

Czech and Slovak  
**Journal  
of Humanities**

**Historica**

1/2014



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## Cover

Olomouc citizen militia lined up in front of the city hall. *The Solemn Entry of Cardinal Ferdinand Julius Troyer of Troyerstein to Olomouc, 1788*, oil on canvas. Courtesy of the Archbishopric of Olomouc (photo: Zdeněk Sodoma, courtesy of the Archdiocesan Museum Olomouc).

## Czech and Slovak Journal of Humanities

is published three times a year in the following sequence of numbers: Philosophica; Historica; Historia artium; Theatralia et cinematographica; Musicologica; Anthropologica culturalia.

ISSN: 1805-3742

## Publisher

Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci  
Křížkovského 511/8  
771 24 Olomouc  
Czech Republic  
IČO: 61989592

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articles|

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# From Warrior to Knight: The Paths of Chivalric Culture in Central European Space Using the Example of the Bohemian Lands<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** | The article focuses on the spread of chivalric culture, a specific phenomenon part of the processes of social transformation in the Bohemian Lands between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. The article attempts to challenge existing research assumptions in the Bohemian Lands, within which the research on knighthood is methodologically subordinate *a priori* to accepting the explanatory model of the so-called “Central European type of state”, a concept which confines the process of knowledge creation with respect to knighthood into a narrow paradigmatic constriction and thus limits alternative perspectives that are inconsistent with this explanatory model. In this context the author shows that unlike the Western European research situation in this field, research in the Central-Eastern European area has focused on very few pieces of documentation illuminating a shift within the economic structures and implicitly capturing the shifts of state organization (the form of the names of types of offices, etc.). This methodological approach is grounded in the tradition of positivistic historiography (with its emphasis on finding facticity) and Marxist historiography (with its emphasis on the role of material structures in the development of society) and identifies reality, as a whole, with a physically processed experience, an approach which to a significant degree does not allow it to conceptualize medieval transformations on the level of mental structures. On the contrary, this author considers the world of mental structures as an integral component of reality in addition to the physical ones. From this perspective, the core of the paper considers the process of the genesis of chivalric culture in the Bohemian Lands as an expression of the realized cultural transfers proving the transformation of the ideas and self-identity of the nobility which lead to the justification of the feudal system (respecting local possibilities and traditions). Contrary to the existing research which places the spread of chivalric culture in the Bohemian Lands in the second half of the thirteenth century, this article presents evidence suggesting the phenomenon took place at the beginning of the twelfth century and suggests the artificiality of borders between the Western European and Central-Eastern European areas in the Middle Ages.

**Keywords** | The Middle Ages – Czech Medieval History – Knighthood – Chivalric Culture – Cultural Transfer – Eleventh, Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was written by support of project “SGS10/FF/2014 Středověké prameny – úskalí jejich interpretace a zpřístupnění II”. The author thanks Sean M. Miller and Radomíra Bendnářová for translation and correction.



I will begin my analysis of the origin of kingship and chivalric culture in medieval Bohemia by presenting four quotations from Bohemian chroniclers of the twelfth to fourteenth centuries. The first example comes from the *Chronical of the Bohemians* by Cosmas of Prague, who, when describing the preparations of the Bohemian king Vratislaus II for his war against Leopold Margrave of East Mark, wrote: "...*Qui suis quamvis non diffidens viribus tamen Ratisponensis episcopi unam scaram ex electis **militibus** precio conducit sibi in auxilium.*"<sup>2</sup> The second quotation, by Vincent of Prague, brings us in front of the city gates of Milan in 1158 where: "*Mediolanense pro libertate aduersariis suis fortissimo resistunt, ex utraque parte fortissimo ceduntur **milites**. ... Plurimi autem **milites** plurima ad stationes suas reportauerunt uulnera.*"<sup>3</sup> The third example comes from the *Second Continuation of Cosmas*—it describes the army of Přemysl Otakar II's ambush of surprised Hungarian troops, according to which: "...*mox a mensis surgunt principes, ad arma festini anhelant **milites** et **clientes**, et contra inimicos loricati, scutati et galeati, et nonnulli incoopertis equis properarunt sine modo.*"<sup>4</sup> The last quotation from the *Chronicon Aulae Regiae* presents a partial description of nobleman Zavis of Falkenštejn, stepfather of the Bohemian king Wenceslaus II. According to the chronicler Peter of Zittau Falkštejn was a traitor: "*O detestanda in aperto applausoris fallacia, o reprobanda insidiatoris occulti fraudulententa versucia, ubi alumpni sui sinceritati quis molitur insidias et benefacienti regi **miles perfidus** internicionis intuitu clanculo irrogare conatur molestias!*"<sup>5</sup> The excerpts presented have a unifying element. In each of them, the term *miles* (plural: *milites*) is used to label members of a certain social group. The effort to determine further characteristics of this social group was the starting point of my considerations. The use of the term *milites* on the part of Czech researchers has been problematic. Specifically, the problem lies in the method of translation. Considering the language background of this paper, I will present a literal English translation of each quotation. According to it Cosmas wrote: "*Although he could rely on his forces, he hired one squad from the selected **warriors** of the bishop of Regensburg for aid as mercenaries.*"<sup>6</sup> Vincensius says: "*Milanese fighting for their freedom resisted their enemies very bravely; on both sides the most valiant **warriors** fell. ... Then, a lot of **warriors** were brought to camps with many injuries.*"<sup>7</sup> In the year 1260 before the battle at Kressenbrun: "...*the dukes immediately stood up from the tables, and **knights** and **armigers** quickly reached for their weapons, and against enemies in armour with shields and helmets, and some on barded horses they rushed, they are without order.*"<sup>8</sup> And finally Peter of Zittau wrote: "*Oh the cursed pretence of the obvious flatterer, oh the rejection of the nice tricky mendacity of his secret craft, when someone plans plots of the sincerity of his ward and when the **perfidious knight** tried secretly to cause problems for the benevolent king with a view of his doom!*"<sup>9</sup>

It is clear that in some cases the term *miles* is translated as the word "warrior", which in essence corresponds to the meaning of this word in Classical Latin; in other cases, this term is translated using the word "knight", corresponding, on the contrary, to the meaning of the word *miles* in high Medieval Latin.

The word *miles* being rendered into these two different English words could be regarded as a question for translators only, but after an experiment I conducted in the course of my research it became clear the discrepancy speaks to a larger issue. I conducted the experiment at a semi-

<sup>2</sup> *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum*, ed. Bertold Bretholz (MGH SRG NS 2, Berlin 1923), 131–132.

<sup>3</sup> *Vincentii canonici Pragensis Annales*, ed. J. Emler (Fontes rerum Bohemicarum, t. 2, Praha 1874 (= FRB II)), 437.

<sup>4</sup> *Příběhy krále Přemysla Otakara II.*, ed. J. Emler, (FRB II), 313.

<sup>5</sup> *Petra Žitavského kronika Zbraslavská*, ed. Josef Emler (FRB, t. 4, Praha 1884), 28.

<sup>6</sup> *Kosmova kronika česká*, ed. Marie Bláhová and Zdeněk Fiala (Praha: Svoboda, 1972), 118.

<sup>7</sup> *Vincentii canonici Pragensis Annales*, 437.

<sup>8</sup> *Příběhy krále Přemysla Otakara II.*, 313.

<sup>9</sup> *Zbraslavská kronika. Chronicon Aulae regiae*, ed. František Heřmanský (Praha: Svoboda, 1976), 59.

nar on medieval literature in the Bohemian Lands attended by students and several experts on Medieval Latin. I asked the experts for translations of the above quotations, emphasizing that they were examples from the High Middle Ages. All of those addressed immediately asked for complementary information on the texts: the geographical area of their creation and a close specification of the time of their creation. Without this information, they refused to translate unambiguously several words from the texts—including *miles*.<sup>10</sup>

The decisive factor for determining whether the term *miles* should be translated as *warrior* or *knight* in this case was the geographical-historical contexts in which the works from which the excerpts are taken were created. Upon revealing these contexts along with the names of the authors of the quotations the questioned experts agreed that in case of the excerpts from Cosmas' Chronicle and Vincent's Annals the term *warrior* should be used and in case of the Second Continuation of Cosmas and the Zbraslav Chronicle the term *knight* is more appropriate. From the perspective of today's accepted interpretation of the Bohemian Lands's social development in the High Middle Ages it is not possible to refer to *militēs* of the twelfth century as *knights*. The term *knight* implies the existence of social classes which, according to the scientific paradigm I am challenging, did not yet exist in Central Europe until the thirteenth century. The answers I received from the experts I questioned led me to the conclusion that the problem of translating the word *miles* is due to overreliance in Czech medieval studies on the so-far predominating interpretive framework which applies to social development in the Bohemian Lands, or Central European space in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.

If we work on the translation problem for the word *miles* utilizing the conclusions of Western European medieval studies, we cannot be satisfied with the geographical-historical contextual translation of the term. Considering that it is not possible within the confines of this article to elucidate the development of the phenomenon of knighthood fully, I turn in brief to a schematic summary. European historiography, despite a number of disputable moments understands knighthood as a social construct, as a phenomenon, the development of which took place in several phases.<sup>11</sup> Although the term *miles* in the eighth through tenth centuries still signified a warrior on a horse,<sup>12</sup> an elite member of the army but not necessarily anything more, from the middle of the eleventh century the process had begun of connecting the ideal of the earthly warrior with the ideal of the warrior for the faith and Christ (*miles Christi*). In this context, we speak of the 'real' medieval *knight*, precisely from the second half of the eleventh century, when

<sup>10</sup> There has not yet been a discussion on the term *miles* in modern Czech historiography, the like of which we can see in Western European scientific discourse, summarized for example by Gert Althoff, c.f. Gerd Althoff, "Nunc fiant Christi milites, qui dudum extiterunt raportes. Zur Entstehung von Rittertum und Ritterethos", *Saeculum* 32 (1981), 317–333. The chief impulses for that work were given by Georges Duby, Johannes Flasckenstein, Joachim Bumke and Johann Jöhrendt, see their works which are mentioned in the text below.

<sup>11</sup> The literature on this topic is very extensive. For a summary view see Adolf Harnack, *Militia Christi. Die christliche Religion und der Soldatenstand in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Tübingen 1905); Marc Bloch, *Feudal society* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1961), 283–344; Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 3th revised ed., 1995); Josef Fleckenstein, *Rittertum und ritterliche Welt* (Berlin: Siedler, 2002); Maurice Keen, *Das Rittertum* (München and Zürich: Artemis, 1987), 7–99. For the summary of research see Arno Borst, "Einleitung zur Forschungsgeschichte", in *Das Rittertum im Mittelalter*, ed. Arno Borst (= *Das Rittertum*) (Wege der Forschung 349, Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2th ed. 1989), 1–16. For the situation in medieval Bohemia see Wojciech Iwańczak, *Po stopách rytířských přiběhů* (Praha: Argo, 2001).

<sup>12</sup> For a summary view on the Frankish army, see Bernard S. Bachrach, *Early Carolingian Warfare. Prelude to Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), here about *militēs* 63–67, 76–77, and passim; see also Josef Fleckenstein, "Adel und Kriegertum und ihre Wandlung im Karolingerreich", in Josef Fleckenstein, *Ordnungen und formende Kräfte des Mittelalters. Ausgewählte Beiträge* (= *Ordnungen*) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989), 287–306.

warriors on horseback already relied on a close connection with the sacral sphere for social status.<sup>13</sup> The Christian knight became closer still to the sacral sphere as monastic reforms spread from the Abbey of Cluny, and as arguments justifying the holy war against unbelievers increased at the end of the eleventh century.<sup>14</sup>

Roughly at that time the term *miles* already connoted belonging to a group of people who shared values crystallized by ecclesiastical thinkers. The knight of the twelfth century was ideally a protector of the church and therefore a warrior who fought against unbelievers and simultaneously honoured the clergy. In addition, such a man was supposed to take care of the poor and keep the peace for which he does not hesitate (paradoxically) to fight. The codification of knighthood as a system of models of conduct and expectations based on the principles described above was subsequently developed within the newly emerging courtly culture, which historiography perceives as another of the social constructs emerging in the twelfth century. At court, self-reflection of the chivalric ideal took place. The centre from which this process spread across all of Europe was France, although from a general perspective chivalric culture from the end of the twelfth to the fourteenth century impressed a distinctive character on all of medieval Europe, not excluding the central-eastern part of the continent.<sup>15</sup>

If the works of the Bohemian chronicles quoted above are viewed with the chronological field of the development of the chivalric phenomenon thus defined, we see that the acts of the *milites* described by the early chroniclers Cosmas as well as Vincent fall in the period when the model of the Christian knight is spreading not only in France but also in the medieval empire.<sup>16</sup> Regardless of the close relations of the Bohemian Lands and the Empire at that time, however,

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<sup>13</sup> For this process see Arno Borst: *Das Rittertum im Hochmittelalter. Ideen und Wirklichkeit*, in: *Das Rittertum*, 212–246, here 215–232; Joachim Bumke, *Studien zum Ritterbegriff in 12. und 13. Jahrhundert* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter – Universitätsverlag, 1964); Georges Duby, “Die Ursprünge des Rittertums”, in *Das Rittertum*, 349–369; Josef Fleckenstein, “Friedrich Barbarossa und das Rittertum. Zur Bedeutung der großen Mainzer Hoftage von 1184 und 1188”, in *Das Rittertum*, 392–418; \_\_\_\_\_, “Zur Problem der Abschließung des Ritterstandes”, in: Fleckenstein, *Ordnungen*, 357–376, here 359–368 \_\_\_\_\_, *Die Entstehung des niederen Adels und das Rittertum*, in *Herrschaft und Stand. Untersuchungen zur Sozialgeschichte im 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. Josef Fleckenstein (Veröffentlichung des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 51, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), 17–39, here 27–35; Johann Johrendt, “*Milites* und *Militia* im 11. Jahrhundert in Deutschland”, in *Das Rittertum*, 392–418; Johann Johrendt, “*Milites* und *Militia* im 11. Jahrhundert in Deutschland”, in *Das Rittertum*, 419–436; Gerd Althoff, “Nunc fiant Christi milites, qui dudum extiterunt raptores. Zur Entstehung von Rittertum und Ritterethos”, *Saeculum* 32 (1981), 329–331; Franz-Reiner Erkens, *Milita und Ritterschaft. Reflexionen über die Entstehung des Rittertums*, *Historische Zeitschrift* 258 (1994), 622–659, here 628–469; for the Czech point of view, see Iwańczak, *Po stopách*, 7–18; Vratislav Vaniček, “Spiritualizace étosu šlechty: miles Christianus, militia Dei (K strukturální typologii raných elit)”, in *Světki a jejich kult ve středověku*, ed. Petr Kubín, Hana Pátková and Tomáš Petráček (České Budějovice: Ústav dějin křesťanského umění Katolické teologické fakulty Univerzity Karlovy v Praze, 2006), 83–107.

<sup>14</sup> Carl Erdmann, *Die Entstehung des Kreuzzuggedenkens* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1980, reprint from 1935), 68–85. Josef Fleckenstein, “Die Rechtfertigung der geistlichen Ritterorden nach der Schrift ‘De laude novae militiae’ Bernards von Clairvaux”, in: Fleckenstein, *Ordnungen*, 377–392; Althoff, *Nunc fiant*, 326.

<sup>15</sup> Otto Brunner, “Die ritterlich-höfische Kultur”, in: *Das Rittertum*, 142–171; Borst, “Das Rittertum im Hochmittelalter”, 232–246; Joachim Bumke, *Höfische Kultur. Literatur und Gesellschaft im hohen Mittelalter* (München: Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag, 8th. ed., 1997); Josef Fleckenstein, “Rittertum und höfische Kultur. Entstehung – Bedeutung – Nachwirkung”, in Fleckenstein, *Ordnungen*, 421–436; Norbert Elias, *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation. Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen*. Band I. *Wandlungen des Verhaltens in den westlichen Oberschichten des Abendlandes* (Bern and München: Francke, 1969), 263–282; Josef Fleckenstein, ed., *Curialitas. Studien zu Grundfragen der höfisch-ritterlichen Kultur* (Veröffentlichung des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte 100, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990); Johannes Laudage and Yvonne Leiverkus, ed., *Rittertum und höfische Kultur der Stauferzeit* (Köln – Weimar – Wien: Böhlau, 2006).

<sup>16</sup> Fleckenstein, *Friedrich Barbarossa und das Rittertum*; Althoff, *Nunc fiant*; Erkens, *Milita und Ritterschaft*.

Cosmas's Bohemians remain merely "warriors" according to the prevailing interpretation today of the social development in the Bohemian Lands—because knighthood is thought not to have come to Bohemia until the thirteenth century. This claim with which a number of Czech historians still work is not based on a component analysis of penetration of the values, manners, customs or forms of life strategies connected with knighthood into the Bohemian Lands. The claim is based on the interpretation, dominant until recently, of the political, social and economic situation in the Bohemian Lands of the twelfth century.

This interpretation is coherent with the so-called "Central European model" of the functioning of the state in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries. The model was put forward by historians active in the second half of the twentieth century in the context of a divided Europe. The model postulates the power and property domination of the ruler (duke) maintained by castle constellations and service organizations in Central European space in the period of the tenth to thirteenth centuries. In this type of state which functioned, according to the model, as a "large ducal village", the performance of power, administration and justice, fiscal policy and property transactions of all types should have depended directly on the person of the ruler because there should not have been any nobility relying in terms of power on hereditary nobility and property (i.e. there was no hereditary property of the aristocracy). Instead of a propertied hereditary nobility there would have been a class of beneficiaries who were administrators of public affairs receiving their influential offices in exchange for services to the duke. It should be emphasized that these services would not have been of the character of a liege relation because the liege system would not have been known in Central Europe until the thirteenth century when feudalization of society had just begun and a hereditary aristocracy began to emerge.<sup>17</sup> Therefore, the given interpretative framework presents a hypothesis of the incompatibility of the cultural worlds of the Bohemian and Western European medieval nobility at this time. The model refuses to date the process of the feudalization of the Bohemian medieval society to the twelfth century and simultaneously

<sup>17</sup> The model of the Central European state was established in several works of Polish and Czech historians, c.f. Karol Buczek, *Książęca ludność służebna w Polsce wczesnofeudalnej* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1958); Barbara Krzemińska and Dušan Třeštík, "Služebná organizace v raně středověkých Čechách", *Československý časopis historický* (= ČsČH) 12 (1964), 135–158; Aleksander Gieysztor, "En Pologne medievale. Problèmes du régime politique et de l'organisation administrative du X<sup>e</sup> au XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle", *Annali de la Fondazione Italiana per la Storia Amministrativa* 1 (1964), 135–156; Matúš Kučera, "K problému včasnosredovekej služobníckej organizácii na Slovensku", *Historický časopis* 12 (1964), 552–571; Dušan Třeštík, "K sociální struktuře přemyslovských Čech. Kosmas o knížecím vlastnictví půdy a lidí", *ČsČH* 19 (1971), 537–567; partially critically toward them Stanisław Russocki, *Protoparlamentaryzm Czech do początku XV wieku* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1973). The new impulses in the development of the theory were provided by Karol Modzelewski, *Organizacja gospodarstwa państwa Piastowskiego (X–XIII wiek)* (Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1975). In the process of the theory making there was an effort to draw the attention of an international audience, therefore, all of the mentioned texts were published in German, c. f. Matúš Kučera, "Die Struktur der Bevölkerung in der Slowakei im 10.–12. Jahrhundert", *Studia historica Slovaca* 4 (1966), 7–82; Barbara Krzemińska and Dušan Třeštík, "Zur Problematik der Dienstleute im frühmittelalterliche Böhmen", in: *Siedlung und Verfassung Böhmens in der Frühzeit*, edd František Graus – Hans Ludat (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1967), 70–103. The theory was summarized in Barbara Krzemińska – Dušan Třeštík, "Hospodářské základy raně středověkého státu ve střední Evropě (Čechy, Polsko, Uhry v 10. a 11. století)", *Hospodářské dějiny* 1 (1978), 149–230 (in German: "Wirtschaftliche Grundlagen des frühmittelalterliche Staates im Mitteleuropa (Böhmen, Polenm Ungarn im 10.–12. Jahrhundert)", *Acta Poloniae Historica* 40 (1979), 5–31; Dušan Třeštík, "Proměny české společnosti ve 13. století", *Folia Historica Bohemica* 1 (1979), 134–154, and then was used in Karol Modzelewski, *Chłopi w monarchii wczesnopiastowskiej*, Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk – Łódź: Zakład Narodowy imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk 1987); Josef Žemlička, *Čechy v době knížecí* (Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 1997); \_\_\_\_\_, *Počátky Čech královských 1198–1253. Proměna státu a společnosti* (Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, Praha 2002); \_\_\_\_\_, *Přemysl Otakar II. Král na rozhraní věků* (Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, Praha 2011).

connects the penetration of chivalry as a cultural code precisely with the feudalization of social relations. Thus, the transfer of chivalry to the Bohemian Lands does not occur, according to this perspective, during the twelfth century. It must be stressed that although the universal validity of the Central European model has been questioned recently in the field of political and economic history,<sup>18</sup> the model applied so far has not been questioned within the research of the mentality of the nobility of the Přemyslid regnum.

Since the presented model more or less disrupts one entire phase of the development of the cultural code of chivalry in the Bohemian Lands—the phase of pre-courtesan knighthood of the eleventh-twelfth centuries—the approach prevails, according to which the penetration of chivalry into the Central European space is not assessed until the appearance of courtly epics, lyric poetry, and chivalric tournaments at the courts of the last Přemyslids, all aspects of “high chivalric culture”. This approach operates on a simplified and schematic conception of the adoption of chivalry as a social construct in its complex form—simply as we know it from the poems by Ulrich von Etzenbach or Heinrich von Meissen.<sup>19</sup> This interpretation supports a slow penetration of chivalry into the Bohemian Lands generally, or its close ties to the sovereign’s milieu, is then based on the equation of chivalry with feudalism—chivalry, placed in the context of the absence of aristocratic castles, tournaments and courtly poetry, thus does not exist before 1240. The role of the mediator of the cultural transfer is played in this interpretation exclusively by the sovereign’s court of the Přemyslid dukes and kings.<sup>20</sup> This interpretation overlooks the modern knowledge on the possibilities of “smooth” cultural transfers. These transfers indicate the necessity of long-term knowledge of the transmitted model of conduct in the milieu adopting the culture—in this specific case in the milieu of the Bohemian nobility, including the sovereign—for their final successful transmission.<sup>21</sup> In this context, I believe that the adoption of the courtly form of chivalry in the Bohemian Lands in the thirteenth century is proved foremost by the fact that the process of knowledge adoption and the spread of new values corresponding to the concept of a Christian knight had to take place over a long time. Throughout the twelfth century, when this concept was accepted also in the German part of the Empire for example, I emphasize

<sup>18</sup> For the discussion see Libor Jan, *Václav II. a struktury panovnické moci* (Brno: Matice Moravská, 2006); Dušan Třeštík and Josef Žemlička, “O modelech vývoje přemyslovského státu”, *Český časopis historický* (= ČČH) 105 (2007), 122–163. Z následujících textů srov. např. Libor Jan, “Skrytý půvab středoevropského modelu”, ČČH 105 (2007), 783–862; Josef Žemlička, “O „svobodné soukromosti“ pozemkového vlastnictví. K rozsahu a kvalitě velmožské pozemkové držby v přemyslovských Čechách”, ČČH 107 (2009), 269–308; Robert Antonín, “Model středoevropského typu středověkého státu jako interpretační problém české a polské medievistiky”, *Historia Slavorum Occidentis – Czasopism historyczne/Časopis historický* 1, 65–76.

<sup>19</sup> Both of them were active at the court of the last Přemyslids, cf. Claudia Medert, *Der „Alexander“ Ulrichs von Etzenbach. Studie zur Erzählstruktur und Gattungsproblematik* (Palaestra – Untersuchungen aus der deutschen, englischen und skandinavischen Philologie 287, Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989); Hanz-Joachim Behr, *Literatur als Machtlegitimation. Studien zur Funktion der deutschsprachigen Dichtung am böhmischen Königshof im 13. Jahrhundert* (München: Fink, 1989); Moravo, *Čechy, radujte se! Němečtí a rakouští básníci v českých zemích za posledních Přemyslovců*, edd. Václav Bok and Jindřich Pokorný (Litteraria germano-austro-bohemica 1, Praha: Aula, 1998), 71–85; Václav Černý, *Staročeská milostná lyrika a další studie ze starší české literatury*. (Praha: Mladá fronta, 2th ed., 1999), 91–103.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Josef Macek, *Turnaj ve středověkých Čechách*, in: *Česká středověká šlechta*, (Praha: Argo, 1997), 114–133; Iwańczak, *Po stopách*, 19–49; Dana Dvořáčková-Malá and Jan Zelenka, *Curia ducis, curia regis. Panovnický dvůr za vlády Přemyslovců* (Praha: Historický ústav Akademie věd České republiky, 2011), 194–221.

<sup>21</sup> For the basic view of the topic of Cultural Transfer in the medieval period, see Stamatios Gerogiorgakis, Roland Schlee and Dittmar Schorkowitz, “Kulturtransfer vergleichend betrachtet”, in Michael Borgolte, Julia Dücker, Marcel Mullerburg and Bern Schneidmüller, edd., *Integration und Desintegration der Kulturen im europäischen Mittelalter* (Europa im Mittelalter 18, Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur historischen Komparatistik, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2011), 385–466.

that it was not the adoption of a complex cultural model of conduct but the reception of those aspects of it that were close to the Bohemian milieu, or those to which the Bohemian milieu gradually became close.

In the following interpretation I will attempt to show some of the aspects revealing the transformation of the mentality of the Bohemian nobility of the twelfth century in connection with the adoption of the values of a Christian knight.

## A Land Full of Churches

The wave of foundations of single-nave Romanesque (matronia) churches in Bohemia in the twelfth century is an indication of the early Christianisation of the Bohemian nobility.<sup>22</sup> In this respect, Czech medieval research has investigated mainly the legal-economic impacts of this phenomenon, but this phenomenon can be interpreted on other levels as well.<sup>23</sup> First of all, this phenomenon marks a change in the ideological world of the Bohemian nobility of the twelfth century, a change that corresponds to a deepening of the Christianisation process in medieval Bohemia.<sup>24</sup> The Bohemian leaders in the twelfth century fully adopted Christianity as “their” religion and grasped it in a form appropriate to their mental horizons. For them, faith was an obligation; it was a service to the eternal King of Kings—Jesus Christ. The relationship of the Bohemian nobility to Christ thus acquires the form of a relation generally connected with the feudal culture of medieval Europe. Single-nave churches from the Bohemian and also, but to a lesser extent, the Moravian milieu, as well as monastic foundations by the nobility, according to this interpretation, prove the gradual adoption of the feudal models of social stratification including the phenomenon of chivalry forming the basic cultural and communication code among the noble warriors of all of Europe.

The Bohemian nobility from at least the middle of the eleventh century maintained relatively close contact with the world of the European nobility. This contact took place on the numerous military and diplomatic journeys to all corners of the medieval West. There were innumerable visits of the leaders and dukes of Bohemia to the imperial court, they participated in three eleventh-century crusades to the Levant, and took part in the military campaigns of the emperors into Italy and other sporadic campaigns. The Bohemians were perceived by their counterparts in the West as knights with the same method of battle and lifestyle as the other members of the imperial army.<sup>25</sup> The development of the idea of knighthood in the Bohemian Lands was con-

<sup>22</sup> For the early development of single-nave Romanesque churches in Bohemia, see Anežka Merhautová, *Raně středověká architektura v Čechách* (Praha: Academia, 1971); Andrzej Tomaszewski, *Romańskie kościoły z emporami zachodnimi na obszarze Polski, Czech i Węgier* (Wrocław – Warszawa – Kraków – Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo polskiej Akademii nauk, 1974).

<sup>23</sup> Žemlička, Čechy, 201, 242; Jan Klápště, *Proměna českých zemí ve středověku* (Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2005), 48–52; Jan, Skrytý půvab, 893–894; Jan Klápště, “O raně šlechtě v českých zemích. Malý náčrt velkého tématu”, in *Co můj kostel dnes má, nemůže kníže odnéti. Věnováno Petru Sommerovi k životnímu jubileu* (Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2011), 61–66, here 62; Robert Antonín, *České země za posledních Přemyslovců I. díl (1192–1253). Cestou proměny společnosti k vrcholně středověké monarchii* (Praha: Libri, 2012), 100–102.

<sup>24</sup> Anežka Merhautová and Dušan Třeštík, *Románské umění v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Odeon, 2nd ed., 1984), 116; Nora Berend, ed, *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus. c. 900–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 240–253.

<sup>25</sup> Žemlička, Čechy, passim; \_\_\_\_\_, “Wallfahrten aus Böhmen nach dem Heiligen Land und ihre kulturelle Bedeutung bis Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts”, in Daniel Doležal, Hartman Kühne, Eva Doležalová (edd.), *Wallfahrten in der europäischen Kultur* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2006), 37–52; Vratislav Vaníček, “Sociální mentalita české šlechty: urozenost, rytířství, reprezentace (Obecné souvislosti, pojetí družiny, „modernizační“ trend)”, in Martin Nodl and Andrzej Pleszczyński, edd, *Šlechta, moc a reprezentace ve středověku* (Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia 9,

nected closely to the same development taking place on the court of Fredrick I Barbarossa in the second half of twelfth century.<sup>26</sup> These interactions allow us to justifiably assume that the Bohemian nobility was, at the latest at the beginning of the twelfth century, acquainted with the ideal of Christian knighthood, which in fact represented the chivalric ideal in its pre-courtesan form.

This hypothesis is supported by the wave of foundations of sacral single-nave buildings with distinctive representative and fortification functions. The construction of these stone churches occurred at the moments of strengthening faith and of the visualization of the exclusive position of its founder to the rest of society while still serving the practical needs of military craft with solid and high church towers and the stone building itself becoming an important element within the defence of aristocratic residences (*curtes*).<sup>27</sup> In the second half of the twelfth century, church construction in Bohemia predominantly acquired new artistic impulses bringing the stone world of the Bohemian nobility closer to the Staufen imperial milieu.<sup>28</sup> The acceleration of the building activity of this type is one of the introductory phenomena of the implemented cultural transfer, a phenomena requiring not only architectural knowledge but also the moment of mental “tuning” to cultural innovations accompanying its functional adoption.

## The Transformation of Saint Wenceslas

In addition to the phenomenon of church construction, the shift in the mentality of the Bohemian nobility in the twelfth century can be seen in the transforming depictions at this time of the Bohemian patron saint Wenceslas. The chronicles from the second half of the twelfth century already identify Bohemians as the *familia* of St Wenceslas, “the eternal sovereign”, who, and it is substantial for our topic of the genesis of chivalry in the Bohemian Lands, is depicted in the narrative sources in the form of a knight dressed in armour whether mounted or on foot, accompanied by an eagle (the heraldic animal of the eternal duke), and simultaneously the form of the holy patron saint always victoriously intervening in the battles where the Bohemians have borne the spear of St Wenceslas.<sup>29</sup> In these depictions, we reveal the process which was started precisely at the beginning of the twelfth century, and which at the same time is not a singular example in the history of European thought—also St Edmund in England, St Olaf in Norway or

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Praha: Filozofia, 2007), 141–188. Martin Wihoda, “Česká knížata na dvorských sjezdech”, in: Martin Nodl and František Šmahel (edd.), *Rituály, ceremonie, festivity ve střední Evropě 14. a 15. století* (Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia 12, Praha: Filozofia, 2009), 188–202 Antonín, *České země*, 166–182).

<sup>26</sup> For the development in Germany where was the topic connected also with the problem of creating the system of vassalage see Fleckenstein, Friedrich Barbarossa und das Rittertum; Althoff, Nunc fiant; Erkens, Milita und Ritterschaft; Benjamin Arnold, *German Knighthood 1050–1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

<sup>27</sup> See Merhautová, Raně středověká architektura, passim; 1971; Antonín Hejna, “Opevněná venkovská sídla doby přemyslovské v Čechách. Výsledky archeologického výzkumu z období 1965–1975”, *Archeologia historica* 2 (1977), 69–79; Žemlička, Čechy, 288; Marcin Rafał Pauk, *Działalność fundacyjna możnowładztwa czeskiego i jej uwarunkowania słotoczne, XI–XIII wiek* (Kraków – Warszawa, Towarzystwo Naukowe “Societas Vistulana”, 2000), 37–45; Klápště, *Proměna*, 52–99; \_\_\_\_, *O rané šlechtě*, 62–64.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Václav Mencl, “Panské tribuny v naší románské architektuře”, *Umění* 13 (1965), 29–62, here 38.

<sup>29</sup> For example see *Canonici Wissegradensis continuatio Cosmae*, (FRB II., Praha 1874), 203–204; *Monachi Sazawiensis continuatio Cosmae*, FRB II, 255; *Příběhy krále Přemysla Otakara II.*, FRB II, 314–315 and others. For that see František Graus, *Lebendige Vergangenheit. Überlieferung im Mittelalter und in den Vorstellungen vom Mittelalter* (Köln – Wien: Böhlau, 1975), 170–171; \_\_\_\_, “Der Heilige als Schlachtenhelfer – zur Nationalisierung einer Wundererzählung in der mittelalterlichen Chronistik”, in: K-U. Jäschke – R. Wenskus, edd., *Festschrift für Helmut Beumann zum 65. Geburtstag* (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1977), 330–348; Anežka Merhautová and Dušan Třeštlík, *Ideové proudy v českém umění 12. století* (Praha: Academia, 1985), 82–105; Žemlička, Čechy, 336–340; Antonín, *České země*, 89–92, 243–248.

St Ladislaus in Hungary develop similarly in the timeframe of the twelfth to-thirteenth centuries.<sup>30</sup> The transformation of the appearance of St Wenceslas is also captured in the iconographic material—mainly on the coins and seals of the Přemyslid dukes and kings. The traditional depiction of the saint as the eternal duke with the attribute of power—the spear—is complemented in further variations, capturing Wenceslas as a knight on a horse or as a knight standing with a sword and shield. The depiction of the eternal ruler here reflects the Bohemian nobility's concept of the ideal sovereign, a conception that has been enriched with chivalric attributes.<sup>31</sup> The iconography of St Wenceslas thus presents another piece of the evidence of the development of the chivalric ideal in the Bohemian Lands in its as-of-yet un-softened, i.e. “pre-courtesan”, form as early as before 1200.

## The Reminiscence of the So-Called Dalimil

The importance of the development in the twelfth century for the self-identification of the Bohemian nobility is proved also by the fact that this period becomes one of the nodal points of the collective memory of this social group. The attention paid at the beginning of the fourteenth century to the acts of the Bohemians in the twelfth century by the anonymous Old-Czech chronicler—the so-called Dalimil—attest to the importance of this period in the collective memory. Dalimil is on the one hand known for his harsh judgement of chivalric courtly culture, which the nobility enjoyed at the turn of the fourteenth century, but on the other hand he emphasizes the “old times” when Bohemians, as he claims, though romping on the tournament tilting yard, had more military ability than the men from the chronicler's time.<sup>32</sup> To what “old times” is the chronicler specifically referring? The Old-Czech chronicler blends this period with the twelfth century, when Bohemians engaged *inter alia* on the pages of his chronicle in battles alongside the units of the Holy Roman rulers in Italy and fought in the Holy Land. He placed precisely in that period the origin of a number of the important aristocratic families and their heraldic symbols.<sup>33</sup> Dalimil's ideal was the *miles* of the twelfth and first half of the thirteenth century who was, in Dalimil's understanding, brave, honourable, skilful in battle and pious.<sup>34</sup> The *miles* was, in short, a knight who conducted his chivalry at a time when in the Czech lands there had not yet been a literary self-reflection of the social role of those who fight, at a time precedent to the softening of the chivalric model of conduct and its shift towards the luxuries of court en-

<sup>30</sup> For a comparative view, see Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 154–194.

<sup>31</sup> Jaroslav Čarek, *O pečetech českých knížat a králů z rodu Přemyslova* (Praha, 1934), 4–9; Pavel Radoměřský – Václav Ryneš, “Společná úcta sv. Václava a Vojtěcha zvláště na českých mincích a její historický význam”, *Numismatické listy* 13 (1958), 35–48; Merhautová and Třeštík, *Ideové proudy*, 82–105; Rostislav Nový, “Symboly české státnosti v 10.–12. století”, *Folia historica Bohemica* 12 (1988), 47–63, here 51–53; For examples see František Cach, *Nejstarší české mince II. České a moravské denáry od mincovní reformy Břetislava I. do doby brakteátové* (Praha: Česká Numismatická Společnost v Praze, 1972), nr. 314–317, 534–537, 557, 561, 568, 574, 583, 596, 598, 607, 646, 655, 658, 666 (the motif of the rider); nr. 461–465, 479, 485, 494, 497, 539, 544, 547, 546, 620, 629, 640 (the motif of the standing knight with a sword and shield); see also Merhautová and Třeštík, *Ideové proudy*, 89–90.

<sup>32</sup> *Staročeská kronika tak řečeného Dalimila II*, edd. Jiří Daňhelka, Karel Hádek, Bohuslav Havránek and Naděžda Kvitková (Praha: Academia 1988), 327. See also Marie Bláhová, *Staročeská kronika tak řečeného Dalimila (III.) v kontextu středověké historiografie latinského kulturního o kruhu a její pramenná hodnota. Historický komentář. Rejstřík* (Praha: Akademie, 1995), 231–232; Iwańczak, *Po stopách*, 145–147.

<sup>33</sup> See Bláhová, *Staročeská kronika*, 232–239; Žemlička, *Čechy*, 289; Klápště, *Proměna*, 88–92; Vaniček, *Sociální mentalita*, 171–175.

<sup>34</sup> Robert Antonín, *Ideální panovník českého středověku. Kulturně-historická skica z dějin středověkého myšlení* (Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2013), 231–247.



tertainment. Dalimil does not criticize chivalry as such but its courtly softened form appearing comically to him more like a game and an adventure than the “serious” and recorded “good” works of the important predecessors.

## Lost in translation?

Dalimil’s reminiscence of “the old times” thus leads us back to the issue of how to translate the term *miles*. Translation has been conditioned by the fact that in the considerations of modern historians the term warrior does not carry the ethical-moral connotations of the term *knight*, nor does it necessarily entail the existence of a society sharing a common value system as I have discussed above.

However, it is possible as early as in Cosmas to find passages proving that chivalry was not foreign to the twelfth century chroniclers. In his criticism of the later bishop of Prague Jaromír, for instance, Cosmas notes the bishop initially refused to accept a clerical career and took the chivalric belt (*cingulum militare*) instead, absconding to the Polish duke.<sup>35</sup> In another example Cosmas relates how in 1087n the King of Bohemia Vratislaus sent two groups of men with his son Břetislaus to the village of Kyleb in the Meissen district to avenge the death of several Bohemian nobles. Břetislaus accomplished his task and was returning when bathing in a river he was surprised by a group of Saxons. According to Cosmas, Vratislaus sent with his son *duas scaras ex electis militibus* (two groups of selected warriors/knights). At the same time, however, there were with them also *scutarii* — “shieldbearers”, whom he names in the same context as *milites secundi ordinis*, i.e. warriors/knights of the second class. The young Břetislaus sent this second section of the army in advance with the booty. Břetislaus and the *nobiles* (nobles), who stayed with him at the river, were lured into an ambush by a section of twenty *aequites* (i.e. lightly armoured riders), whom the Bohemians attacked, but the Bohemians were then surprised by other Saxons from the reserves—“dressed in iron” (*ferrea legio Saxonum*). The Bohemians, who had stayed at the camp next to the river, subsequently grasped their weapons and set out to help their imprudent and poorly armed companions. How did the battle go? The first combat was with spears, which eventually broke and the fighting continued with swords—“*hastila in primo congressu franguntur, res gladiis agitur*”<sup>36</sup> None of the authors of chivalric compositions of the thirteenth century had to be ashamed of the imagination of the Bohemian author of the beginning of the twelfth century. The Bohemians still fight the iron-clad Saxons and defeat them. Were they lesser knights than the Saxons were, however?

If the indicated interpretation of the phenomenon of chivalry in Cosmas’ chronicle can be called into doubt, I believe that a completely distinct form of knighthood is assumed by the forms of chivalric life in the *Annales* of Vincent of Prague, who with the aid of the literary symbolic abbreviation *miles-dux* introduces to his audience the figure of the second King of Bohemia Vladislaus II. Chivalry is a characteristic accompanying the king from the initial sentence of this work, when Vincent characterizes him not only using the general formula pronouncing the fame, excellence and nobility of the king but also emphasizes his systematic victory.<sup>37</sup> The influence of the chivalric ideal on the description of Vladislaus was manifested apparently most distinctly by his actions in the battles at Milan during the campaign of Fredrick I Barbarossa into Italy. It was the Bohemian ruler who boldly dashed first into the waters of the River Adda after the ford was discovered and with his exemplary bravery impressed the other Bohemians. It was he

<sup>35</sup> *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum*, 110–111.

