

[33] Nejedlý, *Prameny k synodám*, 5 and 7-8.

The parts on saints comply fully with the Catholic practice, including all forms of veneration, and fasting in the full extent of the Catholic habitus. The articles use the same arguments as those of 1432, but now the restrictions that should have kept the cult moderate are left out.[34]

The situation changed after taking of Prague by George of Poděbrady in 1448 that caused the fall of the conservative leaders and consequent defeat of radical Tábor in 1452. Rokycana – now a sole non-Catholic authority – can now turn back to the Hussite arguments for inspiration, without the need to compromise. He is concerned with the moral conduct of priests, redundancy of pilgrimages and relics, and excessive cultic practices, as his Catholic opponents report.[35] The Accusations of Catholics on Jan Rokycana (1461) recount him as a *wyclifite*, who keeps complaining about the persisting "*false belief in the intercession of the saints, although it is known that the saints alone cannot forgive sins, only Christ does.*" He repeats older arguments of the radical Hussites about simoniac priests earning money on the cult of saints, of people, who like drinking, being merry and sinning on the feasts, and wandering around on pilgrimages. Rokycana did not go back to the Taborite refusal of saints, but as the Hussite critics earlier,[36] he suspected that the returning practices of the cult of saints may outshine the exclusive position of the Corpus Christi in Utraquist religious practice.[37] Particularly pilgrimages and carrying relics and images have troubled him,[38] which indirectly confirms that the Catholics at the time intensified persuasion through promotion of

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[34] Nejedlý, *Prameny k synodám*, 13-14.

[35] Jaroslav Boubín – Jana Zachová, *Žaloby katolíků na Mistra Jana z Rokycan*, Rokycany 1997, 48-50.

[36] Based on Jacobellus and Matthew, Hussite authors observed the decline of the cult of saints as a consequence of preference of the Corpus Christi. Halama, *Otázka svatých*, 18. Laurentius of Březová sees the images of saints as counteract to the Hussite cult of the Eucharist: (*the Catholic army invading Kutná Hora*) „*took away the newly-erected sanctuary for the Corpus Christi (in the church) and destroyed it to pieces. Quickly, (Kutna Hora burghers) exhibited images of Christ or saints on the houses that were earlier hidden away so they could show the soldiers (of the anti-Hussite party) that they were not from the sect of Prague heretics. And with a great joy they placed these images again in the churches upon the altars...swearing at the Taborites, the Prague party and wycliffists...*"Laurentius of Březová, 1979, 275-6.

[37]František Šimek, *Postilla Jana Rokycany*, 1, Prague: Komise pro vydávání pramenů českého hnutí náboženského, 1928-9. See Hussite origin of this idea in Bartlová, *Understanding Hussite iconoclasm*, 121.

[38] Boubín – Zachová, *Žaloby katolíků*, 51,28,

traditional expressions of saints' cult.[39] With a clear intention to denounce him, the Catholic articles exaggerated Rokycana's animosity to the saints by accusing him of preaching against saints and the Virgin Mary – Rokycana should have expressed his view in public by disposing of a statue of the Virgin Mary that stood on the main altar in the Tyne church in Prague. In his sermons, whilst repeating arguments against excessive expressions of the cult of saints, which is to the detriment of centrality of Christ, and reservation towards their capability to redemption from sins, Rokycana gives saints a great deal of authority as important moral *exempla*. In his parable of ecclesiastical hierarchy, he compares Christ to the sun, the Virgin Mary to the moon, which position she deserves for her humility, and saints to the stars for their great virtues and good deeds.[40]

In spite of Rokycana's effort, there was little central authority that would be able to properly and equally enforce synodal regulation, especially when Rokycana maintained a somewhat cautious distance in the matter. Officially, the cult of saints was following the Catholic pattern in its pre-Hussite extent, in reality it re-emerged from the Bohemian religious controversy of the first half of the 15th century profoundly transformed. As Uhlíř observed, for a proportion of faithful the saints' cult remained an empty formula.[41] Utraquist theologians tried to curb the cult, especially regarding pharisaic praying, fasting and donations to redeem sins, clerical ethics, trading with holy, improper celebration of feasts, and keeping faithful morals[42] in reaction to the ostentatious promotion of Catholic ceremonies. In regions under Utraquist hegemony, contrary to the symbolic uses, the distrust to cult, intercession and redemption from sins through saints persevered among the popular attitudes, whilst in the

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[39] Halama, *Otázka svatých*, 59, ft. 192-4. Michal Šroněk, *Karel IV., Jan Rokycana a šlojíř nejistý*, in: Zbožnost ve středověku, ed. Nodl, Martin., Praha 2007 (Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia; 6), 79-110, The Veil of the Virgin Mary. Relics in the Conflict Between Roman Catholics and Utraquists in Bohemia in the 14th and 15th Centuries, *Umění* Sv. 57 Z. č. 2 (2009), 118-139.

[40] Šimek, Postilla Jana Rokycany, I, 55-6.

[41] Uhlíř, *Česká reformace: svatost a/nebo zbožnost*, unpag. (between ftnote 13 and 15)

[42] Sermon and written apology of around 1517 by priest Martin of St. Jindrich church in Prague, Library of the National Museum, Prague, sign. 37.D.29: *Knížka proti ošemetné poctě a pokrytí svatých od kněze Martina, faráře u svatého Jindřicha v Praze sepsaná i kázaná okolo léta 1517. a nyní obnovená a na světlo vydaná skrze kněze Jana Štelcara Želetavského z Želetavy, faráře v Velké Bystřici líta páně 1593. K níž jsou staré písně přidané*, edited by Halama, *Otázka svatých*, 169-180. Library of the National Museum, Prague, sign. 37.D.29.

Catholic parts, the external expressions of the cult turned to symbolic manifestations.

The cult of saints may have lost some of its attractiveness, but it still represented an ideal pattern for the preaching and instruction on ideal Christian conduct. With the last Hussite legendary figures dying in 1470s, and under pressure by the Catholic party of king Vladislav of Jagiello, growing strong after his treaty with Matthias Corvinus in 1479, still young Utraquist religious identity fell into crisis and needed to be bolstered by new saints, ideally martyrs - an option open in Bohemia at that time.[43] As Seltzer demonstrated on the examples from the Old Czech Annals, around 1500 a model of a genuine Utraquist saint was seek among the contemporary parish priests and preachers that suffered (sometimes self-inflicted) martyr's death and openly confessed communion *sub utraque*.[44] In Utraquism, the saints were valued preferably for their moral reputation and exemplary perseverance in faith, not for events in legends or miracles.[45] The idea of imitation of the community of early Christian saints in contemporary life survived as important current in the Utraquist and Unitarian teaching. Envisioning *ecclesia primitiva* in its re-enactment today assumed a parallel existence of "saints of our days", teachers and martyrs, who live according to God's law as the righteous among us.[46] The concept guided the selection of saints in Utraquism, outlined the ideal, linked the early Christian past and the present, and created a framework for the enlargement of the body of Utraquist saints.