<sup>36</sup> *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum*, 141–143.

<sup>37</sup> *Vincentii canonici Pragensis Annales*, 407.

who leading the Bohemian units set out to help the emperor's brother Louis, who came to be in a difficult position in the siege of Milan. In his splendid armour, he then personally ran through the Milanese standard-bearer Decius with a spear. Bohemians were all around him—fighting and dying chivalrously.<sup>38</sup>

It can be said in summary that Vincent identifies the Bohemian nobles with chivalric virtues and to the description of King Vladislaus with the chivalric ideal, which was understood both by him and by his contemporaries in the Bohemian Lands. From this point of view, Vincent's *milites* were already knights, a social group the members of which recognized values whose military ethos was enriched by the dispute over the investiture and in connection with the crusades to the Holy Land, which they participated in. The close union of Bohemia and the Bohemians with the imperial area created a natural bridge along which cultural models spread for centuries. In this regard, knighthood and its ideal form was not an exception.

## Conclusion

The supposedly delayed spread of chivalry is only one of the phenomena on which the historical and primarily cultural difference of Eastern, or Central-Eastern and Western Europe has been demonstrated in the past. The interpretation of this problem which I have criticized in this article led to the belief on the part of historians in an impassable border between these two sides of Europe in the medieval epoch. I claim that the idea of such a border is in fact a consequence of the division of Europe during the twentieth century. When medieval society is analysed utilizing the concept of cultural transfer as I have done, this border is much less apparent. An individual living in the Bohemian Lands at the time of the High Middle Ages would not have perceived a border between him and the West nearly as strongly as today's historians do.

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<sup>38</sup> *Vincentii canonici Pragensis Annales*, 430, 436–437.

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## Pilgrims and their Money on their Travels to Rome: Reflections on the Edition *Il Libro del Pellegrino* (Siena, 1382–1446)<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** | The pilgrimage book (*Il Libro del Pellegrino*) of the hospital of Our Lady della Scala in Siena dating back to 1382–1446 represents an accurately led document on monetary deposits in one of the most important church institutions in Siena. The large-scale collection of currencies registered in this book is an interesting witness to the movement of money in circulation in late medieval Europe. The book, however, does not register all pilgrims who visited Siena on the way to Rome, but only those who deposited their cash in the hospital with intention to withdraw it on the way back.

The author's aim is to compare the registered deposits of pilgrims coming from the Lands of the Bohemian Crown with the amounts intended for the pilgrimage to Rome, which have been entered into the Memorial Books of the town of Olomouc in 1430–1492. These sums range from 4–5 Prague marks for the lower middle class to 8–10 Prague marks for the higher middle class. The author distinguishes between money intended for funding the journey back (1.5–8 Prague marks) and petty cash (within a range of 4–35 Prague groschen) which only sufficed for a few days.

Contrary to testimonies, deposits were not a reliable indicator of the social status of their bearers. Pilgrims bearing gold coins is attested to in more than 70 per cent of all the registered deposits. Larger amounts were mostly deposited by those pilgrims who came from far-away regions or by older priests who took all their belongings with them in anticipation that they would not be coming back. This was the case with Florian of Kočov, chaplain in Volyně (South Bohemia) who deposited 20 florins in the hospital of Siena.

Entries in the pilgrimage book of Siena mention Florentine florins, Venetian ducats and Hungarian florins among the most popular gold coins; Prague groschen and Flemish groats prevailed among silver coins. These data, however, do not make possible an estimation of how much money found its way into the hospital. The sum total of 2500 florins, which represents a value of 328 deposits registered by 1410, surely did not reach the hospital treasury as a whole, because many deposits had been withdrawn in the meantime. A relatively large amount did, however, continuously pass into the ownership of the hospital.

**Keywords** | pilgrims – deposits – testaments – Siena hospital – Late Middle Ages

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was supported by the Ministry of Education, Youth and Sports – Institutional Support for Long-term Development of Research Organizations – Charles University, Faculty of Humanities, 2014.

The pilgrimage book (*Il Libro del Pellegrino*) of the hospital of Our Lady della Scala from the years 1382–1446<sup>2</sup> represent a precisely organised document concerning monetary deposits from one of the most celebrated church institutions in Siena. The hospital, under the administration of the rector, had achieved independence from the pilgrim shelter on the ancient road from France to Rome, run by the canons of the cathedral, at the end of the twelve century. It reached its greatest heights in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries when it was linked with the town in terms of administration and taxes. Siena was able to fairly rapidly come to terms with the major demographic decline (according to estimations by certain historians the town lost approximately 85% of its inhabitants in 1348) and the consequent economic depression.<sup>3</sup> The demand for labour became the impulse for horizontal mobility and the collapsing large banks were replaced by a flourishing of smaller and more flexible monetary institutions with more sophisticated trade approaches. These structural changes not only served to strengthen the leading position of Venice in Europe, but also empowered certain smaller Italian towns.<sup>4</sup> It also positively influenced the financial situation of the Siena hospital and thereby made it possible to begin large-scale construction and artistic development at the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Italy profited from visits by large numbers of people with monetary resources who would come either in connection with long-distance trade or in the form of payments to the papal curia and various other church institutions. Pilgrims were also the source of significant amounts of money as they would spend money here during their stays as well as on indulgences. They consequently significantly enriched the structure of the domestic currency. This was taking place at a time when the rest of Europe was suffering from a dearth of precious metals, leading on the one hand to intentional hiding of treasure and on the other hand to increased wearing out of coins and consequent increased overminting. Only Venice was spared from the impact of the worsening quality of coins which was first made manifest in the 1370s and which peaked in the 1390s. This was due to the fact that they had an ongoing supply of silver and gold from the Serbian and Bosnian mines and were thereby able to maintain the stability of their currency.<sup>5</sup>

The rich collection of currencies registered in the pilgrimage book from Siena is an interesting testimony to the movement of period currency on the European continent. As early as the Middle Ages, pilgrims had been bringing significant amounts of coins to Rome. This actually met the economic needs of the city to such an extent that the popes only had to mint their own coins on an occasional basis. The inflow of easily convertible coins was particularly extraordinary in the jubilee year 1400. Pope Urban V (1362–1370) began with systematic minting for the first time in 1367 shortly after his return to Rome. The pope, of course, minted coins at a number of locales in Italy. The largest amount was in Bologna which represented an important part of the papal minting administration. As soon as the Bologna city mint achieved a favourable reputation in central and northern Italy, the papal curia took it over and began minting imitations (*bolognini*). This did not contribute, however, to the economic development of the city. Coins of the same

<sup>2</sup> Gabriella Piccinni and Lucia Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino: Siena, 1382–1446: Affari, uomini, monete nell'Ospedale di Santa Maria della Scala* (Napoli: Liguori, 2003), 85.

<sup>3</sup> Daniela Cavallero, *Lo spedale di Santa Maria della Scala in Siena: Vicenda di una committenza artistica* (Pisa: Pacini, 1985), 69.

<sup>4</sup> Christopher Reinhold Mueller, “Die wirtschaftliche Lage Italien im Spätmittelalter”, in *Europa 1400. Die Krise des Spätmittelalters*, ed. Ferdinand Seibt and Winfried Eberhard (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1984), 221–232.

<sup>5</sup> Peter Spufford, *Power and Profit: The Merchant in Medieval Europe* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2003), 360.

nominal value circulated widely but with differing parameters of weight and fineness. This led to a growth in imbalance no matter if the issuers were one or more mint lords.<sup>6</sup>

Siena was well-known in the Lands of the Bohemian Crown. It served as the temporary seat of the House of Luxembourg in 1369 and once again over the years 1432–1433.<sup>7</sup> Priests and students, who would often combine their trip with pilgrimages, would regularly visit Siena, Rome and many other Italian towns. The records of the Augustinian Generalate from the 1380s list, for example, an Augustinian-hermit, sent from Litomyšl for the Siena studium generale of his order,<sup>8</sup> as well as pilgrims to Rome such as Martin of Brno (Martinus de Brunna)<sup>9</sup> and Leo de Bohemia.<sup>10</sup> The number of Bohemian prelates increased amongst the envoys during the reign of Wenceslaus IV. The majority, however, were lay people who made up two thirds of the personnel in the diplomatic missions.<sup>11</sup> The provost of St Vitus Cathedral travelled through Venice to Rome in 1383 at the charge of King Wenceslaus. Another prelate from the royal court is listed in Mantua in 1394 where the Olomouc Bishop Nikolaus von Riesenburg had also been sent seven years earlier. The Prague Archbishop Jan of Jenštejn stayed in Italy in the years 1393 and 1396–1400.<sup>12</sup>

Seven pilgrims from the Lands of the Bohemian Crown from the years 1384–1433, two of which came from Bohemia,<sup>13</sup> four from Moravia<sup>14</sup> and one from Silesia, appear in the pilgrimage book of Siena which was carried out over the years 1382–1446 by the friars of the Dominican monastery.<sup>15</sup> Two additional pilgrims of uncertain geographical attributions can seemingly be included amongst them: Joachim originated, in all probability, from Čejč near Hodonín,<sup>16</sup> and Wenceslaus, the son of Nicholas, from, in all probability based on his name, the Upper Palatinate.<sup>17</sup> The book does not list by any means all of the pilgrims who visited Siena on their way to Rome. The records only make mention of those who deposited or exchanged their cash amounts at the local hospital with the idea that they would later pick up the money on their way home.

The amounts of money which the pilgrims from the Lands of the Bohemian Crown placed with the Siena friars in their custody (Table 1) can be divided based upon the deposited amounts into three groups which reflected the differing financial provisions of the trips. Three pilgrims deposited amounts lower than one mark, while the cash amounts of three others fluctuated between 1.5–2.5 marks and the third group made up of amounts between 4–8 marks.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Roman Zaoral, “Mincovnictví papežů ve středověké Francii”, in *Du bon du coeur. Poklady francouzského středověkého umění v českých a moravských sbírkách* (Olomouc: Muzeum umění – Arcidiecézní muzeum, 2006), 215–217.

<sup>7</sup> Marie Favreau-Lilie, “‘Devotio moderna’ in Italien? Kontakte zwischen ‘Prag’ und Venedig im 14./15. Jahrhundert und die Suche nach neuen Wege der Frömmigkeit in Venetien”, in *Die “neue Frömmigkeit” in Europa im Spätmittelalter* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004), 390.

<sup>8</sup> *Bartholomaei Veneti O.S.A. registrum generalatus (1383–1387)*, ed. Arnulf Hartmann, vol. 2,1 of *Fontes historiae Ordinis Sancti Augustini Ser. 1* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Augustinianum, 1996), 390.

<sup>9</sup> *Bartholomaei Veneti O.S.A. registrum generalatus (1383–1387)*, 346; 356.

<sup>10</sup> *Bartholomaei Veneti O.S.A. registrum generalatus (1383–1387)*, 390.

<sup>11</sup> Zdeňka Hledíková, “Cesty českých kleriků ke kurií”, in *Cesty a cestování v životě společnosti. Reisen im Leben der Gesellschaft*, ed. Lenka Bobková and Michaela Hrubá (Ústí Nad Labem: Univerzita Jana Evangelisty Purkyně, 1995), 71–78.

<sup>12</sup> Favreau-Lilie, “Devotio moderna”, 316.

<sup>13</sup> Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 167, No. 40; 212, No. 358.

<sup>14</sup> Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 167, No. 39; 208, No. 340; 220, Nos. 386 and 387.

<sup>15</sup> Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 213–214, No. 366.

<sup>16</sup> Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 170, No. 72.

<sup>17</sup> Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 166, No. 36.

<sup>18</sup> 1 Prague mark = 64 groschen.

**Table 1** Deposits by pilgrims from the Lands of the Bohemian Crown registered in the pilgrimage book from Siena

Pilgrim	Date	Deposited amount
<i>Vincilagho di Pragma</i> Wenceslaus of Prague <sup>19</sup>	8. 9. 1391	< 1 Prague mark 22 soldi = 4.4 groschen (exchange rate 1 gr. = 5 s.) <sup>20</sup>
<i>Iachomo di Citch</i> Joachim of Čejč? <sup>21</sup>	28. 3. 1384	20 groschen
<i>Chaterina di Bru</i> Catherine of Brno <sup>22</sup>	8. 9. 1391 <sup>23</sup>	1 florin 4 lire = 35 groschen (exchange rate 1 gr. = 5 s.)
<i>Bartolomeio di Giorgia</i> <i>di Marabia di Buemia</i> Bartholomew, son of George of Moravia <sup>24</sup>	18. 5. 1414	<b>1.5–2.5 Prague marks</b> 3 ducats, 1 papal florin exchanged at 16 lire 12 soldi 4 deniers = 95 groschen (exchange rate 1 gr. = 3 s. 6 d.) <sup>25</sup>
<i>Giovani di Nicholò</i> <i>Dolmoncia in Arabia</i> John, son of Nicholas of Olomouc <sup>26</sup>	28. 1. 1433	1 Hungarian florin, 10 groschen, 3 Imperial (Prussian?) groschen with a cross and significant amounts of Viennese pfennigs and half-pfennigs exchanged on 20 l. 14 s. 8 d. = 118 gr. (exchange rate 1 gr. = 3 s. 6 d.)

<sup>19</sup> Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 167, No. 40; for the original wording of the record see Appendix 1. This was apparently a burgher from Prague, not identifiable in more detail.

<sup>20</sup> According to a record from the pilgrimage book, Prague groschen exchanged at this rate for Siena money (soldi) in 1386 (Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 166, No. 32).

<sup>21</sup> Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 170, No. 72; for the original wording of the record see Appendix 1. The identification of the local names arises from the phonetic appearance and is understandably mangled and uncertain. The Slavonic names of the family members (Zbyňka, Vaněk) lead to the assumption that they in all probability came from the Czech Lands, Silesia or perhaps Poland. For period variants of personal names, compare Jan Svoboda, *Staročeská osobní jména a naše příjmení* (Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1964), 280–281.

<sup>22</sup> Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 167, No. 39; for the original wording of the record see Appendix 1. The editors (Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 167; 255) linked the labelling of Catherine's origin "di Bru" specifically with Brno. The identification is not all that clear, however, despite it being enhanced by record no. 40 from the same day when a certain Wenceslaus of Prague deposited his cash in the hospital.

<sup>23</sup> Dozens of pilgrims from Central Europe fell victim to the plague in the summer months of the year 1391. 35 of them did not return for their entrusted money and valuables to the hospital, 32 of which are listed specifically on 8 September 1391 (Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 166–169).

<sup>24</sup> Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 208, No. 340; for the original wording of the record see Appendix 1. Closer identification of the individuals is not possible and research in the edition *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia*, vol. 6, ed. Jaroslav Eršil (Prague: Academia, 1980) also came up empty. Only this entry was listed in the year 1414. Corneto (Tarquinia), where Bartholomew died, is on the way between Siena and Rome.

<sup>25</sup> The exchange rate for the Prague groschen over the years 1412 and 1413 fluctuated in Siena between 3s. 6d. (*Monumenta Vaticana*, vol. 6, 206, No. 333) and 3s. 8d. (*Monumenta Vaticana*, vol. 6, 207, No. 336).

<sup>26</sup> Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 220, No. 386; for the original wording of the record see Appendix 1. The edition *Památná kniha olomoucká (kodex Václava z Jihlavy) z let 1430–1492, 1528*, ed. Libuše Spáčilová and Vladimír Spáčil, (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2004) did not help with more detailed identification. Only Johannes, son of Niklas Heberl recorded in 1427, can be considered in an extremely hypothetical fashion. Compare *Památná kniha*, ed. Spáčilová and Spáčil, 274–275. A negative result also came about from an excerpt from the Olomouc documents in the register Vladimír Spáčil, *Sbírka listin archivu města Olomouce 1261–1793: inventář* (Olomouc: Státní okresní archiv, 1998). A reference to the pilgrim of the same name cannot even be found in the Vatican sources, compare *Eugen IV. (1431–1447). 1. Teil*, ed. Hermann Diener and Brigide Schwarz, vol. 5 of *Repertorium Germanicum* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer, 2004).

<i>Giovanni d'Arigho di Maravia</i> John, son of Henry of Moravia <sup>27</sup>	12. 3. 1433	3 Hungarian florins, 3 Venetian ducats exchanged at 26 l. 6 s. 8 d. = 156 gr. (exchange rate 1 gr. = 3 s. 6 d.)
<i>Vicilaus di Nicholaio de la Magnia</i> Wenceslaus, son of Nicholas (from the Upper Palatinate?) <sup>28</sup>	8. 9. 1391	<b>4–8 Prague marks</b> 1 jade sold for 12 fl. 35 s. = 235 gr. (exchange rate 1gr. = 5 s.)
<i>Niccholaius Chermen de Brasela</i> Nicholas Hermann of Breslau <sup>29</sup>	7. 12. 1418 (1417?)	9 Hungarian florins, 4 Venetian ducats = 312 gr. (exchange rate 1 fl. = 24 gr.)
<i>Froliano di Chocie chapelano di Vilina del paese di Buemia</i> Florian of Kočov <sup>30</sup>	14. 8. 1415	17 Venetian ducats, 3 Hungarian florins exchanged at 85 l. 14 s. = 480 gr. (exchange rate 1 fl. = 24 gr. = 85 s., 1 gr. = 3 s. 6 d.)

We will now compare this data with the relatively stable rates which burghers from the Lands of the Bohemian Crown included in their testaments on their pilgrimage to Rome.<sup>31</sup> An example could be the testament recorded in the so-called Olomouc Memorial Books (Table 2).<sup>32</sup> The majority of the overall number of 21 references to trips to Rome as the most popular pilgrimage city come from the 1430s (seven in the years 1430–1435 and 1440) and the 1440s (ten in the years 1441–1450). Concrete money amounts, however, are only referred to in nine testaments. The amount designated for this trip for the lower middle classes fluctuated from 4 and 5 marks which with the exchange rate 1 florin = 32 groschen, valid in the 1440s and at the beginning of the 1450s, corresponded to 8 to 10 florins.<sup>33</sup> Testaments from the upper middle classes regularly listed twice the amount for this purpose (8–10 marks = 16–20 florins).

A comparison of the data in both tables makes it apparent that the deposits by the majority of the pilgrims in the Siena hospital more or less correspond to half the rate for the lower (4–5 marks) or higher base (8–10 marks) and can therefore be viewed as an adequate amount

<sup>27</sup> Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 220, No. 387; for the original wording of the record see Appendix 1. The listed data does not allow for a more specific designation. The reference to a scar is connected with the previous note connected with a deposit by John of Olomouc which apparently served as a mark of recognition for the Siena friars. It is less probable that both Moravian pilgrims knew one another and that they had shared part of the journey together to Rome since a period of approximately six weeks lies between the records.

<sup>28</sup> Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 166, No. 36, for the original wording of the record see Appendix 1. The editors (Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 231) left out a record without dating, a comparison with the other entries chronologically ascribed to book F makes it possible to ascribe to 8 September 1391. In light of the expansion of the cult of St Wenceslaus and the popularity of the first name Wenceslaus, an Upper Palatinate origin for the pilgrim can be adduced.

<sup>29</sup> Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 213–214, No. 366, for the original wording of the record see Appendix 1. *Acta Martini V. Pontificis Romani. 1417–1431. Pars 1. 1417–1422*, ed. Jaroslav Eršil, vol. 7 of *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia* (Prague: Academia, 1996) does not provide any lead for determining the pilgrim from Breslau.

<sup>30</sup> Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 212, No. 358, for the original wording of the record see Appendix 1.

<sup>31</sup> For the forms of pilgrimages on the basis of testaments see Zdeněk Uhlíř, “Poutnictví v Lounech v době předhusitské”, *Sborník Okresního archivu v Lounech* 3 (1990): 6–13; Jan Hrdina, *Civis peregrinus Bohemicus: Fernwallfahrten böhmischer Bürger im Spätmittelalter*, in *Roma – Praga. Praha – Rome: Omaggio a Zdeňka Hledíková*, ed. Zdeněk Hojda et al. (Praha: Scriptorium, 2009), 173–187.

<sup>32</sup> *Památná kniha*, ed. Spáčilová and Spáčil.

<sup>33</sup> Peter Spufford, *Handbook of Medieval Exchange* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1986), 275.

**Table 2** Money amounts designated for a pilgrimage to Rome in the Olomouc Memorial Books

Sum	Date	Reference to the edition
4 marks	12. 8. 1434	p. 352, no. 444
8 florins	22. 10. 1444	p. 393, no. 535
4 marks 12 groschen	13. 2. 1440	p. 385, no. 517
5 marks	20. 8. 1433	pp. 362–363, no. 468
5 marks	29. 5. 1441	p. 387, no. 521
5 marks	24. 5. 1443	pp. 388–389, no. 524
16 florins	21. 10. 1443	p. 391, no. 531
10 marks	17. 7. 1444	p. 452, no. 698
20 florins	15. 7. 1462	p. 258, no. 189

designated for the return trip: Bartholomew, son of George of Moravia 1.5 marks; John, son of Nicholas of Olomouc 2 marks; John, son of Henry of Moravia 2.5 marks; Wenceslaus, son of Nicholas (from the Upper Palatinate?) 4 marks and Nicholas Hermann of Breslau 5 marks. A particularly high amount (8 marks) differing from the normal uses was only at the disposal of Florian of Kočov. In contrast, the deposited amounts for the three other pilgrims Catherine of Brno (35 groschen), Joachim of Čejč? (20 groschen) and Wenceslaus of Prague (4.4 groschen) would definitely not have been enough for the return trip.

A general picture as to how many days these amounts might suffice for the pilgrims is given by a comparison with the travel expenses, being dependent on the social status of the owner (noblemen, burghers, priests and individuals of lower social origin are listed in the book amongst the pilgrims), and the means and length of transport. Since the calculations of the average daily output would be problematic (also due to the varying lengths of the days in the winter and the summer), certain values for the given experiences existed. It is assumed that “the average travellers” went on foot daily 25–40 km and on horseback with an entourage and luggage 30–45 km assuming that after four to six days, a day of rest followed.<sup>34</sup> If we take, for example, a speed of 40 km per day as the base, then the trip itself from the Lands of the Bohemian Crown to Rome (ca. 1300 km) would take the pilgrims approximately 32 days, with five or six days of rest 37–38 days, that is approximately 5.5 weeks. With an average expense of 3 groschen per day, which would more or less be covered by the usual summer daily wage of a crafts journeyman,<sup>35</sup> 4 marks of Prague groschen would be enough for approximately 85 days, that is the trip there and back and for an approximately ten day stay in Rome. If the pilgrim took 5 marks along, the stay in Italy could be prolonged for up to a month. Double the sum (8–10 marks = 16–20 florins), which wealthier pilgrims from Olomouc would have had, would have apparently served as a reserve fund in case of illness or for sudden emergencies. In an ideal case it would have made possible a prolongation of the stay or the provision of increased comfort in terms of accommodation and food.

The amount of 3 groschen was the norm for covering daily travel costs for wealthy merchants as well. The commissioner for the Runtingers of Regensburg, who regularly visited markets in

<sup>34</sup> For travel speeds in the Middle Ages, compare Norbert Ohler, *The Medieval Traveller*, trans. Caroline Hillier (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1989).

<sup>35</sup> Marek Suchý, *Solutio Hebdomadaria Pro Structura Templi Pragensia. Stavba svatovítské katedrály v letech 1372–1378. Díl 1.* (Praha: Archeologický ústav AV ČR, 2003), 26–27 presents the amount of 2–3 groschen in a yearly average as the most usual daily payment for a carpenter journeyman. The summer weekly wage for a master carpenter amounted to 20 groschen, in the winter 16 groschen.



Flanders as an expert on cloth, would receive 11 florins for travel and 12 florins as a wage for an eleven-week return trip to the Netherlands in the 1380s.<sup>36</sup> The testimonials regularly list the amount of 4–5 marks for pilgrims on their way from the Czech Lands to Rome, with this representing a minimum amount. This amount could be lower if the pilgrim made use of those monasteries which provided accommodation and basic food free of charge. Similarly low are the sums which testators established for shorter trips such as the pilgrimage from Olomouc to Mariazell (ca. 300 km). One mark was sufficient for the pilgrim for the trip there and back (18–20 days in all) and for an only two day stay.<sup>37</sup>

Every day expenses for food and drink, fodder for horses and fuel increased by irregular payments for repairs to the wagon or wheels, for grease, horseshoes, medical treatment of the horses, purchase of harnesses, halters or currycombs. A silver groschen coin was usually used for payment of these general items, while larger payments, for example, the purchase of a horse, were carried out with gold coins.<sup>38</sup> Those who paid for all the services themselves, could get by with one ducat per day, which is 20 Prague groschen according to the exchange rate valid at the turn of the fifteenth century.<sup>39</sup> One ducat daily was the price, for example, for pilgrims travelling from Venice to Jaffa at the beginning of the fifteenth century: they paid on average 40–50 ducats for a 40–50 day ride with reserved seats.<sup>40</sup> Such a high amount for a trip would only be affordable by a craftsman whose maximum monthly wage (12 schocks = 720 groschen yearly with some variation +/- 3 schocks, 1 schock = 60 groschen) amounted to approximately twice the subsistence wage (30 groschen monthly, which is 6 schocks groschen = 360 groschen annually), as was the case for the stonemason master evidenced by the weekly building accounts for St Vitus Cathedral. More expensive trips were generally only affordable for merchants or money changers with an average yearly income of 60–70 florins and of course noblemen whose travel expenses were approximately five times higher than the possibilities of a master craftsmen.<sup>41</sup>

In contrast to last wills, one cannot determine the social status of the bearers based upon the amount of deposits. Wealthy pilgrims had gold coins, contained in more than 70% of all the deposits, which were registered in the pilgrimage book of Siena hospital and were therefore accessible also to lower social classes. The majority of the pilgrims (more than 80%) had available finances to an amount of 1–10 florins. Amounts fluctuating in a range between 11–20 florins represented slightly less than 16% of the recorded amounts. Owners of amounts above 20 florins (21–40 fl. a 50–78 fl.) which consisted of approximately 4% of the depositors, were usually

<sup>36</sup> Wiltrud Eikenberg, *Das Handelshaus der Runtinger zu Regensburg* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1976), 293–294. Travel expenses to the amount of 1 florin per week corresponded to 3 groschen per day.

<sup>37</sup> *Památná kniha*, ed. Spáčilová and Spáčil, 387, No. 521 (will from 29 May 1441).

<sup>38</sup> Compare the data about a horse, sold by its owner Wenceslaus, son of Nicholas, originally apparently from the Upper Palatinate, to the Siena hospital in 1391 for 12 florins and 25 soldi (Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 166, No. 36). This amount roughly corresponds to the period price terms. Henry of Derby, later Henry IV, King of England (1399–1413), bought two horses in all in Prague in 1392, where he had stopped over on his journey from Prussia to the Holy Land: the first for 3 nobles, which is 6 florins, the second for 10 nobles, which is 20 florins. Compare Marek Suchý, “Na cestě in partibus Boemie. Svědectví cestovních účtů Jindřicha z Derby z roku 1392”, in *Numismatický sborník* 22 (2007): 132, note 165.

<sup>39</sup> Spufford, *Handbook*, 274–275.

<sup>40</sup> Danuta Quirini-Popławska, “Wenecja jako etap w podróży do Ziemi świętej (XIII–XV w.)”, in *Peregrinationes. Pielgrzymki w kulturze dawnej Europy*, ed. Halina Manikowska and Hanna Zaremska (Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, 1995), 137.

<sup>41</sup> Suchý, “Na cestě”, 135. According to Eikenberg, *Das Handelshaus*, 293–294 the yearly wage for money changers for the Regensburg trade company of the Runtingers in Prague in the years 1383–1394 fluctuated in a range between 60–70 florins. The yearly private income of Matthäus Runtinger amounted to 60–80 florins at that same time. Apart from this, Matthäus had his father’s house free of charge for himself and his family.

pilgrims from more distant areas such as France, Spain, Portugal and the Empire who gathered the most in Italy in the jubilee year 1400. The higher sums deposited in the Siena hospital consisted of mostly older priests who had set out on the trip with all of their property, with probably the intention that they would never return again. This was specifically the case with the chaplain from Volyně, Florian of Kočov, who entrusted 20 florins to the keepings of the Dominicans in Siena.

Florian is the only person amongst the pilgrims from the Bohemian Lands whose origin has been rescued from anonymity. Initial attempts at a more specific determination of the cleric based on the local name “Vilina”, associated with the town of Bílina in North-West Bohemia, finally came to a successful conclusion in the confirmation books of the Prague archbishopric with a locality with a similar name – Volyně. The deceased Florian of Volyně (Wolyna) is made reference to on 3 June 1417 as the former holder of the benefice at the Altar of Corpus Christi in the local parish church. After Florian’s death it was granted to Blasius, a priest from Volyně, at the instigation of the patron Velík of Nemětice.<sup>42</sup> The at least final five years of Florian’s church career can be shortly reconstructed on the basis of the administrative books of the Prague general vicarate. The place of Florian’s origin remains unclear, however it could have been Kočov near Planá based on the future professional duties.<sup>43</sup> The baptismal register of the Prague diocese from the years 1396–1415 does not make things any clearer.<sup>44</sup> Florian is seemingly first made reference to in Boletice in South Bohemia where he first held the office of plebanus from the end of 1409 up to April 1411.<sup>45</sup> An exchange with the priest Nicholas in the spring of 1411, granted him the no less subsidized prebendary of the altarship of St John the Baptist in the parish church in Kašperské Hory.<sup>46</sup> With the agreement of the brothers Ctibor and Jan of Kozí, he became spiritual administrator of the parish church in nearby Hoštice near Volyně in August 1413,<sup>47</sup> from where

<sup>42</sup> *Libri confirmationum ad beneficia ecclesiastica Pragensem per archidioecesim*, vol. 7, ed. Josef Emler (Prague: Spolek historický, 1886), 230: „...data est crida domino Blasio presbytero de Wolina ad altare Corporis Christi ibidem in Wolina, per mortem Floriani vacantem...”

<sup>43</sup> Antonín Profous, *Místní jména v Čechách. Jejich vznik, původní význam a změny*, vol. 2 (Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1949), 340. Kočov u Plané, Tachov district is listed in the orthography “Koczow, Koczaw, Kocziewa”. Even less credible is the link with the no longer extant village of Kočov, 3 km distance from the Kladruby monastery, Tachov district (lat. Koczow, Choczov), or the identification with Choceň, Ústí nad Orlicí district (lat. Choczna).

<sup>44</sup> I would like to thank Eva Doležalová from the Centre for Medieval Studies in Prague for the research work in the baptismal registers.

<sup>45</sup> Research also came up empty in the confirmation books for the years 1390–1410 in the edition *Libri confirmationum ad beneficia ecclesiastica Pragensem per archidioecesim*, vols. 5 and 6, ed. Josef Emler (Prague: Spolek historický, 1865–1883) where there is no person bearing the name Florian. Compare *Libri confirmationum*, vol. 7, 21: „Anno quo supra (1411) die 4. Aprilis data est crida domino Floriano, olim plebano in Boleticz...” A priest John is mentioned on 8 July 1409 who exchanged a plebanus position in Boletice for an altar position in the parish church of St Nicholas in České Budějovice. Florian’s confirmation of the parish benefice in Boletice has not been preserved, although it can be assumed to have been over the course of the year 1410. See *Libri confirmationum*, vol. 6, 267.

<sup>46</sup> *Libri confirmationum*, vol. 7, 21 (4 April 1411). The Altar of St John the Baptist was established in 1396 at the request of the bailiff, burgomaster and town council in Kašperské Hory and granted a yearly salary of 10 schock groschen. Compare *Libri erectionum archidioecesis Pragensis seaculo XIV. et XV. Liber IV (1390–1397)*, ed. Clemens Borový (Prague: Calve, 1883), 450–451; *Liber confirmationum*, vol. 5, 270 (13 October 1396).

<sup>47</sup> *Libri confirmationum*, vol. 7, 93 (18 August 1413): „Anno quo supra die 18. Augusti [1413] data est crida domino Floriano, olim capellano altaris S. Johannis Baptiste in ecclesia filiali in Raychenstayn, ad ecclesiam in Hosticz, per resignacionem domini Hostuonis ultimi rectoris ex causa permutacionis vacantem de consensu Cztibortii et Johannis fratrum de Kozye, dicte ecclesie patronum.” The Church of St Leonard in Kašperské Hory is labelled as a branch church.

he finally came to Volyně at the beginning of May 1414, where he exchanged this benefice for a prebendary at the Altar of Corpus Christi in the local parish church.<sup>48</sup> In the summer of the following year, he apparently officially rented out his prebendary, prudently wrote out his will with an eye to providing for his sister and set out on his final earthly journey which apparently ended between Siena and Rome.<sup>49</sup> Based on the fairly high amount of 20 florins it could have been that he planned to stay in Italy for a longer period of time. The news of his unfortunate end apparently reached Volyně with a marked delay as the succession of the new benefice at the Altar of Corpus Christi only finally took place in June 1417, two years after Florian's departure when the two-year rental contract for his possible substitute priest expired.<sup>50</sup>

Crises in the late Middle Ages in both politics and the economy led on the one hand to worsening of coins, while on the other hand acted as an increased dynamic element in the "monetization" of exchange relations. The losses to the population, caused by the plague epidemic in the middle of the fourteenth century, and the consequent economic difficulties did not bring a stop to the development or prolong it. In contrast, the second half of the fourteenth century is marked in Europe generally by an increased production of high denominations, consequently the movement of money in circulation actually grew faster than the actual production of coins. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the papal curia and the monasteries had a preference for payments in gold. This represented a simpler way of establishing the exchange rate of gold coins to a local currency.<sup>51</sup>

The most frequent types of gold coins were Florentine florins, Venetian ducats (sequins) and Hungarian florins as their equivalent.<sup>52</sup> But also an entire range of imitations of established mints were in circulation, the production of which was also contributed to by the papal curia.<sup>53</sup> Pilgrims

<sup>48</sup> *Libri confirmationum*, vol. 7, 117: „A. d. 1414, die 8. Mai data est crida domino Floriano, olim plebani ecclesie in Hosticz, ad altare Corporis Christi in parrochiali ecclesia in Wolina, per resignationem domini Nicolai ultimi rectoris ex causa permutacionis vacantem de consensu famosi viri Weliconis de Nezedicz clientis, dicti altaris patroni. Executor plebanus in Wolina.“

<sup>49</sup> Compare note 30. The town council in Volyně kept a book of testaments as early as 1370. A partial record from the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century is amongst the oldest to have been preserved. Compare Rostislav Nový, *Městské knihy v Čechách a na Moravě* (Praha: Univerzita Karlova 1963), 188. If we were to hypothetically assume that Florian, apart from respects paid in Rome to the priests of the apostles Sts Peter and Paul, also attempted to obtain a reservation at the curia for a more profitable benefice, the silence in the edition *Monumenta Vaticana*, vol. 6 is not conclusive in any fashion because the papal registry for the period of John XXIII (1410–1415) suffered significant losses.

<sup>50</sup> *Libri confirmationum*, vol. 7, 230: „Anno, die ut supra [3. 6. 1417] data est crida domino Blasio presbytero de Wolina ad altare Corporis Christi ibidem in Wolina, per mortem Floriani vacantem ad presentationem honesti Weliconis de Medicz, dicti altaris patroni. Executor plebanus in Wolina.“ Particularly improbable is the variant that the priest Florian returned from Italy without having picked up his money deposited in the Siena hospital and died a peaceful death in Volyně in 1417.

<sup>51</sup> Bernd Kluge, "Geld im Mittelalter – Numismatische Einführung", in *Geld im Mittelalter. Wahrnehmung – Bewertung – Symbolik*, ed. Klaus Grubmüller and Markus Stock (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005), 30–31.

<sup>52</sup> The designation of gold florins as ducats came about at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Authors of numismatic literature, however, sometimes use this term for the period of the fourteenth–fifteenth centuries for distinguishing between the gold coin type with the actual iconography (ducats of Charles IV) from those whose picture was dependent on the original model (florins of John of Bohemia). The current work which looks at the historical character of coins keeps with the designation of florins for gold medieval mints and only uses ducats for Venetian gold pieces, minted from 1284, and this in accordance with period written sources. Compare Daniela Dvořáková, "Království zlatého florénu. Peníze ve středověkém Uherském království ve 14.–15. století", in *Peníze nervem společnosti. K finančním poměrům na Moravě od poloviny 14. do počátku 17. století*, ed. Tomáš Borovský and Bronislav Chocholáč (Brno: Matice moravská, 2007), 26.

<sup>53</sup> For imitations of Florentine florins in detail, see Ulrich Klein, "Der Florentiner Goldgulden und seine Imitationen", in *Faux – contrefaçon – imitations. Actes du quatrième colloque international du Groupe suisse*

from the Lands of the Bohemian Crown regularly took with them easily available Hungarian florins and Venetian ducats, with only two depositing Prague groschen in Siena. None of them, however, brought hard to obtain Bohemian florins to Italy which were disappearing from the Lands of the Bohemian Crown very quickly.

Less than effective supervision at the time of the initial flourishing of mining activity led to the situation wherein the local markets in Central Europe were glutted with coins. Overpriced domestic production resulted in the majority of gold and silver ending up in the hands of foreign merchants. They brought it out of the country in exchange for goods of a Western European and South European origin.<sup>54</sup> This trade imbalance resulted in a flow of gold coins to economically more developed regions: to towns in Southern Germany, the Rhineland, Westphalia, Flanders and Italy. Bohemian florins found their way into circulation in connection with the territorial politics of the House of Luxembourg,<sup>55</sup> with military and politically motivated payments, as well as with long-distance trade and collecting of fees by the papal curiae to Rome and Avignon.<sup>56</sup> Regensburg and Nuremberg merchants regularly worked as the mediators in this. The expenses of this type amounted to 40,000 florins in the Prague archdiocese in 1355 and this amount even increased after the implementation of the regular tithe.<sup>57</sup>

References to Bohemian florins become less common in sources of a Bohemian origin at the end of the fourteenth century<sup>58</sup> while in contrast they were still being used in Rome up to the middle of the fifteenth century. Their circulation in Italy is testified to by findings of coins as well as references in written sources.<sup>59</sup> The account of the pilgrimage book corresponds with these findings wherein Bohemian florins are involved in the monetary funds of two depositors from Flanders who visited Siena in the jubilee year 1400: two Bohemian florins were deposited here by the priest Gerald of Nijmegen<sup>60</sup> and two florins of Charles IV referred to as Imperial (*fiorini del'*

*pour l'étude des trouvailles monétaires* (Martigny, 1er–2e mars 2002). *Fälschungen – Beischnläge – Imitationen. Sitzungsbericht des vierten internationalen Kolloquiums der Schweizerischen Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Fundmünzen* (Martigny, 1.–2. März 2002), ed. Anne-Francine Auberson, Harald Rainer Derschka and Suzanne Frey-Kupper (Lausanne: Éditions du Zèbre, 2004), 129–160. Also compare Zaoral, “Mincovníctví papežů”, 216.

<sup>54</sup> Bálint Hóman, “La circolazione delle monete d' oro in Ungheria dal X al XIV secolo e la crisi europea dell' oro nel secolo XIV”, *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, Second Series 5 (1922): 134, 140.

<sup>55</sup> One of the highest financial amounts of 500,000 florins was paid by Charles IV for purchase of the Mark of Brandenburg and this was not an isolated case. This amount was paid off after many years and definitely not only in Bohemian florins. Compare, lastly, Hendrik Mäkelar, *Reichsmünzwesen im späten Mittelalter, Teil I.: Das 14. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2010), 145–159.

<sup>56</sup> Karel Stloukal, “Dvojjí tvář doby Karlovy”, *Český časopis historický* 50 (1949): 1–47 already made reference to the fact that high amounts of money flew yearly to the papal court in Avignon. Gustav Skalský, “Měnová politika Karla IV.”, *Numismatický časopis československý* 19 (1950): 51 judges that it almost always involved Bohemian gold coins.

<sup>57</sup> František Graus, “Die Handelsbeziehungen Böhmens zu Deutschland und Österreich im 14. und zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts”, *Historica* 2 (1960): 110.

<sup>58</sup> A number of concrete evidences to the decrease in Bohemian gold coins in written sources of a Bohemian origin have been collected by Karel Castelin, “O českých dukátech 14. století”, *Numismatický časopis československý* 19 (1950): 65–73.

<sup>59</sup> A list of published findings of gold coins in Italy is presented in the appendix of the thesis of Matteo Broggnini, “Il Tesoro di Montella (Avellino). Fiorini e ducati d'oro occultati nella meta del Trecento”, (PhD diss., Università degli Studi di Milano, 2013), 205–228. I am grateful to the author for allowing me to examine his work. A number of these findings are also mentioned by Lucia Travaini, “La moneta in viaggio”, in *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 114–125. A reference to the circulation of two distinct types of Bohemian florins in Rome is mentioned by František Graus, “Zprávy belgických pramenů o českých dukátech 14. a počátku 15. století”, *Numismatické listy* 4 (1949): 96, note 6.

<sup>60</sup> Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 187, No. 195.

*omperadore*) by a pilgrim from Bruges (*Ianzelobi de Brugia*).<sup>61</sup> Neither the Rheingulden of lower quality, the circulation of which was limited to the Cheb region and the adjacent area of Western Bohemia up to the 1470s, appeared amongst the gold coins in the ownership of pilgrims who made their travels to Italy from the Lands of the Bohemian Crown.<sup>62</sup>

Prague groschen (*grossi boemi*) were of greater importance than Bohemian florins within the monetary circulation in Italy in the fourteenth and first half of the fifteenth century. The Florentine merchant Francesco Balducci Pegolotti makes reference to them as the only larger silver coins.<sup>63</sup> Their representation in the structure of period currency in Siena undoubtedly exceeded 8% with a registered 33 entries in the pilgrimage book. Not all of the coins by far, including the Bohemian ones, would actually reach the depository as can be testified to by a finding with twelve Prague groschen discovered in the garden of the Siena hospital by the gardener Matthew on thirteenth May 1409.<sup>64</sup> Another finding of 400 florins dates from the same year, bricked into a cell in the monastery of Our Lady della Scala, serves as obvious evidence of the common availability of gold coins in the Italian church milieu.<sup>65</sup>

Prague groschen are recorded in the book in ready money from 32 individuals who had arrived in Siena primarily from the Empire, as well as from Flanders, Savoy, Poland and Moravia. The Prague groschen is characterized by a major geographic dispersion being one of the main European silver coins. Groschen were a common part of the monetary funds of pilgrims in particular in the 1380s and 1390s when they prevailed in terms of number (18 out of 32 records in all) as well as in terms of amount; they, however, did not usually exceed tens pieces for practical reasons. Only two depositors left an amount exceeding 100 Prague groschen in Siena: 180 groschen in 1382<sup>66</sup> and 131 groschen in 1400.<sup>67</sup> The Flemish groats also ranked up with the Prague groschen amongst the generally accepted mints in the international monetary operation, with this being the second most common type of silver coins in the records of the pilgrimage book. Meissen groschen appear in two cases (over the years 1400 and 1427) in the cash amounts of pilgrims from the Empire with a note that they are not as valuable as the Bohemian.<sup>68</sup>

The Prague groschen, however, also met with gradual weakening. The percentage of silver in the Bohemian groschen had to be decreased during the reign of Charles IV, primarily so as there to be enough to purchase gold. Bohemian ore mining was unable to satisfy the demand for gold. The fineness of Bohemian florins was preserved in contrast to the groschen making it an extremely sought out nominals abroad, fully comparable in value with the Florentine and Hungarian florins as well as with the Venetian ducats.<sup>69</sup> The lack of silver, for not only purchasing gold but also for minting of Prague groschen, began to become more problematic in the second

<sup>61</sup> Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 177, No. 124.

<sup>62</sup> Roman Zaoral, "Nálezky zlatých mincí grošového období na území Čech. Příspěvek k oběhu uherských dukátů v Čechách", *Slovenská numizmatika* 11 (1990): 128.

<sup>63</sup> Pegolotti's diary written at some point over the years 1339–1340 was published in a critical edition by Francesco Balducci Pegolotti, *La pratica della mercatura*, ed. Allan Evans (Cambridge, Mass.: Medieval Academy of America, 1936). An analysis of diaries of medieval merchants from the perspective of the structure of the period currency is examined in detail by Lucia Travaini, *Monete, mercanti e matematica. Le monete medievali nei trattati di aritmetica e nei libri di mercatura* (Rome: Jouvence, 2003).

<sup>64</sup> Archivio di Stato di Siena, Ospedale 517, fol. 344. Cited according to Travaini, "La moneta in viaggio", 88, note 15.

<sup>65</sup> Archivio di Stato di Siena, Ospedale 517, fol. 416. Cited according to Travaini, "La moneta in viaggio", 88, note 16.

<sup>66</sup> Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 164, No. 9.

<sup>67</sup> Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 199, No. 288.

<sup>68</sup> Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 195, No. 256; 218, No. 381.

<sup>69</sup> Bohemian florins were only occasionally valued higher than Hungarian. The difference between the exchange rate of both currencies valid in Lucca in 1383 is recorded in an account book of the Runtingers of Regensburg.

half of the fourteenth century. The annual mining of silver in the Kutná Hora mining area fell from 20,000 kg to approximately 10,000 kg in comparison with the first half of the fourteenth century.<sup>70</sup> Two additional factors contributed to the imbalance between payments and production of the mines: intentional hiding of money and the loss of metal due to worn and overminted coins. All of these circumstances influenced the composition of the ready money which pilgrims brought with them to Siena.

The gradual decrease in the silver content in the Prague groschen forced Imperial towns to mark quality coins with special countermarks. These were common in the first half of the fifteenth century within the southern German areas of the Franks, Bavaria and Swabia as well as in Hesse, Lower Saxony and in Rhine-Westphalia.<sup>71</sup> Prague groschen played an important role in the south-west part of the Empire from the end of the fourteenth century up to the 1470s. Joachim Schüttenhelm estimates that their percentage of the currency there exceeded the upper limit, quantified on the basis of the composition of coin finds, of 48.7% in the first half of the fifteenth century.<sup>72</sup> It can be assumed that the groschen from the Empire taken to Italy on the way to Rome were usually quality Prague groschen marked with countermarks. The friars from Siena do not make mention of this fact, however. The quality of the groschen could only be recognized by the current exchange rates valid when exchanging with the local currency, which served for paying out everyday expenses.<sup>73</sup> The Siena mint profited the most from these exchanges as it withdrew the circulating coins and minted local small coins from the metal. Records of purchases of precious metal from the years 1351–1423 testify to the fact that not only groschen but also increased numbers of gold coins found their way to the mint after 1392.<sup>74</sup>

The friars in the monastery of Our Lady della Scala had to have a knowledge of denominations and exchange rates for extremely varied coins, including forgeries and lightened coins which people brought with them to Siena.<sup>75</sup> Their work often involved quantity over quality and over time various kinds of small coins appeared in the bags alongside the groschen and other valid currencies which had found their way into the hands of pilgrims on their journey to Italy.<sup>76</sup> The owners usually did not keep these coins for long as the exchange offices were reluctant to accept them.<sup>77</sup> But just this small change can be useful in determining the origin of its bearer. A deposit by John, the son of Nicholas of Olomouc, can serve as an example. This was recorded in the book on 28 January 1433 and consisted of, apart from one Hungarian florin, ten Bohemian and

Compare Franz Bastian, *Das Runtingerbuch 1383–1407 und verwandtes Material zum Regensburger südostdeutschen Handel und Münzwesen II*. (Regensburg: Bosse, 1935), 47. Also compare Zaoral, “Nálezky zlatých mincí”, 119–120.

<sup>70</sup> Jiří Majer, *Rudné hornictví v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku* (Praha: Libri, 2004), 62–64.

<sup>71</sup> Karel Castelin, *Grossus Pragensis. Der Prager Groschen und seine Teilstücke 1300–1547* (Braunschweig: Klinkhardt & Biermann, 1972), 74–80 listed 252 countermarks to Prague groschen in all.

<sup>72</sup> Joachim Schüttenhelm, *Der Geldumlauf im südwestdeutschen Raum vom Riedlinger Münzvertrag 1423 bis zur ersten Kipperzeit 1618. Eine statistische Münzfundanalyse unter Anwendung der elektronischen Datenverarbeitung* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1987), 392.

<sup>73</sup> Compare notes 19 and 24.

<sup>74</sup> Travaini, “La moneta in viaggio”, 97–98.

<sup>75</sup> Travaini, “La moneta in viaggio”, 95–96.

<sup>76</sup> The fact that increased numbers of coins with poorer fineness had found their way into circulation over the course of the 15th century does not necessarily reflect the generally cited lack of precious metal, but could also have been an attempt at increasing profit on the border of illegality. Compare Christoph Bartels, “Zur Bergbaukrise des Spätmittelalters”, in *Konjunkturen im europäischen Bergbau in vorindustrieller Zeit. Festschrift für Ekkehard Westermann zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. Christoph Bartels and Markus A. Denzel (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2000), 170–171.

<sup>77</sup> The mechanism of payments and exchanges in the Middle Ages is well-described by Jean Favier, *Gold and Spices: The Rise of Commerce in the Middle Ages*, trans. Caroline Higgitt (New York and London: Holmes & Meier, 1998).

three Imperial groschen, a large amount of Viennese pfennigs and half-pfennigs.<sup>78</sup> John could have obtained them along his journey in Vienna, although it is more probable that he had taken at least some of them from Moravia where Viennese pfennigs had a strong position in the local circulation. Pfennigs had replaced the lack of Prague groschen, the minting of which had been interrupted at the beginning of the 1420s.

Coins, however, were not exclusively used as a monetary means. Certain types, often even small mints, with pictures of Christ, the Virgin Mary or saints, were used as devotionals. An example would be Johann, a pilgrim from Prussia, who deposited, along with twenty florins, one Pisa *quatrino* with the Virgin Mary in the Siena hospital in 1443.<sup>79</sup> Why place there one small and in addition approximately one hundred year old *quatrino* when he had available such a large amount of gold coins? Coin types representing the Virgin Mary were not in circulation very often in 1443 and seemingly attracted the interest of the devout pilgrims. Even more surprising is that Johann deposited this coin devotional in Siena. We will never know the reason for this. The deposit could have been linked with a wish for a safe return. Perhaps he did not want to risk losing the Marian icon on the dangerous swampy road section between Siena and Rome. Similar entries are recorded in the book several times.<sup>80</sup>

Although the recorded deposits reflect only a segment of all of the ready money which pilgrims carried with them to Siena, they nevertheless serve as a source of remarkable value concerning not only the history of pilgrimages, but also the mechanism of the circulation of money in Italy at the turn of the fifteenth century. The carefully led records which identify various foreign currencies and their conversion into florins, liras and small local coins (*solidi* and *denarii*) allow us to examine the everyday activity of exchange officers who represented an important part of the well-organized administrative apparatus of the hospital. The denoting of the value of money in the exchange office was still not established practice at that time and was only carried out on an occasional basis. It is therefore, in my opinion, impossible to make even an approximate estimate of the overall sum of money which found its way into the hospital. Of interest is the data on the number of Prague groschen, of which 680 pieces are listed in all in the book for the period 1382–1410, which in the period exchange rate of 1 florin = 19 groschen corresponded to approximately 35 florins. This was only a mere fraction out of the overall sum of 2,500 florins, which all of the 328 deposits recorded into the pilgrimage book by 1410 represent when converted.<sup>81</sup> This relatively low percentage of Prague groschen is not surprising when one realizes that pilgrims were primarily the bearers of gold coins. It should be recalled that the listed sum of 2,500 florins did not find its way completely into the hospital treasury since a number of deposits had already been taken out in the meantime. The amounts left by those pilgrims who had died in the hospital and which no relative had picked up remained. This still consisted of a relatively high amount which gradually became part of the property of the monastery.

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<sup>78</sup> Compare note 26.

<sup>79</sup> Piccinni and Travaini, *Il Libro del pellegrino*, 222, No. 396.

<sup>80</sup> Travaini, “La moneta in viaggio”, 94–95.

<sup>81</sup> Travaini, “La moneta in viaggio”, 149.

## Appendix 1:

### Deposits by pilgrims from the Lands of the Bohemian Crown in the Siena hospital over the years 1382–1446

#### no. 39

fol. 4v MCCCCX

**Chaterina di Bru** romeia die avere adì 8 di settenbre 1391, f. 1, l. 4, a 'ntrata di frate Mateio fo. 11, a libro F fo. 431\_\_ f. I, l. III°, s. 0

#### no. 40

fol. 4v MCCCCX

**Vincilagho di Pragma** romeio die avere adì 8 di settenbre 1391, s. 22 a 'ntrata di frate Mateio fo. 11, a libro F fo. 431\_\_ f. 0, l. I, s. II

#### no. 340

fol. 41r MCCCCXIII

+ **Bartalomeio di Giorgia di Marabia di Buemia** dipositò a frate Giovanni di Fiandra nostro ufficiale sopra i dipositi insino adì XVIII<sup>o</sup> di magio 1414, f. quatro d'oro corenti, cioè tre duchati e uno papale chome apare al suo libro de' dipositi a fo. 3 e a segni XI, e puoi il detto frate <frate> Giovanni gli fu detto ch'esso Bartalomeio morì a Chorneto, sì gli die in mano di Biagio di Masso k. valsero l. sedici, s. dodici, d. quattro e sono a sua intrata per lo dì XI d'ottobre 1414 a fo. 8.

#### no. 358

fol. 45v MCCCCXV

**Froliano di Chocie chapelano di Vilina del paese di Buemia** die avere duchati diciessette di Vinegia e f. tre onghari i qu[a]gli dipositò a frate Pavolo da Lucha pelegriniere infino adì 14 d'aghosto 1415 chon questa condizione, che se desso morisse volse che la metà de' sopradetti d. ne siano dati a Davolina sua suora chon questa chondizione, che se dessa arechasse carta di testamento altenticho, altrimenti non avesse i detti denari e l'altra mettà rimanesse a lo spedale per bene del'anima sua, de' quagli duchati e ff. esso frate Pavolo cambiò al banco di Lionardo di Pietro Mini, ebene l. ottantacinque, s. quatordecim, e chosì apare al suo libro de' dipositi a fo. 20 e sono a 'ntrata di frate Nanni Bordi k. per lo dì XV d'otto[b]re MCCCCXVII a fo. VIII<sup>o</sup>.

#### no. 366

fol. 47r MCCCCXVIII

**Niccholaius Chermen de Brasela** del paesse di Buemia f. nove d'Ongharia e duchati quatro di Vinegia i quagli esso dipositò a frate Pavolo da Lucha pelegriniere infino adì VII di diciembre 1418 chome apare al suo libro segniato B a fo. 68 e sono a 'ntrata di frate Nanni Bordi k. per lo dì 26 di genaio a fo. 7 1418.

Ànne auti adì XXVII di genaio 1418 f. nove d'Ongharia e f. quatro duchati di Vinegia contanti in sua mano in presenza di frate Pavolo da Lucha pelegriniere a uscita di frate Nanni Bordi k. a fo. 52.



**no. 386**

f. 52v MCCCCXXXIII

**Giovani di Nicholò Dolmoncia in Arabia** il quale àne onghia del dito grosso della man manca fesso cioè uno sengnio per lo mezo delonghia, disse andava a Roma, diposittò insino adì 28 di gienao 1433 1 f. d'oro ongharo e dieci buemi e tre crocifissi della Mangnia e più vianari e mezi vianari chome apare al libro de' dipositi di frate [Luca] di Charlo a fo. 27 e a dipositti 30 e de detta munetta se n'èbe a chanbio l. vinti, s. quatordici, d. otto, apare a 'ntrata de frate Angniolo di Cripstofano k. a fo. 3 \_\_ l. XX, s. XIII<sup>o</sup>, d. VIII

**no. 387**

fol. 53r MCCCCXXXIII

**Giovanni d'Arighò di Maravia** il quale non à onghia nel ditto de la mano manca a latto al ditto mingniolo diposittò insino adì XII di marzo 1433 sei f. d'oro cioè tre onghari e tre viniziani chome apare a libro de' dipositi di frate Lucha di Charlo a fo. 44 e a fo. 167 de'dipositi, de qua[li] f. se n'èbe a chanbio l. vintisei, s. sei, d. otto, e apare a 'ntrata di frate Angniolo di Cripstofano k. a fo. 3 \_\_ l. XXVI, s. 6, d. 8.

*Unspecified geographic attribution:*

**no. 36**

fol. 4r MCCCCX

**Vicilaus di Nicholaio de la Magnia** die avere per d. diposositati (*sic*) dipositò a Ghuglielmo di Cino a 'ntrata di Ghuglielmo di Cino fo. 4, e per uno ronzino rimase ala chasa, f. 12, s. 35, apare a libro F a fo. 373

no. 72

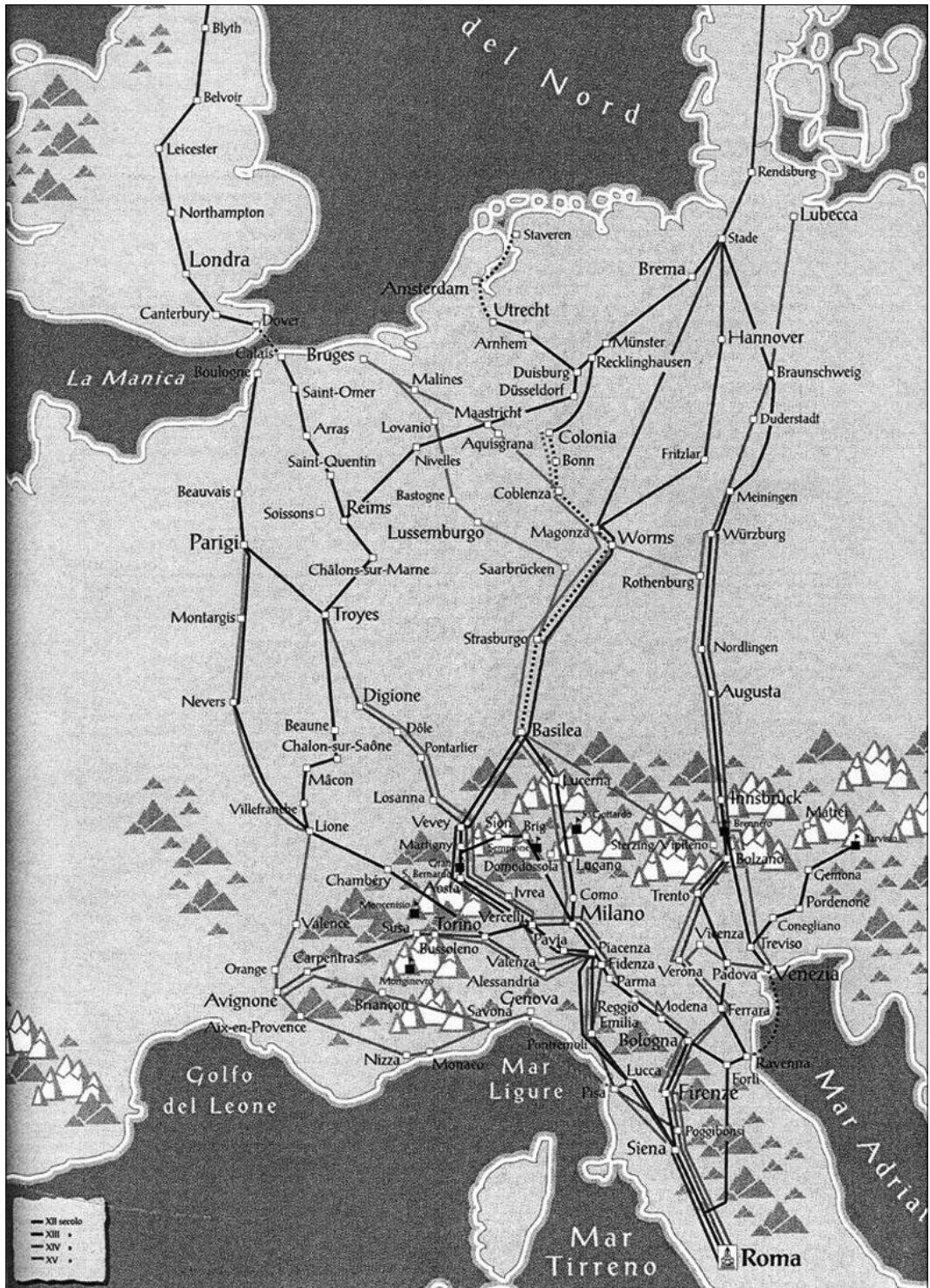
fol. 7r MCCCCX

**Iachomo di Citch**, la madre à nome Sibicha, la moglie Isbinicha, à due figliuoli, Pietro e Vanicha, à 80 anni e la barba chanuta, dipositò a Mariano adì 28 di marzo 1384 a fo. 52, a libro F a fo. 445, vinti buemi \_\_ f. 0, buemi XX

## Appendix 2:

### The network of pilgrimage routes north of the Alps in Europe

Map taken from the publication *La storia dei giubilei, vol. 1, 1300–1423*, ed. Gloria Fossi and Jacques Le Goff (Rome: BNL Ed., 1997) ignoring Central Europe. Rome pilgrims from the Lands of the Bohemian Crown used in essence two routes to Italy: either through Vienna and the Tarvisio Pass or the second through Regensburg and the Brenner Pass. The routes met in Padua and continued in the direction of Ferrara – Bologna – Florence – Siena – Rome.



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# Religious Polemists of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** | The sixteenth century was a time of great change in religiosity. Churches were being built with new rules and new traditions were being born. At the source of those significant changes stood men whose goal it was to uncover the true teaching of God. Their theories were realized in systems of faith and rules of behaviour that influenced the everyday life of common people who did not necessarily understand contemporary academic quarrels. A great number of controversial pieces were written and published at the time. This paper will discuss the men who formulated and expressed their ideas publicly in polemical books. What was their educational and social background? What were the differences between particular confessional groups? I will focus on the situation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth which, thanks to its tolerance and openness, became a shelter for religious refugees of the time. This tolerance together with a rich tradition of public oratory created the background for religious controversies and disputes to take place privately at the dinner table or publicly in print.

**Keywords** | Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth – Reformation – Sixteenth Century – Polemist – Controversy

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The sixteenth century was a time of great change in the religiosity of Western Europe. Churches were being built with new rules and new traditions were being born. At the source of those significant changes stood men whose goal it was to uncover the true teaching of God. Their theories, realized in systems of faith and rules of behaviour, influenced the everyday lives of common people who did not necessarily understand the ongoing academic quarrels. A great number of controversial pieces were written and published at the time. This paper will discuss the men who formulated and expressed their ideas publicly in polemical books. What was their educational and social background? What were the differences between particular confessional groups? I will focus on the situation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth which, thanks to its tolerance and openness, became a shelter for religious refugees of the time. This tolerance together with a rich tradition of public oratory created the background for religious controversies and disputes to take place privately at the dinner table or publicly in print.

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was created thanks to financial support of grant ESF ECOP Confessional Culture between Middle Ages and Modern Times – Reinforcing International Research at the Department of History, Palacký University Olomouc, CZ.1.07/2.3.00/20.0192.

The height of the reformation in the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth was late—during the second half of the century—but it arrived with great force.<sup>2</sup> In the time of Zygmunt Stary<sup>3</sup> the movement was under pressure but after the king's death in 1548 it flourished and the new king Zygmunt August<sup>4</sup> seemed to support it. These were exciting times, times of coexistence between all important Christian denominations and some minor ones. There were Roman Catholics together with the Jesuit Order (which came in 1564), Lutherans, Calvinists, Anti-Trinitarians<sup>5</sup> and Bohemian Brethren.<sup>6</sup> Some people did not fit under these labels. New ideas clashed quite intensively, theological controversies arose bringing, on one hand, changes in the Catholic Church's position, on the other hand, various possibilities of church organization and the participation of the laity on the site of Reformation. At one point the idea of a separate national church was very strong. The changing times promised to change people's lives drastically and sometimes did. In the end however, the Roman Catholic Church regained supremacy while the others were tolerated but marginalized or expelled as in the case of the Arians. Most creative theological discussion ended at the close of the sixteenth century.<sup>7</sup> This study will focus on the period when ideas were introduced and most fervently discussed.

The religious literature of the Reformation period has been studied mainly in the form of pamphlets. The well-known studies by Robert W. Scribner,<sup>8</sup> Miriam Usher Chrisman<sup>9</sup> and Paul A. Russel, for example, concentrate on media meant for and produced by common people, on lay theology expressed in a variety of genres. In contrast, I will discuss the elite men who shaped the theoretical foundations of rising churches, authors of polemical texts focusing mainly on theological questions. Polemic will be understood following Marcelo Dascal as a: “[...] *dialogical event involving at least two contenders defending opposite views and arguing against each other*”.<sup>10</sup> Accordingly, I will focus on authors whose works were part of some dialogue, who convinced others, enforced their opinion, and above all attacked or criticised opposition, sometimes using verbal aggression and violence. I will concentrate only on men whose works were published in print, works meant not only as manifestations to the outside world but as internal documents aimed at stabilizing the borderlines and codifying rules of their own religious group,<sup>11</sup> often

<sup>2</sup> This characteristic does not concern Ducal Prussia, which was part of the Commonwealth but only loosely linked to it and with a remarkably different development. Because of this, it was entirely omitted in this study. Its polemical exchanges were not considered.

<sup>3</sup> Born 1467, ruled 1507–1548.

<sup>4</sup> Born 1520, ruled 1548–1572.

<sup>5</sup> In the Commonwealth these groups are called Arians or Polish brethren.

<sup>6</sup> We leave aside the Orthodox Church which was very strong in Lithuania because it took no major part in polemics provoked by Luther, which are the focal point of this study. There were attempts to involve it but they were never really successful (for example by Symeon Budny).

<sup>7</sup> In the German speaking countries, the true polemic ends with 1560s after which there is no longer rational argumentation but only propaganda full of stereotyping. Miriam Usher Chrisman, “From Polemic to Propaganda: The Development of Mass Persuasion in the Late Sixteenth Century”, *Archive for Reformation History*, 66 (1975): 176–177.

<sup>8</sup> *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981).

<sup>9</sup> *Conflicting Visions of Reform: German Lay Propaganda Pamphlets, 1519–1530* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1996).

<sup>10</sup> Marcelo Dascal, “On the uses of argumentative reason in religious polemics”, in *Controversies in the République des lettres. Technical Report 4. Theological Controversies* (Giessen, 2001), 3.

<sup>11</sup> Examples of that can be found in the polemical works of Jakub Niemojewski. The synod of Poznań in 1573 prescribed them as an appropriate read for ministers together with the Scripture and Confession. Maria Sipayłło, ed., *Akta synodów różnowierczych w Polsce IV. Wielkopolska 1569–1632* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1997), 17.

attentively prepared and supervised by their superiors—bishop, General of Order or synod.<sup>12</sup> Using the so-called Estraicher's Bibliography of Early Modern Polish Literature<sup>13</sup> and literary and historical studies of the time<sup>14</sup> I have brought together a list of 59 names of religious polemist active between the years 1550–1600. This list is not comprehensive. For biographical information I draw from *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*<sup>15</sup> and *Bibliografia literatury polskiej "Nowy Korbut"*<sup>16</sup>.

I will start my paper with a little gender digression, all of the authors treated here are male; no women are in this club. And it is a Gentlemen's club indeed, a closed group with rich connections on several levels. One would expect their works to have been related, because as was said above, a polemic is a dialogue, and without a dialogue there is no polemic. One would expect that these authors clashed not only in print but personally in disputations as well. Interestingly, the polemist were connected in more ways, for instance by family ties. Jakub Niemojewski and his brother Jan were both involved and one even wrote polemical attacks against the other. The same happened with Zygmund and Wolfgang Schlichting, who were cousins. Two polemist called Piotr Statorius, a father and son defended the same case. All of these men were colleagues, friends, teachers and pupils, studied or travelled together. There were several outsiders, but these men did not write extensively and as they were not interesting for the people of their time we do not know much about them today. The example of Stanisław Orzechowski and Marcin Krowicki is illuminating. Close friends and reformist priests, they both strongly opposed celibacy. While taking the priesthood Orzechowski declined to take the vow of purity. He helped his friend to marry as the first priest in the Commonwealth that we know of. Orzechowski married as well and wrote countless times against celibacy and (euphemistically speaking) the indecencies of the papacy. Eventually the two men parted ways on theological grounds. Orzechowski became the harshest polemist attacking the Reformation and even wrote against his former friend. Krowicki went through Lutheranism, Calvinism and ended up Anti-Trinitarian.<sup>17</sup> Now I will cite some numbers, but it is important to note that it is not possible to gather complete and firm information on all of the 59 men, in all instances.

25 of these men were Catholics, 33 followed the reformation in some form, and one I was unable to classify. Wit Korczewski<sup>18</sup> is known only from his single anti-Lutheran script. No more information is available. Being anti-Lutheran, however, does not itself make him a Catholic, though the early year of its publication (1552) strongly suggests that that was the case. The ratio 25 to 33 suggests that Catholics were outnumbered but the Reformation was not a united grouping but rather a complicated one consisting of several churches fighting one another. More importantly, the men of the reformation evolved in their opinions and changed churches, at

<sup>12</sup> For example, Polemist Benedykt Herbest, while preparing his comment on the Confession of Bohemian Brethren, consulted Cardinal Stanisław Hosius and even asked superiors permission to read heretical books. Jaroslav Bidlo, *Jednota bratrská v prvním vyhnanství II*. (Praha: Královská česká společnost nauk, 1903): 101–102. Reformed churches established internal censorship also very early.

<sup>13</sup> *Bibliografia polska Karola i Stanisława Estreicherów*, 35 vols. (Kraków: Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Akademia Umiejętności 1870–2007), on-line: <http://www.estreicher.uj.edu.pl/> (accessed July 14, 2014).

<sup>14</sup> Above all studies by Tadeusz Grabowski: *Piotr Skarga na tle katolickiej literatury religijnej w Polsce wieku XVI, 1536–1612* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1913). *Ibid.*, *Z dziejów literatury kalwińskiej w Polsce (1550–1650)* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1906). *Ibid.*, *Literatura Luterska w Polsce wieku XVI, 1530–1630* (Poznań: Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk w Poznaniu, 1920). *Ibid.*, *Literatura Ariańska w Polsce 1560–1660* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1908).

<sup>15</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 48 vols (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności; Wrocław, Warszawa, Kraków, Gdańsk, Łódź: Zakład Narodów Imienia Ossolińskich; Warszawa, Kraków: Polska Akademia Nauk, 1935–).

<sup>16</sup> *Bibliografia Literatury Polskiej Nowy Korbut*. 19 vols (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1963–).

<sup>17</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XV/III, 350–353. *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XXIV, 287–292.

<sup>18</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XIV, 45–46.

least one third of them several times.<sup>19</sup> Once they allowed themselves to rethink theology, it took them time to form new opinions. It clearly shows the dynamics of the time and intensity of change. In this initial stage of the Commonwealth's reformation there were only three men who were born into a Reformation church and never shifted to another denomination.<sup>20</sup> Not one of the polemically active reformers turned back to Catholicism after leaving it; rather they became more and more radical. Some in the Catholic camp could sympathize with the reformed in their early lives but never dared to question the pope's supremacy or essential theological doctrines.<sup>21</sup> The Anti-Trinitarians were very prolific in their polemical exchanges. Numerous polemically active theologians became Anti-Trinitarian in their later lives,<sup>22</sup> but this group was never monotonous. One finds a broad range of opinions among the members, who attacked each other quite aggressively. Even the above mentioned Schlichting cousins, Wolfgang and Zygmunt, disagreed on theological grounds. In addition, Anti-Trinitarians were most despised by all others and often argued with. At the other extreme was the Bohemian Brethren. There was only one polemist of this denomination, their bishop Szymon Teofil Turnowski. This church, originating in the Bohemian Lands, already had a set theology and organization, even internal censorship. Its members were repeatedly repressed in their country of origin, so they chose not to take part in any public manifestations; they preferred to stay in the shadows, maintaining good relations with all other reformed groups. Turnowski was strictly upbraided for his scriptures by bishops from Bohemia.<sup>23</sup> These circumstances explain why he is one of few reformed polemist in the Commonwealth of the period who never changed faith.

I was able to determine the social background of these men only in 44 cases. 19 of them were of noble origins, 25 were commoners 16 of whom were members of the bourgeoisie. Note that the nobility represented only around 10% of the country's population (which was the highest in Europe). Nevertheless, in this group it is almost half. Even if we supposed that the unidentifiable 16 were commoners as well, then still one third of the polemist would have been from the nobility. This too is quite logical as reformation never gained significant support among common villagers. It was easier for the nobility to acquire the necessary knowledge and education. Political culture of the country supported it even more. Noblemen were educated to make public speeches in political assemblies called *sejmy*, led to defend and enforce their opinions. Among the polemist were some very strongly career driven individuals. Six of them became nobles in their adult lives, mainly on the Catholic side. The most interesting case was that of Stanisław Sokołowski, who was a physically disabled illegitimate child of unknown parentage who managed, thanks to his intelligence and rich patrons, to obtain a Doctorate of Theology from the University of Bologna and became the King's preacher and even Dean of the Faculty of Arts at Kraków Academy.<sup>24</sup>

Sokołowski's fine education was not unique among polemist; on the contrary, more than two thirds of these men had a university education. Among those we do not have much factual information about, was for example Szymon Budny, who spoke Greek and Hebrew, alone

<sup>19</sup> As happened with above mentioned Marcin Krowicki.

<sup>20</sup> Piotr Stoiński jr. was son of a religious émigré, the same as Szymon Bogumił Turnowski who was born in Bohemia; the third was the Calvinist of Polish descent Daniel Mikołajewski.

<sup>21</sup> Orzechowski was a drastic example.

<sup>22</sup> As many as 20 of the polemist known to me were Anti-Trinitarians of some form.

<sup>23</sup> Jerzy Śliżyński, *Z działalności literackiej braci czeskich w Polsce (XVI–XVII w.)* (Wrocław – Warszawa: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1959), 53–63. Antonín Gindely, ed., *Dekrety Jednoty Bratrské. Monumenta Historiae Bohemica 1* (Praha: I. L. Kober, 1865), 244.

<sup>24</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XL/II, 183–189.

translated Scripture and wrote scholarly commentary on it.<sup>25</sup> The scale of university education among common priests of the time was rather low, and even fewer of them cared to get any degree after attending university.<sup>26</sup> By contrast, some future polemist attended more than one university. One third (24) of them had university degrees, at least from a faculty of arts or Both Laws. Most members of the group (18) studied at the Kraków Academy, for a long time the only university in the Commonwealth's territory. Other universities often visited by the polemist were Padua (11), the two centres of Rome and Wittenberg (respectively 9 and 8), Königsberg (6), Bologna (6) and Frankfurt an der Oder (5). Sixteen other places were visited only once or twice.<sup>27</sup> The most popular destinations were the German speaking countries and Italy, only marginally France; nothing really unexpected at the time. It is sure that at least 35 of the polemist studied abroad. Two-thirds of them visited a foreign country. I did not include Ducal Prussia in foreign countries, because it was at the time part of the Commonwealth. Seven of the polemist were born abroad, moved to the Commonwealth and lived actively there.

They were also well linguistically equipped. Five out of six of them spoke Latin for certain and almost one sixth of them spoke Hebrew and/or Greek (mostly both). Jakub Wujek, the author of a Polish translation of the Scripture, knew Syriac. Stanisław Farnowski, leader of Dithuists in Less Poland, was said to speak all of these languages and Chaldean.<sup>28</sup> Symon Budny had known Ruthenian and Old Church Slavic and tried to promote the reformation among members of the Orthodox Church in Lithuania, publishing books in their vernacular. It seems that the vast majority of polemist could use Latin in their theological works but the reality was more complex. In fact only a third of them used Latin exclusively;<sup>29</sup> the same number preferred the vernacular. The rest alternated between both depending on the occasion. Polish was used equally by Catholics and non-Catholics alike. This state of affairs marks a large change since the beginning of the century when Roman Catholic theologians abhorred languages other than Latin.<sup>30</sup> Of course even in later periods there were voices arguing that languages other than Latin were not fit to discuss theology and that they lacked the appropriate vocabulary.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, these languages were used, among Catholics most often by Jesuits but not only by them. If polemist had a higher level of education than the common clergy, they nevertheless shared a feature of their early biographies: they often started their careers as private tutors or teachers in parish schools.<sup>32</sup> About one third of them served as teachers and/or preachers in some period of their lives. The majority of Catholic polemist were priests. Six were bishops, ten of them were Jesuits

<sup>25</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, III/I–II, 96–99.

<sup>26</sup> Luise Schorn-Schütte, "The Christian Clergy in the Early Modern Holy Roman Empire: A Comparative Social Study", *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 3 (1998): 721–725 discusses the problems of appointing educated clergy, which lasted until the middle of the seventeenth century. Maciej Ptaszyński, "Pietas i sapientia? Wykształcenie pastorów w Księstwach Zachodniopomorskich w latach 1560–1618", *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, 49 (2005): 35–61.

<sup>27</sup> These were: three times each to Vilnius and Vienna; 2 times each to Leipzig, Heidelberg, Paris, Basel and Louvain; and once each to Montpellier, Pavia, Magdeburg, Zurich, Napoli, Turin, Venice, Perugia, and Altdorf.

<sup>28</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, VI, 372–375.

<sup>29</sup> In the group were foreigners who may have never learned Polish to a sufficient level.

<sup>30</sup> Mark U. Edwards, Printing, *Propaganda, and Martin Luther* (Berkeley-Los Angeles-Oxford: University of California Press, 1994) discusses this question for the first half of the century in German speaking countries.

<sup>31</sup> Typical is the discussion between Jakub Niemojewski and Jesuits of Poznań led in 1570s. He wanted public disputation in Polish; they refused, preferring to meet in small circle of the Latin speaking learned, but in the end were forced to answer to his written attack in the vernacular. Janusz Tazbir, "Polemika Jakuba Niemojewskiego z Jezuitami poznańskimi", in *Munera Poznaniensia. Księga pamiątkowa Uniwersytetu im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu dla uczczenia 600-lecia założenia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* (Poznań: Uniwersytet Adama Mickiewicza, 1965): 246–257.

<sup>32</sup> Luise Schorn-Schütte, "The Christian Clergy", 723.

(which is quite a high number and shows the importance of this order for Counter-reformation), from the other orders there was one Benedictine monk, one Franciscan friar (Observant) and two Cistercian abbots. Most of these men held higher ranking positions in church organisations, they collected benefices. Among reformed polemists, a majority served as ministers and some were former Catholic priests.

There were several polemically active laymen among non-Catholics, such as the Niemojewski brothers or Andrzej Wolan who was called the “Calvinist pope” and acted as censor of their books. It is sometimes harder to distinguish “priesthood” in the non-Catholic camp as they rejected the rite of ordination as a sacrament and stressed instead priesthood of all the baptized faithful. The decisive word went to the state, city councils or nobility—those who had the right to appoint the priest determined the conditions they needed to fulfil. One could leave the service easily. It is worth mentioning that there were some lay polemists even in the Catholic camp. Jan Herburt, a nobleman, and Kasztelan of Sanok, lawyer and historian, had written on the question of the true church. Another interesting case is that of Patrycy Nidecki, secretary of Bishop Andrzej Zebrzydowski. Several scholars are convinced that he wrote controversial treatises published under the name of his employer. Ultimately, he entered priesthood and wrote under his own name.<sup>33</sup> These were minor players. The Commonwealth did not have any lay personage as influential as Duke Georg of Albertine Saxony who was the driving force of the anti-Lutheran vernacular polemic in German speaking countries, both as a sponsor and writer.<sup>34</sup> Non-Catholic lay polemists were more influential in their respective churches.

Most of these men travelled extensively. Their motives were different depending on denomination. On the Catholic side, movement was motivated by advancement to better or new positions. In the case of the Jesuits, it was part of their calling; their superiors could and did move them around. On the Protestant side movement was motivated by the instability of emerging churches. As an example I will mention Jan Łaski (Joannes a Lasco) who is unique because he influenced the reformation in Europe not only in a local context. Born to a noble and rich family, he had the finest education, a successful career, and later tried to organize a national church in the Commonwealth. Success notwithstanding, Jan shared the destiny of the other reformers. After his conversion, he was forced to leave the country, and found himself a position as a bishop in Emden in West Frisia, but then lost it because his patroness turned to Lutheranism. Later on, he supervised a church of religious refugees in London (the so-called Strengers Church) with the permission of Eduard VI but after the king's death was forced to flee. He lived in Frankfurt for some time but was expelled again by the Lutherans.<sup>35</sup> The other reformers suffered the same fate on the local level. They lost their positions in congregations because the patron died or changed sides, were sometimes attacked, beaten or imprisoned but always on the move from place to place as their Catholic opponents.

In this context, it is interesting that these authors did not use pseudonyms very often, publishing most of the time under their own names. There are exceptions such as Marcin Łaszcz, a Jesuit who used ten pseudonyms that we know of, sometimes using the names of living people, and even other active polemists.<sup>36</sup> Others, such as Daniel Mikołajewski, at times used their own name and a pen name at others. Some, such as Jesuit Jakub Wujek, wrote in the name of the whole congregation, but the identity of the real author was commonly known. These patterns

<sup>33</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XXII, 713–717. I included both of them.