With occasional hesitation, saints (unlike relics[47]) returned into Utraquist religious practice, even though the parish communities maintained different views on cult expressions.[48] As part of the Catholic –

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[43] Seltzer, Re-envisioning the Saint's Life, 151.

[44] Seltzer, Re-envisioning the Saint's Life, 152-165.

[45] Woodward, *Making saints*, 62.

[46] *Knížka proti ošemetné poctě a pokrytí svatých od kněze Martina,*168, 171-2. Cf. similar concept in Luther, Ulrich Köpf, Protestantismus und Heiligenverehrung, in: *Heiligenverehrung in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. Peter Dinzelbacher, und Dieter R. Bauer, Ostfildern: Schwabenverlag 1990, 327.

[47] Horníčková, *In Heaven and on Earth*, 176-7.

[48] Zikmund Winter, *Kulturní obraz českých měst: Život veřejný v XV. a XVI. věku [The cultural image of Bohemian towns in the 15th-16th centuries]*, vol. 1. Prague: Matice česká, 1890, 441, where in 1468 the hetman of the Prachatice region complained about farmers of the Prachatice parish for not contributing money for an image in their church because they " *do not mind if there will be any, as earlier they destroyed them and poked out their eyes , as we can still see today in the church of St. Peter (in Prachatice). If they would be asked to contribute for the*

Utraquist agreement, the Utraquist church adhered to the pre-Hussite Prague diocesan rule that determined the general structure of the feasts in the liturgical year. The Hromnice synod of 1524 confirmed the feasts of saints observed by the Utraquists.[49] These included Christ's, and a selection of the Virgin Mary's feasts, the fests of angels, All Souls, the saints mentioned in the New Testament, St. John the Baptist, St. Lawrence, St. Mary Magdalen, St. John Hus and of the Bohemian patron saints; without Hus, these were naturally also honoured by the Bohemian Catholics next to other saints. The synod articles forbid misbehaving during the feasts and states that other feasts should be held on Sundays, so that labourers' trade would not be harmed.

Probably the most apparent evidence of the return of saints was the re-appearance of images in churches. The formal characteristics give the impression that the images too reflect the "emptiness" of cult. Recently, a new interpretative framework was suggested for style "downfall" observed by art historians in the Bohemian works made in the fifteenth century, according to which the representations refrain from decorativeness and mimesis to "clean" images from deceptive illusion of reality and beauty

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sanctuary for the Eucharist they would notprotest, but they do not like to see images in churches and consider them blasphemous.. "

[49] Feasts „*též také swátkowé výroční, jako Krysta Pána Narození, Nowé létho, Třzí Králůw, Hromnicz, Zviestowání Panny Marye, Wzkřzíssení geho na nebe wstaupení, Ducha Sv. Seslání, Svaté Trogicze, Tiela Božího, na nebe wzetí Panny Marye, angelůw Božích, wssech swatých, Swátkowé apoštolsstí, ti kteřzíš základ w Zákonie Božím magí, Sͦ Jana Křztitele, Marye Magdaleny, Sͦ Wawřzincze, Mistra Jana Husy, y giných diediczúw Czeských zachowáwáni býti magí. Giní pak swátkowé v nedielské dni přzipomínáni býti mohau.*" Chronicle of Bartoš of Prague, National Library in Prague, XVII.D.5, Manuscriptorium site visited 20.1.2014: http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/index.php?request=show_tei_digidoc&docId=rec1352978283_42&client=&dd_listpage_pag=212v, fol. 13v. The problematic expression *diediczúw Czeských* and less outspoken mentions of Bohemian patrons in other Utraquist synodal texts and correspondence probably led Halama to believing that the veneration of the Bohemian patrons was limited to only St. Wenceslas. Ota Halama, Utrakvistická úcta k českým světcům, in: *Světci a jejich kult ve středověku*, ed. Petr Kubín, Hana Pátková, Tomáš Petráček, České Budějovice: Ústav dějin křesťanského umění KTF v Praze a Tomáš Halama 2009, 194. A different opinion is maintained by Václav Žůrek, Officia svatých v českých graduálech 16. století, paper held at the *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* conference, June 2012, unpag. Quoted with author's permission.

that may lure the faithful to idolatry.[50] Utraquist altarpieces[51] comply with this hypothesis – they concede through their rough style, and modest decoration that they are mere representations of their originals, and the products of human hands. They seem to share certain general characteristics: the viewers' attention is directed to Christ or Eucharistic motifs in the centre. Saints' figures are moved to the altar wings in correspondence of secondary position of saints. Miracles, relics and legend narrative scenes are generally omitted. Early Christian saints, Bohemian patrons, and Hus are depicted at martyrdom or as iconic standing figures, fit for didactic and memorial functions.

The Cult of the New Martyrs and the Authority of the Forefathers

Written sources convey that cult arose around Jan Hus already soon after his death in Constance.[52] Jacobellus of Stříbro held sermon on Hus and the Prague and Olomouc martyrs in the spring 1416.[53] Adding Jerome of Prague later, he called both Hus and Jerome in his preaching the "new martyrs" (*sermo…in memoriam novorum martyrum*). In December 1416, a letter written by an Olomouc canon reported on public memorial feasts with sung hymns and martyrs' anniversaries comparing Hus and Jerome to St. Lawrence, St. Peter and early Christian martyrs taking place on the first anniversary of Hus death in 1416.[54] Old Bohemian Annals inform us on

[50] For this concept see Milena Bartlová, *Poctivé obrazy*, Prague: Argo 2002, 48. Milena Bartlová, Renaissance and Reformation in Czech Art History: Issues of Period and Interpretation, *Umění* LIX (2011), 2-19.

[51] Openly Utraquist altarpieces were targetted in the Counter-Reformation. Some survived in now Catholic churches, although they were often transferred to filial churches or less important places. More systematic research of their provenance and interpretation has not been done and would be hindered by a limited accessibility of written evidence. I am considering here only those works, where the Utraquist provenance is known or generally accepted by scholars.