<sup>34</sup> Mark U. Edwards, *Printing, Propaganda, and Martin Luther* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – Oxford: University of California Press 1994), 28–37.

<sup>35</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XVIII, 237–244.

<sup>36</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XVIII, 262–265.



of authorship the polemist had in common with their counterparts during the first phase of Reformation controversy in Germany, which ended with the peasant war in 1525. Polemist of the time also freely signed their works when expressing their controversial opinions. Most of them were educated men. A majority of the Protestant pamphlets were written by clergymen who had converted to the new movement.<sup>37</sup> Polemist of the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth in the second half of the sixteenth century were also an elite group. They were highly educated men, coming mostly from noble families or cities, with broad horizons formed thanks to travels and university studies. Often they shaped theological ideologies for the churches they led and worked as preachers or teachers, making their influence on society even stronger. These men were the driving force for the atmosphere of change that dominated the time, but which ended unfulfilled rather quickly.

## Appendix

Only a few polemist were mentioned in the main text. This appendix contains basic information on each of the 59 men included in this study.

**Giorgio Biandrata** (1515–1588): Anti-Trinitarian, born to a noble family in Piedmont, studied medicine in Montpellier, philosophy and theology in Pavia; because of unorthodox religious views fled to Switzerland, then lived partly in Poland and Transylvania; wrote in Latin,<sup>38</sup> senior of Calvinists in Lesser Poland, worked in service of Jagiellonians as a doctor and diplomat.<sup>39</sup>

**Jan Józef Białuski** (1563–1618): Jesuit, Doctor of Philosophy, studied in Vilnius, wrote one polemic in Polish.<sup>40</sup>

**Jan Brandt** (1554–1602): born to a merchant family, Jesuit, studied in Vilnius and Rome, worked as a teacher and preacher, composer, led Jesuit house in Pułtusk, wrote in Latin.<sup>41</sup>

**Symon Budny** (c. 1530–1593): nothing is known about his youth, education or origins. Calvinist minister converted to non-Trinitarianism, spoke Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Ruthenian and Old Church Slavic, translated Scripture, had conflicts with Anti-Trinitarians of Lesser Poland, led polemics with the Orthodox Church.<sup>42</sup>

**Marcin Czechowic** (c. 1532–1613): born to a common family, studied in Lipsk, worked as a teacher, led the congregation of Lublin, non-Trinitarian who evolved through all major denominations, knew Greek, Latin and Hebrew, wrote polemics in Latin and Polish.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Miriam Usher Chrisman, "From Polemic to Propaganda", 176–178.

<sup>38</sup> The language used in writing in this case and in all others is related to polemical texts only and does not take into account their other works.

<sup>39</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, II, 118–120.

<sup>40</sup> Franciszek Siarczyński, *Obraz wieku panowania Zygmunta III. vol. I.* (Lwów: Instytut Biblioteki Imienia Ossolinskich 1828), 29.

<sup>41</sup> Antoni Gąsiorowski, Jerzy Topolski, *Wielkopolski Słownik Biograficzny* (Warsaw, Poznań: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1981), 76.

<sup>42</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, III/1, 96–99.

<sup>43</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, IV, 307–309.

**Stanisław Farnowski** (died 1615/16): studied in Magdeburg, Zurich and Heidelberg, preaching being an essential part of service to him, first Calvinist minister, then created his own form of Ditheism (here included among non-Trinitarians), knew Latin, Hebrew, Greek, Syriac and Chaldean, written in Polish and Latin.<sup>44</sup>

**Paweł Gilowski** (1534–1595): noblemen, nothing is known of his education. Catholic priest who converted to Calvinism, preacher, superintendent in the Zator district, then senior of Ruthenian district, wrote in both Latin and Polish.<sup>45</sup>

**Erazm Gliczner** (1535–1603): burgher, a private teacher in noble family, thanks to patrons studied in Königsberg, Calvinist minister who converted to Lutheranism, Lutheran superintendent, organized school for future ministers, wrote both in Polish and Latin.<sup>46</sup>

**Jakub Górski** (c. 1525–1585): nobleman, Master of Arts and Doctor of Both Laws, studied in Königsberg, Padua, Rome and Naples, taught rhetoric and dialectic, rector of Kraków University, preacher, held several posts in higher church organization among them canon capitular in Kraków and canon of cathedral in Płock, wrote only in Latin.<sup>47</sup>

**Stanisław Grodzicki** (1541–1613): burgher, studied in Kraków, Rome, Wittenberg (attended Melancthon's lectures) and Frankfurt, Bachelor of Arts and Doctor of Theology, Jesuit preacher, head of collegiums in Piłtusk, then Poznań.<sup>48</sup>

**Grzegorz Paweł z Brzezina** (c. 1525–1591): burgher, studied in Kraków, Wittenberg, Königsberg, rector of city school in Poznań, Master of Arts, went from Lutheranism through Calvinism to non-Trinitarianism, preacher in Kraków, senior in Lesser Poland then leader of Raków, wrote in both Latin and Polish.<sup>49</sup>

**Grzegorz z Żarnowca** (c. 1528–1604): commoner, nothing is known about his youth and education. Calvinist minister, author of postil, wrote in both Latin and Polish.<sup>50</sup>

**Jan Herburt** (after 1524–1577): nobleman, Catholic lay polemist, studied in Louvain, France and Germany, Castellán of Sanock, wrote on law and history, active in *sejm* and in royal services, judge of general court in Ruthenian Voivodeship, his only polemical work is bilingual.<sup>51</sup>

**Stanislaus Hosius** (1504–1579): from a rich burger family, studied in Kraków, Padua and Bologna, doctor of both laws, bishop of Chełm then of Warmia, cardinal, nuncio in Vienna, papal legate at council of Trent, enobled, member of several Roman congregations, wrote in Latin.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>44</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, VI, 372–375.

<sup>45</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, VII, 471–472.

<sup>46</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, VIII/1, 50–52.

<sup>47</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, VIII/3, 438–440.

<sup>48</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, VIII/4, 618–619.

<sup>49</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, IX/1, 82–84.

<sup>50</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, IX/1, 91–93.

<sup>51</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, IX/1, 440–442.

<sup>52</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, X, 42–46.

**Andrzej Chrzęstkowski** (c. 1555–1618): nobleman, zealous Catholic who converted to Calvinism, Bachelor of Arts from the Kraków University, preacher of Prince Radziwiłł, superintendent of Vilnius, wrote primarily in Polish, Łaski helped him with his Latin works.<sup>53</sup>

**Adrian Junga** (1550/1–1607): burger, son of religious refugee from Scotland, Master of Arts, studied in Vilnius, Jesuit teacher of rhetoric, physics and mathematics, wrote in Latin and Polish.<sup>54</sup>

**Andrzej Jurgiewicz** (died 1640): burgher, Catholic priest, Doctor of Theology and Master of Arts, canon in Vilnius, wrote in Latin.<sup>55</sup>

**Jan Kazanowski** (died 1594): nobleman, nothing is known about his education, minister, who progressed through Calvinism to non-Trinitarianism (Diteizm), sędzia ziemski (iudex terrestris), wrote in Latin and Polish.<sup>56</sup>

**Wit Korczewski**: known only from his one Anti-Lutheran polemic published in 1552 in Polish.<sup>57</sup>

**Jan Kozielski** (died 1608/9): studied in Frankfurt an der Oder, Lutheran superintendent who from Calvinism converted to non-Trinitarian, wrote only in Latin, died drowned by solder.

**Marcin Kromer** (1512–1589): burgher who later became a noble, Bachelor of Arts, studied in Kraków, Padua, Bologna and Rome, translated Aristotle from Greek, historian, canon and then bishop of Warmia, secretary and diplomat in kings services, historian, wrote in Latin and Polish.<sup>58</sup>

**Marcin Krowicki** (died 1573): nothing is known about his youth or origins. Catholic priest first influenced by Lutheranism, after his excommunication studied in Wittenberg, later became Calvinist and superintendent of congregations in Lubelsk, in the end non-Trinitarian, again superintendent, court preacher, wrote in Polish.<sup>59</sup>

**Jan Luns** (1557–1591): born in Flanders, burgher, Master of Arts and Doctor of Both Laws, studied in Leuven, Turin and Bologna, Jesuit, taught poetics and rhetoric, led seminar for future teachers, wrote only in Latin.<sup>60</sup>

**Jan Łasicki** (1499–1560): nobleman; studied in Vienna, Bologna, Padua and Sorbonne, knew Greek, some of Hebrew, German and Italian, titular bishop of Wespyem, lost all benefices after marrying and turning to Calvinism, wrote in Latin.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, III/5, 469–471.

<sup>54</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XI, 324–326.

<sup>55</sup> *Nowy Korbut*, II, 296.

<sup>56</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XII, 255–256.

<sup>57</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XIV, 45–46.

<sup>58</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XV/II, 319–325.

<sup>59</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XV/III, 350–353.

<sup>60</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XVI/III, 583–584.

<sup>61</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XVIII, 237–244.

**Jan Łaszcz:** burgher, studied in Jesuit schools, then entered the order, preacher in Kraków, then Toruń, director of gymnasium in Pułtusk, wrote in Polish only.<sup>62</sup>

**Franciszek Lismanin** (1504–1566): born in Corfu to a commoner family, studied in Padua, Doctor of Theology, provincial superior of Franciscans, preacher and confessor of queen Bona, professor of theology at Kraków University, visited important centres of reformation and turned to Calvinism, superintendent of Lesser Poland, after conflict with non-Trinitarians moved to Prussian court service, wrote only in Latin.<sup>63</sup>

**Stanisław Lubieniecki** older of Rolo (c. 1558–1633): nobleman, nothing is known of his education, Anti-Trinitarian minister, thanks to his wealth could sponsor school and printing press in Raków, wrote only in Polish.<sup>64</sup>

**Daniel Mikołajewski** (1560–1633): nobleman, private teacher of noble children, together with them studied in Heidelberg and Frankfurt an der Oder, Calvinist minister and senior of Kujawy, published funeral sermons, wrote in Latin and Polish.<sup>65</sup>

**Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki** (1522–1587): nobleman, studied in Padua, Doctor of Both Laws, published edition of Cicero, secretary of bishop Zebrzydowski, then the king's secretary, bishop of Wenden, wrote in Latin only.<sup>66</sup>

**Jakub Niemojewski** (died 1586): nobleman, lay polemist, studied in Königsberg and Wittenberg, after short Lutheran episode become Calvinist, active at *sejm*, leading figure of church in Kujawy, wrote only in Polish.<sup>67</sup>

**Jan Niemojewski** (born between 1526 and 1530–1598): nobleman, studied in Königsberg, through Calvinism went to non-Trinitarianism (Triteist, Diteist in the end Unitarian), judge of Innowrocław district, after conversion left service, sold his properties and gave the money to the congregation, lay senior of Lublin congregation, used both Latin and Polish.

**Wojciech Nowopolczyk** (1504–1559): Catholic lay polemist, nothing is known about his origins, studied in Kraków, Master of Arts and Bachelor of Theology, knew Greek and Hebrew, taught Greek grammar and ancient authors at Kraków University, teacher of king's nephew, wrote only in Latin.

**Stanisław Orzechowski** (1513–1566): nobleman, prepared for church career since early childhood, studied in Kraków, Vienna, Wittenberg, Leipzig, Padua, Venice, Bologna, spent ten years in Italy, canon of Przemyśl; caused scandal by marrying, but never parted ways with Catholicism, wrote only in Latin.<sup>68</sup>

<sup>62</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XVIII, 262–265.

<sup>63</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XVII/3, 465–470.

<sup>64</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XVII/4, 602–603.

<sup>65</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XXI, 154–156.

<sup>66</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XXII, 713–717.

<sup>67</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XXIII, 10–13. *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XXIII, 377–379.

<sup>68</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XXIV, 287–292.

**Zdziszek Stanisław Ostrowski** (c. 1550–after 1596): nobleman, Bachelor of Arts, studied at Kraków University, Cistercian monk, titular abbot of Wągrowiec monastery, real abbot of monastery in Przemyśl, wrote both in Latin and Polish.<sup>69</sup>

**Daniel Ostrowski** (active 1566): nothing is known about his origins or education. Benedictine monk, preacher in Kościan, wrote only one Polish polemic.<sup>70</sup>

**Piotr z Goniądza** (died 1573): commoner, studied in Karkow and Padua, become a socially radical Anti-Trinitarian cleric, knew Greek, wrote in Latin and Polish.

**Hieronim Powodowski** (1543–1613): nobleman, studied in Rome and Padua, canon of Poznań, Gniezno and Kraków, kings secretary and preacher, wrote manuals for priests and on liturgy, wrote his polemics in Polish.

**Andrzej Prażmowski** (died 1592): unknown origins, studied in Kraków, Catholic priest who converted to Calvinism, preacher and senior in Kraków, then superintendent in Kujawy, wrote in both Latin and Polish.<sup>71</sup>

**Stanisław Reszka** (1544–1600): burgher, studied in Kraków and Frankfurt an der Oder, attained “gradum doctorum” in Perugia, spend several years in Italy as secretary of Stanisław Hosius then in royal diplomatic services, canon of Warmia, abbot of Jędrzejów, wrote in Latin only.<sup>72</sup>

**Stanisław Sarnicki** (1532–1597): nobleman studied in Wittenberg and Königsberg, Calvinist minister, senior of Kraków district, politically active, author of a law manual, wrote in Latin only.<sup>73</sup>

**Wolfgang Schlichting** (Schlichtig) z Bauchwitz (Bukowiec) and **Zygmunt Schlichting** ze Starpela (Staropole gmina Lubrza) (active in 1590s): noblemen, non-Trinitarians, cousins who disagreed about radical congregation of Śmigiel, written in German. We don't have any further information about them.<sup>74</sup>

**Piotr Skarga** (1536–1612): burgher or impoverished nobility, later gained king's confirmation of his noble origins,<sup>75</sup> studied in Kraków and Rome, Bachelor of Arts, Jesuit, king's preacher, very influential at court, politically active, rector of Jesuit academy in Vilnius, professor at Karkow academy, superior of Kraków order's house, led mission to Riga, wrote both in Polish and Latin.

**Marcin Śmiglicki** (1564–c. 1619): studied at Jesuit College in Pułtusk, studied in Rome, Doctor of Theology, entered the order, led the Jesuit colleges in Pułtusk, Poznań and Kalisz, acted as deputy at general congregation in Rome, wrote in Latin and Polish.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>69</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XXIV, 573–574.

<sup>70</sup> *Bibliografia Polska XXIII* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1910), 545. *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XXVI, 398–401.

<sup>71</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XXVIII/II, 350–351.

<sup>72</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XXXI/I, 129–133.

<sup>73</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XXXV/II, 217–223.

<sup>74</sup> *Bibliografia Polska*, XXVII, 215–216. Tadeusz Grabowski, *Literatura ariańska*, 137–138.

<sup>75</sup> Pretended confirmation was one of the popular ways to be ennobled, so his origins remain uncertain.

<sup>76</sup> *Nowy Korbut*, III, 325–326.

**Fausto Sozzini** (1539–1604): born to a burgher family in Sienna, nothing is known about his education. His church reformist activities forced him to leave Italy, then he lived and worked in Switzerland, actively influenced Transylvanian reformation, settled down in Poland and become head of Polish non-Trinitarians, in Raków organized theological college, founded original branch of theological thought, wrote only in Latin, never learned Polish.<sup>77</sup>

**Stanisław Sokołowski** (died 1648/9): illegitimate child, studied in Kraków, Padua, Rome, Wittenberg and Bologna, Master of Arts and Doctor of Theology, preacher at court, dean of faculty of arts at Kraków Academy, bishop, wrote only in Polish, was legitimated and became a noble.<sup>78</sup>

**Stanisław ze Lwowa** (1484–1556): burgher, studied in Kraków, Doctor of Theology, Franciscan friar, known Hebrew and Greek, taught philosophy in monastic school, preacher of Wawel cathedral, wrote only in Latin.<sup>79</sup>

**Francesco Stancaro** (1501–1574): born in Mantua, commoner later became a noble, Doctor of Medicine, known Greek, taught Hebrew at University in Padua, after his turn to the Reformation was imprisoned, left Italy and again taught in Vienna, trawled through centres of reformation in German speaking countries, taught at Kraków University, lived partly in Poland and partly in Transylvania, caused strong polemical reaction in Commonwealth, non-Trinitarian, wrote only in Latin.<sup>80</sup>

**Piotr Statorius sr.** (c 1530–1568/9): born in Normandy to commoner family, stipend of Gymnasium in Lausanne, taught at gymnasium in Pinczów, superintendent of Arians in Podlesie, wrote only Latin.<sup>81</sup>

**Piotr Stoński**, Statorius jr. (1565–1605): became a noble, Anti-Trinitarian, studied in Altforf, minister in Lusławice than Raków, helped to found Raków Academy, wrote in Polish, translated from Latin.<sup>82</sup>

**Simeon Teofil Turnowski** (1544–1608): commoner, born in Bohemia, studied in Wittenberg, bishop of Bohemian Brethren, preached at general Non-Catholic synod, wrote in Polish and Latin.<sup>83</sup>

**Vitrelius** (Szkłarczyk?) **Aleksander** from Bytom (died 1587): nothing is known about his life, Calvinist minister, then non-Trinitarian.<sup>84</sup>

**Stanisław Wiśniowski** (died 1593): nothing is known about his origins and education, catechizer in Kraków, preacher in Luclawice, theorist of Diteizm, two Polish works.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>77</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XXXIX/IV, 631–636.

<sup>78</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XL/II, 183–189.

<sup>79</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XLII/I, 50–51.

<sup>80</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XLII/II, 158–163.

<sup>81</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XLII/IV, 576–578.

<sup>82</sup> *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, XLIV/I, 3–5.

<sup>83</sup> Lucie Toman, *Česko-polské vztahy v kontextu raně novověké překladové literatury* (unpublished master's thesis, Palacký University Olomouc, 2010), 70–74. Jerzy Śliżiński, *Z działalności*, 53–78.

<sup>84</sup> *Bibliografia polska*, XXXIII, 130–131.

<sup>85</sup> *Nowy Korbut*, III, 400–401.

**Wojciech z Kalisza** (Calissius) (died 1601): studied in Kraków, non-Trinitarian, travelled through German countries as a private teacher to noble sons, reformed school in Lewartow, rector in Chmielnik, under influence of Johan Sturm, whom he met, one Latin polemic.<sup>86</sup>

**Andrzej Wolan:** nobleman who studied in Frankfurt an der Oder and Konigsberg, private teacher, secretary of several Polish kings, diplomat, Lutheran who turned to Calvinism, Latin only.<sup>87</sup>

**Jakub Wujek** (1541–1597): burgher, studied in Kraków, Jesuit College in Vienna and Rome, Master of Arts and Doctor of Theology, Jesuit, known Greek, Hebrew, Latin and Syriac, translator of Scripture, vice-rector of Collegium in Pułtusk, superior in Poznań, missionary in Transylvania, wrote in Polish.<sup>88</sup>

**Szczęśny Żebrowski** (died 1613): unknown origins, learned in Jesuit school, is said to be doctor of philosophy, private teacher, wrote on astronomy, wrote only in Polish, his name was probably used as pseudonym by Marcin Łaszcz.<sup>89</sup>

**Andrzej Zebrzydowski:** nobleman, studied in Kraków, Basel, Paris and Padua, canon in Kraków, chaplain of queen Bona, bishop of Kamień, then Chełm, Kujawy and in the end, Kraków, wrote in both Latin and Polish.<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Stanisław Kot, "Wojciech z Kalisza. Szkoła lewartowsk", in *Archiwum do dziejów literatury i oświecenia w Polsce XIII* (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1914), 284.

<sup>87</sup> Maciej Ptaszyński, "Papież literackiej reformacji czy późny humanista? Uwagi na marginesie najnowszej biografii Andrzeja Wolana", *Kwartalnik Historyczny* CXVII, no. 3 (2010): 107–120.

<sup>88</sup> Dariusz Kuźmina, *Jakub Wujek (1541–1597). Pisarz, tłumacz i misjonarz* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo SBP, 2004).

<sup>89</sup> *Nowy Korbut*, III, 458.

<sup>90</sup> Bolesław Przybyszewski, *Krótki zarys dziejów diecezji Krakowskiej 2* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Św. Stanisława BM Archidiecezji Krakowskiej, 1993).

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# Englishmen and the Bohemian Lands: Reflections on Religious and Cultural Life in English Travel Diaries 1550–1750<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** | This study examines early modern English travellers and their point of view on the religious and cultural matters in the Bohemian Lands and asks if and how their opinion changed during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. An analysis of several travel diaries examines the degree to which Englishmen, as members of the Protestant Church, were confronted with a complicated confessional development before and after the year 1620 during their journeys in the Bohemian Lands. This article also discusses how English travellers perceived Bohemian and Moravian inhabitants, their character, customs and the Bohemian Lands in general.

**Keywords** | Early Modern period – English travellers – the Bohemian Lands – Bohemia – Moravia – Travel Diaries – Protestants – Catholics

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*“Thou art perfect then, our ship hath touch'd upon  
The deserts of Bohemia?”<sup>2</sup>*

Although laying in the heart of the European continent, the Bohemian Lands had a well-known reputation of being an exotic and remote country in the early modern period. The vagueness with which the geographical position of Bohemia and Moravia was commonly understood may be partially attributed to William Shakespeare who made them famous in his early seventeenth century play *The Winter's Tale*. The drama tells a story of an ostensible love affair between the King of Bohemia and the Sicilian queen. Her jealous husband, in his desire for revenge, sends their new-born baby, a bastard, to a far-away desert place quite outside of their dominions.<sup>3</sup> Apparently, the Kingdom of Bohemia perfectly fits this description. The idea to give Bohemia a seacoast was inspired by Robert Greene's romance *Pandosto*, though the functions of the two kingdoms of Sicilia and Bohemia were reversed and the idea of a shore and desert in Bohemia was quickly ridiculed by Shakespeare's fellow playwright Ben Jonson.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, as the famous Elizabethan dramatist might have argued, *The Winter's Tale* was only a fairy tale so the location of the story did not have to be real.

<sup>1</sup> The article was written with a support of ESF OPVK project “Confessional Culture between Middle Ages and Modern Times” at the Department of History, Palacký University in Olomouc, reg. num. CZ.1.07/2.3.00/20.0192.

<sup>2</sup> William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, ed. by Frances E. Dolan (New York: Penguin Putnam, Inc., 1999), p. 53.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 40.

<sup>4</sup> Alfred Thomas, *A Blessed Shore: England and Bohemia from Chaucer to Shakespeare* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2007), p. 167.



Despite all the scholarly discussions about the Bohemian coast, one cannot deny that the crucial meaning of the misinformation lies in the perception of the distance between England and the Bohemian Lands either in its geographic or imaginative sense.<sup>5</sup> Moreover, the theatrical representations of Central European regions in Shakespeare's time were inspired by a great variety of contemporary travel writings of diverse quality. Early modern Englishmen were fascinated by these texts and desired new information and stories despite the obviously inaccurate geographic and cultural images these texts presented.<sup>6</sup> The growing popularity of travel writing at this time is suggested by the number of new titles being published and old ones reprinted. Travel writing appears to have become the most adaptable and attractive genre during the early modern period. Writers and readers gradually became more concerned with what they wrote and read, which had a positive educative impact.<sup>7</sup> From the end of the sixteenth century travelling was fashionable. By travelling to surrounding nations and describing these foreign lands and their inhabitants, Englishmen were able to find their own habits and beliefs.<sup>8</sup> As stated above, the Central European area symbolized a remote and fascinating space and at the same time also a barbaric and backward region. Interestingly, as Alfred Thomas suggests, Bohemia might have been symbolically perceived as 'a utopic heaven of religious tolerance,' in which supporters of Catholic and Protestant parties could live next to each other 'in peace and harmony.'<sup>9</sup> When considering religious matters the potential geographic and imaginative space between England and the Bohemian Lands suddenly seems to be much smaller.

## The Bohemian Lands and Their Inhabitants

The terms *The Lands of the Bohemian Crown*, *The Lands of the Crown of Saint Wenceslas* or more generally *The Bohemian Lands* refer to several crown lands connected by the rule of Bohemian kings, i.e. the Kingdom of Bohemia, the Margraviate of Moravia, the Duchy of Silesia (after 1742 only its South-East part, the so-called Austrian Silesia) and until 1635, the two Lusatias. It is only the first two political regions, Bohemia and Moravia, which are generally labelled by historiography as the core lands and the remaining crown lands as merely adjacent. In this context, only Bohemia and Moravia will be taken into account when discussing travels to and the inhabitants of the Bohemian Lands.

A much broader scope has been adopted in David Worthington's most recent publication covering the area of the whole Central Europe, 'assuming Bohemia to lie in its geographical centre.'<sup>10</sup> The first serious discussion about the interest of English travellers in the Bohemian lands, however, already emerged during the 1960s when the literary historian René Wellek published a study describing Bohemia in English literature including travel writings. After a thirty-year break Jeremy Black briefly touched on Bohemia in his famous monograph *The British Abroad* as did Larry Wolff in his monograph titled *Inventing Eastern Europe*. Over the course of the last decade further attempts have been made to enrich the research on this topic. David Holeyton

<sup>5</sup> Laura Lisy-Wagner, *Islam, Christianity and the Making of Czech Identity, 1453–1683* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2013), p. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Monica Matei-Chesnoiu, *Early Modern Drama and the Eastern European Elsewhere: Representations of Liminal Locality in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2009), p. 67.

<sup>7</sup> Peter Hulme, Tim Youngs, *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), pp. 19–20.

<sup>8</sup> Matei-Chesnoiu, p. 69.

<sup>9</sup> Lisy-Wagner, p. 2.

<sup>10</sup> David Worthington, *British and Irish Experiences and Impressions of Central Europe, c. 1560–1688* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), p. xvi.

published a brilliant study on observations of the Bohemian Reformation and its liturgy in Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*. Alfred Thomas brought together England and Bohemia from Chaucer's time to Shakespeare's. And recently the aforementioned David Worthington aimed at British and Irish experiences of Central Europe until 1688. Nevertheless, it seems that the majority of studies are either focused on Central or Eastern Europe as a whole or on a specifically limited time period.<sup>11</sup>

English travel writings present an unusual and significant source because as foreigners, the English perceived several matters differently than the local inhabitants. For example, the opening sentence of James Howell's *Instructions for Forreine Travell* reads: '*enriching the mind with knowledge, rectifying the judgement and composing outward manners belong among many advantages of travelling.*'<sup>12</sup> Travellers were familiar with the situation in England as well as other European countries, which they visited, so that they might easily compare new pieces of information with their previous experience. As Antoni Maczak concludes, when a tourist reached the frontiers of his homeland he began to marvel at all the things that were new and strange to him and to ask himself questions. What is the character of the local people? In which ways are they different? Though foreign travellers were absolutely keen on understanding the nature of locals, they were also aware of a wide range of previously acquired stereotypes and prejudices that they had adopted from others or created themselves. '*It is difficult to separate the knowledge which tourists gained from books from the knowledge they acquired on the road, since the human mind tends in such situations to assimilate first and foremost the things which it has been conditioned to expect.*'<sup>13</sup> Similarly, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether English travel diaries, books and accounts from the mid-sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth centuries – the primary source materials for this topic – were based on personal experience or only second-hand ideas from previous travel writings. Tourists were made aware of the typical features of the countries they were traveling to by a variety of informative sources and the Bohemian Lands were no exception. Regarding landscape Bohemia and Moravia were usually described as fruitful and pleasant countries with an abundance of forest, corn, '*abounding with all the necessaries, as well as some of the elegancies, of life.*'<sup>14</sup> William Bromley takes his depiction a little bit further when he claimed that during his journey into the Kingdom of Bohemia, through which he travelled to Prague, he '*never saw a more fruitful Country in my Life, than all this Road, which is Champion, and seems to produce great Quantities of Corn.*'<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, a tourist's experience sometimes differed from what he had heard in advance of his journey. When Edward Brown set out from Prague to Dresden in 1673 he mentioned that the frontier region in Bohemia was described to be a country surrounded by woods. But, he confessed, '*I did not really perceive that there was such a Wood round about it as is commonly set forth in Mapps; only both within, and also in many parts of the Borders, there*

<sup>11</sup> René Wellek, 'Bohemia in English Literature', in *Essays on Czech Literature* (Hague: Mouton & Co., 1963), pp. 81–147; Jeremy Black, *The British Abroad: The Grand Tour in the Eighteenth Century* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 2004); Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994); David R. Holeton, 'Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*: A Sixteenth Century English Traveller's Observations on Bohemia, its Reformation, and its Liturgy', in *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, vol. 5, part 2, ed. by Zdeněk V. David, David R. Holeton (Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, Main Library, 2005), pp. 379–411.

<sup>12</sup> James Howell, *Instructions for Forreine Travell* (London, 1642), p. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Antoni Maczak, *Travel in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), p. 282.

<sup>14</sup> 'The Travels of Three English Gentlemen in the Year 1734', in *The Harleian Miscellany: Or, A Collection of Scarce, Curious, and Entertaining Pamphlets and Tracts*, vol. XI, ed. by William Oldys, John Malham, Robert Dutton (London, 1810), p. 285.

<sup>15</sup> William Bromley, *Several years travels through Portugal, Spain, Italy, Germany, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark and the United Provinces* (London, 1702), p. 231.

are great Woods which are conceived to have been part of the Hercinian Forest.<sup>16</sup> The perception of the Central European area as a so called 'barbaric' and 'backward' region cannot be overlooked. In this vein a certain Lady Mary Montagu wrote in a letter of 1716 that the Kingdom of Bohemia was the most desert of any she saw in Germany. She criticized poor villages and highlighted the rather low quality of accommodations.<sup>17</sup> A similar experience was related by William Bentinck in a letter to his parents in 1727 in which he positively evaluated houses in towns but '*in all the villages, one must lie upon straw, very often stinking, because there is no fresh to be had, and when with a great deal ado, you have got one truss, if you ask for a second, they stare at you, like mad, being not used to so much magnificence.*'<sup>18</sup>

If one attempts to picture a typical Bohemian or Moravian from an early modern English traveller's point of view, it is necessary to imagine a tall, stout, strong, broad-shouldered man, often with yellow hair. John Speed remarked, '*they are not branded with any eminent bad character.*'<sup>19</sup> A relatively detailed evaluation of the nature of Bohemians as well as their social classes in the mid-eighteenth century appeared in Thomas Nugent's notes:

Tho' the Bohemians are brave, and good soldiers, yet the nobility and gentry are not fond of the service. The reason is, they are used to be absolute masters upon their own estates, where the peasants are their slaves, and to be respected like petty sovereigns by the burghers at Prague; wherefore they do not care to reside at Vienna, where they must be obliged, like other subjects, to pay their court to the sovereign. The peasants are all in a state of vassalage to the nobility, and are a brutish, heavy kind of people, pretty much addicted to pilfering and thieving, and the whole nation is charged with excess and intemperance in eating and drinking.<sup>20</sup>

Generally, both Moravians and Bohemians may be characterized as incredibly kind-hearted, though, as Nugent indicated, drunkards. Since a great fondness or even addiction to wine or beer in the Bohemian lands was mentioned by almost every English gentleman who visited Bohemia or Moravia, it cannot be denied that drinking belonged among the most typical characteristics of that part of Europe. John Speed's travel book free-heartedly reads: '*[...] they are held very good at the art of brewing, and not behinde-hand at drinking when they have done. It is sayd (of the meaner sort I suppose) that if once they set to a vessel of good liquor, they will not lose it till they found it empty.*'<sup>21</sup> In this regard, Bohemians and Moravians equalled the Germans, Danes, Poles and Flemish, who all seemed to own the same national feature.

Surprisingly, Fynes Moryson, a late sixteenth century traveller, even drew his attention to women, who were shamed neither by men nor by women of other nationalities: '*Agayne the wemen of Bohemia, Contrary to the Custome of the wemen in Germany drincke with as large intemperance as the men, and goe alone by themselues without the company of men to Taverns and Shenckhausen (or houses where beare is solde).*'<sup>22</sup> Having considered the appearance and character of ladies living both in the Moravian and Bohemian provinces it may be assumed that they met the requirements of the early eighteenth century English gentlemen who saw them as '*hand-*

<sup>16</sup> Edward Browne, *An Account of Several Travels through a Great Part of Germany* (London, 1677), p. 128.

<sup>17</sup> Mary Wortley Montagu, *The letters and works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, vol. 1, ed. by lord Wharncliffe (London, 1837), p. 308.

<sup>18</sup> William Bentinck to Countess of Portland, 18 Jan. 1727, BL Eg. 1711.

<sup>19</sup> John Speed, *A Prospect of the most Famous Parts of the World* (London, 1631), p. 17.

<sup>20</sup> Thomas Nugent, *The Grand Tour, or a Journey Through the Netherlands, Germany, Italy and France* (London, 1749), pp. 57–58.

<sup>21</sup> John Speed, *A Prospect of the most Famous Parts of the World* (London, 1631), p. 17.

<sup>22</sup> Graham David Kew, *Shakespeare's Europe revisited: the unpublished "Itinerary" of Fynes Moryson 1566–1630* (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 1995), p. 1399.

some enough' and furthermore in their figures and disposition they compared with the women of Saxony.<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, when it came to fashion, women of the 'better sort' imitated the French style<sup>24</sup> or as Lady Montagu sharply criticized:

I have already been visited by some of the most considerable ladies, whose relations I know at Vienna. They are dressed after the fashions there, after the manner that the people at Exeter imitate those of London; that is, their imitation is more excessive than the original. 'Tis not easy to describe what extraordinary figures they make. The person is so much lost between head-dress and petticoat, that they have as much occasion to write upon their backs, '*This is a Woman*,' for the information of travellers, as ever sign-post painter had to write, '*This is a Bear*.'<sup>25</sup>

Thusly she turned her unsympathetic eye not only to the style of Prague women but also that of the English. Language was another matter of a great concern to writers. Bohemians as well as Moravians spoke an old Slavonic tongue. Their dialects differed, however, though contemporary opinions were divided as to whether they differed considerably or only slightly.<sup>26</sup> Moreover, the Bohemians and Moravians understood German as naturally as their native language. Knowledge of Latin may have been helpful for foreigners in the Bohemian lands as well.<sup>27</sup> A certain patriotic tone can be noticed in the analysis of the '*sweet and copious*' Bohemian dialect, of which '*the modern Bohemians neglect the cultivating of it, and their nobility especially look upon it as beneath them to speak their native tongue, but chuse rather to use the High Dutch*.'<sup>28</sup> The level of German evidently varied both in space and in time since Samuel Lewkenor described the language of the central Moravian town called Olomouc to be '*a kind of corrupt and barbarous Dutch*' at the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>29</sup>

Another matter of great concern that left a trace on travellers' impressions and could influence them was the so-called world of the regional magic, stories and legends—curiosities that might be heard at inns from local people and which provided them with a unique taste of the visited country. A story retold by Philip Skippon about his journey from Vienna illuminates this subject. Skippon only rarely made notes concerning the Bohemian Lands but one of them recounted a fantastic story. He heard '*that many years since there was a dragon about Brune in Moravia, which destroyed men and other animals; but he was at last kill'd by eating a dead calf that had its belly fill'd with lime, which firing after the dragon had drank, destroyed the monster*.'<sup>30</sup> Antoni Maczak points out, however, that travellers recorded a very small number of stories like this one. The majority of them had a character of a fairy tale, such as in the case of Skippon's legend, or they simply had no place in travellers' accounts.<sup>31</sup> The previously mentioned characteristics demonstrate how English travellers viewed the lands of Bohemia and Moravia and the nature and habits of the local inhabitants. The national stereotypes that influenced their travel stories must also be taken into account. From a broader perspective, a tendency can be seen in

<sup>23</sup> 'The Travels of Three English Gentlemen in the Year 1734', pp. 291, 324.

<sup>24</sup> Nugent, p. 238.

<sup>25</sup> Montagu, p. 309.

<sup>26</sup> Fynes Moryson wrote about the small difference between the Moravian and Bohemian dialects, Kew, p. 138; contrarily, others claim that '*the Moravian, we were told, differs very considerably from the Bohemian, Polish and Sclavonian dialects*', 'The Travels of Three English Gentlemen in the Year 1734', p. 284.

<sup>27</sup> 'The Travels of Three English Gentlemen in the Year 1734', pp. 294–95.

<sup>28</sup> Nugent, 57.

<sup>29</sup> Samuel Lewkenor, *A Discourse not altogether unprofitable* (London, 1600), f. 59r.

<sup>30</sup> Philip Skippon, 'An Account of a Journey Made thro Part of the Low Countries, Germany, Italy and France', in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels*, vol. 6 (London, 1745), p. 481.

<sup>31</sup> Maczak, p. 289.

foreigners to contrast all new things with previously acquired information and facts, which they acquired in their homeland, and by the same token we gain an unusual perspective on Englishmen in the context of their being far away from home in Central Europe.

## The Perception of Religious Matters: Protestants vs Catholics

Many English gentlemen, mostly members of the Church of England, were confronted with a complicated confessional development before 1620 and later a forced change of religious belief during their journeys through the Bohemian Lands. Late sixteenth as well as seventeenth and eighteenth century travellers perceived strong tensions between Catholics and Protestants in the whole of Europe. However, over the course of the Early Modern Period the extent, content and significance of that tension might be substantially revised.

Drawing on the argument of Zdeněk V. David, a Czech historian who attempted to forge a path between the Czech Utraquism and the Church of England on the assumption of a so-called ‘middle way’ between the churches belonging to the same Protestant party, a potential geographic and imaginative space between England and the Bohemian Lands apparently has not been so obvious and striking.<sup>32</sup> To a large extent, travellers built on experience gained from the similar and related religious history of both states, for example, the English reformer John Wycliffe’s influence on the Hussite era, which evidently became a crossing point between the island kingdom and the Central European region and was hardly omitted in any travel accounts. The confessional situation of Bohemia and Moravia was frequently reflected upon and thoroughly compared and contrasted to the period’s religious situation everywhere as well as the personal beliefs of travellers.

Until the Battle of White Mountain in 1620, Englishmen paid attention to religious freedom in the Bohemian Lands. Fynes Moryson, who visited Bohemia in 1592 and bequeathed to us a valuable piece of writing<sup>33</sup> about his journey, wrote about a great confusion of religions in cities, villages and also inside families. Generally in all parts of the kingdom, inhabitants practiced many sorts of religion: ‘some were Calvinists, some Lutherans, some Hussites, some Anabaptists, some Picards, some Papists,’ in addition to which were the Jews, who had their own town in Prague described by Moryson as ‘peculiar.’<sup>34</sup> He always addressed members of the Catholic Church as *papists*, a pejorative term originating in the negative frame of mind of English society logical in the context of that country’s rivalry with the leading Catholic power of the time—Spain. This antipathy is straightforwardly tangible when he explored matters at all relating to the Jesuit order.

<sup>32</sup> Zdeněk V. David, *Nalezení střední cesty: Liberální výzva utrakvistů Římu a Lutherovi* (Prague: Filosofia, 2012), pp. 191–203; The monograph was also published in English, although in a less detailed version: Zdeněk V. David, *Finding the middle way: the Ultraquists’ liberal challenge to Rome and Luther* (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2003).

<sup>33</sup> A note on Moryson’s work – manuscripts and editions: At first he wrote a manuscript about his European journey in Latin. The English translation of the manuscript was later published in London in 1617 as *An Itinerary Written By Fynes Moryson Gent. First in the Latine Tongue, and then translated by him into English: Containing His Ten Yeeres Travell Through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland* (London, 1617). The last part of his travel writings, unpublished in Moryson’s lifetime, is in Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS. 94, portions of which were edited by Charles Hughes and called *Shakespeare’s Europe: Unpublished Chapters of Fynes Moryson’s Itinerary. Being a Survey of the Condition of Europe at the end of the 16th Century* (London, 1903). Unfortunately, chapters dealing with Bohemia and Moravia have been omitted. However, the complete edition of Moryson’s work was done by Graham David Kew as a PhD thesis, *Shakespeare’s Europe revisited: the unpublished “Itinerary” of Fynes Moryson 1566–1630* (Birmingham, 1995).

<sup>34</sup> Kew, pp. 868–69.

Jesuits were repeatedly and sharply criticized in his work on many occasions, not only in connection with the Bohemian Lands but also in relation to confessional disputes in Europe and in England. According to Moryson's opinion, the Order of Jesuits was hated by all reformed religions and especially in England, where they pretended themselves to be English while practicing *'devilish treasons'*.<sup>35</sup> Around the turn of the century, Samuel Lewkenor also touched on the matter of Jesuits, though only briefly; he wondered at the presence of a university in the Moravian town of Olomouc that was established there quite late by the Order of Jesuits to combat the Lutheran religion generally practiced in that area.<sup>36</sup> Another noteworthy observation is that of Prague as a place of a religious freedom: *'I was at Prage in lent, where I observed that the Papists and Hussites did fast and eate fish, but the Lutherans and Calvinists did eate flesh without keepinge any fasts. There I continued till Easter was past. And because it is a place of great liberty to come into any church without any offence to the Conscience, I had oportunity to satisfye my Curiosity in observing all Ceremonyes, whereof give mee leave to make some breefe Relation.'*<sup>37</sup> Referring also to real historical development, Fynes Moryson provided a comparison of a religious freedom in the Lands of the Bohemian Crown with religious freedom in German provinces. First and foremost he emphasized a difference in that the subjects of the Bohemian king would have never simply have accepted a religion of their ruler according the principle *cuius regio, eius religio* as did the subjects of German princes, but would have instead rather respected the Turk to maintain their religious freedom.<sup>38</sup> Immediately before the aforementioned battle in 1620, which radically changed the social and religious situation in the Bohemian Lands, John Taylor appreciated the opportunity to participate in various masses—Papist, Protestant or Jewish in Prague—as Moryson had earlier.<sup>39</sup> Taylor travelled from the city of London to the city of Prague in September of 1620 and thus presented an account of Prague just before the Battle of White Mountain which occurred in November of that year. He was pleased to receive a warm reception from Queen Elizabeth and King Frederick. He spent twenty days at court and enjoyed *'free and beautiful entertainment to strangers in abundance.'*<sup>40</sup>

In response to the defeat of the so-called 'winter' King Frederick by Emperor Ferdinand II, the restoration of Roman Catholic rule in the Bohemian Lands was frequently discussed. Two passages illustrate the perception of that situation by foreigners. *'Since the unhappy accepting of the Crown by Frederick Count Palatine, and the ill success upon it, there hath been a great alteration in this Country, both as to People and their manners; for there upon many thousands left the Kingdom, and many who remained, turned their Religion. And the Emperours have used the like severity upon others in their Hereditary Dominions,'*<sup>41</sup> reflected Edward Browne in 1673. A young aristocrat, Antony Ashley Cooper, sent his father a long letter in which he remarked:

I need not describe to your lordship how miserable the people are, after I tell you the number of Jesuits that are amongst them. In Prague they reckon about 2000. I leave your lordship to reflect on the condition of this poor place under this swarm of such vermin, by the trial we have had lately of a few of them only amongst us. Your lordship may imagine, perhaps, the ill-condition we had been in if fallen

<sup>35</sup> Ibid, p. 883.

<sup>36</sup> Lewkenor, f. 59r.

<sup>37</sup> Lewkenor, p. 874; for a more detailed description and analysis of the mentioned liturgical ceremonies see the study of David R. Holeton, 'Fynes Moryson's Itinerary: A Sixteenth Century English Traveller's Observations on Bohemia, its Reformation, and its Liturgy'.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, pp. 869–70.

<sup>39</sup> John Taylor, *Taylor his travels: From the City of London in England, to the City of Prague in Bohemia* (London, 1620), f. C4r.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid, f. D1v.

<sup>41</sup> Browne, pp. 128–29.

into their hands, for this country was their conquest from an established strict profession of the pure Protestant religion.<sup>42</sup>

A strong Protestant feeling and sympathy undoubtedly exists in the second quote.

Concerning the early eighteenth-century travel books, the anonymously written *The Travels of Three English Gentlemen in the Year 1734* offers a particularly detailed description of coexistence between Catholics and Protestants in Moravia and Bohemia. The historical development of the Margraviate of Moravia was a little bit different during the crucial period at the beginning of the seventeenth century, which has not remained unnoticed:

The Synod of Brinn, being acted by a spirit quite opposite to the genius of Popery, granted an universal toleration, extending to people of all religions, in 1608. But an end was put to this by the fatal battle of Weissenburg, near Prague, in 1620, which gave the possession of this Marquisite to the house of Austria; and enabled the Cardinal de Dietrichstein, by his active and indefatigable zeal for popery, to re-establish the Roman Catholic religion in Moravia.<sup>43</sup>

Religious freedom in Moravia was granted by the new king Matthias in 1608, while Bohemia stayed faithful to the contemporary King Rudolph II who confirmed the same privilege in his *Letter of Majesty* in 1609. However, the result of the Battle of White Mountain put both territories back into the arms of the Catholic Church by the middle of the seventeenth century. Afterwards, according to the *three gentlemen's* local guide, 'a candid and impartial person, who has, for some time, resided amongst them,' though foreign visitors normally met only Roman Catholics, it was still possible to meet Protestants (very close to Calvinists in their belief) in this country.<sup>44</sup>

The situation the gentlemen found in Bohemia resembled what they had seen on their journey through Moravia. The majority of inhabitants were also counted as Roman Catholics, though it was said that there were a lot of secret Protestants among them. The specific nature of their Protestantism was not clear. The Catholics claimed the Protestants were Hussites, but the three English gentlemen took this with a pinch of salt because '[the Catholics] are seldom disposed to give a true representation of the principles of those they differ from.'<sup>45</sup> They concluded their observations with the words: 'We saw none of [the Protestants], and therefore can say nothing, of our own knowledge, concerning them.'<sup>46</sup> Another reflection on religious matters centred on the statues of Luther in armour and his wife on the Charles bridge in Prague (located approximately in the middle of the tower contiguous to Old Town), whose gestures were meant to ridicule Lutherans specifically and Protestants in general because the people there belonged mostly among zealous Catholics. The gentlemen drew attention to a habit the citizens had of taking care to show these sculptures to all visitors, particularly those of the Protestant faith. As the guide assured them, 'no foreigner, especially if he was a catholick, who knew Prague, would believe that we had seen the capital of Bohemia, if we could not give a description of them.'<sup>47</sup> Taking into consideration the fact that the Old Town Bridge Tower and its ornamentation was completed at the end of the fourteenth century, the reputed statues of Luther and his wife should be understood as an expression of Catholic loathing for Lutherans at the time. The sculpture of a monk and a nun

<sup>42</sup> *The life, unpublished letters, and Philosophical regimen of Anthony, earl of Shaftesbury*, ed. by Benjamin Rand (London, 1900), p. 278.

<sup>43</sup> 'The Travels of Three English Gentlemen in the Year 1734', p. 289.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 289–90.

<sup>45</sup> 'The Travels of Three English Gentlemen in the Year 1734', p. 316.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 317.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 296.

were frequently interpreted to be Martin Luther and his wife Katharina von Bora, and the local people told a juicy and piquant story about them believing the legend to be true.

The final observation made by gentlemen with regards to religion had to do with, the important Catholic cult of Saint John of Nepomuk, which widely spread in Central Europe over the course of the eighteenth century. He was said to have been the confessor of queen Sophia of Bavaria, the second wife of King Wenceslaus IV, and his life was supposedly ended in waters of the river Moldau in the late fourteenth century because he refused to tell the king the confessional secret of Queen Sophia. Efforts to secure Nepomuk's canonization had begun at the end of the seventeenth century and he was canonized in 1729, becoming the kingdom's only saint canonized during the Counter-Reformation and, undeniably, Bohemia's most well known.<sup>48</sup>

The story of Saint Nepomuk, a visit to his tomb and statue and the miniature statuettes for sale were not omitted in any eighteenth-century travel diaries. William Crowne even mentioned already having seen Nepomuk's tomb in Prague in the 1630s, though his note does not highlight the significance of this figure that was to be recognized a century later.<sup>49</sup> Both Thomas Nugent and Richard Pococke evidently borrowed information about John of Nepomuk from the same source because their accounts are almost identical. According to them, the cathedral dedicated to Saint Vitus was not famous only as a burial place of Bohemian kings but also of two patron saints of the country, Wenceslaus and John of Nepomuk. They also describe in detail the chapels and shrines of the two saints<sup>50</sup> Another matter of a great concern was a mass production of Nepomuk's miniatures and amulets sold by Jews and other people especially to strangers as a curious souvenir from Prague. The statue of Nepomuk on the Charles Bridge over the river Moldau was one of the places desired to be seen by travelers. People continually kissed a brass cross on the statue throughout the day while whispering prayers to this chief Bohemian saint.<sup>51</sup> Saint Nepomuk's cult joined previous historical traditions such as that of Cyril and Methodius, who brought Christianity to the region, and the world-famous Hussite movement, which was often considered to be the first reformation— history that has never been overlooked in travel books. Personalities such as John Zizka, John Huss or Jerome of Prague appeared as Protestant martyrs fighting, though with the awareness of the destruction of monasteries and churches wrought by Hussite radicalism. In describing Moravian cities, Samuel Lewkenor commented that '*the Monastery of the province like as we saide of Bohemia, were all by Zusca defaced and ruinated.*'<sup>52</sup> Their deeds and legacy were also connected to the English reformer John Wycliffe, the important tie between England and the Bohemian Lands: '*John Wicliffe in England preached against the Romish doctrynes whome followed his scholers Iohn Hus and Ieroine of Prage in Bohemia, who were burnt by the Pope.*'<sup>53</sup>

<sup>48</sup> Howard Louthan, 'Tongues, Toes, and Bones: Remembering Saints in Early Modern Bohemia', *Past and Present* (2010), 206, pp. 177–78; for the detailed description of Saint Nepomuk's cult, see: Vít Vlnas, *Jan Nepomucký, česká legenda* (Prague: Mladá Fronta, 1993).

<sup>49</sup> Crowne, p. 72.

<sup>50</sup> Richard Pococke, *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries* (London, 1745), p. 236; Nugent, p. 237.

<sup>51</sup> 'The Travels of Three English Gentlemen in the Year 1734', p. 297

<sup>52</sup> Lewkenor, f. 59r.

<sup>53</sup> Kew, pp. 1158–59.



## Conclusion

In summation, all of the analysed travel diaries repeat similar clichés and stereotypes that corresponded to widespread notions of the Bohemian Lands and were influenced by preceding written histories of the country and available travel information. However, all of them enrich the simple narratives predating them with the personal experiences and commentary of their authors. Another concern was with the perception of Bohemian Lands as a country belonging to a remote and fascinating region of Central and Eastern Europe, a description providing an appealing mystique to western travellers. Despite the fact that authors of the travel diary, which experienced an unusual boom as a literary genre at this period, might have been guilty of a large degree of fabrication, exaggeration and misinterpretation, the works demonstratively show how English travellers viewed Bohemian people and what dimensions the foreign other could take on by attaching various stereotypical attributes.

This analysis of several travel writings has outlined the degree to which Englishmen, as members of the Protestant Church, were confronted with a complicated confessional development before 1620 and afterwards a change of religious belief during their journies through the Bohemian lands. From this perspective, a complex religious situation in Bohemia and Moravia is seen from the point of view of foreigners, Protestants, whose observations explored this topic in a broader cross-cultural and cross-national context. In addition, the attention of English visitors was drawn to Saint John of Nepomuk Cyril and Methodius, the Hussite era as well as Protestants versus Catholics in general, i. e. a significant and interesting survival, disappearance and transformation of historical traditions very important for the Bohemian Lands.

Over the course of the early modern period several historical events deeply influenced and connected both territories—England and the Bohemian Lands—although at first glance one would say that the knowledge possessed by Englishmen about Bohemia and Moravia was limited to basic information, often delusory, the famous example being Shakespeare's depiction of a ship landing upon the desert shores of Bohemia. But for the reasons mentioned above a potential geographic and imaginative space between England and the Bohemian Lands seems to have been much smaller at least with regards to religion, which connected English travellers to the visited destination and enabled them to explore the religious and cultural life in Bohemia and Moravia in a wider cross-national context.

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## „Ob es hier um des Kindleins Seele geht?“

# Nottaufe und die Rolle der Hebammen in tschechischsprachigen Quellen der frühen Neuzeit<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** | *“Whether It Is the Child’s Soul What Matters Here?” Emergency Baptisms and the Role of Midwives in Czech-Language Sources of the Early Modern Period.*

One of the most important roles played by midwives in early modern society was the performance of emergency baptisms. During the times of confessionalism the topic of the emergency baptism became a field of contestation. The complicated theological quarrels this topic generated effected every single person. The goal of this paper is to contribute—on the basis of printed sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that circulated in the Bohemian Lands—to the research of the confessionalisation and also to show the impact of the complicated theological quarrels on daily life in early modern society, an impact felt at the very beginning of one’s life.

**Keywords** | midwives – emergency baptism – confessionalisation – salvation – early modern period – marriage manual

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Die Aufgaben und Pflichten von Hebammen begrenzten sich in der Frühen Neuzeit wie in den vorigen Epochen nicht nur auf die „handwerkliche“ Hilfe für die Gebärenden in ihrer schweren Stunde, sondern sie umfassten auch eine ganze Reihe von Diensten: die Gewährleistung der Pflege für die Frau während ihrer Schwangerschaft, den psychischen sowie geistlichen Beistand während der Geburt und eine gewisse nachgeburtliche Pflege der Wöchnerin und des neugeborenen Kindes. Alle diese Pflichten hängen unmittelbar mit der Vorstellung zusammen, die wir von den Hebammen haben – sie üben einen bestimmten Teil der Arbeit aus, die in der heutigen medikalisierten Gesellschaft den Ärzten gebührt. Neben diesen Dienstleistungen hatten die Hebammen jedoch ein viel breiteres Wirkungsfeld, als wir dessen heute vielleicht gewahr werden.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Die Studie entstand im Rahmen des Projektes ESF OPVK *Konfesijní kultura mezi středověkem a moderní dobou – Posílení mezinárodního výzkumu na katedře historie FF UP* [Konfessionelle Kultur zwischen Mittelalter und Moderne – Verstärkung internationaler Forschung am Lehrstuhl für Geschichte der Philosophischen Fakultät der Palacký Universität], Reg.-Nr.: CZ.1.07/2.3.00/20.0192.

<sup>2</sup> Mit der Problematik der unterschiedlichen Rollen der Hebammen in der Gesellschaft der Frühen Neuzeit beschäftigte sich die Verfasserin dieser Studie in ihrer unveröffentlichten Magisterarbeit, von der auch die vorliegende Studie ausgeht. Siehe Matějková, Hana. „Role a postavení porodní báby v raně novověké společnosti ve světle naučných, lékařských a církevně normativních pramenů [Rolle und Stellung der Hebamme in der

Die Hebammen übten eine ganze Reihe von Ritualen aus, die meistens christliche Elemente mit Elementen der Natur- und Volksmagie verbanden, sie hatten aber auch eine bedeutende gesellschaftliche Funktion inne. Wenn die Geburt misslang und die Frau oder das Kind – im schlimmsten Falle beide – sie nicht überlebten, kümmerte sich die Hebamme um die Versorgung von deren sterblichen Überresten. Sie wusch ihre toten Körper und bereitete sie für das Begräbnis vor, an dem sie meistens – hauptsächlich im ländlichen Milieu – auch teilnahm. Sie stand somit wie niemand anders an beiden Polen des Menschenlebens – zu dessen Anfang war sie bei seiner Geburt behilflich und zu dessen Ende kümmerte sie sich um seine ewige Ruhe.<sup>3</sup> Wenn die Entbindung komplikationsfrei verlief und das Kind gesund und munter war, war es üblich, dass die Hebamme es zur Taufe in die Kirche trug.<sup>4</sup> Sie vertrat somit die Mutter, die wegen ihres Wochenbettes zu Hause bleiben sollte, und zwar bis zu ihrem feierlichen Kirchgang. Im katholischen Milieu war der Wöchnerin der Eintritt in die Kirche sogar verboten, denn sie wurde nach der Entbindung für unrein und von bösen Mächten bedroht gehalten. Die Frage nach der Auffassung des Wochenbettes stellt einen der Zankäpfel zwischen Katholiken und Lutheranern in der Konfessionalisierungszeit dar. Für Luthers Anhänger ist die Wöchnerin nämlich nicht unrein, ganz im Gegenteil, sie erfreut sich eines besonderen Segens und einer besonderen Gnade Gottes.<sup>5</sup> Die sechswöchige Frist dient insbesondere ihrer Genesung und Ruhe. Der Kirchgang fand dann eher als Ausdruck des Dankes an Gott für den erfolgreichen Schwangerschafts- und Geburtsverlauf statt.

Eine der wichtigsten Pflichten einer Hebamme stellte die Ausübung des sog. *baptismus in necessitate*, der Nottaufe dar. Zu einer solchen Situation kam es, wenn sich im Laufe der Entbindung gezeigt hatte, dass das Kind zu schwach ist oder einen Defekt hat, sodass es die komplizierte Geburt wahrscheinlich nicht überlebt oder kurz danach stirbt. Ein ähnliches Szenarium war gewiss ein Albtraum für alle Eltern, die sich darum sorgten, dass ihr Nachkomme ohne das Taufsakrament sterben könnte und somit der Erlösung und ewigen Glückseligkeit beraubt wäre. In Bezug auf die Eltern kann dieses Sakrament also auch als Teil der Sorge um das Glück des Kindes definiert werden.<sup>6</sup> Die Taufe bedeutete zwar in erster Linie die Reinigung von der Erbsünde, mit der jeder Mensch auf die Welt kam, trug jedoch auch eine ganze Reihe von „Nebenbedeutungen“ mit sich. Die Taufe ist für das Leben der Familie des Kindes von großer Bedeutung. Indem das Neugeborene bei der Taufe einen Namen bekommt, erlangt es auch eine

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Gesellschaft der Frühen Neuzeit im Licht der erbauenden, medizinischen und kirchlich-normativen Quellen.“ Magisterarbeit, Palacký Universität Olomouc, 2009.

<sup>3</sup> Labouvie, Eva. „Geburt und Tod in der Frühen Neuzeit: Letzter Dienst und der Umgang mit besonderen Verstorbenen.“ In *Rituale der Geburt: Eine Kulturgeschichte*, edited by Jürgen Schlumbohm, Barbara Duden, Jacques Gélis, and Patrice Veit. München: C. H. Beck, 1998, 289–307, hier 299.

<sup>4</sup> Vgl. Scherer, Georg. *Rozmlouvání křesťanské o ceremoniích a řádích posvátných křtu svatého mezi farářem katolickým a babou luteránskou kteráž dítky ke křtu nosívá* [Christliches Gespräch über die Zeremonien und Ordnungen der heiligen Taufe zwischen einem katholischen Pfarrer und einem lutherischen Weib, das die Kinder zur Taufe bringt]. Litomyšl, 1591. Vědecká knihovna v Olomouci [Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek in Olmütz] (weiter nur VKOL), Sign. 32.099. Von dem tschechischen Titel kann abgeleitet werden, dass das „lutherische Weib“ gerade eine Hebamme war. Das bezeugt auch das deutsche Original, in dessen Titel direkt das Wort „Hebamme“ erscheint. Vgl. Scherer, Georg. *Ein christliches Gespräch von den Tauffceremonien zwischen einem Catholischen Pfarrherrn und lutherischen Hebammen*. Ingolstadt, 1587.

<sup>5</sup> Siehe Guenther, Thomas. „Knížka potěšitelná, všechněm těhotným a rodičím manželkám [Trostbuch für alle schwangeren und gebärenden Ehefrauen]“. In *Děti roditi jest božské ovotce. Gender a tělo v českojazyčné babické literatuře raného novověku* [Kinder zu gebären ist Gottes Frucht. Gender und Körper in frühneuzeitlicher tschechischsprachiger Literatur für Hebammen], edited by Jana Ratajová, Lucie Storčová. Praha: Scriptorium, 2003, 131–244, hier 219–220.

<sup>6</sup> Melkesová, Miroslava. „Křtina a úvod ve venkovském prostředí raného novověku [Die Taufe und der Kirchgang im ländlichen Milieu der Frühen Neuzeit].“ *Historický obzor* 14, no. 11/12 (2003): 262–76, hier 262.

eigene Identität und stirbt nicht als ein Namenloser, dessen nicht einmal richtig gedacht werden kann, wenn er durch den Namen nicht an Konkretheit gewinnt. Die Taufe erfüllt also auch eine commemorative Funktion: auch wenn das Kind kurz danach stirbt, können die Eltern sein Andenken ehren, sich an seinen Todestag erinnern, gegebenenfalls seinen Namen einem weiteren Nachkommen verleihen.<sup>7</sup> Nicht zuletzt tritt der Mensch gerade durch die Taufe in eine gewisse Gemeinschaft ein, in die Gemeinde der Gläubigen und in die Reihen der Kirchenmitglieder; seine Eltern bekennen sich auf diese Weise zu einer Konfession.

Die Problematik der Taufe spielte eine enorme Rolle im Leben der Gläubigen und der ganzen Gesellschaft. Es ist also kein Zufall, dass gerade diese Frage in der Konfessionalisierungszeit,<sup>8</sup> in der Argumente für die Authentizität und Richtigkeit der eigenen Glaubenslehre gesucht wurden und ein scharfer Konkurrenzkampf zwischen den sich profilierenden Konfessionen geführt wurde, zu einem bedeutenden Argumentationsfeld wurde. Die komplizierten theologischen Disputationen betrafen auch im Falle des Taufsakraments jeden Einzelnen und gewannen insbesondere in der Zeit um die Geburt und kurz danach an Aktualität. Zu der Angst vor Schmerzen, Komplikationen und dem möglichen Tod kam bei den werdenden Müttern, aber auch bei deren Partnern, die grauenhafte Vorstellung, dass ihr erwarteter Nachkomme nicht lange genug leben könnte, um getauft zu werden, und dazu noch Zweifel daran, ob die Nottaufe richtig ausgeübt wurde und sie ihr Kind nicht des ewigen Lebens beraubten.

Diese Studie analysiert gedruckte Quellen aus dem 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert, welche ihre Leserschaft im Kontext der böhmischen Länder fanden. Es handelt sich um tschechischsprachige, den Schwangeren, Gebärenden, Wöchnerinnen und Hebammen gewidmete Werke der Erbauungsliteratur (sowohl böhmischen Ursprungs als auch Übersetzungen aus dem Deutschen), deren Verfasser Geistliche waren und die in den Rahmen der Konfessionalisierungsauseinandersetzungen eingegliedert werden können. In diesen Werken werden die Auffassungen und Stellungen der jeweiligen Konfession zur Möglichkeiten der Erlösung für ungetaufte Kinder und zur Nottaufe thematisiert und die eigenen Positionen mehr oder weniger aggressiv gegen andere Konfessionen verteidigt. Das Ziel ist es, ein weiteres Teil in das Konfessionalisierungs-Puzzle einzufügen und zu zeigen, welche Auswirkungen die komplizierten theologischen Auseinander-

<sup>7</sup> Labouvie, „Geburt und Tod in der Frühen Neuzeit“, 293.

<sup>8</sup> Das Konfessionalisierungskonzept wurde in den 1980er Jahren von Wolfgang Reinhard und Heinz Schilling formuliert; siehe Zeeden, Ernst Walter. *Die Entstehung der Konfessionen: Grundlagen und Formen der Konfessionsbildung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskämpfe*. München: Oldenbourg, 1965; Schilling, Heinz. „Die Konfessionalisierung im Reich: Religiöser und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in Deutschland zwischen 1555 und 1620.“ *Historische Zeitschrift* 246, Nr. 1 (Februar 1988), 1–45; Reinhard, Wolfgang. „Zwang zur Konfessionalisierung? Prolegomena zu einer Theorie des konfessionellen Zeitalters.“ *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 10, 1983, 257–77; Reinhard, Wolfgang – Schilling, Heinz. *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung, Wissenschaftliches Symposium der Gesellschaft zur Herausgabe des Corpus Catholicorum und des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte* 1993. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1995; Schmidt, Heinrich Richard. *Konfessionalisierung im 16. Jahrhundert (Enzyklopädie deutscher Geschichte Band 12)*. München: Oldenbourg, 1992. Das Konzept ging durch eine breite Rezeption sowie Kritik. Zu den wichtigsten Diskussionen über das Konfessionalisierungskonzept vgl. Schmidt, Sebastian. *Glaube – Herrschaft – Disziplin: Konfessionalisierung und Alltagskultur in den Ämtern Siegen und Dillenburg (1538–1683)*. Paderborn/München/Wien/Zürich: Schöningh, 2005; Greyerz, Kaspar von u.a. (eds.). *Interkonfessionalität – Transkonfessionalität – binnenkonfessionelle Pluralität: Neue Forschungen zur Konfessionalisierungsthese (Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, Band 201)*. Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 2003; Bahlcke, Joachim – Lambrecht, Karen – Maner, Hans-Christian (eds.). *Konfessionelle Pluralität als Herausforderung: Koexistenz und Konflikt in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*. Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2006; Ohlidal, Anna. „Konfessionalisierung: Ein historisches Paradigma auf dem Weg von der Sozialgeschichte zur Kulturwissenschaft.“ *Acta Comeniana* 15–16, 2002, 327–342; speziell für das böhmische Milieu die hervorragende Analyse in Louthan, Howard. *Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation (New Studies in European History)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

dersetzungen zwischen den Konfessionen auf das tagtägliche Leben der Gesellschaft der Frühen Neuzeit haben konnten, und zwar gleich vom Lebensanfang jedes Einzelnen an.

Zunächst ist es wichtig, sich auf die Unterschiede in der Auffassung der Nottaufe, die die Reformation mit sich brachte, und die ausschlaggebenden Argumentationslinien zu konzentrieren. Die traditionelle von den Gedanken des heiligen Augustinus ausgehende katholische Lehre gründete sich auf die Behauptung, dass ein Kind, welches ungetauft sterben würde und somit von der Erbsünde nicht befreit wäre, auch nicht erlöst werden und das Antlitz Gottes schauen könne. Solche Kinder befinden sich in der Vorhölle im sog. *limbus infantum*, wo sie nicht selig werden können. Für katholische Eltern gab es demzufolge keine Hoffnung, dass ihr ungetauftes Kindlein ein besseres Schicksal haben könnte; seine Situation war unwiderruflich und schuld waren besonders sie selbst, denn ein solches Unglück wurde als Strafe für ihre Sünden aufgefasst. Es war also höchst wichtig, die Taufe um jeden Preis durchzuführen, das hieß auch an einem noch nicht ganz entbundenen Kind. Es genügte, dass im Laufe der Geburt zumindest ein Teil des Körpers erschien, welcher gleich getauft werden konnte. Die Anerkennung der Taufe von Körperteilen bei einem Kind hatte eine lange Entwicklung; zunächst durfte nur das Haupt getauft werden, falls dies möglich war. Später erweiterte sich die Möglichkeit auch um andere Körperteile mit der Ausnahme von Armen und Beinen; im 18. Jahrhundert wurde schließlich oft empfohlen, auch eine Leibesfrucht, sei sie so klein wie sie wolle, zu taufen.<sup>9</sup> In solch extremen Fällen sollte jedoch zu besonderen Wortmitteln gegriffen werden, den sog. Bedingungen, wie später dokumentiert wird.

Die katholische Kirche war in der Frage der die Taufe ausübenden Person nachsichtig; diese unter normalen Umständen dem Priester vorbehaltene Leistung wird sogar auf Frauen delegiert, meistens auf Hebammen. Frauen sind aber in der Kirche der Möglichkeit enthoben, in der Versammlung zu sprechen und Sakramente zu spenden,<sup>10</sup> deswegen sollte die Nottaufe im Idealfall von einem Mann durchgeführt werden. Wenn aber in einem kritischen Augenblick kein Mann in Reichweite zu finden ist, kann seine Rolle auch von einer Frau übernommen werden. Das Heil der Kinderseele ist wesentlich wichtiger als die die Taufe ausübende Person. Demzufolge sind die von Männern<sup>11</sup> sowie von Frauen ausgeübten Nottaufen völlig gleichwertig.

Auch die genaue Ausübung des Taufrituals nach festgesetzten Regeln war von großer Wichtigkeit, sonst war nämlich nicht klar, ob eine falsch durchgeführte Taufe denselben Effekt hatte wie bei einem korrekten Vorgang. Betont wird die Substanz, mit der die Zeremonie ausgeübt wird; im Falle der katholischen Kirche ist es strikt klares Wasser. Die Hebamme sollte demzufolge bei der Vorbereitung auf die Entbindung immer gewähren, dass dieses zur Hand ist, idealerweise sollte sie ein Fläschchen mit Weihwasser aus dem Taufbecken bei sich tragen. Den anderen wichtigen Teil des Taufsakraments bildet die Wortbegleitung. Diese soll nur die Trinitätsformel

<sup>9</sup> Struckmeier, Eckhard. *Vom Glauben der Kinder im Mutterleibe: Eine historisch-anthropologische Untersuchung frühneuzeitlicher lutherischer Seelsorge und Frömmigkeit im Zusammenhang mit der Geburt*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000, 119.

<sup>10</sup> Kor 14, 34: „Wie es in allen Gemeinden der Heiligen üblich ist, sollen die Frauen in der Versammlung schweigen; es ist ihnen nicht gestattet zu reden. Sie sollen sich unterordnen, wie auch das Gesetz es fordert.“ Zitiert nach der Einheitsübersetzung.

<sup>11</sup> Den häufigsten Fall stellen dabei Priester dar, die bei schweren Geburten anwesend und bereit sind, der sterbenden Frau die letzte Ölung zu gewähren. Im böhmischen Adelsmilieu haben wir dafür ein Beispiel aus den überlieferten Familienmemoiren der Alžběta Lidmila von Lissau – 2 von ihren 15 Kindern mussten unmittelbar nach der Entbindung getauft werden, die Taufe wurde in beiden Fällen vom Franziskaner Sebastian Hagen ausgeübt. Vgl. Ratajová, Jana. „Alžběta Lidmila z Lisova, žena v barokním světě? [Alžběta Lidmila von Lissau, eine Frau in der Barockwelt].“ In Alžběta Lidmila z Lisova, *Rodinné paměti* [Familienmemoiren], edited by Jana Ratajová. Dolní Břežany: Scriptorium, 2002, 19–21.

und nichts anderes beinhalten, genau wie es im Evangelium steht.<sup>12</sup> Aufforderungen zur Einhaltung der festgesetzten Formel erscheinen in den Werken von katholischen Predigern, aber auch deren lutherischen Pendanten sehr oft (wie später dokumentiert wird, stellte die Einhaltung der Trinitätsformel auch für die Lutheraner eine verbindliche Norm dar), was andeuten kann, dass es zu Ergänzungen kam, beispielsweise um Heiligennamen u. ä. Gleichzeitig handelt es sich wahrscheinlich um die Bemühung zu gewährleisten, dass die Taufe richtig ausgeübt und ihre Richtigkeit nicht bezweifelt wurde. In katholischen Gebieten wurden somit die Hebammen vom Pfarrer darüber belehrt, wie eine Taufe richtig durchzuführen sei, und mussten einen Eid ablegen; andere Aufsicht über sie gab es praktisch nicht. Wenn das Kind, das eine Nottaufe empfangen hatte, die schwere Zeit nach der Geburt überstand und gut gedieh, bestand die katholische Kirche auf einer ordentlichen Taufe in der Kirche, welche vom Pfarrer ausgeübt wurde. In einem solchen Falle überzeugte sich der Priester anhand Befragung der Hebamme davon, dass die Notzeremonie korrekt und mit allen Bestandteilen verlief, und erneuerte die Taufe nicht, sondern ergänzte diese nur um die fehlenden Rituale, wie z. B. das Bibellesen, das Vaterunser und weitere Gebete.<sup>13</sup>

Auch bei den Lutheranern spielte die formelle Seite der Taufe eine große Rolle; wieder wird die Einhaltung der Trinitätsformel sowie die Taufe mit klarem Wasser betont. Aber auch andere Substanzen können nicht ausgeschlossen werden, wie beispielsweise Wein.<sup>14</sup> Deutliche Abweichungen finden sich jedoch bei der Auffassung der Nottaufe selbst. Die Lutheraner erlauben nämlich nur, ein geborenes Kind zu taufen und lehnen das katholische Modell der Taufe von einzelnen Körperteilen im Laufe der Entbindung strikt ab.<sup>15</sup>

Welchen Trost bieten also die Protestanten den Eltern, deren Kind ungetauft bei der Geburt starb? Hat dieses auch die Hoffnung auf Erlösung? Nach Martin Luther und weiteren Theologen ist die Antwort auf diese Frage positiv. Es handelt sich um die Erlösung auf außergewöhnliche Weise (*modo extraordinario*).<sup>16</sup> Durch gründliches Lesen und die Exegese der Heiligen Schrift fanden sie nämlich Stellen, welche davon zeugten, dass das Kind nicht verdammt sei, sondern sich außergewöhnlicher Gnade des Herren erfreue und anders als durch das Taufsakrament erlöst werden könne. Gott könne aus seinem freien Willen entscheiden, die arme Kinderseele zu seinen Auserwählten aufzunehmen. Dafür habe er gleich mehrere Gründe. Allen voran seien das die inständigen Bitten und Gebete seiner Eltern. Auch der Bund Gottes mit Abraham, der sich nach den Lutheranern nicht nur auf die Eltern, sondern auch auf ihre Kinder beziehe, seien diese bereits geboren oder noch nicht, darf nicht vergessen werden.<sup>17</sup> Sehr oft ist auch die Argumentation durch eine Parallele zu den Israeliten zu finden. Die Analogie zur christlichen Taufe stellte bei diesen die Beschneidung dar, welche jeweils am achten Tag nach der Geburt

<sup>12</sup> Mt 28, 19: „Darum geht zu allen Völkern und macht alle Menschen zu meinen Jüngern; tauft sie auf den Namen des Vaters und des Sohnes und des Heiligen Geistes.“ Zitiert nach der Einheitsübersetzung.

<sup>13</sup> Struckmeier, *Vom Glauben der Kinder im Mutterleibe*, 94.

<sup>14</sup> Nach Martin Luther können in Fällen der höchsten Not auch andere Flüssigkeiten als Wasser anerkannt werden, später wichen die Lutheraner jedoch von dieser Meinung ab und setzten klares Wasser durch. Vgl. Struckmeier, *Vom Glauben der Kinder im Mutterleibe*, 98.

<sup>15</sup> Flügge, Sibylla. *Hebammen und heilkundige Frauen: Recht und Rechtswirklichkeit im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*. Basel, Frankfurt am Main: Stroemfeld, 1998, 318.

<sup>16</sup> Král, Pavel. „Žena a smrt v 16. a 17. století [Die Frau und der Tod im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert].“ In *Eva nejen v ráji: Žena v Čechách od středověku do 19. století* [Eva nicht nur im Paradies: Die Frau in Böhmen vom Mittelalter bis ins 19. Jahrhundert], edited by Milena Lenderová. Praha: Karolinum, 2002, 105–30, hier 106.

<sup>17</sup> Gen 17,7: „Und ich will aufrichten meinen Bund zwischen mir und dir und deinen Nachkommen von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht, dass es ein ewiger Bund sei, sodass ich dein und deiner Nachkommen Gott bin.“ Weiter Apg 2, 39: „Denn euch und euren Kindern gilt diese Verheißung und allen, die fern sind, so viele der Herr, unser Gott, herzurufen wird.“ Zitiert nach der Luther Bibel 1984.

vollzogen wurde. Einige Kinder erreichten diese Zeremonie jedoch nicht und starben unbeschnitten. Trotzdem hielt die alttestamentarische Gesellschaft diese Kinder nicht für verdammt. Eine solche Auffassung wurde durch Luthers Lehre von der Einheit der Schrift des Alten und Neuen Testaments ermöglicht. Gegen diese Meinung protestierte aber die katholische Kirche mit dem Hinweis, dass im Gegensatz zu der alttestamentarischen Beschneidung, die sich nur auf Jungen bezog, die neutestamentarische Taufe universal sei und sich auf alle Kinder bezöge. Ein weiteres Argument der Lutheraner für die Erlösung des Kindes, das ungetauft gestorben war, stellt seine enge geistliche Verknüpfung mit seinen Christen-Eltern dar. Seine christliche Herkunft sei eine mögliche Garantie dafür, der Verdammung zu entgehen. Die Bedingung für eine solche Heilserlangung ist bei den Lutheranern jedoch der Glaube an Jesus; nur so kann das Kind im Körper seiner Mutter auf jene außergewöhnliche Weise getauft werden, das ist mit dem Blut Christi, das er für die Erlösung der Menschen vergossen hatte, und mit dem Heiligen Geist. Auch dafür findet sich ein biblisches Beispiel, nämlich die Taufe Johannes' des Täufers, der – mit den Worten des von Gott geschickten Engels, der Johannes' Geburt an Zacharias verkündete – bereits im Mutterleibe mit dem Heiligen Geist erfüllt war.<sup>18</sup> Die lutherischen Eltern konnten sich also in ihrem Unglück auf die tröstenden Worte Martin Luthers und ihrer Theologen verlassen, dass für ihr ungetauft gestorbenes Kind nichts verloren sei.<sup>19</sup>

Eine einigermäßen andere Gesinnungslage herrschte dann im kalvinistischen Lager. Die Reformierten unterschieden sich in der Auffassung der Taufe sowie des besonderen Falles der Nottaufe nicht nur von der katholischen Kirche, sondern auch von den Lutheranern. Die Taufzeremonie stellte für sie vielmehr eine Initiation des Neugeborenen in die Gruppe der Gläubigen als das Abwaschen der Erbsünde dar. Deshalb unterscheidet sich auch sehr ihre Einstellung zur Nottaufe, die von Laien ausgeübt wird; noch unzulässiger ist für sie eine Frau, in den meisten Fällen die Hebamme. Zwingli und Calvin halten sich strikt an die Bestimmung des Heiligen Paulus, dass Frauen in der Versammlung schweigen und sich nicht an kirchlichen Handlungen beteiligen sollen. In reformierten Gebieten gilt deswegen ein nachdrückliches Verbot, solche Taufen auszuüben, obwohl klar ist, dass die sich um das Schicksal ihres Nachkommen sorgenden Eltern dieses Verbot nicht selten umgingen.<sup>20</sup>

Weil eine von einer Frau ausgeübte Nottaufe bei den Reformierten theoretisch undenkbar war, musste die Glaubenslehre ihre Einstellung gegenüber der Erlösung eines ungetauften Kindes erklären. Gleich wie im Falle der Lutheraner erscheint auch in den reformierten Kreisen die Behauptung, das ungetauft gestorbene Kind könne erlöst werden, und zwar durch die Berufung auf Gottes Bund mit Abraham. Die Erlösung ist also bereits durch diesen Bund gegeben und ist deswegen sicher, nicht wie bei den Lutheranern durch die Gnade Gottes bedingt. Die Gläubigen werden weiter versichert, dass der Grund der Erlösung der Menschen das Opfer und der Tod Jesu am Kreuz und das Taufsakrament „nur“ dessen Besiegelung sei. Ein schwerwiegendes Argument war auch die Erwähnung Johannes' des Täufers, der Apostel und Jünger Christi, von deren Taufe wir zwar in der Heiligen Schrift nichts erfahren, deren Erlösung jedoch von niemandem bezweifelt wird. Warum könnten die ungetauften Kinder nicht auf gleiche Weise erlöst werden wie jene Erwachsenen, die niemals eine Taufe empfangen? In den Schriften von Predigern sowie Theologen kann eine ganze Reihe von ähnlichen logischen Argumenten gefunden werden; sie bilden einen wichtigen Bestandteil der belehrenden und erbauenden Literatur der Frühen

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<sup>18</sup> Lk 1, 15.

<sup>19</sup> Vgl. Struckmeier, 134–58.

<sup>20</sup> Labouvie, „Geburt und Tod in der Frühen Neuzeit“, 290.

Neuzeit, die für direkt betroffene Eltern bestimmt war und ihnen Anweisungen gab, wie sie sich mit der gegebenen Situation abfinden könnten.<sup>21</sup>

Jede der sich neu profilierenden Konfessionen hatte eine eigene ausgeprägte Ansicht über das Sakrament der Taufe und der Nottaufe, die zu einem äußerst intensiv diskutierten Punkt wurde. Kein Wunder, dass die Eltern, die sich mit dem Tod ihres ungetauften Kindes abfinden mussten, oder jene, bei deren Nachkommen eine solche Zeremonie ausgeübt werden konnte, sich in der entstandenen und nur schwer zu übersehenden Situation manchmal nicht ganz sicher waren, ob sie für das Heil ihres Sprösslings alles getan hatten, und dazu noch, ob sie es richtig getan hatten. Die Situation wurde ihnen durch die ständige Anfeindung einer Partei durch die andere erschwert, das von dieser oder jener Durchgeführte und Durchgesetzte sei falsch und führe nicht zur Erlösung des Kindes. Die konfessionelle Konfrontation spitzte sich zu und mittels der Schriften verschiedener Prediger gelangte sie unter die Gläubigen selbst.