[52] Overview in Jan Royt, Ikonografie Mistra Jana Husa v 15. až 18. století, 405-7. On liturgical commemoration Holeton, and Vlhová-Wörner, A Remarcable Wittness to feast of Saint Jan Hus, 156-7.

[53] Hack, Heiligenkult im frühen Hussitismus, 138, ft. 66.

[54] The letter of Olomouc cannons of December 1416, „*Pro Iohanne Hus et Ieronymo …faciunt festivitates et cantant „Gaudeamus" et alia tamquam de martyribus, comparantes eosdem meritis et penis sancto Laurentio martyri et ipsos preferentes sancto Petro et aliis sanctis*," Holeton, and Vlhová-Wörner, A Remarcable Wittness to feast of Saint Jan Hus, 156, ft. 3. Citing Howard

images of Hus and Jerome carried on the Prague streets, the Constance Council sources of 1418 on the songs about them and images in churches, and the Basel legates witnessed a sung Latin Eucharist on the feast-day of the John Hus martyrdom in 1433.[55] Next to the liturgical commemoration, images and songs became integral part of promoting of St. John Hus as saint. Even when concerned about improper use of images in cult, the Utraquists were aware of their power to communicate in public the *fama* of the to-be saint. Hus' public death prompted written accounts of the event, which, on the Bohemian side, carry distinct hagiographic features. An eye-witness report on Hus' death by his student Petr of Mladoňovice written in late 1415 or early 1416 uses deliberately Christomimetic and hagiographical approaches to glorify Hus as martyr, namely the allusion to the Christ's passion.[56] Under the name of *Passio Joanni Hus*, the Mladoňovice's text was read on the Bohemian Martyrs' feast in the Bohemian churches. Petr's text was followed before 1430 by *Passio Johannis Hus* by Johannes Barbatus, another hagiographic text on Hus, where a particular significance was given to his affinity to St. Lawrence, who was burnt by fire as well.[57] As evidence of widespread notion of Hus sanctity, in his sermon of 1419, Jan Želivský, Prague radical preacher, links *saint* John Hus and Jerome to the early Christian martyrs, St. John the Baptist, Peter, Paul, James and Lawrence and Old Testament's Job.[58] As Hus could not be subjected to any traditional hagiography procedure, which was firmly in hands of the pope (such as writing of official vita,

Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution*, Berkeley/Los Angeles 1967, 162-69.

[55] David Ralph Holeton, Oslava Jana Husa v životě církve, in: *Jan Hus na přelomu tisíciletí*, 83-111, especially 84-92. Royt, Ikonografie Mistra Jana Husa v 15. Až 18. Století, 405-6. Lately summarised by Michal Šroněk, Comput digital and Jan Hus as Defender of the Faith Comput digital a Jan Hus jako obhájce víry. *Umění* 61.1 (2013), 2-22, and Holeton, and Vlhová-Wörner, A Remarkable Wittness to feast of Saint Jan Hus, 156-7.

[56] Hack, Heiligenkult im frühen Hussitismus, 131.

[57] *Passio Johannis Hus cum epilogo Jacobelli de Missa*, 215r, http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/main/index.php?request=show_tei_digidoc &docId=set20060315_118_42&client=direct&dd_listpage_pag=213v. Cf. Novotný Václav, ed., *Passio Johanins Hus secundum Johannem Barbatum*, *Fontes rerum bohemicarum* 8, Prague 1932, 22. Cf. Fudge, Jan Hus, 206.

[58] Molnár, Želivský, 131: *Ergo qui partitur propter caussam Dei , est verus martir....*here related to St. Berhard:...*qualited Deus puniet, quos reprobat, cum sic punit, quos amat, ut sanctum Johannem Hus, Ieronimum...* Later, Želivský is considered himself a candidate for a Utraquist saint, cf. Seltzer, Re-envisioning the Saint's Life, 154-158.

miracles, translation, relics or canonisation),[59] association with a particular known saint' pattern was the logical way, how to set his cult within unquestioned pattern of sanctity. In making Jan Hus saint, the Hussite concept of the existence of 'saints of our days' who imitate early Christian martyrs in the present, played a key role. Undoubtedly, this idea is behind the representation on the wings of the altarpiece from St. Wenceslas church in Roudníky (District Ústí nad Labem), where Jan Hus is depicted together with St. Lawrence, St. Stephen, and St. James, in a unique preserved example of the altar veneration of Hus (pl.1) made before 1486.[60] Hus is accompanied by the early Church martyrs St. Stephen and St. Lawrence also in the initial S of the introit of the feast of Hus in the Kutná Hora Gradual of 1490-91,[61] decorating hymn written specifically to his feast.

The strategy of Hus' individual representations also places him into a recognised pattern of sanctity. It uses two concepts: the martyrdom for faith, and the prophecy of 'orthodoxy'.[62] The earliest preserved image of Hus' burning in the Martinice Bible, ar. 1430,[63] shows Hus' martyrdom in the margin of the beginning of the Book of Genesis, contextualising him as the first martyr - the "first light" of new faith.[64] A figure of scholar-hagiographist holding a book, who is turning back to the burning Hus, seals the authenticity of the account. Due to lesser losses of Hus' depictions in illuminated choral books, image of Hus' martyrdom that as

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[59] Šroněk, Compus digital, 18, who sees in Hus a new type of saint.

[60] MB (Milena Bartlová), V/ 17, Křídla retáblu z Roudník, in: *Umění české reformace*, 136-7. Milena Bartlová, Upálení sv. Jana Husa na malovaných křídlech utrakvistického oltáře z Roudník, *Umění* 53 (2005), 427-444.

[61] ÖNB, Musiksammlung Mus. Hs. 15492, fol. 285r, Barry Graham, *Bohemian and Moravian Graduals*, 1420-1620, Turnhout: Brepols 2006, cat. no. 128, 561-68.

[62] On different aspects of Hus iconography see: Bartlová, Upálení sv. Jana Husa, 427-444, Milada Studničková, Jan Hus jako světlo prvého dne: K ikonografii Martinické bible (John Hus as a Light on the First Day of Creation: To the Iconography of Martinice Bible). In Zdeněk Víšek, Blažena Hrabánková. *Slánské rozhovory 2010 - Česká husitská reformace*. Slaný: Vlastivědné muzeum ve Slaném, 2011, 32-38, Šroněk, Comput Digital, 2-22. On Hus' images in manuscript illumination Martina Šárovcová, Jan Hus in Illuminated manuscripts of the Bohemian Rennaissance, *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 8 (2011), 288-316. http://www.brrp.org/proceedings/brrp8/sarovcova.pdf, visited 7.1.2014.

[63] Possible earlier depiction of Hus' burning by Sassetta in Siena 1423-4 has no direct relation to Bohemia or Hus' cult. Fudge, *Jan Hus*, 207-8. Royt, Ikonografie, 406.

[64] Studničková, Jan Hus jako světlo prvého dne, 32-8.

of rule decorate his feast in the Utraquist graduals is the most frequent preserved iconography of Hus.[65] The martyrdom was also painted in the monumental form, as is testified by a discovery of mural painting with this subject in a church in Písek, dated after 1560 (pl. 2).

Less frequently, Hus' iconography as saint used the theme of prophecy of faith to show him in the role of preacher, priest or theologian defending the truth. He is depicted either in liturgical context as priest-defender of lay chalice (in martyr or priestly garment, with a chalice, falling into the most typical Utraquist category of sanctity),[66] or as preaching 'orthodoxy', for which he was unjustly condemned.[67] The latter is ingeniously expressed in the illumination to Hus' feast in the gradual of Litoměřice, 1517, where the illuminator used aptly the knowledge of traditional medieval iconography to portray Hus as the defender of faith and victim of a false accusation.[68] Remarkably, the painter adopted for this Hus' apotheosis the actual composition of the Assumption of the Virgin.

A rare hagiographic composition illustrates Hus in the role of a personal patron saint. Printer's signet in 1520 edition of Hus' *Explanations on Faith* shows Hus with a halo dressed as university scholar and teacher recommending the book publisher to Christ.[69] The scene is remarkably reminiscent of patronage scenes, where the work's commissioner is recommended to Christ through a saint intercessor. No other similar work is known to have survived the Counter-Reformation that targeted works

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[65] Šárovcová, Jan Hus in Illuminated manuscripts of the Bohemian Rennaissance, 288-316.

[66] As on Chrudim predella (KH (Kateřina Horníčková), V-18 Oltář Zmrtvýchvstání Krista z Chrudimi, in: *Umění české reformace*, 96, 139), and possibly also in full figure on the wall painting in St. Lawrence church in Prague – Petřín Hill, 1450s-60s, where the identification of St. John Hus is complicated by the destroyed parts. (http://tethys.imareal.sbg.ac.at/realonline/, no. 13403, consulted 16.12.2015). Another depiction of this type is Hus and St. Adalbert with a chalice on Vliněves altarpiece, Horníčková, V-19 Deska z oltáře z Vliněvsi, 142-143.

[67] Šroněk, Comput digital, 3.

[68] Šroněk, Comput digital, 2-22.

[69] Jan Hus, *Dvanácti článkuo víry křesťanské obecné výkladové*, Praha, Mikuláš Konáč z Hodiškova 1520 (*Knihopis* 3266), fol. s6b. Petr Voit, Česká a německá reformace v ilustraci české knihy první poloviny 16. století, In: *In puncto religionis. Konfesní dimenze předbělohorské kultury v Čechách a na Moravě*, ed. Kateřina Horníčková and Michal Šroněk, Prague: Artefaktum 2013, 148. Voit mentions another full-figure print of Hus by Erhard Schön with an inscription identifying him as God's martyr, made around 1520.

offensive to the Catholic faith and, in particular, personal memorial monuments of this kind.[70]

Diffusion of Lutheran Reformation in Bohemia since 1520s braced up more radical views. Luther's consent to Hus' ideas prompted new iconography types that portrayed Hus as enlightened intellectual and teacher in university teacher's garment, with a book,[71] distributing lay chalice,[72] hero and a forerunner of Reformation, rather than saint. Similarly as Rokycana and the Hussite preachers, Luther held saints in high regard for their reputation, saw in them human models of proper Christian life, complained about misuse of their cultic veneration, and foster living 'saints' instead of dead ones. In the response to the Unity of Brethren on the Sacrament in 1523, he even consents to the Unitarian refusal of intercession of (dead) saints on the basis of the lack of biblical support.[73] This view supported the radicals in Bohemia from both the Utraquists and Brethren churches in the moment, when a conflict between both groups escalated as part of their internal *confessionalising* process. Utraquists then split under the influence of Luther in course of the 16th century, but in spite of partial *lutheranisation*, Hus' feast continues to appear in their liturgical books in the second half of the 16th century.

Although events of 1412-1434 brought a number of martyrs that deserved commemoration,[74] John Hus and Jerome of Prague remained the central figures honoured in the Bohemian Reformation. Their cult became symptomatic of the Utraquist religious identity. In 1495, the Printer of Prague Bible (Severin Kramář?) published the *Bohemian Pasional* with vernacular hagiographic translations of the texts from the *Legenda Aurea*. To meet a demand, he also printed two hagiographic texts for the Utraquists and other dissent churches in a separate quire, the Mladoňovice *Passio of Hus* and additional text on Jerome of Prague, to which he added

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[70]Recognisably non-Catholic objects have been targeted and destroyed in the Counter-Reformation (after 1622/4) in an attempt to *damnatio memoriae* of the non-Catholic past. On basic documents and organisation Šroněk, Comput digital, 2.

[71] This type is used often in Lutheran and Brethren prints, eg. Songs of Praise to God printed by Pavel Severýn of Kapí Hora and Jan Roh for the Unity of Brethren in 1541, Bohemian old prints catalogue – KNIHOPIS, no. K12856, http://db.knihopis.org/l.dll?cll~P=13074, consulted 16.12.2015

[72] MŠ (Michal Šroněk), IX-11, Martin Luther a Jan Hus podávají pod obojí saským knížatům, in: *Umění české reformace*, 301.

[73] Köpf, Protestantismus und Heiligenverehrung, 327-8. As for Luther, the cult of saints was of lesser importance, the question remains if he was inspired to such formulations by the Bohemian case.

[74] Hack, Heiligenkult im frühen Hussitismus, 146-7.

woodcuts of their martyrdom. The "supplement"[75] was sold together with the rest of the Pasional to the non-Catholic customers, whereas without it, the work would not disturb any patriotic Bohemian Catholic. The *Passional* managed to serve different religious groups without causing indignation, and, for the Utraquists, it filed Hus among the most popular saints in Bohemia.