Einer der bedeutendsten „Vorkämpfer“ der katholischen Seite war zweifellos der zwischen 1577 und 1600 als Hofprediger am Wiener Hof wirkende Jesuitenprediger Georg Scherer. Er wurde durch seine flammenden Predigten und gegen die lutherische Konfession gerichteten Schriften berühmt. Eines seiner populären Werke, die nicht nur oft im Druck erschienen, sondern auch in andere Sprachen übersetzt wurden – auch die Leser in den böhmischen Ländern konnten sich mit ihnen vertraut machen – ist die 1587 in Ingolstadt erschienene Schrift *Ein christliches Gespräch von den Tauffceremonien zwischen einem Catholischen Pfarrherrn und lutherischen Hebammen*.<sup>22</sup> In diesem dialogisch konzipierten Werk sprechen ein katholischer Pfarrer und eine lutherische Hebamme miteinander. Im Kontrast stehen hier zwei Auffassungen der Taufe einander gegenüber: die katholische und die lutherische. Der Pfarrer beantwortet die Fragen der Hebamme, führt Beispiele nicht nur aus der Bibel auf, sondern zögert auch nicht, sogar Luther selbst zu zitieren, um die Hebamme über die Unrichtigkeit seiner Ansichten und Überlegungen zu überzeugen. Die Hebamme stellt schließlich fest, sie habe die ganze Zeit in einem Irrglauben gelebt, für den die lutherischen Prädikanten verantwortlich seien, und versichert dem Pfarrer, sie kehre in den Schoß der einzigen heilenden Kirche zurück. Gleichzeitig verspricht sie, die Kinder nur noch in die katholische Kirche zu tragen.<sup>23</sup> Die Tatsache, dass eine der Hauptpersonen des Dialogs eine Hebamme ist, ist bereits an sich sehr interessant. Sie zeigt auf, wie wichtig in der Konfessionalisierungszeit die Frage der Taufe war und welche große Rolle die Hebammen darin spielten. Es waren nämlich gerade sie, die in Notfällen, wenn das Kind keine ordentliche Taufe in der Kirche empfangen konnte, über die Konfession des Kindes entschieden, und zwar nicht nur durch die Form der ausgeübten Zeremonie, sondern auch durch den Einfluss, den sie bei ihrer schweren Arbeit auf die Gebärende haben konnten. Nach Ansicht einer Hebamme über die Möglichkeit der Erlösung des Kindes konnte sich auch die Mutter richten. Mit katholischen Augen gesehen waren Hebammen für die Verdammung der Kinder verantwortlich, die sie nicht getauft hatten. Zudem trugen sie zur Ausbreitung des lutherischen Irrglaubens bei.

Wie sah die Situation in den böhmischen Ländern aus? In der Vorrede zu seinem Dialog zwischen dem katholischen Pfarrer und der lutherischen Hebamme erklärt der Jesuit Georg Scherer ausführlich, welche Gründe ihn zum Verfassen des Werkes führten. Der Text wurde teilweise für die Bedürfnisse der Leser aus den böhmischen Ländern verändert:

<sup>21</sup> Siehe Phaëton Žalanský, Havel. *O dítkách křesťanských mrtvých* [Von christlichen toten Kindlein]. Praha, 1608. Strahovská knihovna [Bibliothek Strahov], Sign. BK IX 1, insbesondere 169–83. Ders. „O ctných manželkách těhotných a rodičkách křesťanských“ [Von den ehrenhaften schwangeren Ehefrauen und christlichen Gebärenden]. In *Děti roditi jest božské ovotce*, 419–460, hier 448–452.

<sup>22</sup> Scherer, Georg. *Ein christliches Gespräch*.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 134–35.



Weil hier in Böhmen und in Mähren, nicht weniger als in Österreich und anderen benachbarten deutschen Ländern, die wahre katholische Taufe mit ihren andächtigen und geheimnisvollen Zeremonien oder Sitten eine solche Schmach und Herabsetzung erlitt, so dass Viele von ihr gar nichts oder nur wenig nachdenken.<sup>24</sup>

Die Anerkennung der Wichtigkeit der Heiligen Taufe veränderte sich nach Meinung des leidenschaftlichen Jesuitenpredigers deutlich, besonders wenn die Eltern bereit waren, ihr Kind ungetauft sterben zu lassen, und zwar nur weil die Taufe nach ihrer Gesinnung von keiner Frau, also auch nicht von einer Hebamme, erteilt werden könne. Scherers zweite Vorrede gilt direkt allen christlichen Eltern und beinhaltet einen starken Appell mit gleich mehreren Gründen, aus denen Eltern ihr Kind nach dem katholischen Ritus taufen lassen sollten. Neben der Zertretung des Glaubens ihrer Vorfahren werden insbesondere Argumente angeführt, die sich stark von nichtkatholischen Sitten und Vorgängen abgrenzen. Weil die „sektiererischen“ Priester weit weniger zu taufen berufen sind als jeder Laie, ist es für die Erlösung der Kinderseele viel besser, wenn sich dieser Aufgabe eine beliebige Person annimmt, sei es Mann oder Frau, vor allem solle es kein lutherischer oder brüderlicher Prädikant sein.<sup>25</sup> Scherer beruft sich auch auf Luthers Lehre, laut der in Fällen höchster Not als Taufsubstanz auch eine andere Flüssigkeit als Wasser gebraucht werden kann, und verallgemeinert sie in dem Sinne, dass für die Lutheraner nicht wichtig sei, dass bei der Taufe Wasser verwendet wird, wesentlich sei der Zustand der Substanz – es müsse sich um eine Flüssigkeit handeln, bzw. um etwas, was feucht ist.

In gleicher Weise, wie sich die katholischen Prediger wie der Jesuit Scherer von den nichtkatholischen Konfessionen abgrenzten, nahmen auch die lutherischen und reformierten Verfasser Standpunkte ein, welche wiederum die Meinungen der katholischen Glaubenslehre bestritten und attackierten. Ein Beispiel stellt der im sächsischen Glauchau wirkende lutherische Prediger Thomas Guenther dar, dessen *Knížka potěšitelná všem těhotným a rodícím manželkám* [Trostbüchlein für alle schwangeren und gebärenden Ehefrauen] 1567 in Prag bei Jiří Melantrich herausgegeben wurde.<sup>26</sup> Die Schrift ist als eine Sammlung von Ratschlägen und Belehrungen für richtiges Verhalten nicht nur für werdende Mütter, sondern auch für die ganze christliche Gemeinde konzipiert, die sich auf die Aufnahme eines neuen Mitgliedes vorbereitet. Der größte Teil ist zwar Ratschlägen und Anweisungen für schwangere und gebärende Frauen gewidmet, unterschlagen wird jedoch auch nicht die Rolle des werdenden Vaters des Kindes, der Hebamme und der Mitglieder der Gemeinde – in erster Linie der Nachbarn und Nachbarinnen, die

<sup>24</sup> „Poněvadž zde v Čechách a v Moravě neméně nežli v Rakousích a jiných okolních německých krajinách pravý katolický křest s svými pobožnými a plnými svatých tajemství ceremoniemi neb obyčeji v tak velikou příšel potupu a zlehčení, že mnozí nic zhola aneb velmi málo o něm smejšlejí a drží.“ Scherer, *Rozmlouvání křesťanské*, A II v. Die Übersetzung von Scherers Werk ins Tschechische ist hier dem böhmischen Milieu angepasst. Im Originaltext attackiert der Jesuit die Lutheraner, in der Übersetzung kommt eine Anspielung auf die Böhmisches Brüder vor, zu denen der Übersetzer eine ausgeprägte Stellung einnimmt. Zur Transformation der Übersetzungen von Scherers Schriften für das böhmische Milieu siehe Kubišta, Albert. „Der Lutherische Bettlermantel Georga Scherera a jeho český překlad [Georg Scherers „Der Lutherische Bettlermantel“ und seine tschechische Übersetzung].“ In *Per saecula ad tempora nostra I*, edited by Jiří Mikulec and Miloslav Polívka. Praha: Historický ústav AV ČR, 2007, 367–71.

<sup>25</sup> Scherer, *Rozmlouvání křesťanské*, B II r.

<sup>26</sup> Guenther, *Knížka potěšitelná*. Die Schrift erschien 1564 und noch einmal zwei Jahre später in Frankfurt am Main unter dem Titel *Ein Trostbüchlein für die Schwangeren und geberenden Weiber* im Druck. Die Popularität der Schrift bezeugt insbesondere die Tatsache, dass sich bereits ein Jahr nach der zweiten deutschen Ausgabe auch die Leser in den böhmischen Ländern mit ihr vertraut machen konnten, und zwar dank der auf Bestellung des bekannten Prager Druckers und Verlegers Jiří Melantrich z Aventýna angefertigten Übersetzung von Jiří Rybák aus Strakonice.

verpflichtet sind, die „Aufgabe“ ihrer „Schwester“ in jeder Hinsicht zu erleichtern.<sup>27</sup> Guenther verfasste sein Buch als Anweisung für richtiges Verhalten, gleichzeitig bemüht er sich dort Trost zu spenden, wo dieser gebraucht wird, also in Fällen eines unerwarteten Verlaufs der Schwangerschaft oder Geburt. So konnte die Frage der Nottaufe und der Erlösung ungetauft sterbender Kinder nicht abseits seines Interesses bleiben. Diese Prozedur lässt er ganz in der Kompetenz der Hebammen und gibt dazu eine detaillierte Beschreibung zum richtigen Verlauf des Rituals. Gleichzeitig betont er, dass die exakte Taufformel gebraucht werden müsse und das Kind mit Wasser und keiner anderen Flüssigkeit getauft werden dürfe.<sup>28</sup> Wenn wir das Werk Georg Scherers demjenigen Thomas Guenthers gegenüberstellen, stellen wir fest, dass sich deren Aussagen im Punkt der Taufsubstanz gegenseitig widersprechen. Daraus können wir schlussfolgern, dass diese Frage im lutherischen Lager nicht definitiv gelöst war und die einzelnen Theologen und Prediger sie individuell angingen. Guenther betrachtet besonders den Tod des Kindes als ein Unglück, die Tatsache, dass es ungetauft starb, solle die Eltern jedoch nicht in die Verzweiflung treiben. Sie sollten nicht daran zweifeln, dass ihr Sprössling erlöst würde, es genüge das Bewusstsein, sie hätten ihn gerne zur Taufe gebracht, wenn es möglich gewesen wäre. Mit der Ausübung der Zeremonie solle aber keinesfalls gezögert werden, wenn es die Möglichkeit gebe, das Kind zu taufen.<sup>29</sup>

Im Falle der Schriften Georg Scherers sowie Thomas Guenthers handelt es sich um Übersetzungen ursprünglich deutscher Texte ins Tschechische. Ein tschechisches Werk, das zum konfessionellen Diskurs der Taufe und Nottaufe gehört, stellt die 1615 in der Prager Neustadt herausgegebene Schrift von Havel Phaëton Žalanský *O ctných manželkých těhotných a rodičkách křesťanských* [Von den ehrenhaften schwangeren Ehefrauen und christlichen Gebärenden] dar. Žalanský war als Prediger in Kutná Hora [Kuttenberg] und an der St.-Aegidius-Kirche in Prag tätig.<sup>30</sup> Seine Schrift ähnelt in vielen Hinsichten der Argumentation, welche wir auf den Seiten des Werkes von Thomas Guenther finden. In einigen Punkten weicht der Prediger jedoch von seinem Vorbild ab. Vor allem zögert er nicht hart zu sein, er umkleidet seine Ansichten nicht und grenzt sich konfessionell scharf vom katholischen Milieu ab. Die von katholischen Priestern verbreiteten Meinungen über die Verdammung der ungetauften Kinder bezeichnet er rückhaltlos als Satans Werk:

Wir wissen davon, dass Satan manchmal vermitteltst der Priester viele böse Irrtümer über solche Kindlein unter das Volk mischte und die Herzen von abergläubischen Menschen verirrte, und zwar dass sie das Antlitz Gottes nicht schauen, dass sie sich an der Erlösung mit anderen Getauften nicht beteiligen. Wir aber können laut der Heiligen Schrift die christlichen Gebärenden mit einer besseren Hoffnung trösten,

<sup>27</sup> Die Schrift kann deswegen in den Kontext der frühneuzeitlichen Ehespiegel eingegliedert werden. Es handelt sich um normative Literatur, die sich mit der Ehe beschäftigt und Anweisungen für das Handeln der Partner sowie deren gegenseitiges Verhalten, beziehungsweise deren Verhalten gegenüber den Kindern bringt; auch Instruktionen für die Partnerwahl und deren Prinzipien können hier gefunden werden. Anhand richtiger und falscher aus der Literatur, insbesondere der Bibel und historischen Abhandlungen ausgewählter Verhaltensbeispiele bemüht die Gattung sich, den Leser zum richtigen christlichen Leben zu führen. Mehr zum Thema Ehespiegel vgl. Smolinsky, Heribert. „Ehespiegel im Konfessionalisierungsprozess.“ In *Die katholische Konfessionalisierung*, edited by Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling. Heidelberg: Aschendorff, 1995, 311–31, hier 311–12.

<sup>28</sup> Explizit genannt sind hier Bier und Wein, die Hebammen sollen jedoch auch nichts anderes zur Taufe nehmen. Siehe Guenther, *Knížka potěšitedlná*, 188.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, 204–214.

<sup>30</sup> Laut Jana Ratajová war er ein zum Luthertum neigender utraquistischer Priester; siehe z Lisova, Alžběta Lidmila. *Rodinné paměti*, 48. Milena Lenderová bezeichnet ihn als reformierten Pfarrer in Ledeč; siehe Lenderová, Milena – Rýdl, Karel. *Radostné dětství? Dítě v Čechách devatenáctého století* [Freudige Kindheit? Das Kind im Böhmen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts]. Praha, Litomyšl: Paseka, 2006, 21.

ihren ungetauften Kindern etwas Besseres aus der Heiligen Schrift versprechen und sie auch der sicheren Erlösung versichern [...].<sup>31</sup>

In einer anderen Schrift, in der sich Žalanský mit dem Tod des Kindes befasst,<sup>32</sup> fragt er sehr hart, wer für die Angst, den Kummer und die Wehklage der Eltern, deren Kind ungetauft gestorben war, verantwortlich sei. Es sei eindeutig die Schuld der Katholiken, die die Erlösung solcher Kinder bezweifelten, ja sogar nicht anerkannten. Damit beraubten sie diese der Möglichkeit das Antlitz Gottes zu schauen und sogar eines ordentlichen Begräbnisses auf dem Friedhof.<sup>33</sup> In beiden Schriften erscheinen praktisch identische, die Gründe für die Erlösung ungetaufter Kinder erklärende Passagen. Wir finden hier die bereits bekannten Argumente wie die Parallele zur alttestamentarischen Beschneidung, die Betonung der Gültigkeit Abrahams Bund sowie weitere Beispiele aus der jüdischen und Kirchengeschichte. Die Kinder seien direkt im Mutterleibe mit dem Heiligen Geist getauft und bräuchten kein Wasser, um ihre Taufe gültig zu machen. Das, was sich jedoch deutlich von der Auffassung Thomas Guenthers unterscheidet, ist Žalanskýs Ansicht über die die Nottaufe ausübende Person. Der Prediger lässt nämlich nicht zu, dass dieses Ritual von einer Frau ausgeübt wird, sein Text enthält also keine direkt an Hebammen gerichteten Appelle, die Anweisungen zur korrekten Ausübung der Taufzeremonie enthalten. Žalanský geht hier von den Meinungen Zwinglis und Calvins aus, dass Frauen nicht über Sakramente verfügen sollen.<sup>34</sup> Für den Prediger ist es demzufolge eine größere Sünde, wenn die Taufe von einer Frau ausgeübt wird, als wenn das Kind ungetauft stirbt. Trotzdem werde es nämlich erlöst. Im reformierten Milieu stellt die Bitte für die Erlösung des ungetauften Kindes einen gewissen Ersatz für die Nottaufe dar.<sup>35</sup> Den Meinungen Žalanskýs über die Nottaufe zufolge kann angenommen werden, dass er eher zu den Reformierten neigte.

Wie aus den beschriebenen Auseinandersetzungen hervorgeht, die mit Hilfe von Texten geführt wurden, welche der breiten Öffentlichkeit bestimmt waren und mit welchen sich die Leserschaft in den böhmischen Ländern vertraut machen konnte, war eine Orientierung in der Situation nicht einfach. Alle Seiten rangen um das Vertrauen der Gläubigen und baten verschiedene Varianten und Möglichkeiten der Lösung dieser komplizierten Situation an; zumindest zu Anfang der Konfessionalisierungszeit haben sie wohl jedoch eher Verwirrung in ihren Geist

<sup>31</sup> *Víme o tom že někdy satan skrze kněží bludné mnohé smysly zlé o takových nemluvnátkách v lid vtrosil a srdce lidí pověřivých zšálil, tedy že tváře Boží neužří, že věčného spasení s jinými pokřtěnými nebudou účastni. Aly my vedlé Písma svatého rodičky křesťanské lepší naději těšiti, dítkám nekřtěným jejich nětco lepšího z Písma svatého slibovati ano i spasením jistým je bezpečiti můžeme [...].“ Žalanský, O ctných manželkách těhotných, 448.*

<sup>32</sup> Ders., *O dítkách křesťanských mrtvých.*

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, 170.

<sup>34</sup> „Anobřž ženy, poněvadž večeri Páně nemají sloužiti, nemají i křtíti. A byt i dětátko bez křtu umřelo, bezelstně ho dojíti nemohouc, zdaliž tu o dušičku jeho běží? Zdaliž je milost Boží k svátostem přivázaná? Zdaliž raději není na slibích Božích a pravdě Boží založená? [...] Bloudí tedy kteří křest k spasení tak potřebný býti soudí, že službu jeho i babám poručují. [Die Frauen, weil sie das Abendmahl nicht zelebrieren sollen, sollen auch nicht taufen. Und wenn das Kindlein auch ungetauft stürbe, weil es die Taufe harmlos nicht empfangen könnte, ob es hier um seine Seele geht? Ob die Gnade Gottes an Sakramente gebunden ist? Ob sie sich lieber nicht auf Gottes Versprechen und Wahrheit gründet? [...] Es irren die, welche glauben, die Taufe sei zur Erlösung so notwendig, dass sie deren Ausübung sogar den Hebammen anvertrauen].“ Žalanský, *O dítkách křesťanských mrtvých*, 182–83. Ähnlich ders., *O ctných manželkách těhotných*, 452: „[...] totiž kdyby dětátko mlle bylo, ženám a babám dopouštějí, ješto které to činí těžce hřeší, že se v to čehož jim Bůh nikdá neporučil vtírají. Nebo ženě poněvadž nesluší v církvi učiti, slovo Boží kázati, nesluší i křtem sloužiti [...]. Neb křtem bez slova Božího se sloužiti nemůže. [...] wäre das Kindlein schwach, lassen sie Frauen und Hebammen, und diese sündigen viel, denn sie mischen sich ein, wo Gott es ihnen nie befohlen hatte. Denn die Frau, weil sie in der Kirche nicht lehren und Gottes Wort predigen soll, soll auch nicht taufen [...]. Denn taufen ohne Gottes Wort kann man nicht.“

<sup>35</sup> Struckmeier, *Vom Glauben der Kinder im Mutterleibe*, 126.

gebracht. Hin und wieder dürfte den Eltern nicht ganz klar gewesen sein, ob die Nottaufe, welche eine gewisse Ausnahme darstellte und besondere Umstände reflektierte, denselben Wert hatte wie die „klassische“ Taufe. Nicht selten passierte es auch, dass die Eltern ihr Kind für alle Fälle gleich nach der Geburt und um jeden Preis taufen ließen, was von den Geistlichen als überflüssig und falsch verstanden wurde.<sup>36</sup> Anlass zu Spekulationen über die Gültigkeit der Taufzeremonie gaben auch das Taufwasser selbst und seine Temperatur. Martin Luther ließ schließlich zu, dass das Wasser insbesondere in kälteren Jahreszeiten gewärmt werden konnte. Die Verwendung eisigen Wassers konnte verderbliche Folgen für die Gesundheit des Kindes haben.<sup>37</sup> Jede Konfession betonte aber, die Taufe müsse in der Kirche und unter Anwesenheit des Priesters oder Pfarrers wiederholt werden, was ein gewisses Misstrauen gegenüber der Nottaufe und vor allem Besorgnis über deren falsche Ausübung widerspiegelt.

Für den Verlauf der Zeremonie der Nottaufe war in den meisten Fällen – abgesehen vom orthodox reformierten Milieu – die Hebamme verantwortlich. Sie war in jenem Zeitpunkt die wichtigste Person, das Heil und die Erlösung des Kindes lagen in ihren Händen. Deswegen war es wichtig, sie auf diese Aufgabe gut vorzubereiten und über alle vorkommenden Möglichkeiten zu belehren, damit sie sich in der Eile, welche während der Entbindung oder kurz danach entstehen konnte, zu helfen wusste. Der Meinung einiger Historiker nach trug die Hebamme den Löwenanteil an dem Konfessionalisierungsprozess, weil sie auch die Richtigkeit der Taufe in Hinsicht auf Glauben und Konfession gewährte.<sup>38</sup> Im katholischen Milieu wurde sie vom Pfarrer über die richtige Taufformel belehrt, dazu ermahnt, nur mit Wasser zu taufen, und ihrem Schicksal überlassen. Die protestantischen Autoren, welche verschiedene Anweisungen für Schwangere und Gebärende sowie Hebammen verfassten, betonen oft auch die Frömmigkeit, Ehrbarkeit und Bescheidenheit der Hebamme. Habe die Helferin bei der Geburt alle diese Eigenschaften, sei es eine gute Voraussetzung, dass sie Gott gefallen und somit alles ein gutes Ende nehmen würde. Im protestantischen Milieu wurde auch die Vorstellung von der geistlichen Verwandtschaft des Kindes mit den Paten, bzw. der taufenden Person als falsch abgeschafft. Insbesondere die ländlichen Hebammen konnten dann Nottaufen ausüben ohne sich zu fürchten, dass ihre eigenen Kinder alle diejenigen nicht heiraten könnten, die von ihrer Mutter getauft waren, und dass sich ihre Auswahl in der relativ geschlossenen ländlichen Gemeinschaft auf ein Minimum verengte.<sup>39</sup>

Im Milieu der böhmischen Länder bildeten sowohl die Übersetzungen als auch Originalschriften, wie die erwähnten Werke von Thomas Guenther und Havel Žalanský, eher eine Ausnahme. Während sich in den deutschen lutherischen Ländern dieser Typ der erbauenden Literatur verbreitete und sehr beliebt war, hatte diese Gattung auf dem böhmischen Gebiet keine Zeit, sich voll zu entfalten. Im Zusammenhang mit der verlaufenden Rekatholisierung der böhmischen Länder war es nicht mehr möglich, Schriften protestantischer Verfasser herauszugeben. Manche Vorstellungen und Vorgänge waren in der Gesellschaft jedoch so tief verankert, dass die katholischen Prediger gezwungen waren, dagegen ständig zu eifern. Jana Ratajová führt das Beispiel einer Predigt des Prämonstratensers Alexius Johann Ignaz Kritzer von 1674 an:

Viele Weiber [Hebammen, Anm. HJM] nehmen an und glauben, wenn eine Schwangere das Altarsakrament empfangen hatte oder während ihrer Schwangerschaft Wasser aus dem Taufbecken

<sup>36</sup> Ders., 89. Eva Labouvie nimmt im Vergleich dazu an, dass die an der Geburt beteiligten Frauen fähig waren zu erkennen, ob das Kind überleben würde oder nicht, und konnten somit einschätzen, ob die Nottaufe nötig ist oder nicht. Deswegen findet man Nottaufen nur sehr selten bei überlebenden Kindern, nur sehr selten starben dann ungetaufte Kinder. Vgl. Labouvie, „Geburt und Tod in der Frühen Neuzeit“, 290.

<sup>37</sup> Struckmeier, *Vom Glauben der Kinder im Mutterleibe*, 97.

<sup>38</sup> Vgl. zum Beispiel Flügge, *Hebammen und heilkundige Frauen*, 319.

<sup>39</sup> Vgl. Struckmeier, *Vom Glauben der Kinder im Mutterleibe*, 110.

getrunken hatte, war es wie wenn ihr totes Kind getauft wäre. Aber die lehren falsch und werden vom heiligen Konzil in Trient verflucht, [...] und deswegen ist es schließlich zugelassen, obwohl nur Bischöfe und Priester zum Taufen befugt sind, dass jede Frau taufen kann, wenn das Kind schwach wäre und es keinen Priester gäbe, damit das Kind ja nicht ungetauft stürbe.<sup>40</sup>

Die katholische Kirche, die einen Teil ihrer Kompetenzen den Hebammen überließ, indem sie diesen Nottaufen durchzuführen erlaubte, bemühte sich wahrscheinlich auch unter dem Eindruck des überlebenden „Aberglaubens“ die Kontrolle über die richtige Ausübung des Taufrituals zu verbessern. Im 18. Jahrhundert erscheinen deswegen verschiedene Belehrungen darüber, wie richtig und laut Anordnungen zu taufen sei. Eine dieser Anweisungen wurde 1770 durch das Prager Erzbischofskonsistorium im Druck herausgegeben.<sup>41</sup> Betont wird hier die Tatsache, dass die Taufe die einzige Möglichkeit für die Erlösung der Kinder sei, deswegen sei es nötig, deren Ausführung höchste Sorge zu schenken. Wichtig seien auch die richtige Taufformel und das klare Wasser als Taufsubstanz. Die Hebammen sollten das Kind unter allen Umständen taufen, das heißt auch ihre Körperteile, wenn offensichtlich sei, dass das Kind die komplizierte Geburt nicht überlebt. Es taucht hier eine ganze Reihe von möglichen Komplikationen und Situationen auf, wie zum Beispiel der Fall, dass die Hebamme bei einer Zwillingsgeburt einen Körperteil tauft, dann aber nicht erkennen kann, ob sie beide Kinder oder nur eines von ihnen zweimal getauft hatte usw. Sogar der Fall der Geburt eines Kindes mit zwei Köpfen ist präsent. Es ist ersichtlich, dass alle möglichen sowie unmöglichen Varianten behandelt wurden; deswegen ist die Belehrung von einer korrekten Ausführung der Taufe sehr umfangreich; auf insgesamt neun Folien wird nichts dem Zufall überlassen und alle Handlungen werden in ihrer genauen Reihenfolge beschrieben. Das häufigste Mittel stellt eine Wortwendung dar, die sog. Bedingung, mit deren Hilfe es möglich ist, alle Streitfälle so zu behandeln, dass die Taufe unter allen Umständen gültig ist. Die Hebammen sollen auch daran denken, stets Wasser bei sich zu tragen und die Taufformel zu wiederholen. Die *Belehrung* wurde nicht nur dazu herausgegeben, damit die Hebammen sie oft lasen, sondern auch dazu, dass sie diese bei sich tragen und in schwierigen Situationen darin Hilfe und Rat finden konnten. Es bleibt jedoch die Frage, ob die Hebamme bei einer komplizierten Geburt und einer schnellen Entwicklung die Zeit hatte, die gegebene Situation in der *Belehrung* aufzuschlagen und sich richtig zu verhalten.

Im Laufe des 18. Jahrhunderts erscheinen im böhmischen Milieu schriftlich konzipierte, sog. Pflichten der Hebammen, auf die die Hebammen schworen. Nachdem sie die Prüfungen abgelegt hatten, die in der Habsburgermonarchie in der zweiten Hälfte des 18. Jahrhunderts eingeführt wurden, legten die Hebammen vor ihrer Obrigkeit oder dem Magistrat einen Eid ab, dessen Kopie sie dann erhielten.<sup>42</sup> In diesem Eid entsagten sie sich jeglicher abergläubischer

<sup>40</sup> „Mnohé též babice domnívají se a věří, že když jen nějaká těhotná žena přijímala velebnou svátost oltářní a neb těhotná jsouce vodu z křtitedlnice pila, byť potom dítě mrtvé měla, že tak mnoho jest, jako by pokřtěno bylo. Ale ti falešně učí, kteréž všechny proklíná svatý sněm tridentský, [...] a protož k tomu konci dopuštěno jest, že ačkoliv samým biskupům a kněžím přináleží křtíti, však když dítě mdlé jest a kněze není, jedna každá žena může křtíti, a to proto, aby jen dítě bez křtu neumřelo.“ Zitiert nach Ratajová, Jana. „Alžběta Lidmila z Lisova, žena v barokním světě?“, 49–50.

<sup>41</sup> *Vysoce důstojné arcibiskupské koncistoře pražské Naučení pro báby a jejich pomocnice jakož i pro ty, které v čas nouze při rodících matronách se najíti dáti smějí, jak totiž oni při nebezpečném a truchlivým porotu pro udělování křtu v čas nouze chovati se mají.* [Des hochehrbaren erzbischoflichen Konsistoriums Belehrung für Hebammen und deren Helferinnen sowie für diejenigen, welche in der Not bei Gebärenden zu finden sein können, wie sie sich bei gefährlicher und trauriger Entbindung bei der Nottaufe verhalten sollen]. Die Belehrung wurde in Prag bei Johann Josef Klauer im Druck veröffentlicht. Památník národního písemnictví [Gedenkstätte des Nationalschrifttums] (weiter nur PNP), Sign. S III b 10.

<sup>42</sup> Lenderová, Milena – Rýdl, Karel. *Radostné dětství?*, 70.

und magischer Handlungen, versprachen, dass sie bei Abtreibungen nicht behilflich sein, den Frauen und Kindern keine Arzneien reichen, deren Kolleginnen nicht schaden und ihre guten Ratschläge befolgen würden. Bestandteil eines solchen Eides war auch die Erklärung, dass sie sich bemühen würden, dass keine Leibesfrucht und kein Kind ungetauft sterben und dass sie die Taufe richtig und laut allen verbindlichen Anordnungen ausüben würden. Gleichzeitig verpflichteten sich die Hebammen im Eid dazu, den Kirchenverwalter unverzüglich über die ausgeübten Nottaufen zu informieren.

Die Nottaufe war jahrhundertlang eine der möglichen Situationen, zu denen es während der Geburt oder kurz danach kommen konnte. Sie prägte sich tief in das Bewusstsein der Gesellschaft ein, sodass wir Anspielungen auf dieses Thema auch in den Werken der Geburtsliteratur finden. Noch in den Lehrbüchern für Hebammen aus dem 18. Jahrhundert, deren Verfasser Geburtshelfer und akademische Ärzte waren, fehlen nicht Instruktionen und Beschreibungen dessen, was eine Hebamme zu Hause nicht vergessen dürfe, wenn sie zur Gebärenden gerufen werde. In diesen Listen tritt häufig eine zur Taufe des Kindes nötige Spritze auf.<sup>43</sup> Die Nottaufe wurde also als gewöhnliche Praxis wahrgenommen, für die man sich speziell ausrüsten musste.

Das Beispiel der Nottaufe als Bestandteil der Rolle, welche den Hebammen in der Gesellschaft der Frühen Neuzeit zufiel, macht deutlich, welchen enormen Einfluss die theologischen Auseinandersetzungen in der Konfessionalisierungszeit auf das alltägliche Leben der Gesellschaft bis in die geringsten Details hatten. Sie spiegelten sich im Leben jedes Einzelnen wider, und zwar gleich von seiner Geburt an. Alle Konfessionen bemühten sich so gut wie möglich für das Heil ihrer Gläubigen zu sorgen und für ihre Erlösung das Beste zu tun. Durch ihre gegenseitigen Beichtigungen und Zwiste konnten sie jedoch die Mitglieder der Gesellschaft in manchen Fragen in Ungewissheit treiben – dies konnte der Fall der Nottaufe und Erlösung der ungetauft gestorbenen Kinder sein. Die meisten Informationen, welche uns zu den Ansichten einzelner Konfessionen und ihrer Theologen über diesen Punkt überliefert sind, stammen aus Schriften der Prediger und Theologen selbst. Solche Informationen stellen jedoch den Idealfall dar; wir können aber nur mutmaßen, wie die Praxis des alltäglichen Lebens aussah, obwohl wir es aus einigen Bemerkungen, die die Verfasser der Schriften nebenbei mitteilen, errahnen können.<sup>44</sup> Diese Studie bemühte sich zu zeigen, wie kompliziert die Orientierung in der Argumentation einzelner Konfessionen für die Mitglieder der Gesellschaft der Frühen Neuzeit sein konnte, zudem es bei der schmerzhaften und angstvollen Entbindung oft nicht genug Zeit gab, die Ausübung der Nottaufe und deren Konsequenzen richtig zu durchdenken.

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<sup>43</sup> Vgl. zum Beispiel Steidele, Raphael. *Babský umění* [Hebammenkunst]. Ohne Erscheinungsort und Datierung. PNP, Sign. S XXVII b 8, 114.

<sup>44</sup> Es handelt sich vor allem um Bemerkungen zum falschen Verhalten oder Vorgehen bei dem Ritual der Nottaufe. So können wir beispielsweise ahnen, dass in der Praxis als Taufsubstanz alles Mögliche gebraucht wurde, sogar Bier oder Suppe.

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## The Text and its Role in Solidifying the Position of the Minorite Order in Krnov in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century<sup>1</sup>

**Summary** | The article is dedicated to the way in which the Minorite monastery in Krnov solidified its position within the framework of the municipal community of Krnov as well as in relation to the Krnov prince and the Olomouc bishop at the time after the Thirty Years' War in the second half of the seventeenth century. It focuses on the arguments used by the monastery superiors at the time in negotiations concerning selected phenomena of Baroque Catholic spirituality. It attempts to demonstrate how, if at all, these arguments could have had an influence on the solidification of the position of the monastery.

**Key words** | the Minorite order – renewal of Catholicism – pilgrimage site – brotherhood – negotiations – argumentation

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The histories of monasteries, monastic institutions and religious orders are increasingly becoming the subject of historiography in recent years. This interest in the history of these ecclesiastical institutions at the time of the early modern period can be explained by their essential role within the framework of “Catholicization”, “Catholic Renewal” or if we like “Re-Catholicization”,<sup>2</sup> where it was a key part of the local history in many regions.<sup>3</sup> A significant number of monasteries existed

<sup>1</sup> This article was supported by the grant IGA\_FF\_2014\_084 *Text jako prostředek vyjednávání v předmoderní společnosti (The Text as a Means of Negotiation in Pre-Modern Society)*.

<sup>2</sup> I am in agreement with the view of Marc Forster that Catholicization” or “the Catholic Reformation” is more appropriate than “Re-Catholicization” for the process of the conversion of the Protestant environment to Catholicism – see Marc R. Forster, *The Counter-reformation in the Villages. Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560–1720* (Ithaca – London, 1992), 144–145. The environments where these processes regularly took place had been Protestant for several generations and in the vast majority of cases there was nothing remaining of the Catholic elements. And if there still was something remaining, it did not play an important role for the Protestant inhabitants and these elements were not made use of. It was therefore more of a gradual “Catholicization” of these environments where often Catholicism had to built itself up in the given locale from its foundations. They would make use of the old elements if available and build upon certain traditions, therefore the derivation of the term “Re-Catholicization”, repeated Catholicization. I therefore prefer the use of the term “Catholicization”.

<sup>3</sup> For example, Martin Elbel, *Bohemia Franciscana: the Franciscan Order and its Activity in the Czech Lands in the 17th and 18th Centuries* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2001). A selection of papers on the issue of monasteries, religious orders, for example, Ivana Čornejová, Hedvika Kuchařová and Kateřina Valentová, *Locus Pietatis et Vitae. Proceedings of Papers from a Conference Organized in Hejnice from 13–15 September 2007* (Praha: Scriptorium, 2008). On the issue of religious orders, for example, see Ivana Čornejová, ed, *The Role of Church Orders during the Post-White Mountain Re-Catholicization Period: Proceedings of Papers from a Workshop in Vranov u Brna from 4–5 June 2003* (Prague: Scriptorium, 2003).

within town communities where the society and the monastery impacted and influenced one another. The majority of the monastery institutions which found themselves within Protestant territory as a consequence of the Reformation were either disbanded or limited in terms of their activities. The war commotion of the Thirty Years' War impacted these representatives of the Catholic faith. This was also the case in the Bohemian Lands. A number of the impacted monastery communities were reestablished in connection with steps carried out as part of the renewal of the Catholic faith, after the culmination of this, at least for Catholics, unfriendly and tumultuous period. These steps were taken by both secular and ecclesiastical powers.

In a number of cases these renewed monasteries had to in a sense win back their position within the community where they had earlier played a key role.<sup>4</sup> A shared community on the part of the monastery with the given society was important, as they would not be able to survive for long in isolation. This shared community was not always smooth, however.<sup>5</sup> One should not neglect to also mention that monasteries had to negotiate and solidify their position to higher ecclesiastical and often also secular powers. This was also the case with the Krnov monastery of the Minorites, which was renewed in the year 1623 after a little less than a hundred years of rule by Protestantism in Krnov. The monastery had to not only obtain its former property back, which had been initially confiscated and consequently sold, but also had to build up once again its position within the municipal community of Krnov and its immediate surroundings. Mention has to also be made of the Krnov prince and Olomouc bishop without whose support the renewal of the Krnov monastery would in all probability not have occurred. This was successfully achieved, however, by the second superior of the renewed Krnov monastery, P. Cornelius Ottweiler.<sup>6</sup>

I intend to analyze in this paper certain aspects of the renewal of Catholic life in the environment of a vassal town where the local Minorite monastery and monastic community were involved to a certain extent and could benefit from. The Minorites would not have been satisfied to merely obtain back all of their former property and buildings, but through significant efforts succeeded in renewing Catholicism within the town. They were also faced with the need to deepen their connection with the municipal society of Krnov in order to solidify the position of the monastery after its renewal. The Minorites were able to deepen their involvement in the religious life of Krnov through strengthening their position within the town society. By means of several letters and texts, the author of which was specifically P. Cornelius Ottweiler, and the arguments used therein, this article will demonstrate how the Minorites were able to become increasingly established not only within the framework of the municipal community of Krnov

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<sup>4</sup> Often the population of both towns and villages were antagonistic towards monastics as exemplified with the example of the Speyer Bishopric, located in the north-east of the Holy Roman Empire already mentioned by Marc Forster – Marc R. Forster, *The Counter-reformation in the Villages*, 161.

<sup>5</sup> Jiří Mikulec, "The Monastery and Baroque Society. On the Influence of the Monastic Environment on the Spirituality of the Laity", in *Locus Pietatis et Vitae*, ed. by Ivana Čornejová, Hedvika Kuchařová and Kateřina Valentová (Prague: Scriptorium, 2008), 282.

<sup>6</sup> P. Cornelius was born in Bonn, Germany in the year 1608, apparently joined the order in the year 1625 and supposedly became superior of the monastery in Vienna in the year 1630. He came to Krnov as the new superior of the Krnov monastery and convent in place of P. Barnabáš Praetorius who had resigned his office after his arrival in Krnov. P. Cornelius supposedly arrived at the monastery on 14 August 1631, became superior in July 1632 after P. Barnabáš left for the monastery in Olomouc. He also became parish priest in Krnov, Hlubčice and Bližice. – Conval Spatzier, *Die Geschichte der Burgberg-Kirche, nebst einer Schilderung des Burgberges* (Krnov: Wilhelm Trenka, 1895), 6. In the sources of ZAO, fund of the Minorites Krnov, inv. no. 144, *Chronicorum Monasterii*, p. 26–28. ZAO, fund Minorites – provincialate of the Opava order, inv. no. 26ch – Materials on the history of the monastery in Krnov. Also ZAO, fund of the Minorites in Krnov, inv. no. 144 – Chronicle of the monastery of the Minorites, part *Geschichte der Stadt*, p. 8–9.



by means of negotiating typical elements of Baroque spirituality but also by this means support and strengthen their position in relation to the Krnov prince<sup>7</sup> and the Olomouc bishop.<sup>8</sup>

The environs of Krnov have been settled since prehistoric times according to archeological findings. The first written records, however, date from the thirteenth century when Krnov gradually grew in importance and was also awarded the rights of a town.<sup>9</sup> As of the second half of the thirteenth century, Krnov and its surroundings became part of the Opava principedom. This had been given by Ottakar II to his extramarital son Nicholas I, Duke of Troppau, who established a side branch of the House of the Přemyslids here. The actual principedom of Krnov emerged in the year 1377 after the death of Nicholas II, Duke of Troppau. The Krnov line of the House of Přemyslids ruled in the town with occasional interruptions up to the year 1474. The Moravian Margrave Jobst ruled here shortly during this period,<sup>10</sup> for example, as did Matthias Corvinus.<sup>11</sup> This was followed by a short period of rule by the House of Šelenberk,<sup>12</sup> which soon after in the year 1523 sold the principedom to George of Brandenburg-Ansbach of the Frankish branch of the House of Hohenzollem.<sup>13</sup>

A number of significant changes in Krnov were linked with the House of Hohenzollem. The greatest of these involved the introduction of Lutheranism as the official confession of the principedom. Although the town flourished during the reign of the House of Hohenzollem<sup>14</sup> (the streets were paved, an ordinance was made regarding cleaning of the streets and much else), limitations also came about to the Administration of the Estates along with burgher rights and laws. The area of the principedom substantially decreased in size during the reign of George Frederick

<sup>7</sup> Karl Eusebius of Liechtenstein (1611–1684), Krnov prince over the years 1627 (his uncle Maximilian managed all of his affairs up to the year 1632) up to 1684.

<sup>8</sup> Karel II, Count of Liechtenstein-Kastellkorn (1624–1695), Olomouc bishop over the years 1664–1695.

<sup>9</sup> Karel Kuča, *Cities and Town in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia. Volume III.: Kolín-Mi* (Prague: Libri, 1998), 194–195. The beginnings of the history of Krnov as a town have been analyzed in his treatise on the 700th anniversary of the founding of Krnov by Jiří Kejř, *The Beginnings of the Town of Krnov* (Krnov: District Archive Bruntál, 1968).

<sup>10</sup> The Krnov coat-of-arms was established amongst other things – Gottfried Biermann, *Geschichte der Hertzogthümer Troppau und Jägerndorf* (Těšín, 1874), 217–220. For more see Vincenc Prasek, *Silesian Regional History. Volume II., Historical Topography of the Opava Lands, A–K* (Opava: Silesian Regional History, 1889), 495–496.

<sup>11</sup> The principedom was obtained from the last of the Krnov Přemyslids who had him cast into prison. During his reign in Krnov, Matthias began to, for example, mint coins and pushed for a greater association of the Krnov principedom to Silesia. See the relevant literature, for example, by Biermann, *Geschichte der Hertzogthümer*, 227–228. For more on his activity in Krnov see Vladimír Blucha (Krnov, 2007), *A Town Between Two Rivers*, pp. 52–53 and on his activity in Silesia, a short account by Radek Fukala, *Jan Jiří Krnov: The Bohemian Revolt and the Struggle with the Habsburgs* (České Budějovice: Veduta, 2005), 27–28 as well as Radek Fukala, *Silesia – the Unknown Land of the Czech Crown: Princely and Estates Silesia up to the year 1750* (České Budějovice: Veduta, 2007), 217–218.

<sup>12</sup> They definitively obtained the principedom after a marriage of the daughter of the final Krnov Přemyslids with the son of Jan of Šelenberk, Jiří. He also obtained a vote in the Silesian Diet in the year 1506 wherein the Krnov principedom finally became part of the Silesian principedoms. See, for example, Biermann, *Geschichte der Hertzogthümer*, 229–232, Blucha, *A Town Between Two Rivers*, 55–59, and also Faustin Ens, *Das Oppaland, oder Troppauer Kreis: nach seinen geschichtlichen, naturgeschichtlichen, bürgerlichen und örtlichen Eigenthümlichkeiten...* (Vienna: Gedruck und im Verlage bei Carl Gerold, 1837), 10–12.

<sup>13</sup> Kuča, *Cities and Towns*, 196. Also Biermann, *Geschichte der Hertzogthümer*, 318 or Prasek, *Silesian Regional History*, 498–499. For more on the the House of Hohenzollem and their activities in Silesia, see, for example, Fukala, *Silesia*, 208–211 and on their involvement in Krnov see Blucha, *A Town Between Two Rivers*, 61–77.

<sup>14</sup> George of Brandenburg-Ansbach, known as the Pious, his son George Frederick of Brandenburg-Ansbach (from the French branch of the family), and Johann George of Krnov (from the Brandenburg branch of the family).

and Saxony land law as opposed to Moravian was also introduced.<sup>15</sup> Johann George attempted to introduce Calvinism to the Krnov principedom and due to his role in the Bohemian Revolt, the principedom was confiscated by the Emperor Ferdinand II; he died several years later.<sup>16</sup> The Krnov principedom was consequently obtained from the Emperor by Karl I, of Liechtenstein in the year 1622. Despite the initial claims concerning town rights and religious tolerance, the new prince quickly initiated steps at the renewal of the Catholic faith in Krnov and its surroundings. He invited the Minorites back to the town and the Catholic reformation of the principedom was completed during the reign of his successor, Karl Eusebius.<sup>17</sup> The overall situation in Krnov was quite changeable, however, due to the ongoing Thirty Years' War which resulted in relative frequent stays by military troops from both sides in the town.<sup>18</sup> After the end of the war, several additional military units occupied Krnov in connection with additional conflicts of the second half of the seventeenth century. These units brought their own religion along with them, which complicated to a certain extent the Catholic reforms in the principedom and served as a source of tension. The administration of the principedom saw the end of the use of the Czech language as the official tongue at the end of the century and the principedom experienced a problematic economic situation.<sup>19</sup> This began to gradually change for the better at the turn of the century.

The Minorite monastery is traditionally linked with Krnov as of the thirteenth century. Its founding is generally accepted as of the year 1273 during the rule of the above-mentioned Nicholas I, Duke of Troppau.<sup>20</sup> The monastery functioned here continually, although with occasional problems, up to the beginnings of the rule of the Brandenburg branch of the House of Hohenzollern. George of Brandenburg-Ansbach purchased the Krnov principedom in the year 1523 and banished all of the Catholic clergy from Krnov including the Minorites. The buildings of their monastery were consequently sold and served various purposes over the following almost one hundred years.<sup>21</sup> During this time the monastery was also partially destroyed by fire and logically the buildings were in particularly poor condition upon the return of the Minorites to the town in the year 1623. They were able to return thanks to the new prince, the Catholic Karl I, of Liechtenstein. The Minorites were supposed to one of the main powers which were to help return the Catholic faith back to Krnov and its surroundings. The situation in the town was not fully stable, however, until the end of the Thirty Years' War and the departure of the last

<sup>15</sup> Literature on these themes includes, for example, Biermann, *Geschichte der Hertzogthümer*, 319–326. Further Blucha, *Město mezi dvěma řekami*, 64–67, Fukala, *Silesia*, pp. 182–183 and also Fukala, *Jan Jiří Krnov*, 39–55.

<sup>16</sup> Fukala, *Jan Jiří Krnov*, 67–68, 87–90, 103–120.

<sup>17</sup> His uncle Maximilian was his guardian over the years 1627–1632 until he came of age.

<sup>18</sup> Biernann, *Geschichte der Hertzogthümer*, 535–549. Also Georg Loesche, *Zur Gegenreformation in Schlesien. Troppau, Jägerndorf, Leobschütz. Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte* (Leipzig: Rudolf Haupt, 1915), 165–167, 174–175.

<sup>19</sup> For more on the presence of foreign soldiers in the town in the second half of the century, see Biermann, *Geschichte der Hertzogthümer*, pp. 549–559. On the suppression and cancellation of the Czech language as one of the official tongues of the principedom, see also Kuča, *Cities and Towns*, 196. Further also Prasek, *Silesian Regional History*, 504–505. Czech was the official tongue according to sources used from the period of the first written references to the town in the 13th century.

<sup>20</sup> For example, Vincenc Prasek, *Silesian Regional History*, 511. Further also Gottfried Biermann, *Geschichte der Hertzogthümer*, 457; or Dušan Foltýn, *Encyclopedia of Moravian and Silesian Monasteries* (Prague: Libri, 2005), 375.

<sup>21</sup> The monastery church was used as a granary, while the church chapel served as an inn. Some of the buildings of the monastery were used as a hospital. The cellar spaces were used as a mint, etc. For more on the situation of the Krnov monastery, see, for example Tereza Lyčková, *Religious Life in Krnov in the 17th and 18th centuries* (bachelor's thesis, Univerzita Palackého, 2013), 22–23. Literature, for example, Biermann, *Geschichte*, 457, 563. Further also Prasek, *Silesian Regional History*, pp. 512–513, and also Foltýn, *Encyclopedia of Monasteries*, 376.

Swedish troops in the year 1650. After slow steps in the first half of the century, the process of the return of the Catholic faith to Krnov, could begin at a full pace starting in the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>22</sup>

The situation in the monastery was not easy after its official renewal. This was due to the poor state of the buildings as well as because of a lack of financial resources and immovable property. The Minorite monastery as well as the Catholic faith were gradually renewed in Krnov with the support of the prince and through the efforts of P. Cornelius Ottweiler. The renewal of the position of the monastery within the framework of the actual municipal community in Krnov was also important, along with its inclusion into the social life and first and foremost the stabilization of its position. This could be achieved through various means. The Minorites in Krnov were able to achieve this goal through support of several customs typical for Baroque Catholic spirituality. P. Cornelius, undoubtedly with the support of the entire monastery, pushed for the renewal of the Brotherhood of Corpus Christi at the parish Church of St. Martin, as well as for the restoration of the pilgrimage site at the nearby Cvilín hill. P. Cornelius from his position as Krnov parish priest also expressed his views on the question of the patronage rights over the parish church.

These letters, conceived and written by Cornelius and specifically the arguments used within the texts, emphasized, in light of the addressee, specific aspects of the religious life of Krnov in the past and present. P. Cornelius always in a certain form made use of the theme of the Minorite monastery and its activities in order to support these requests. The indirectly mentioned role of the monastery in the development of the Catholic faith in Krnov, and the connected successes in this area,<sup>23</sup> could serve to strengthen the position and image of the monastery in relation to those addressed in the letters. Reference must be made to the attempt to build upon the old Catholic tradition which was one of the thoughts in the characteristic elements of renewal of the Catholic faith in Protestant lands. This was also often made mention of in these texts. Below several examples and texts and their argumentation will be presented linked with the renewal of the pilgrimage site on Cvilín and the Brotherhood of Corpus Christi, as well as the statements of P. Cornelius on the issue of the patronage of the town parish which can be used in order to illustrate these elements.

The question of the pilgrimage site on Cvilín hill (also known as Hradisko or Burgberg in German), which is located not far from the centre of Krnov, became an issue at the end of the 1670s.<sup>24</sup> It was recalled among the inhabitants, who were in all probability by this time all Catholics,<sup>25</sup> that the cult of Our Lady of Sorrows had developed at the nearby hill as of the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries, focused around the column with her picture. This had been destroyed, however, during the rule of the House of Hohenzollem in Krnov (1523–1620). Interest in the pilgrimage site on the part of the inhabitants was undoubtedly one of the reasons why P. Cornelius and the Minorites had focused their attention on the issue.<sup>26</sup> They were undoubtedly

<sup>22</sup> For more see the specialized literature, Prasek, *Silesian Regional History*, 513–514, as well as Foltýn, *Encyclopedia of Monasteries*, 376. On the renewal of the Minorite monastery and its history up to the year 1679, see Lyčková, *Religious Life in Krnov*.

<sup>23</sup> There were apparently only four people of the Protestant confession in Krnov by the year 1672.

<sup>24</sup> It can be assumed upon the basis of one of the studied texts that P. Cornelius focused his attention on Cvilín even prior to the year 1678. He apparently sought out written documents connected with Cvilín and the linked cult. – ZAO, Olomouc branch, fund of the Archbishopric of Olomouc, inv no. 1410 – Krnov-St.. Martin, p. 31–32 (paginated).

<sup>25</sup> There were apparently only four Protestants in Krnov in the year 1672. It is possible that all of the inhabitants of the town were Catholics by the end of the 1670s. – ZAO, fund of the Minorites Krnov, inv. no. 144 – Chronicle of the Monastery of the Minorites of Krnov, part *Geschichte der Stadt*, p. 9 (paginated).

<sup>26</sup> Support for pilgrimages and processions had already been declared at the Council of Trent with this decision having been accepted as part of the renewal work of Catholicism, this being aimed at assisting with the

also aware of the fact that the renewal of the pilgrimage site on Cvilín could serve to deepen and solidify the establishment of Catholicism in Krnov and the surrounding principality. This renewal could also undoubtedly serve to also deepen the link between the Minorite monastery and the municipal community of Krnov. The order would not only have been interested in restoration of the cult, but would have certainly continued to administer the pilgrimage site.<sup>27</sup>

Two letters have been preserved concerning the renewal of the pilgrimage site, one of them designated for Prince Karl Eusebius, and one for the Olomouc Bishop who was Karl of Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn. P. Cornelius emphasized a different aspect of the Krnov religious issues in each of the texts. P. Cornelius makes mention in the letter designated for the Krnov Prince that the Minorites were interested in constructing a pilgrimage chapel on Cvilín and that they already had, in his words, a promised location. He asked for help, however, from the Prince in light of the fact that the monastery did not even have financial resources for the needed repairs to the tower of the monastery church. The reference to the poor condition of the monastery church might also have been intended to serve as a request to the Prince for the provision of assistance in this area as well. P. Cornelius also appealed to the piety of the Prince as well as to the reputation of the Prince as a good and just lord in relation to his subjects.<sup>28</sup> In the letter designated for Bishop Karl of Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn, P. Cornelius placed an emphasis on another area with the letter supposedly written in the name of the inhabitants of Krnov. Here the mention made to the “heretical period”<sup>29</sup> refers to the current state of affairs. The inhabitants were in this spirit purged of this heresy and interest in piety grew amongst the population which was intended to culminate in the intention to build a pilgrimage chapel.<sup>30</sup> This was supposed to be consecrated to the Holy Cross and Our Lady of Sorrows, and assistance was promised to the inhabitants in constructing the chapel. The Minorites in Krnov were promised full donation rights over the pilgrimage chapel, along with a reference to the fact that pilgrimages were to take place here.<sup>31</sup>

P. Cornelius placed an emphasis in all of the texts on another aspect of the Krnov past and present in connection with religion and the Minorite monastery in order to support the construction of the pilgrimage chapel.<sup>32</sup> With the reference to the growth in interest on the part of the inhabitants in Catholic piety, P. Cornelius obviously makes reference to the successful activity of the Minorites who had contributed to the greatest extent to the renewal of Catholicism in Krnov. This could be viewed as their success which could be thereby indirectly presented to the Olomouc bishop who might be aware of their role. The Minorites and P. Cornelius by this means

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acceleration and solidification of this process. The above-mentioned link with the older, pre-Reformation Catholic tradition, also played an important role, with this also coinciding with the post-White Mountain views of history in the Czech Lands as ancient Catholic lands. – Jiří Mikulec, *Religious Life and Baroque Spirituality in the Czech Lands* (Prague: Grada, 2013), 180–181. A different perspective from that which prevailed in traditional Czech historiography is provided by the American historian Howard Louthan in his book on the “Re-Catholicization” of the Czech Lands which is dedicated to basic aspects of this process and which points out the non-violent side of this process. – Howard Louthan, *Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation* (Praha: Rybka Publishers, 2011).

<sup>27</sup> For more on the pilgrimage site on Cvilín, see, Spatzier, *Die Geschichte der Burgberg-Kirche*.

<sup>28</sup> Liechtensteinische Hausarchiv, H 920 – Franziskaner in Jägerndorf, unfoliated.

<sup>29</sup> Cornelius meant by this the period of Protestantism in Krnov during the reign of the House of Hohenzollern.

<sup>30</sup> With an emphasis on the fact that the chapel at the monastery church of the Birth of the Virgin Mary will not be neglected.

<sup>31</sup> ZAO, Olomouc branch, fund of the Archbishopric of Olomouc, inv no. 1410 – Krnov-St. Martin, pag. 31–32 (unfoliated, paginated).

<sup>32</sup> He was able to obtain the needed permission, although the actual construction of the chapel only began at the time of his successor P. Anton Czepan. P. Cornelius died 27 September 1679 and the construction began in 1681. – Spatzier, *Die Geschichte der Burgberg-Kirche*, 7.

could prepare the soil for possible further future requests. In the case of the Prince, P. Cornelius made direct reference to the poor financial situation of the monastery and the need for repairs to a number of the buildings in order to support the necessity for princely participation on the construction of the pilgrimage chapel. The Prince was by this means also reminded of his image as a good Prince, undoubtedly also in light of the fact that the Prince was certainly aware of the support provided by his father Karl I to the Krnov Minorites and that the Prince should contribute to the repairs to the monastery church. The actual Cvilín pilgrimage site would meet with significant popularity amongst believers over the following decades. Their numbers were apparently significant because the wooden chapel had to be replaced with a brick structure in the 1720s and the main painting of the Virgin Mary was ceremonially moved to the new church in the year 1727. The number of services was also increased and daily mass could be celebrated here as of the year 1730.<sup>33</sup>

The first steps began to be taken in the possible renewal of the Brotherhood of Corpus Christi with the parish and dean's church of St. Martin, where P. Cornelius worked as the parish priest and dean, in the 1670s. This was also building upon an older tradition—the oldest of the Krnov brotherhoods, specifically the Brotherhood of Corpus Christi, which is recorded as far back as 1475,<sup>34</sup> and which was finally disbanded at the latest in the year 1533.<sup>35</sup> Old attractive original forms of piety were made use of which were often stripped of undesirable, packed excesses and linked up with new devotions.<sup>36</sup> The Brotherhood would have been a fairly prestigious affair and also served as “*part of the process of disciplining the laity*”.<sup>37</sup> In the case of Krnov, the initiative of the parish priest was of importance as he was to be the one who would lead the Brotherhood on the spiritual side as well as in other aspects. The situation in the given locale was also of importance as well as the interest of the local population in the case of the Cvilín pilgrimage site.<sup>38</sup>

The argument linking the Minorite monastery with support for the request for renewal of the Brotherhood was also used in this case. In the text of a letter written to Bishop Karl of Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn and his bishop's consistory, P. Cornelius stated that after forty years of operations of the Brotherhood of the Belt of St. Francis, working out of the monastery church, the increased interest on the part of the population of Krnov concerning cooperation was no longer sufficient. Thoughts regarding the renewal of the Brotherhood of Corpus Christi, which used to exist at the parish church in the form of two bulls from the years 1475 and 1514 testify, consequently arose. The Brotherhood of Corpus Christi was supposed to supplement the already existing Brotherhood of the Belt and their activities would not clash.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>33</sup> For more on the fates of the pilgrimage site on Cvilín, see, Spatzier, *Die Geschichte der Burgberg-Kirche*.

<sup>34</sup> Vladimír Mañas, “On the Fates of Religious Brotherhoods in the Olomouc Diocese in the Early Modern Age”, in *The Beehive of Pious Souls. Religious Brotherhoods in the Culture of Early Modern Moravia*, Vladimír Mañas, Zdeněk Orlita, Martina Potůčková, eds. (Olomouc: Muzeum umění Olomouc, 2010), 9.

<sup>35</sup> In that year the Hohenzollem Prince George of Brandenburg-Ansbach banished all of the Catholic clergy from Krnov and all of the population had to convert to Protestantism.

<sup>36</sup> Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith. Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass., London, Engl.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2009), 56–57.

<sup>37</sup> Jiří Mikulec, “Transformations in Religious Brotherhoods in Bohemia in the Early Modern Period”, in *Brotherhood. Secular and Ecclesiastical Associations and their Role in Cultural and Social Structures from the Middle Ages to the Modern Period* (= *III Pardubice Bienalle, 29–30 April 2004*), Tomáš Jiránek and Jiří Kubeš, edd. (Pardubice: Univerzita Pardubice, 2005), 20.

<sup>38</sup> Jiří Mikulec, *Baroque Religious Brotherhoods in Bohemia* (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové Noviny, 2000), 24. The inhabitants had to have already been converted Catholics at this time, as confession and baptism were required for entrance into the brotherhood. – Mikulec, *Baroque Religious Brotherhoods*, 50.

<sup>39</sup> ZAO, Olomouc branch, fund of the Archbishopric of Olomouc, inv. no. 1410 – Krnov-St. Martin, p. 35–36 (unfoliated, paginated). Statute of the brotherhood p. 37. The Brotherhood was granted permission by the

P. Cornelius made use of the argument as to the significant workload of the Minorite operated Brotherhood of the Belt as support for his request for renewal of the Brotherhood of Corpus Christi. This step was supposed to undoubtedly increase the prestige of the monastery within the framework of Krnov society and also deepen their relationship with the community. This reference could at the same time serve as evidence for the Olomouc bishop that the Minorites were successful during the process of bringing Catholicism back to Krnov and confirm their position within the structure of the town, as well as undoubtedly within the framework of the bishopric. It served as evidence that the Krnov Minorites had met the expectations placed on them specifically in connection with the restoration of Catholicism in Krnov. It also cannot be ruled out that the founding of the new Brotherhood could have been thought of as a certain “non-exclusivity” of the Brotherhood of the Belt. This would have resulted in an increased linking of the Minorites and the town.

The third area within the framework of the religious life in Krnov which the Minorite order was involved in to a certain degree was the question of the town parish priest as this post had been held by specifically P. Cornelius as of the year 1632. After the Catholic Prince Karel I, of Lichtenstein became the owner of the Krnov principedom, the question of the town parish priest became an issue. The Order of Teutonic Knights had held patron rights over the town parish from the year 1281 when they had obtained it from the first Přemyslid Opava Prince, Nicholas I. This privilege was confirmed several times over the course of the fourteenth century and the parish church of St. Martin is first specifically named in a privilege from the year 1357.<sup>40</sup> This right was deprived from the Order by George of Brandenburg-Ansbach apparently in the year 1524 when the parish came under the authority of Protestant preachers. Soon after Karl I, of Liechtenstein received the principedom from Emperor Ferdinand II in the year 1620, the Prince named three town parish priests.<sup>41</sup> The Prince ignored the original patronage right of the Order of Teutonic Knights concerning patronage over the town parish and enforced his own demands for the next several decades.<sup>42</sup> It would seem that they did not intervene into the issue over the entire period of the dispute of the Krnov parish priests, until the year 1667 that is. This was the year when the text of the letter from P. Cornelius to Prince Karl Eusebius has been preserved.

The text itself is not signed, however, it can be insinuated that the author was P. Cornelius and that it was written in the year 1667. The letter informs the Prince that he had been visited

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Bishop on 18 May 1678. – ZAO, Olomouc branch, fund of the Archbishopric of Olomouc, inv. no. 1410 – Krnov-St. Martin, p. 41–43. Copy of the original wording of the permission p. 44–47. The original document giving permission for the founding of the brotherhood is housed in the SOKA Bruntál, Krnov branch, fund of the Parish Office Krnov, inv. no. 244.

<sup>40</sup> Archeological research carried out recently in the vicinity of the church indicates that the church itself could have benefited from this privilege from as early as 1334. Research into the oldest part of the church dates to the first half of the fourteenth century. If the church was already standing in a certain appearance at that time, the patronage right dating back to the year 1334 could have also been related to it, although it is not specifically mentioned. The reference to the year 1334 consisted of the confirmation of the original charter and the church could have been somehow automatically included into this initial patronage. On the archeological research: “The rescue archeological research and historical construction research concerning the parish church of St. Martin in Krnov in the year 2014, accessed August 23rd, 2014, <http://www.npu.cz/pro-vlastniky/news/14335-zachranny-archeologicky-vyzkum-a-stavebne-historicky-pruzkum-farniho-churcna-sv-martina-v-krnove-v-roce-2014/>.

<sup>41</sup> These were P. Barnabáš Praetorius (the first superior of the renewed Minorite monastery, served as parish priest twice – he was named for the first time, but never actually held the position due to the problematic military-political situation in the town, he held the office for the second time in the year 1627), Václav Hafelius and P. Cornelius Ottweiler.

<sup>42</sup> The studied correspondence indicates that Karl Eusebius argued that his father, Karl I, had obtained along with the principedom, all of the rights, benefits, etc. and therefore also the patronage right over the Krnov town parish. He therefore had the right to name the Krnov parish priests.

under a doubtful pretext by the Bruntál secretary of the Order of Teutonic Knights and had been pressured, in connection with the Krnov patronage right, to resign his post as parish priest and support the rights of the Order concerning the patronage of the town parish. P. Cornelius was apparently already of an advanced age at this time and suffering from illness and the Order was seemingly attempting to make use of the situation in their own prospects. P. Cornelius rejected these suggestions and assured the Prince in the text of the letter of his loyalty in relation to him but insisted that his princely house had obtained the principedom along with the right to the incriminated patronage right.<sup>43</sup> This is the only surviving text where P. Cornelius expresses his views on the question of the patronage right of the town parish in Krnov. He did not make reference here to his own role as superior of the monastery or any connection with the position. He expressed his dissatisfaction with the behaviour of the Order of Teutonic Knights and loyalty to the Prince who was undoubtedly aware of the achievements and resources of P. Cornelius and the Minorites of Krnov. Although they were on a certain level his subjects, he was certainly aware of the important intermediary role which the Minorites held in the town. It was clearly due to their efforts that success was seen in Krnov in enforcing, first and foremost in relation to religion, certain changes which would have been much more complicated to implement without their assistance. The assurance of loyalty to the Prince on the part of P. Cornelius could only serve to support his faith in the Krnov Minorite monastery which could manifest itself in decisions made by the Prince in the future.<sup>44</sup>

The texts under study do not concern themselves directly with the Krnov Minorite monastery. They are focused on negotiations concerning the renewal of two Baroque phenomena and the assurance of loyalty to a higher secular power. P. Cornelius often, however, made use of the theme of the Minorite monastery in argumentation which supported their requests. P. Cornelius, first and foremost, but also the monastery itself, served as an intermediary in negotiations between the population of Krnov, Prince Karl Eusebius and the Olomouc Bishop Karl of Liechtenstein-Kastelkorn. The above-mentioned requests made by P. Cornelius were not only written in his name, but were more importantly written on behalf of the population, in order to achieve the fulfillment of their religious needs. This was regardless of the fact that the given request was written from his position as the superior of the Minorite monastery, or the position as town parish priest and dean. The local inhabitants would have viewed him, however, as first and foremost a member of the Minorite order and the monastery superior. All of the steps taken on his part in connection with these affairs certainly had the support of the monastery. These steps would in all probability have been viewed by the inhabitants of Krnov, not as steps taken by an individual, but as the entire ecclesiastical institution which stood behind him. It cannot therefore be ruled out that these steps could have led to firmer connections between the municipal society of Krnov and the Minorite monastery. In this respect, there will be a need to carry out even more extensive research in order to either fully confirm or reject this hypothesis. It cannot be denied, however, that the development of the pilgrimage chapel, and later the church, on Cvilín would have definitely assisted in solidifying the position of the monastery within the framework of Krnov society.

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<sup>43</sup> ZAO, fund of the Minorites Krnov, inv. no. 132a, unfoliated.

<sup>44</sup> One can only actually speculate as to whether this statement of loyalty to the Prince had any influence on the permission from the Prince in the year 1678 which expressed agreement concerning the construction of the pilgrimage chapel on Cvilín. No other sources have been found as yet concerning this issue and consequently this is mere speculation. It cannot be ruled out, however, that the Prince could have “rewarded” Karl Eusebius for his activities with the Minorites, not only with financial assistance, which certainly did occur from his side, but also through approval of the requests which were sent to him.

The actual texts of the letters and their content could have had a greater influence on their actual addressees. P. Cornelius in each of them makes mention of the Minorite monastery in order to generate support for the intended goal. This could have served, however, to draw attention to the monastery itself. In those texts of the letters, designated for the Olomouc bishop or bishop's consistory, he always writes that his requests are not only from him, but also reactions to the wishes from the side of the inhabitants of Krnov, in whose name he would often write. They no longer apparently had enough possibilities to express their Catholic devotion. He was thereby indirectly pointing out that the Catholic reformation, which had been carried out in Krnov primarily by specifically the Minorites, had been successful and that this enormous interest in the development of Baroque piety was a result of their work. It would consequently be of importance to allow the inhabitants to solidify and deepen their connection with the Catholic faith and therefore these requests would also be in the interest of the Olomouc bishop. These kinds of negotiations were typical signs of Catholic Baroque devotion which began to gradually fully develop in the Czech Lands in the second half of the seventeenth century. Another issue was made mention of linked with the monastery in the case of the texts designated for the Prince. Although the monastery was gradually growing and prospering, there would not be enough financing, according to P. Cornelius, for the construction of the chapel, with this being testified to by the extremely poor condition of the monastery church tower. He consequently suggested that the Prince should support the construction of the pilgrimage chapel in order to maintain his reputation as a good lord in relation to his subjects. P. Cornelius therein indirectly demonstrated to his superior powers that the Krnov monastery had been successful in its Catholicization efforts and that support from their side would continue to be essential for the mission of the Krnov Minorites. Also of importance was the emphasis on the link with the Catholic past of Krnov which lent legitimacy to the request by the Minorites, as this was a key element in these cases.

Apparently, P. Cornelius did not pay that much official attention to the issue of the patronage right of the Krnov town parish. Only direct pressure on his person actually forced him to express himself on the issues at hand, wherein he stated his support for the Krnov prince. This decision could have been influenced by various aspects. Information that Prince Karl I, of Liechtenstein was supposed to obtain all of the linked rights along with the Krnov principality certainly played an important role, and in all probability also the right of patronage over the town parish. One should also not neglect the fact that both Karl I and his son Karl Eusebius supported the Minorites after their return to the town after the year 1623. This aspect should not be forgotten. The monastery itself is not made mention of in the text, but the Prince would have undoubtedly viewed the expression of support from the side of P. Cornelius as support from the entire monastery.

P. Cornelius succeeded in obtaining the required permission and the position of the Krnov Minorites continued to improve. The Krnov monastery of the Minorites established a relatively stable and firm position within the framework of the municipal society of Krnov in the second half of the seventeenth century.<sup>45</sup> Based, however, on previous experience, the Minorites, and

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<sup>45</sup> The monastery continued to prosper and expand its activities in the eighteenth century. Krnov was hit by a destructive fire in the year 1779 which seriously damaged the monastery building. The Minorite church survived the fire, however, and functioned as the main municipal church up to the year 1784. The Minorites also benefited from the popularity of the pilgrimage site at Cvilín and the Josephine reforms only impacted them to a minimum. This evoked, however, an antagonistic attitude amongst the parish clergy who were no longer from the ranks of the Minorites, and who actually succeeded in disbanding the now pilgrimage church at Cvilín through the Archbishop's consistory. The church was purchased by several Krnov burghers in the year 1792 who consequently handed it over to the town as a subsidiary church for the new community of Mariánské pole, not far away, in the year 1795. The church had to, however, discontinue its activities as a pilgrimage church.



this primarily through the efforts of the superior P. Cornelius Ottweiler, undoubtedly worked at continuing to solidify their position in relation to the local society, as well as in connection with the Catholic faith in general. This would have been well served specifically by the support provided for the establishment of Brotherhood of Corpus Christi at the parish church of St. Martin along with the renewal of the pilgrimage site at Cvilín. Both of these Baroque phenomena not only helped with the increased development of Baroque piety in Krnov, but also supported the position which the monastery had built up for itself by the end of the 1670s. Catholic Baroque culture continued to develop here and the monastery prospered. The Minorite order in Krnov grew in importance up to the end of the seventeenth century and reached its peak in approximately the first third of the eighteenth century when the pilgrimage chapel on Cvilín was reconstructed into a Baroque church.

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The gradual decline of the Krnov monastery began to occur at the end of that century. For the literature, see, Foltýn, *Encyclopedia of Monasteries*, 376, and also Prasek, *Silesian Regional History*, 514. For more on the history of the monastery over the period of the years 1623–1679, see, Lyčková, *Religious Life in Krnov*.

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# Early Modern Townsman in a New Military Coat: Municipal Armed Forces in the Bohemian Lands (1750–1848)

**Abstract** | The Municipal Armed Forces (the MAF) belonged among the traditional municipal institutions in the early modern city since the Late Middle Ages. The MAF helped the citizens to stand up to their surroundings (e.g. nobility, the state or non-citizens), and it helped them to create their self-image. After the second half of the eighteenth century some of the crown cities of the Bohemian Lands (Prague, Brno and Olomouc) re-actualized the importance of the MAF. The reasons for this phenomenon are different in every city, however, some similarities can be seen across the cases: social distinction and hierarchization, loyalty, city patriotism, and land patriotism. Ceremonies of the municipal guard (e.g. marches, parades, consecration of the banner, visits of monarchs or other prominent people) were all formative processes during which the identity of the townsmen was forged. The local *collective* historical memory or, more precisely, the *glorious* history of the city, played an essential role in this process. Speakers and leaflets glorified the heroic and virtuous deeds of the townsmen's predecessors providing an example the townsmen were expected to follow. In a time of on-going modernization of the army the MAF was not a mere relic of old arrangements. It reflected the values and importance of townsmen society.

**Keywords** | Bohemian Lands – Olomouc – Brno – Prague Townsmen – Early Modern – Ceremonies – City Patriotism – Land Patriotism

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Mikuláš František Turek from Sturmfeld and Rosenthal, who had been lord mayor of Prague's Old Town, passed away on 31 October, 1672. Turek excelled in the battle of 1648 during the Swedish siege of the Old Town. Town councillor and subsequent lord mayor of the Old Town Karl Felix Schuster from Goldberg wrote the following in a request addressed to the Emperor Leopold I. in favor of his candidacy for major:

“In the present days I am the oldest of the councillors in the city council by the reason that I have been, and I still am, along with the deceased lord Turek, 36 years on the town council and I have been in the army service for the past 27 years as a marshal of the city guard. I have always been in service faithfully and painstakingly (with no glory), since I was not only the commander of the city guard during the Swedish heavy siege of Old and New Town; but as well on the orders of the general Don Innocenzo Conti I was a commander of his 12 guards for 12 weeks.”<sup>1</sup>

Naturally Karl Schuster's letter fits into a specific context. His aim is to portray himself as an ideal citizen who is the most suitable for the respectable position of mayor. The emphasis on military

<sup>1</sup> K. J. Erben, *Primatoren der kön. Altstadt Prag*, Prag, Gottlieb Haase Söhne, 1858, p. 120–121.

service and bourgeois virtues is no surprise; on the contrary, they reflect the traditional rights and obligations of a citizen in his community.

The subjects of this paper are the bourgeois armed forces of three major cities in the Bohemian Crown Lands: Olomouc, Brno, and Prague's four cities. These civic institutions will be followed over a period of time starting from the eighteenth century up to the first half of the nineteenth century. This period of time is generally understood as "groundbreaking", "transformational" or "revolutionary". In our interpretation we will discuss the roles of bourgeois militias in the public life and the so-called "renaissance" of the above mentioned cities at the turn of the nineteenth century. It was at that time that bourgeois militias became important social institutions of bourgeois life once again.

The citizens, participating in ceremonial entrances into the cities, annual celebrations and funeral processions, demonstrated and re-established bourgeois community and identity. These public acts can be seen as distinctive elements of a bourgeois society in relation to its surroundings. On the other hand, we must not forget the importance of those celebrations and ceremonies for the bourgeois society itself and the self-awareness of its members. Festivals, parades and ceremonial entrances into the city were spectacular demonstrations of the ideas of a city's bourgeois society. We cannot perceive these events merely as shadows cast by social and political structure of the city. The ritual practice itself reshapes the bourgeois social space and re-shapes it again with each ceremony performed.

Naturally these rituals occur in a specific social, economic and cultural context.<sup>2</sup> It should also be noted that festivities carried out in different time periods were participated in by different groups of citizens. For example, in the period of the absolute monarchy the Bohemian coronation festivities interconnected provincial constitutional ideas with the representations of royal majesty.<sup>3</sup> For this reason, the influence and impression of these celebrations were spread wider than the those of purely bourgeois festivities. Celebrations of the latter type had more local character and were closely associated with the local community. The festivities changed over time because they were subject to social changes. One of those most fundamental changes came from the Enlightenment movement. Enlightenment criticism targeted the cost and futility of some festivals, particularly those not used to educate and deepen the diligence and obedience of the people. During the counter-revolutionary and Napoleonic wars there was an unprecedented development of Royalist and patriotic public demonstrations. The bourgeoisie in the Bohemian Lands and its "revitalized" militia actively participated in these celebrations and more over they organized themselves. These public events did not end with the defeat of Napoleonic France, but became a permanent fixture of the pre-March era of the Austrian Empire.

This paper cannot cover the various aspects of bourgeois armed forces in detail. Instead we will outline some similarities and also highlight the differences between the selected cities with special attention paid to the evolution of the institutions over time.

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<sup>2</sup> More on the concept of festivities in M. Füssel, T. Weller, "Einleitung", in *Ordnung und Distinktion. Praktiken sozialer Repräsentation in der ständischen Gesellschaft*, M. Füssel, T. Weller, eds., Münster, Rhema, 2005 (Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme 8), p. 9–22. As well M. Füssel, "Hierarchie in Bewegung. Die Freiburger Fronleichnamprozession als Medium sozialer Distinktion in der Frühen Neuzeit", in *Stadtgemeinde und Standegesellschaft Formen der Integration und Distinktion in der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt*, P. Schmidt, ed., Berlin, Lit, 2007, p. 31–50.

<sup>3</sup> Vácha et al., *Karel VI. & Alžběta Kristýna: česká korunovace 1723*, Praha, Paseka, 2009. J. Hrbek, *České barokní korunovace*, Praha, Lidové noviny, 2010.

## Institutional Development of Citizen Militias, 1750–1850

To become a citizen in the Bohemian Lands it was obligatory to participate in the defense of the city since the Middle Ages. The Royal cities were the third pillar of the state's political system and they were involved in the defense of the country. Urban military contingents were composed of citizens of the city itself or, in the later period, hired freelancers.<sup>4</sup> During the sixteenth and more prominently after the second half of the seventeenth century the land militias and bourgeois militias in particular had been losing their military significance. Those armed forces became auxiliary components of mercenary and regular standing armies.

In the eighteenth century, with the development of the standing army and further centralization of military administration, the action radius of the town militia was reduced to the local area of the city itself. Citizens of Brno and Olomouc ceased to perform guard duty in the second decade of the eighteenth century. The establishment of a city guard replaced them. This hired guard was composed of former soldiers, peasants and craftsmen. Since the mid-eighteenth century the defense of these cities was completely under the control of the imperial army. However, bourgeois armed forces still represented former military power and municipal rights and liberties in the eyes of bourgeois citizens. These armed forces became the representative bodies of the local community. The “Renaissance” of the municipal militia in the 1790s was a consequence of the outburst of the war with revolutionary France. The government, which had previously weakened the position of non-state military institutions, enabled and launched a wave of patriotism and royalism that saw the municipal militia become an ideological barrier against revolutionary rhetoric and republicanism.

The first of the selected cities, the capital of the Kingdom of Bohemia Prague (constituted of the Old Town, the New Town, the Lesser Town and Hradcany, later united into the city of Prague), stands out from the rest of the group.. Each of the four Prague cities had its own bourgeois militia, headed by the Mayor (Wachtmeister) with the municipal councillors forming the officer corps.

In the seventeenth century the militias of Prague had 12 battalions altogether. This number increased to 15 infantry battalions and 2 battalions of cavalry in the first half of the eighteenth century. The total sum was finally about 2,500 men.<sup>5</sup> Every citizen was obliged to participate in military training lest they face the possibility of losing their citizenship and burgher rights. It is significant that the right of citizenship was granted to non-citizens who defended the city walls in 1648 (fighting alongside the citizens of Prague). This right of citizenship was granted to them at no cost.<sup>6</sup> The citizens also participated in the defense of the city during the War of the Austrian Succession. However, Maria Theresa abolished the municipal militias of Prague cities in 1750.<sup>7</sup>

In 1791 the Prague's municipal guard was reinstated on the occasion of the coronation of Leopold II, the King of Bohemia. At the beginning, its manpower was, unlike in the previous period, very small. Cavalry and infantry made up approximately 700 men altogether. Later,

<sup>4</sup> For example vide T. Sterneček, *Město, válka a daně. Brno v Moravském berním systému za dlouhé války s Vysokou Portou (1593–1606)*, Praha, Historický ústav Akademie věd České republiky (Práce Historického ústavu AV ČR, Řada A, Monographia 21), 2006.

<sup>5</sup> A. Starka, *Sbírka opisů původních listin, dekretů a privilegií sl. C. k. městského sboru v Praze*, Praha, František Možný, 1887, p. 145 – P. Bělina et al, *Dějiny Prahy I: Od nejstarších dob do sloučení pražských měst (1784)*, Praha, Paseka, 1997, s. 446

<sup>6</sup> In 1673 an exercise of the Old Town militia was held. Every citizen of the Old Town was required to take part in the exercise under the threat “*dass, wofern Einer oder der Andere sich also gehorsamlich nicht erzeigen wollte, demselben das Bürgerrecht aufgehoben werden solle*”. Cited according to K. J. Erben, Primator, p. 122.