In the 15th and early 16th century, the mining town of Kutná Hora tried to challenge the leading position of Prague as head of the religious movement in the kingdom. Whereas Prague had Hus, Jerome and three martyrs of 1412, Kutná Hora officials tried to promote local martyrs to the Bohemian Reformation cults, an effort bolstered in particular by the invention of remains in 1492 of the Kutná Hora Hussite miners thrown to the mines in 1419-20.[76] On the bottom of the already-mentioned Hus' feast folio (July 6th) in the Kutná Hora Gradual,[77] an event from the early period of the Hussite wars was depicted, where the miners together with the priest Jan Chůdek were murdered and thrown to the mines. The initial shows the figures of St. Johnn Hus, Stephen and Lawrence, making a parallel between the executed Hussite miners, and Hus with the early Church martyrs. The patriotic decoration demonstrating the ambition to promote local "new martyrs" was ordered by a mining official from Kutná Hora.[78]

The second attempt to promote a local Kutná Hora cult is preserved in two fragments of a lost gradual illuminated for the mining community in Kaňk near Kutná Hora in 1559-61. The full-page illuminations to the feast of Jan Hus represent Hus' martyrdom together with two other events aspiring to a local cult, the unjust executions of Kutná Hora miners near Poděbrady and Křivoklát in 1496.[79] The connection to Hus' feast is a clear attempt to establish the memory of the executed miners' as the Utraquist

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[75] Mšá (Martina Šárovcová), Tzv. Jenský dodatek tištěného Pasionálu Jakuba de Voragine, in: *Umění české reformace*, 166-8.

[76] Seltzer, Re-envisioning the Saint's Life, 164. Here also a rare sign of a traditional manifestation of sanctity through a scented body.

[77] ÖNB, Musiksammlung Mus. Hs. 15492. Graham, *Bohemian and Moravian Graduals*, cat. no. 128, 561.

[78] Ordered by Michal of Vrchoviště in 1490-95 probably for the local church of Holy Trinity near Kutná Hora. Milada Studničková, Die Kuttenberger Gradualien, Evelyn Wetter, ed., *Die Länder der Böhmischen Krone und ihre Nachbarn zur Zeit der Jagellonienkönige 1471-1526*, Studia Jagellonica Lipsinensia 2, Ostfildern: Thorbecke 2004,136. Graham, *Bohemian and Moravian Graduals,* 561-2. Written sources collected in Ota Halama, The Martyrs of Kutná Hora, 1419-1420, *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 5.1, 2004, 139-146.

[79] NM 1A c 109, Šárovcová, Jan Hus in Illuminated manuscripts, 300-1. Cf. also http://cantica.kh.cz/grad/?page=zlomky, no.5.

martyrs, although their execution did not have a religious, but a political background.[80] The connection to Utraquism here was loose enough to enable the cult to revive in the Counter-Reformation: a small chapel erected in 1515-6 on the place of their execution near Poděbrady was turned into a Catholic pilgrimage church in 1662-6.[81]

In the sixteenth century, "new martyrs" idea evolved in flexible concept. It was transformed in an original way on the epitaph-altarpiece of Nový Bydžov, after 1531, into glorification of priests as modern saints.[82] The altarpiece shows the Last Supper with a chalice in the central panel. On the outer side of the wings the Apostle figures St. Paul and St. James stand with their feet touching the ground in a typical iconic rendering of saints on Utraquist altarpieces. On the inner parts of the panels instead of saints, two local Utraquist priests-brothers are shown standing on decorative capitals, in a beatifying posture blessing the sacraments, chalice and pyx with hosts.[83] In medieval painting, consoles or capitals were reserved for saints and Old Testament figures, especially the Virgin Mary, indicating their specific position in Christian cult. On the altarpiece of Bydžov we see a clear shift in notion of saints - whilst the Apostels are presented as humble figures and models of morality,[84] the both local priests are likened to the saints through the way they are represented in their priestly duty. The use of capitals refers to the priests' elevated status in the cult; ministering Body and Blood to the laity, they are the new pillars of faith,[85] equal in their importance to the early Church saints.

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[80] Martina Šárovcová, Poprava kutnohorských havířů u Poděbrad a na Křivoklátě v roce 1496. K úctě poděbradských mučedníků v 16. století. Paper held at the *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* Conference 13 (2012)(proceedings forthcoming). Cited with author's permission.

[81] Adolf Wenig, O památném dubu poděbradském, České pověsti, http://cs.wikisource.org/wiki/%C4%8Cesk%C3%A9_pov%C4%9Bsti/O_pam%C3%A1tn%C3%A9m_dubu_pod%C4%9Bbradsk%C3%A9m, found 26.6.2013

[82] For parish priest status in Utrawuism, see Seltzer, Re-envisioning the Saint's Life, 153.

[83] Kateřina Horníčková, and Michal Šroněk, The Bydžov Altarpiece and Its Denominational Transformations, *Umění* 60.5, 2012, 373.

[84] Jan Harasimowicz, Evangelische Heilige? Die Heiligen in Lehre, Frömmigkeit und Kunst in der evangelischen Kirche Schlesiens, in: idem, *Schwärmergeist und Freiheitsdenken. Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Schlesiens in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Matthias Noller – Magdalena Poradzisz-Cincio (Neue Forschungen zur schlesischen Geschichte XXI, ed. Joachim Bahlcke), Köln – Weimar – Wien 2010, pp. 93–125.

[85] Zdeněk David, *Finding the Middle Way. Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther*, Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center, John Hopkins University

Next to Hus, the composition of saints venerated by the Utraquists looks remarcably traditional, but rather exclusive. Special attention in calendar is given to the community of early Christian saints, especially the New Testament saints, the Virgin Mary, Apostels and early Christian martyrs. In spite of Hussite's doubting her intercession and relics, the Virgin Mary is the most honoured saint in Utraquism due to her closeness to Christ and evidence of his human origin. The number of her feasts in the Utraquist graduals exceeds those of Hus, whose feast is almost allways present testifying to his important position for Utraquist identity.[86] Athough the Virgin Mary is the most frequent saint in the graduals, and there are numerous altar images of Mary's motherhood, her cult in Utraquism would need a separate attention, exceeding the concern of this article.

After the Virgin Mary and Hus, the Apostles (particularly St. Peter and Paul), St. John the Baptist, and early Christian martyrs (St. Lawrence) were the most frequented saints, both in Utraquist graduals[87] and monuments.[88] In the Franus' Gradual from Hradec Králové, dated 1505,[89]

Press, 2003, 126–127, cf. Pavel Smetana Bydžovský, *Tento spis ukazuje, že Biskupové Biskupa, a Biskup kněží, a kněží od řádných Biskupů svěceni Těla a Krve Boží posvěcovati mají*, 1543, Knihopis 396.

[86] Václav Žůrek, Officia svatých v českých graduálech 16. století, paper held at the *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, June 2012, unpag. Quoted with author's permission. .

[87] Žůrek, Officia svatých v českých graduálech 16. století.

[88] For example altarpiece from Slavětín (with St. Peter and James, St. Wenceslas, St. Procopios,now the National museum), Rohenice (with St. John Baptist, Peter, Paul, John the Evangelist, Dorothy and Catherine). Jaroslav Pešina, *Česká malba pozdní gotiky a renesance 1450-1550*, Prague: Orbis, 1950, 100, Rohenice, Světozor 25. II (1891), p. 70http://archiv.ucl.cas.cz/gettimg?path=SvetozorII/25.1891/6/71.png. Pešina *Česká malba,* 136. For specific iconography of the Utraquist altarpieces, see Kateřina Horníčková, Pozdně gotické křídlové oltáře s anděly držícími svatostánek. Eucharistická ikonografie jako sebeidentifikace utrakvismu (forthcoming).

[89] *Zpěvy na svátky svatých Franusova graduálu*, Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech, Ms. Hr 06, http://www.clavmon.cz/limup/dbObsahRKP.asp?ID=195 , consulted December 2013. Feasts of the Apostles, evangelists, martyrs and virgins(?), confessors, *De lancea Domini* (a Bohemian relic feast!), Dorothy, Procopios, *Divisio Apostolorum*, Mary Magdalen, Wenceslas, Margareth, John the Baptist, the Angels, St. Peter, St. Martin, St. Stephen, Paul, Adalbert, Vitus, John Ev., Peter and Paul, Elisabeth, James, Anne, Lawrence, Bartholomew, Matthew, Wenceslas

we find no less than seven offices devoted to the different Apostels, together with a special feast of the *Divisio apostolorum*, the feast of St. Peter and Paul, and joint feast of the Apostles and Evangelists. They were joined by St. Mary Magdalen, who, although a sinner, was redeemed by "true faith" and penitence, as Rokycana puts it in sermon,[90] which made her figure especially suitable for the Utraquist accent on morality.

The close connection between Hus and John the Baptist is visualised in the incipit to the feast of Jan Hus in the gradual of Malá Strana in Prague of 1572, where the scene of Burning of the Hus in *bas-de-page* is combined with the Decapitation of the St. John the Baptist in the introit initial. On the margin, the illumination of „Reformation succession" showing three medallions with Wyclif striking a spark, Hus burning a candle, and Luther holding a torch is preserved, points to the Lutheran-Utraquist background of the community.[91]

Other early Christian saints found in the Utraquist graduals and altarpieces are holy virgins,[92] warriors and St. Anne. They represent universal models of Christian ethic, purity, matron-hood, and defence of faith, which kept their cult popular, although they could not be attested from the New Testament. In the case of St. Anne, the townsmen apparently did not resist the popularity of her late medieval cult that was particularly strong in urban societies.[93] The altarpieces of the Virgin Mary's lineage, St. Anne and Holy Kinship,[94] glorify Christ's human lineage, conceptualise his incarnation as a prerequisite for his sacrifice, which fully corresponded with the Utraquist Christocentric theology.

The Claim on the Bohemian Patron Saints

(the second time), Michael, Ursula and *11 mil. Virginum*, Catherine, Andrew, the Virgins, Cyril, and Methodius.

[90] „*whatever sins you have if you have a true faith, God forgives you all the sins, as in the case of Mary Magdalen, to whom Christ said Your faith has saved you*…Šimek, *Postilla Jana Rokycany*, II, 563.

[91] Cod. XVII A 3, National Library, Prague, fol. 363r, MŠ (Martina Šárovcová), XIV/7 Malostranský graduál pars prima, in: *Umění české reformace*, 446-8 (pl. on p. 447), Graham, *Bohemian Graduals*, cat. no. 70, 367-70.

[92] Altarpieces with holy virgins are preserved eg. from Tyne Church in Prague (with Apostles), St. Catherine and the Virgin Mary churches in Chrudim (the second with Apostles), and panel from Litoměřice, Pešina, *Česká malba*, 120, 111, 112, 132.

[93] Kathleen Ashley, and Pamela Sheingorn, *Interpreting Cultural Symbols. St. Anne in late medieval Society*, University of Georgia Press 1990, 21-27.

[94] Altarpieces from Chrudim, and Kutná Hora, Pešina, *Česká malba*, 133, 126.

Whereas the cult of John Hus became a symbol of Utraquism in the confessionally-divided land, the politically-isolated Bohemian Utraquist church looked for confirmation of its legacy into the country's own religious past. Building on Hussite Bohemocentric concept,[95] the Utraquists tried to appropriate for themselves the Bohemian patron saints, a group of land intercessors (St. Wenceslas, St. Ludmila, St. Procopios, St. Adalbert, St. Sigismund and St. Vitus) that formed in the 14th century to express attachment of local saints to the kingdom and made Prague its most important cult centre. In this undertaking they confronted the Catholics, who too were trying to build legacy on the traditions of pre-Hussite Bohemian church.[96] The main point of conflict was the question if the land patrons communicated *sub utraque* or not.[97] The Czech-speaking Utraquists naturally deemed them so, and, through these saints, imagined themselves as the legitimate heirs of the Bohemian cultic past. In particular, the symbolic political cult of St. Wenceslas was a point, where interests of both denominations vying for supremacy were confronted.[98] When needed, however, St. Wenceslas' figure could stand as symbol for the union of both, especially in political matters.[99]

St. Wenceslas exceptional position is confirmed by regular liturgical commemoration, sermons, and a number of religious monuments.[100] He was the most popular Bohemian saint after Hus [101] and a political symbol, used particularly in urban setting to advocate causes from urban political

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[95] František Šmahel, *Idea národa v husitských Čechách*, Prague: Argo 2000. Petr Čornej, Idea národa v husitských Čechách, *Husitský tábor – Supplementum* 1 (2000), 379-394.

[96] Jan Royt, Renovatio regni. Zum Charakter der Kunst in Böhmen unter den Jagiellonen Wladislaw II und Ludwig II., in: *Die Jagellonen. Kunst und Kultur einer europäische Dynastie an der Wende zur Neuzeit*, eds. Dietmar Popp und Robert Zuckale, Nürnberg: Germanisches Nationalmuseum 2002, 228-9.

[97] Halama, Utrakvistická úcta k českým světcům, 190, 191, ft. 9.

[98] Josef Macek, *Víra a zbožnost jagellonského věku*, Prague 2001, 80. The Hussites managed to overturn the anti-Hussite agitation using St. Wenceslas and other Bohemian saints. Šmahel, *Idea národa*, 53.

[99] Halama, Utrakvistická úcta k českým světcům, 191.

[100] St. Wenceslaus is depicted eg. in the graduals of Kutná Hora (dated 1490, MS. ÖNB Musiksammlung, Mus. Hs. 15.501, fol. 108r), Žlutice (Graham, *Bohemian Graduals*, 501, cat. no. 111, 4r) and Prague Minor Town (Cod. XVII A 3, National Library, Graham, *Bohemian Graduals*, 367, cat.no. 70, 78v).

[101] His feast occurs 36 times in the Utraquist graduals, which is the highest number after the Virgin Mary, Hus, St. John the Baptist, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Peter and Paul, and St. Lawrence. Žůrek, Officia svatých v českých graduálech 16. století.

ambitions to religious unity. His figure, ar. 1490, decorated the main hall of the town hall in Prague Old Town and the *pavese* shield from the town hall of Kutná Hora, ar. 1485. On the latter, St. Wenceslas is shown with the Hussite symbol of chalice, and with the text of a radical Hussite song.[102] He takes a prominent position on the Utraquist altarpieces, where he is joined by other Bohemian saints, St. Ludmila, St. Procopios, or St. Vitus, as on the altarpieces from Slavětín (ar. 1450), Libiš (after 1500) and Litoměřice (ar. 1540).[103] Hus and Jerome of Prague are depicted with St. Wenceslaus and St. Procopios on the altar *predella* from Chrudim, ar. 1500: The altarpiece originating from a local funerary church of St. Cross shows the Resurrected Christ in the centre, and Mary with John the Baptist as intercessors (*Deisis*) in the extension, portraying the Bohemian saints as helpers at the Last Judgement.

Accentuating preaching and the active life of the community of faithful, the Utraquists denied a sense to secluded monastic life.[104] Monasteries were targeted in the Hussite wars, largely destroyed or fell in decline and isolation, from which they were slowly recovering in course of the 16th century. In spite of the negative attitude to the ideas of monasticism that led to refusal of monastic saints, St. Procopios of Sázava enjoyed popularity among the Utraquists.[105] Homilies on St. Procopios feast are preserved from Hus and other Hussite preachers. Rokycana, who was once accused of not keeping his and other patron saints' feasts, and of denouncing pilgrimages to his tomb,[106] held homilies to his feast, where he praised his moral and pure life.[107] Echoing this, a 15th century Utraquist homily to St. Procopios feast invokes his purity, and victory over devil,[108]

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[102] MB (Milena Bartlová), VI-9 Pavéza města Kutné Hory se sv. Václavem, in: *Umění české reformace*, 204.

[103] Pešina, *Česká malba*, 100 (already mentioned in ft. 82), 115. Kateřina Horníčková, V-23, Oltář sv. Jakuba Většího z Libiše, in: *Umění české reformace*, 153. Otakar Votoček, *Severočeská Galerie Výtvarného Uměni v Litoměřích - sbírka starého umění: stručný průvodce a katalog vystavených děl,* Litoměřice: Galerie výtvarného umění Litoměřice 1983, unpag. (originates from Slavětín as well).

[104] Jaroslav Kadlec, *Svatý Prokop*, 101.

[105] Žůrek, Officia svatých. Procopios' feast occurs in 24 graduals.

[106] *Postilla Jana Rokycany* II, 396, Chelčický, *Sieť viery pravé*, quoted in Kadlec, *Svatý Prokop*, 106.

[107] Kadlec, *Svatý Prokop*, 102.Ms. NUK IX A 1, fol. 222r

[108] *Feasts of saints were introduced so that we could praise God due to their teaching and merits, as we are exhorted to it by David's saying: Praise God in his saints. And if we should praise God in foreign saints, the more we should praise God in our patrons, as God gave them to us from his special grace, and they*

but warns before pilgrimages to his tomb, and relics. Kadlec explains his popularity by events from his legend – exorcism of devil, and leading pure life, and the expression anti-German sentiments;[109] in the latter, he sees also the reason for the cult decline after *lutheranisation* of Utraquism.

   With comparable number of occurrence of feasts in the Utraquist graduals,[110] other two Bohemian patron saints, St. Ludmila and St. Vitus, enjoyed similar popularity as St. Procopios. St. Ludmila's legend was understood by the Utraquists as justification of lay chalice, as she was thought to have communicated from a chalice on the eve of her martyrdom.[111] In the monumental painting, she is coupled with St. Wenceslas, such as in the mentioned life-size representations on the outside wings of the angelic tabernacle altarpiece with Passion scenes from Libiš (Mělník District), ar. 1500.[112] St. Vitus feast occurs mostly in the graduals from Central Bohemia. He is depicted with St. Wenceslas on the altarpiece from Litoměřice, dated ar. 1540.[113]

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before others were beneficial to us and interceded on behalf of us in heaven. Today we celebrate St. Procopios....who prays constantly for his people, and we should thank God for such a defender and intercessor for this country. And should he help us with his prayers and merits, we should cease to sin, imitate him in purity, and throw out of us deamons of sins as he did, shine to them as a torch with good deeds. Imitating virtuous life of Procopios will be more profitable for us than running to him (to his relics in Sázava). And how pure he was and how his life shone to heaven for others, we read his message: Let your loins be girded about, and your lights burning;... no pilgrimage nor bones of saints will save you, whatever you do if you will not keep all the mandates of Christ. This is the way to eternal life. Národní Muzeum, Ms. XIV E 9, *Procopii festa sanctorum ideo indstituta sunt, ut laudemus Deumex eorum doctrina et profectu*, fol. 107r – 111, cited in Kadlec, *Svatý Prokop*, 102-3.

[109] If this included also his reported support for Slavonic liturgy remains to be clarified, but is supported by the fact that the Utraquist also revived the cult of the Moravian/Slavic Apostles St. Konstantin and Methodius, whose feasts appear in the Utraquist graduals as well, cf. Franus gradual, Hr 6, II A 6, B1, ft. 83.

[110] Žůrek, Officia svatých, found in 24 and 22 graduals.

[111] Cf. *Postilla Jana Rokycany*, 777, and Bohuslav Bílejovský, *Kronyka Cykrewnj*, Prag 1816, 2. To this also polemical reaction by Catholic administrator Hilarius of Litoměřice in his tractate on *communion sub una specie*, quoted in Halama, Utrakvistická úcta k českým světcům, 190, ft. 5.

[112] Pešina, *Česká malba*, 115. Kateřina Horníčková, V-23, Oltář sv. Jakuba Většího z Libiše, in: *Umění české reformace*, 153. Cf. ft. 97.

[113] Otakar Votoček, *Severočeská Galerie Výtvarného Uměni v Litoměřich - sbírka starého umění: stručný průvodce a katalog vystavených děl,* Litoměřice: Galerie výtvarného umění Litoměřice 1983, unpag. Originates from Slavětín.

Not all Bohemian patron saints reached the same level of popularity. St. Adalbert feast we find rarely in the graduals,[114] and visual representations. This suggests that St. Adalbert constituted an ambiguous figure for the Utraquists, possibly due to his association with the Prague See, and Rome. A revival of his cult came in the 16th century, when his feast is reintroduced in the Utraquist hymnals. The reasons for this development need further investigation, but it could have be the result of a complicated religious situation, when the conservative Utraquists tried to counter the Lutheran and Unitarian influence by insisting on the ancient roots of the Bohemian (Utraquist) church, a proper episcopal lineage, transubstantiation, and lay chalice – all that St. Adalbert symbolised in one. The last three notions are manifested on the panel from the dismantled Vliněves altarpiece, where St. Adalbert is serving mass from a chalice, whilst Hus holds his chasuble, whose decoration with a living body of Christ is an argument against *remanentism* of the Unity of Brethren.[115]

Probably due to the negative impression the Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg left in Bohemia,[116] St. Sigismund, a miracle working cult heavily promoted in Prague by the Emperor Charles IV since the body's translation in 1365, almost disappeared from the Utraquist calendar. Only four graduals contain his feasts, and these date to the early decades of Utraquism.[117]

Saints as Symbols of Utraquist Identity

Whilst largely lacking traditional hagiographic media as legendaries, martyrologies or devotional literature,[118] scholars of the late medieval Bohemia have a unique opportunity to study the symbolic communication through saints in a society divided along denominational lines that disputes over the traditional medieval cult of saints. The more the Utraquists

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[114] In 9 graduals. Žůrek, Officia svatých v českých graduálech 16. století.

[115] Kateřina Horníčková, V-19 Deska z oltáře z Vliněvsi se sv. Vojtěchem a Janem Husem, in: *Umění české reformace*, 142-4. Jan Royt – Jiří Fajt, Sv. Vojtěch s Mistrem Janem Husem, in: *Svatý Vojtěch. Tisíc let svatovojtěšské tradice v Čechách*, Prague: Národní galerie 1997, 108-9, cat. 54.

[116] David Mengel, Bohemia's forgotten patron saint, *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 6 (2007), 19-20.

[117] Žůrek, Officia svatých v českých graduálech 16. století.

[118] They are rare among the Bohemian material: among them are printed and illuminated *Vitae patrum*, and already-mentioned Bohemian *Pasional*.

doubted external cult expressions and intercession of saints, the more it turned to the other important functions and potential of saints, needed for communication, internal evangelisation and *confessionalisation* of the heterogeneous religious community. On one hand the importance of symbolic functions grew – the saints served as *exempla*, reminders of the ideal past, and shared symbols of Utraquist denominational identity. On the other hand the Hussite critique and Utraquist scepticism transformed the Utraquist *understanding* of the role of saints in cult, and of practices of their veneration. The cult of saints never returned to its pre-Hussite meaning and form.

One of the many functions of saints in the late Middle Ages is to form religious communities around the symbolic value of saints. The Bohemian Utraquist church esteemed chosen saints for their moral reputation and steadiness in faith and did not need episcopal affirmation to their cults.[119] It framed its identity as a religious community first through fostering its own martyr cults, and, secondly, through choosing appropriate cults that exemplify the role the saints should perform in Utraquism. The new Bohemian priestly martyr cults helped to construct autonomy and independent identity of Utraquism, the early Church martyrs provided an ideal model of society, morals and religious practice, and the Bohemian patrons claim to land, tradition, morals and lay chalice.

The Utraquists gave a special meaning to the "new", modern saints living among the faithful emulating the ancient ones. By stressing honouring by imitation they made the first step towards modern concept of "living saints", known also from Luther. From the long-established saints they particularly honoured the Apostles and early Christian martyrs through their identification with *ecclesia primitiva*, imitation of which legitimised the Bohemians as chosen Christians. They also appropriated a selection of the Bohemian patron saints to stress Bohemia's own way to Christianity and the autonomous origins of the Bohemian Church. This envisioned the Utraquists as authentic inheritors of a rich religious past, in which they seek justification of own religious practice of lay chalice (St. Ludmila, St. Adalbert). With the exception of relics and pilgrimages, traditional religious media (offices, images) were adopted for the new Bohemian Reformation martyr cults (John Hus, Jerome). Hus was linked with the early Christian martyrs and specific contexts to constitute him as the martyr founder of a new faith. The cults of St. John Hus and Jerome of Prague denoting Utraquism as independent religious community gave a new spark to the meaning of saints. It brought a new type of (pre-

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[119] Woodward, *Making Saints*, 62-5.

Reformation?) saint, the founder and defender of faith without miracles and a vita, who, challenging the authority of the Roman Church, becomes saint without papal consent, only by imitation of the ancient Church (and as priest by service to the community), a martyr that overstep past and brings the apostolic time to life in present. On the other hand, the Utraquist theological Christocentrism pushed saints to the assistant roles, to the wings and *predellas* of altarpieces and to the margins of graduals. The Utraquists kept them as authority on leading a proper Christian life, transforming their role in cult and limiting their cultic function. Some cults have been marginalised, such as those of bishops and monastic saints, the traditional symbols of the Church, papal authority, and the doctrine.[120]

By creating own saints and appropriating other, Bohemian Reformation had created an amalgam of cultural memory and religious tradition to serve the idea of autonomous alternative to the Roman Church. Seen by many as "traditionalists" for keeping the pre-Hussite calendar and cultic practices beyond the *Council of Trent*, the Utraquists contributed considerably to the transformation of late medieval cult of saints. Although the changes may seem minor in comparison to those brought by the German Reformation, their re-definition of the cult of saints is coherent with the effort to conceptualise the Bohemian church as a separate entity within Latin Christianity.

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[120] Parish patron and locally important saints have not been touched by this. Some saints, such as St. Nicholas, enjoyed popularity throughout the period as patrons of parish churches. St. Elisabeth feast in Franus gradual (Museum východních Čech Hradec Králové, shelfmark Hr 6) reflect her local importance in a dowry town Hradec Králové, as patron of royal female commissioners.