<sup>7</sup> P. Bělina et al, *Dějiny Prahy I*, p. 446. A. Starka, *Sbírka opisů původních listin*, p. 37, 52.

during the Napoleonic wars, when townsmen performed patrol duty instead of the regular army, the number of members in the unit grew to 1,400 men.<sup>8</sup> At this time, bourgeois militia regained an important role in municipal festivities; they participated not only in the coronation procession but also in the annual feast of Corpus Christi or the ceremonial installation of the Prague burgrave.<sup>9</sup>

The last important peculiarity of Prague was the privileged position of the riflemen corps. Since the end of the eighteenth century, riflemen corps were not primarily civic institutions but exclusive clubs whose membership included also non-citizens (nobles, civil servants and courtiers). Heads of the riflemen corps were always chosen from among the leaders of the Provincial Government of the Bohemian Kingdom and members of prominent aristocratic families. An unprecedented increase in the membership in the corps among the citizens occurred at the coronation of the Emperor Leopold II, the King of Bohemia in the 1790s. The main reason for this expansion was the consolidation of the representative position of the riflemen during the coronation ceremony.<sup>10</sup>

Olomouc, as the seat of an (arch)diocese, a university, being the former capital of the Moravian Margraviate, and guarded by a fortress with a permanent imperial garrison, was one of the most important urban centres of Moravia. The armed burgher militia had a long tradition in Olomouc. Its leadership was firmly linked to the city administration. The burgrave commanded four units. The city councillors were colonels of their own particular units. In the case of Olomouc as well the right to citizenship was associated with belonging to a citizen's militia at all times. Patrol guard's instructions of 1663 ordered that non-citizens not be sent to perform the duty by the sergeant because they were less reliable. As mentioned above, in 1726 the obligation to patrol the city shifted from the citizens to the newly established professional municipal guard. This permanent military unit was abolished by Maria Theresa in 1752. From that moment on the imperial army was in charge of the supervision and the control of the city. The only exception was during a state of war when companies of citizens were called to arms.<sup>11</sup>

After 1758 (when there was an unsuccessful siege of Olomouc by the Prussian army), the importance of the municipal militia greatly increased in the local city community. Empress Maria Theresa rewarded the militia with an enhancement of the city's coat of arms; she elevated the city councillors to nobility and allowed the citizens to celebrate this victory every year. Thanks to this celebration the local municipal militia (in contrast to Prague and Brno) was able to maintain continuity. Contrary to Prague and Brno, citizenship in Olomouc was still associated with membership in the municipal army. It was expected that new citizens have a standard uniform. Only poor citizens were relieved of the obligation to pay for the equipment. In addition, in 1802 the burial institute was established, which was intended to cover the burial expenses of deceased members of the unit and to secure financial provisions for widows and orphans.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> A. Starka, *Sbírka opisů původních listin*, p. 70, 115–117.

<sup>9</sup> H. Svatošová, "Slavnostní instalace pražského starosty v letech 1784–1949", in *Pražské slavnosti a velké výstavy*, Praha, Archiv hlavního města Prahy (Documenta pragensia 12), 1995, p. 229–245. A. Starka, *Sbírka opisů původních listin*, p. 75.

<sup>10</sup> J. W. Brosche, *Aktenmäßige Geschichte oder Archiv der K.k. privilegierten Prager Scharfschützen von Kaiser Karl IV. an bis auf die Zeiten des jetzt glorreichst regierenden Kaisers und Königs Frantz II. aus denen vorhandenen Urkunden und Schriften des Schützengesellschaft beschreiben im Jahr 1795*, Prag, Franz Gerzabek Sohn, 1797, p. 49–50. – Further vide press *Kramériusovy císařské královské pražské poštovské noviny*, 37, 10. 9. 1791, p. 294–295.

<sup>11</sup> H. Kux, *Das k. k. priv. bewaffnete Bürgerkorps in Olmütz: Festschrift: geschichtliche Skizze zur 150. Jubelfeier*. Olmütz, Gemeinderat 1. Olmützer Vereinsbuchdruckerei, 1908.

<sup>12</sup> State District Archives Olomouc (SDAO), fund Archives city Olomouc, files 1786–1873, signature 58e, number of inventory 317, number of carton 364.

Brno, the last of the selected cities, experienced a political, economic and cultural boom during the researched era. During this period Brno gradually became the capital city of the lands of Moravia (in the 1640s). An episcopate was established there (in 1777) and it became a center of textile production during the second half of the eighteenth century. Every citizen, with the exception of the members of city councils in the early seventeenth century during the Turkish wars, was required to perform guard duty. Brno's municipal militia was actively involved in the defense of the city (along with the imperial army) during the Swedish siege of 1645.<sup>13</sup> In the second half of the seventeenth century, military exercises were limited to citizens who had only recently become citizens. When the professional municipal guard was established in 1727, the obligation of mandatory military service of the citizens was abolished. After the mid-eighteenth century, Brno's municipal militiae was becoming less important, as is evidenced by an event of the year 1758. In that year, when the Prussian army approached Brno, the imperial commander called the citizens to defend the city. However, at his command, only 18 citizens showed up.<sup>14</sup> The lack of interest Brno citizens showed was a result of the imperial garrison settling in the city fortification walls in the 1740's (until that time the army was garrisoned only in the nearby fortress Špilberk). Since moving into the walls the Imperial Army completely took over the defense of the city; the city guard lost its relevance and was abolished in 1750. Yet the simultaneous abolishment of the Olomouc city guard and the army's acceptance of guard duty did not entail a weakening of the importance of the Olomouc municipal militia. Unlike Brno, the imperial garrison had been permanently established in Olomouc since the mid-seventeenth century. Over the course of time a certain "modus vivendi" evolved between bourgeois society and the army that enabled the continuous existence of the municipal militia. The participation of the citizens in the defense of the city during the Prussian siege of Olomouc in 1758 was influential in establishing this relationship.

In Brno, the position of the municipal armed forces fundamentally changed in the 1790s. During the so-called "Coalition Wars" against revolutionary France, a wave of patriotism and royalism arose across the Habsburg monarchy. One of the side effects of the atmosphere of that time was either the re-activation or renewal of municipal militia. It was on the initiative of prominent citizens of Brno that the armed municipal unit was re-established in 1798. Unlike in the previous period this unit was not directly linked to the municipal government of the city of Brno but rather had a voluntary membership.<sup>15</sup> The re-established municipal militia was part of every important ceremony. In 1800 the "Institute for Pension Maintenance" for the members

<sup>13</sup> H. Mehrer, *Kurtz verfaßte Nachricht der Hundert-jährig-andächtigen Gedächtnuß wegen wunderthätiger Befreyung der königlichen Stadt Brünn...* Brünn, Jacob Maximilian Swobodischen Erben, 1747. – *Programm Zur Feier Der Erinnerung an Die Glorreiche Vertheidigung Und Befreyung Brünns Von Dem Schwedischen Belagerungsheere Im Jahre 1645.* Brünn, R. Rohrer's Seel. Wittwe, 1846. – Other local historical works vide Ch. d'Elvert, *Die Schweden Vor Brünn: Ein Abschnitt Des Dreißigjährigen Krieges. Zur Jubel-Feier Der Vertheidigung Brünns Gegen Die Schweden Vor Zwei Hundert Jahren*, Brünn, R. Rohrer's Seel. Wittwe, 1845. And next B. Bretholz, *Der Vertheidigungskampf der Stadt Brünn gegen die Schweden 1645.* Brünn, Gemeinderathe der Landeshauptstadt Brünn, 1895.

<sup>14</sup> G. Trautenberger, *Die Chronik der Landeshauptstadt Brünn*, Brünn, Deutsches Haus (Von Karl V. bis Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts 3), p. 230. – Ch. d'Elvert, *Schriften der historisch-statistischen Sektion der k.k. mährisch-schlesischen Gesellschaft des Ackerbaues, der Natur- und Landeskunde. (XIII. Band), Beiträge zur Geschichte der königl. Städte Mährens, insbesondere der k. Landeshauptstadt Brünn.* Brünn, Zu Commission der Buchhandlung A. Nitsch, 1860, p. 312–314.

<sup>15</sup> "So fuhren sie fort die Bürger Brünns, sich mit jeder Generation um ihren Landesfürsten und das Vaterland verdient zu machen. In einem nicht rühmlichern Glanz erschienen sie in dem Jahre 1796 als der unglückliche Französische Krieg überall die grässlichsten Spuren seiner Verheerung zurückliess." F. J. Franzky, *Bürgertreue. Versuch einer Geschichte von dem tapfern und patriotischen Verhalten der Bürger Brünns, und ihrer Vereinigung in ein*

of the militia unit and their family members was founded. Its purpose was to provide financial security for the widows and children of deceased members.

All three cases show different forms of institutional development of municipal militia. Local administrative and cultural conditions are reflected in those differences. Since the mid-seventeenth century, these civic communities were in very close contact with a newly emerging phenomenon—the Imperial army. All the cities mentioned above had the status of fortress at that time. The army was permanently garrisoned either directly within the city walls or near to them. During the reign of Maria Theresa and Joseph II military presence was further strengthened. New military facilities were built—fortifications, barracks and administrative buildings. Olomouc retained the status of a fortress for the longest time; the status was revoked only in the 1880s. The case of Olomouc in particular (where the army had a stronger impact than in the other two cities) shows two folds of coexistence between military troops and citizens. On one hand, there were frequent disputes between the municipal administration and the administration of the fortress about competence in judicial and police matters. Since the Prussian siege of 1758, Olomouc citizens tend to emphasize the fortress character of the city. The citizens proudly named their city the “Imperial and Royal Frontier Fortress City of Olomouc”.<sup>16</sup>

## Urban Public Space and Municipal Militia

The internalization of bourgeois values through armed municipal militia had one important advantage. Military order, which increasingly influenced the institutional form of the militia, fixed the “rules of the game” of representing the municipal community.

Except in Brno (where the relationship between the militia and the leadership of the city was weakened after the end of the eighteenth century), the militias were headed by the political leaders of the city. These leaders distinguished themselves with distinctive features such as special military uniforms and horseback riding. Other important figures of everyday city life had their place in the militia as well. The secretary (syndikus) and his representatives (vice-syndikus) of the city council held the positions of auditor, treasurer and adjunct (officials in charge of the internal agenda of the military unit). The chaplain of the parish church also held the office of the military unit’s chaplain. In the case of Olomouc the internal hierarchy of the municipal militia unit corresponded with the lengths of time people had held citizenship.<sup>17</sup>

Some powerful guild corporations had their own military units present at official celebrations. Prague merchants formed an independent unit during the ceremonial coronation entrance of the city, for example. Similarly, the merchants of Brno and wealthy burghers (Ringmann or Ringsleute), who lived in the Great Square, formed a riding section in 1748 (on the occasion of the visit of the imperial couple).<sup>18</sup> We will now demonstrate how on two different occasions—the Prague coronation parade and the annual celebration of the unsuccessful Prussian siege of

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*Bürgerkorps*, Brünn, Siedlerschen Verlage, 1798, p. 87. Statute of Brno corps vide *Plan zur Gründung und Leistung des bewaffneten Bürgerkorps zu Fuss, in der königlichen Hauptstadt Brünn*, Brünn, Joseph Franz Neumann, 1798. *Plan Des Pensions-Instituts Für Das Brünner Bewaffnete Bürger-Korps Dessen Wittwen Und Waisen: Bestätiget Von Sr.röm.kais.kön.apost. Majestät Franz Dem II. Den 30ten April 1800*, Brünn, Joseph Georg Traßler, 1800.

<sup>16</sup> J. V. Fischer, *Geschichte der königl. Hauptstadt und Gränzfestung Olmützt im Markgraffthume Mähren*, Olmützt, J. V. Fischer, 1808.

<sup>17</sup> For example J. K. Rippár, *Olmützer Fahnen Weihen-Feste*, Olmützt, A. Skarnitzl, 1849.

<sup>18</sup> For example the coronation of King Ferdinand I. in 1836 in Prague A. T. Glückselig, *Aktenmäßige Darstellung des königlich böhmischen Erbhuldigungs-, Belehungs- und Krönungs-Ceremoniels...* Prag, Leitmeritz und Teplitz, Carl Wilhelm Medau, 1836, p. 62–63. – To Brno vide Ch. d’Elvert, *Schriften der historisch-statistischen Sektion*, p. 313. – Further to Vienna F. J. Kolb, “Geschichte und Verdienste sämmtlicher Bürgermilizen des

Olomouc— bourgeois identity was projected through the armed municipal militias. Various prints containing glorifying hymns provide general information not only about the regulations of municipal units but they also reflect the setting of the whole bourgeois society. In speeches, the spokesmen often referred to the concord and unity of the city, traditional topics of bourgeois historiography.<sup>19</sup> At the time of the Napoleonic wars and the subsequent period of pre-March era, the ethos of civic duty was combined with land patriotism (to a much greater extent than in the previous period). An essential part of this land patriotism was the emphasis on servant (bourgeois) loyalty and allegiance to the landlord.<sup>20</sup>

In Prague and in the Bohemian Lands the most important ceremony was the coronation of the Bohemian King. The whole political representation of the Kingdom took part in the ceremony including delegates from other countries of the Bohemian Crown Lands, members of the Viennese court, and foreign guests. The actual coronation preceded the entrance of the king and his entourage into Prague. It was during this event in particular that the bourgeoisie, in the form of the municipal militia, played the crucial role. At the ceremonial entry into the city the citizens clearly demonstrated paramilitary characteristics.

Prior to the king's and his entourage's entrance to the city, the deputation of representatives of the city administration welcomed him together with representatives of the provincial administration at the borders of the estate belonging to Prague. An equestrian contingent of municipal militia was also present there with its standard, trumpets and drums. This contingent then lined up almost at the head of the ceremonial procession: immediately behind the Imperial heavy cavalry. Prior to the unification of Prague (in 1784), each municipal cavalry was dressed in heraldic colors of the particular city of Prague from which it hailed. A symbolic site on the way was a municipal border gate where the representatives of the city welcomed the monarch once again. The citizens then ritually put the keys to the city into the hands of the sovereign. In 1836 (the welcoming ceremony of Ferdinand I) the Imperial commander of the garrison in Prague was present at the ceremony for the first time (along with the burgrave and councillors) proving the rising influence of the army within the walls of Prague.<sup>21</sup> Afterwards the procession with the king set off to the Prague Castle, the seat of Bohemian kings and place of the coronation. The route of the procession reflects the topography of the Prague's municipal government. Prior to the unification of the four Prague cities, the route of the coronation procession led along the city halls of New Town, of Old Town and finally of Lesser Town. After the unification, the route led only along the Old Town Hall building. The political symbolism of the building was further emphasized by the city Council standing in front of it (along with the mayor, and municipal militia with flying colors).

The Prague bourgeoisie also attended the coronation at the Prague Castle. In 1723, at the coronation of the Emperor Charles VI, the armed citizens formed a path from the castle to the

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österreichischen Kaiserthums von den ältesten Zeiten an, bis auf die jetzigen", *Oesterreichischer Bürger=Kalender für das Jahr 1847*, 2, 1847, p. 88, 97.

<sup>19</sup> Johan Karl Rippár described observing the bourgeois flag in a festival in 1846 in Olomouc: "Auf diese Weise wurde ein Fest beschlossen, welches die gesammte Bürgerschaft von Olmütz zu einem einzigen Körper vereinte, in welchem fortan nur eine Seele, die das Ganze leiten und beleben soll, wohnen und Aller Herzen in einem Bande, dem roten Bande der Liebe, der Eintracht und des Vertrauens auf die Leiter, fest wie der Felsen, worauf diese Vest steht, umschlingen wird." J. K. Rippár, *Olmützer Fahnen Weihen-Feste*, p. 29.

<sup>20</sup> Vide the speech of Brno of major command in 1799: "Ohne dem festen Uibereinstimmen des Ganzen kann weder ich, noch die übrigen herren Offiziere das bewirken, was dem allgemeinen Zweck entspräche, denn unser Dasein gründet sich auf vollkommene Treue gegen unsern allgeliebtesten Landesvater, und Seine – dann der Seinigen Erhaltung, so wie auf die unverbrüchliche Treue gegen unsere liebe Vaterstadt." F. J. Franzky, *Bürgertreue*, p. 101.

<sup>21</sup> A. T. Glückselig, *Aktenmäßige Darstellung*, p. 76.



cathedral through which the sovereign had to walk. The Emperor walked under a canopy made by the cities of Prague, which was carried by the burgraves and the mayors of the cities. In 1791, during the coronation of Leopold II, the mayor and the councillors of the united city of Prague carried a canopy; and the lane was formed by bourgeois guard, cavalry, riflemen and privileged middle-class merchants.<sup>22</sup>

In Olomouc, the municipal city guard occupied an important place in the entrance ceremony of the new bishop,<sup>23</sup> but the most important event was the annual celebration of the successful defense of Olomouc against the Prussian troops. Immediately after the siege the council tried to use the Prussian defeat in favor of the city. On 19 July 1758 the councillors asked for the abolition of beer and wine taxes due to the exceptional bravery shown by the municipal militias during the siege after the fashion of Brno where a similar tax had been abolished after Swedish troops were repulsed during the Thirty Years War. The request was rejected by the court office, but the Empress allowed the release of 800 gold coins to annually celebrate the defeat of the Prussian army. This celebration was to be held on 2 July of each year.

The details of the 2 July celebration are known thanks to the “Observandi” (written in spring of 1759), which contains the rules for holding “Denk-und Freudensfests”. The intention to subordinate the municipal militia to military rules is evident in this record. The instructions thoroughly describe individual acts of municipal units such as the cannonade or ceremonial march with the intension to avoid disunity and disorder. Active participation in this celebration was reserved for bourgeois citizens. Only they could attend the ceremonial shooting and the night watch. At the beginning of the festivities, the municipal units assembled at the Lower Square. From there they went along the guardhouse by the city hall where the fort guard paid tribute to them. Then they continued through Ostružnická Street and Baker Street to the old military barracks, where *Te Deum* was held. After that the troops proceeded to the foreground of the Olomouc fortress where the local shooting range was located. When everybody was in place, the delegation set off to meet the Commissioner of the Olomouc district to give him a speech of thanks, which was composed by the municipal syndikus. In this speech it was mentioned that the townspeople would receive 800 florins from the local “Bancal-Amt”. Subsequently, the regional governor arrived and paid homage to the municipal units. Then came the three volleys and after that the municipal militia headed back into the town. In the city hall the banners of the municipal units were stored.<sup>24</sup>

Another kind of public event attended by armed citizens was the funeral procession. The last farewell to a deceased citizen was another specific form allowing people to enact their belonging to the bourgeoisie as a unique estate. Despite the generally manifested equality before death the funerary rituals contained distinctive socio-cultural features.<sup>25</sup> Until the late eighteenth century, citizens said goodbye to their loved ones through the religious brotherhoods and guilds which

<sup>22</sup> *Kramériusovy císařské královské pražské poštovské noviny*, 37, 10. 9. 1791, p. 294–295.

<sup>23</sup> M. Elbel, “Bishop’s Secular Entry: Power and Representation in Inauguration Ceremonies of the Eighteenth-Century Bishops of Olomouc”, in *Religious Ceremonials and Images: Power and Social Meaning*, J. P. Paiva, ed., Coimbra, Palimage Editores (Cultural exchange in Europe, 1400–1750 2), 2002, p. 47–60.

<sup>24</sup> J. Kux, *Das K.K. privilegierte bewaffnete Bürgerkorps in Olmütz: Festschrift zur 150. Jubelfeier*, Olmütz, Gemeinderat 1. Olmützer Vereinsbuchdruckerei, 1908, p. 122–126, 129–130.

<sup>25</sup> For instance funerals of the Bohemian nobility P. Král, “Pohřební slavnosti jako prostředek a místo komunikace raně novověké společnosti”, in *Slavnosti a zábavy na dvorech a v rezidenčních městech raného novověku*, V. Bůžek, P. Král, edd., České Budějovice, Historický ústav Jihočeské univerzity (Opera historica 8), 2000, p. 315–332. From the burgher milieu T. Weller, «Das Begräbnis des Bürgermeisters. Städtische Begräbniskultur, Trauerzeremoniell und soziale Repräsentation im frühneuzeitlichen Leipzig», in *Ordnung und Distinktion: Praktiken sozialer Repräsentation in der ständischen Gesellschaft*, M. Füssel, T. Weller, eds, Münster, Rhema (Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme 8), 2005, p. 75–101.

provided appropriately dignified funeral ceremonies to its members and their families. Brotherhoods were, unlike the craft corporations, open to a wider audience. In all the researched cities there was a dense network of such religious groups. Burial practices had fundamentally changed with the Josephine reforms. In particular, the abolition of religious brotherhoods between the years 1783 and 1785 changed the practice drastically.

In this context, the municipal armed forces began to bury their members. The Brno unit's statutes of 1798 stated that the funeral procession of a deceased member should be accompanied by a municipal militia unit. In the case of the Prague municipal militia unit the institutionalized practice of their funerals is not directly documented. I am only familiar with the fact that the municipal cavalry participated in funerals of municipal military officers.<sup>26</sup> In Olomouc in the early nineteenth century there occurred a major institutional change in the burial practices of bourgeois society (with a significant contribution to this change made by the municipal militia). In February 1802, the officers of the 3rd municipal guard decided to establish a fund to pay the funeral expenses for the members of the unit, as well as to provide support for widows and orphans though most of the money was to cover funeral costs. Each member was required to pay six dimes a month. The expenses for a funeral were fixed at the price of 20 florins. The annual surpluses could be used for burials of poor citizens who were not members of the guard, or to support widows and orphans. A few months later, the city council allowed the establishment of the fund without any objections. Within a few years, similar supporting institutions were established for the two remaining guard units. Because there were three similar institutions, in February 1809 the corps of officers asked for the unification and the creation of a common burial fund; this happened later that year.

In 1853 the statutes of "Olmützer Begräbnissverein" were ratified again. This time it was no longer the magistrate but the provincial office in Brno who issued the confirmation. The function of the burial fund remained intact. The bourgeois character of the fund was explicitly expressed in the first article. Only citizens of Olomouc with their wives, widows with their children and municipal officials with their wives have the right to enter the institution. The close links between the municipal funeral institution and the municipal militia remained intact. Every deceased citizen who was a member of the municipal armed militias was accompanied by a military parade at his funeral. The popularity of the institution among the burghers is demonstrated by a sharp increase in its membership from less than 100 in 1813 to almost 840 members in 1852.<sup>27</sup>

We do not have as much information about the funerals of deceased citizens as about the other above-mentioned activities of municipal militias. We know that every funeral procession for a member or a municipal guard should have been reported to the commander of the Olomouc fortress. This obligation was the subject of frequent dispute with headquarters. In 1819, the citizens of Olomouc asked for the right to accompany important figures of their community — as it is a common practice in Brno.<sup>28</sup> Regulations for the burial of members of the city

<sup>26</sup> § 19.: "dass bei Leichenbegängnissen nach Verschiedenheit des Ranges, welchen das abgeschiedene Mitglied im Korps hatte, auch verschiedene Auszeichnungen Platz greifen, deren nähere Erklärung en Gegenstand der Ausübung ist. Hier wir nur bemerkt, dass die Leiche eines Gemeinen zwei Züge mit- und zwei Züge ohne Gewehr nebst 2 Tambours und 1 Pfeifer, jene eines Offiziers aber vier Züge mit- und vier Züge ohne Gewehr (jeden Zug zu 15 Mann gerechnet) nebst 4 Tambours, 2 Pfeifern und allenfalls Hautboisten zu begleiten haben." *Plan zur Gründung und Leistung des bewaffneten Bürgerkorps zu Fuss, in der königlichen Hauptstadt Brünn*, Brünn, Joseph Franz Neumann, 1798.

<sup>27</sup> SDAO, fund Archives city Olomouc, files 1786–1873, number of inventory 317, number of carton 364. – SDAO, fund Funeral institute Olomouc, list of members since 1813 until 1852 (without signature).

<sup>28</sup> The appeal from 1819 SDAO, fund Archives city Olomouc, files 1786–1873, number of inventory 317, number of carton 364.

militia did not exist. It was usually conducted according to military regulations; meaning that for those who served as imperial troops, three volleys were fired in their honor. The fact is that the municipal militia guards marched right behind the coffin in the procession (pushing away the mourners and funeral guests). The City Council supported the proposal of J. A. Maschner, commander of riflemen and a councilor, for the members of the militia to march behind the family of the deceased, his friends and priests. The Council determined that the carriers of the coffin should reflect the social status of the deceased. For example at the funeral of a Technical Sergeant or someone with a lower rank, the senior officers in uniforms should not be the carriers of the coffin. On the other hand, in the case of a funeral of a higher officer, the marshal of the unit should attend the ceremony.<sup>29</sup>

Although the members of the fund and the funeral association were buried according to these rules, the municipal armed militia also attended other funeral ceremonies. In January 1800, the militias were part of the funeral procession of the fort commander Freiherr Wilhelm Schroeder. The riflemen unit (which always had a privileged position between the various units of the guard) walked before the hearse. When the coffin was put into the grave the Imperial army fired a volley then immediately after the municipal militia fired one as well. In January 1839 the citizens asked the municipality for permission to escort the body of the late hejtman; of the Region of Olomouc in their uniforms. Furthermore, the city administration representatives attended the funeral ceremonies, such as when the Emperor Francis I died in 1835, or in 1832 when the heart of the deceased Archbishop Rudolph was transferred from the monastery to the cathedral of St. Wenceslas.<sup>30</sup>

We can conclude that funeral processions were a way in which the bourgeoisie constructed its estate identity. Even though the city officials acted on behalf of the entire city community, the funeral rite hierarchized urban society. This fact is most blatant in the case of the burgrave and city councillors, who were (through the membership in the municipal militia) given the greatest honours at their funerals.

## Conclusion

During the eighteenth century the internal politics of the Habsburg Empire were intensely devoted to the project of building a strong and stable army. This effort was spurred on by the failures of the Habsburg army in the wars of Austrian Succession. At the same time (not always) systematic reform was taking place aimed not only at reforming the land and court offices, but also at reforming the patrimonial and local governments. Each of the estates dealt with the situation separately. It would be a mistake to view the building of the pre-modern state as a one-sided process. In the eyes of imperial subjects reform threatened their existing rights and fundamental freedoms and their reactions were effacious.

The bourgeoisie, naturally, was a part of this development. Especially in the 1780s substantial interferences with the municipal administration occurred. Even before that the citizens had already lost control over their own city walls and gates to the imperial army, more precisely, the control ceased to have any military significance. The control over the city walls and gates was one of the cornerstones of bourgeois identity. The unprecedented development of the municipal militia at the turn of the nineteenth century cannot be explained simply by the deeply patriotic and royalist mindset of the citizens. Rather the bourgeoisie made efforts to use war to empha-

<sup>29</sup> The decision of civic councils from 1803 SDAO, fund Archives city Olomouc, files 1786–1873, number of inventory 317, number of carton 364.

<sup>30</sup> J. Kux, *Das K. K. privilegierte bewaffnete Bürgerkorps in Olmütz*, p. 173, 182.

size danger and their own importance. Municipal militias had a clear estate character which was firmly tied to the local community. It was precisely those festivities, parades and funeral processions that were used by the members of the bourgeoisie to manifest their place within society.

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## “The Kohn Affair”: Negotiations Between the Holy See and Vienna Regarding the Resignation of Archbishop Theodor Kohn<sup>1</sup>

**Abstract** | The Emperor in the Hapsburg monarchy had the right to name new bishops (while the Pope only confirmed the candidates). It was a different case, however, in the Olomouc archdiocese where the chapter held the privilege of free elections of the bishop. This was also the case with the election of Archbishop Theodor Kohn (1845–1915) in 1892. Although his election was met with great, his status gradually worsened within the archdiocese to such an extent that demonstrations were actually held against him. The situation reached such a serious state of affairs that the Viennese government and the Holy See were forced to seek out a possible solution. It gradually became apparent that the further continuation of Archbishop Kohn in the office of the Archbishop of Olomouc was no longer maintainable. A cardinal commission consequently called for his resignation (1904). This solution was positively met in Vienna which had supported this step even earlier but had respected the canonical procedure from the side of the Holy See. Kohn viewed his resignation as unjust and worked at rehabilitating himself, unsuccessfully, however, in the end.

**Key words** | the Olomouc archdiocese – Theodor Kohn – František Saleský Bauer – Bishops – Papal diplomacy

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The Austrian ruler had the privilege to occupy vacant bishops' seats, with the Pope having the role of confirming the proposed candidate (further negotiations followed in case of a refusal to confirm).<sup>2</sup> A different situation existed, however, in the Olomouc (arch)diocese.<sup>3</sup> The Olomouc Metropolitan Chapter had (similarly as the chapters in Salzburg and Wrocław) the privilege of free elections of the (arch)bishop. Only an Olomouc canon could be elected as the future bishop and if the candidate was not a canon, they could only make a postulation. An election commissioner would come from Vienna from the Emperor in order to communicate the Emperor's wishes. The chapter elected (or suggested) candidate would be announced to the Emperor for approval and the consequent name of the candidate would be declared to the Pope in Rome for confirmation. The Olomouc archdiocese was one of the most important dioceses in the monarchy both in terms of its extent and in terms of its wealth. There was consequently great interest in

<sup>1</sup> The study was supported by the project CMTF\_2014\_005 „Katolická církev na Moravě v průběhu 19. a 20. století“.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Adolf Kindermann, *Das landesfürstliche Ernennungsrecht*. Warnsdorf 1933. Edith Sauer, *Die politischen Aspekte der österreichischen Bischofsnennungen 1867–1903*. Wien: Herold, 1968. Walter Goldinger, „Eine Auseinandersetzung Österreich-Ungarns mit der Kurie über das kaiserliche Nominationsrecht für Bischofsstühle“, *Österreichisches Archiv für Kirchenrecht* 6 (1955): 211–231. Friedrich Engel-Janosi, *Österreich und der Vatikan 1846–1918. Zweiter Band: Die Pontifikate Pius'X. und Benedikts XV. (1903–1918)*. Graz: Styria, 1960.

<sup>3</sup> The Olomouc bishopric was founded (renewed?) in 1063, Olomouc was raised to an archbishopric in 1777.

becoming a canon in Olomouc with a consequent possible chance to become the Archbishop of Olomouc. The Olomouc canons gradually became exclusively nobility and actually established the condition of nobility exclusivity for the canons (privilege *nobilitatis natalium*) thereby ensuring that the archbishop would become a nobleman. With priests of civic origin, a liberalization of this exclusivity was achieved and as of the year 1880 the Emperor could name canons from priestly orders who were not of noble origin.<sup>4</sup>

The election of the final truly freely elected Archbishop of Olomouc Theodor Kohn (1845–1915) took place in the above-mentioned manner.<sup>5</sup> The canons elected him (8 November 1892) as the first Archbishop of non-noble origin (and in addition of both Czech and Jewish origin). Both the Emperor and the Pope confirmed the election and Canon Kohn received the bishop's consecration and was ceremonially enthroned. He took over office but his relationship with the diocese (both the clergy and the laity) continually grew worse. Demonstrations were even organized against his person. Interest in finding a solution to the situation arose from both Vienna and Rome. They obtained the needed information with the result being the resignation of Archbishop Kohn in March 1904.

Kohn's personality, as well as of course the situation at the time, contributed to the worsening of the situation. Nationalist conflicts between Czechs and Germans were an extremely problematic issue at the turn of the twentieth century and representatives from both nationalities accused Kohn of insufficiently addressing their agendas. In addition, growing antisemitism and the socially tuned anti-clericalism contributed to the difficulties with the position of an Archbishop of Jewish heritage. Modernism also played a role whereby a number of ideas were accepted by priests leaning towards Czech Catholic Modernism. These priests, despite their vows of obedience, often attacked the Church authority. In the case of Kohn, they actually filed law suits against the Archbishop and sent them to Rome. His non-noble origin also failed to guarantee Kohn a solid position within the ruling circles and with the Emperor. The uncompromising Archbishop, who strictly expected obedience, was unable to come to grips with all of these circumstances.

## The worsening position of Archbishop Kohn within the diocese

Upon ascending the throne of St. Methodius, he began to carry out radical reforms everywhere, that is in the ordinariate, with the priesthood as well as on the extensive estates. A known lesson from a basic Latin textbook: *Suaviter in modo, fortiter in re*, he turned everything on its head and when he did take a certain step, did it without sensitivity. And here he struck a brick wall. Tenants who had been given notice from the Archbishops estates filed law suits against him, complained to civil servants, complained to clerks, workers and editors who consequently published both the justified and unjustified claims. The Archbishop, however, lost a number of these conflicts and this was the beginning of the end. His opponents had their job made easier by the fact that he did not have much support in Vienna either.<sup>6</sup>

Mořic Hruban clearly captured the situation which came about in the Olomouc archdiocese. The enthusiasm concerning the new archbishop had already faded and critical voices were becoming more and more prominent. The surname Kohn, at a time of increasing antisemitism, did not

<sup>4</sup> Jitka Jonová, „Privilege “Nobilitatis Natalium” Problem. The Exclusion of Non-noblemen from High Positions in the Church at the Turn of the Twentieth Century“, *Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis, Theologica Olomucensia* 14 (2013): 39–46.

<sup>5</sup> For more on the person of Archbishop Theodor Kohn compare Pavel Marek, *Prof. ThDr. Theodor Kohn*. Kroměříž, 1994. Jitka Jonová, „Theodor Kohn. Kníže – Arcibiskup olomoucký, titulární arcibiskup Peleusijský.“ ThD. diss, Univerzita Palackého in Olomouc 2010. Additional sources and literature are presented here.

<sup>6</sup> Mořic Hruban, *Z časů nedlouho zašlých* (Rome – Los Angeles 1967), 76.

help the situation. The election of Theodor Kohn as archbishop took place on 8 November as the dean's mass also fell on this day, *Te Deum*, on this day, however, was also the anniversary of the battle of White Mountain and he was consequently criticized for celebrating the victory at White Mountain. Although Kohn could do nothing about his origin or the day of his election, he could control his own dealings. His strictness and unyieldingness, however, only added fuel to the fire.

Kohn made an attempt at solving the nationalist quarrels and requested an Encyclical on nationalism from Pope Leo XIII which would help solve these questions (he had hopes that this could have a similar impact as the Encyclical *Rerum novarum* in social areas). The Pope asked Archbishop Kohn to assemble the foundations for this Encyclical. In the end only an Apostolic Letter was released instead of an Encyclical.<sup>7</sup> Rampolla communicated to Skrbenský that the pope had decided to address the letter to him along with the other Bohemian and Moravian bishops in connection with Kohn's initiative, and not to the cardinal, that is Skrbenský, as was usually the case.<sup>8</sup> The papal letter did not, however, have great impact.

That same year, Kohn organized a diocese Catholic assembly which took place, however, separately for Germans and for Czechs. The assembly of Catholics of "the Olomouc archdiocese and all Czechoslovak lands" was organized in Kroměříž over the 25–27 August 1901 and in Olomouc over 7–9 September for Germans (*deutschen Katoliken Versammlung in Olmütz*).<sup>9</sup> Although these activities on the part of Kohn were perceived in an extremely positive light, the nuncio also reported disturbing news about the Olomouc archdiocese. The Nuncio wrote that the archbishop was being too extravagant concerning his generosity which was causing hatred or even revulsion of the prelate. The nuncio referred to the situation as extremely delicate and complicated with a poor state of affairs in the diocese. He further reports that the opposition against Kohn is growing due to his excessive obsession with church property. The following is written in the margin: "Perhaps this is also due to the fact that Mons Kohn is truly too strict with everyone and in particular with the clergy. This manifests itself in him behaving as more of a tyrant as opposed to a father. Consequently Germans are taking a stand against him, and actually both Czech and German clergy take issue with him."<sup>10</sup>

Despite the negative reports, Kohn was supposed to be named cardinal in the year 1901. Vienna did not support this, however.<sup>11</sup> The former rector of the Czech College in Rome Benedetto Lorenzelli,<sup>12</sup> at that time nuncio in Paris, tried to warn Kohn of the possible danger and also made reference to his Jewish origin. He was not of the opinion that the attacks against his person were due to his family origin, but were a result of the archbishop not being a nobleman. Although it was expected that the established tradition of bishops from the nobility would be disbanded,

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Jitka Jonová, „Archbishop Theodor Kohn a jeho postoj k národnostní otázce“, in *Jan Šrámek a jeho doba*, ed. Pavel Marek et al. (Brno: CDK, 2011), 151–161.

<sup>8</sup> Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Città del Vaticano (further only ASV), Segreteria di Stato (further only Seg. di Stato), 1902, rubr. 247, fasc. 9, f. 177rv. Rampolla, 20 August 1901.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Adam Wandruszka – Peter Urbanitsch (eds.), *Die Habsburgermonarchie 1848–1918, Bd. IV*. (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1985), 208–209. Kurt Augustin Huber, „Kirche in Mähren-Schlesien im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert“, in *Katholische Kirche und Kultur in Böhmen. Religions- und Kulturgeschichte in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa, Band 5* (Berlin – Hamburg – Münster: Lit Verlag, 2005), 121.

<sup>10</sup> ASV, Archivio della Nunziatura di Vienna (further only ANV). Borso 698, f. 363r–364v. Taliani, 23 July 1901.

<sup>11</sup> Bohumil Zlámal, „Kapitoly ze života olomouckého arcibiskupa Dr. Theodora Kohna – neúspěšného mecenáše české univerzity na Moravě“, *Vlastivědný věstník moravský* 45 (1993), 21.

<sup>12</sup> Benedetto Lorenzelli (11 May 1853, Bologna–15 September 1915, Florence), as of May 1893 internuncius in Luxembourg and as of October 1896 Nuncio in Bavaria, 8 December 1896 consecrated as Bishop; as of May 1899 Nuncio in Paris and finally named Archbishop in Lucca on 14 November 1904; 15 April 1907 made Cardinal, titular church: S. Croce in Gerusalemme. Cf. Giuseppe De Marchi, *Le nunziature apostoliche dal 1800 al 1956* (Roma 1957), 58, 129, 169.

all of the antipathy towards the person of Kohn could be explained by the fact that this did not occur.<sup>13</sup> Lorenzelli assured him, however, that Rome was on his side.<sup>14</sup> It was specifically Vienna which had a preference for another candidate.<sup>15</sup> The Austrian Minister of Education justified this by the fact that the Slavs already had a Slavic cardinal in Prague (Cardinal Skrbenský z Hříště, author's note) and it was therefore necessary to nominate another candidate. He also states that major difficulties were emerging in the Olomouc archdiocese in connection with movements against Archbishop Kohn. These were caused in particular by his personality characteristics: "extreme independence" as well as a tendency to be suspicious in relation to everyone. The criticism of Kohn was without a doubt also caused by his solitary character as he did not meet with sympathy on the part of his diocesans.<sup>16</sup> The nuncio made mention of the growing antipathy between the archbishop and the diocese, including the clergy, in connection with Kohn's case.<sup>17</sup> This evaluation from the nuncio was justified as he had to be well informed. The criticism of the person and actions of Archbishop Kohn not only did not change, but actually began to worsen.

His status also deteriorated with the emperor. A general audience at the emperor took place as part of a meeting of the conference of the Austrian bishops in 1902. Kohn did not come and did not even make an excuse. Although he had serious reasons, his brother František had died and after the funeral Kohn returned back to Vienna, but again did not apologize to the emperor or explain his absence.<sup>18</sup> One can no longer be certain whether the archbishop did not feel it was necessary to apologize or whether he sent an apology which was not delivered and therefore did not feel it was appropriate to apologize later. The fact remains, however, that this incident harmed his relationship with the emperor.<sup>19</sup>

The anti-clerical and socialist press was fond of taking advantage of the doubts and mistakes of the clergy, especially those of high status, for carrying out attacks on the Church. The case of Archbishop Kohn gradually became a popular theme for criticism. The publication *Pozor* (Attention) released an article on 4 June 1902 with the headline "Our Archdiocese".<sup>20</sup> The author was signed as "Rectus" and actually had sequels in the following issues. The so-called Rectus affair (the Rectus referred to was the priest Josef Hofer)<sup>21</sup> significantly damaged Kohn's situa-

<sup>13</sup> Regional Archive Opava, Olomouc branch (further only ZAOpO), Archbishopric Olomouc (further only AO), KH 30, kart. 1530, f. 79r–v. Kohn, 20 May 1901.

<sup>14</sup> ZAOpO, AO, KH 30, kart. 1530, f. 82–83r. Lorenzelli, 28 May 1901.

<sup>15</sup> Eugen Karl Valussi (1837–1903), Archbishop of Trent as of 1886, but not named Cardinal. None of the Austrian bishops were named Cardinal in 1902, only finally Johann Baptist Katschthaler (1832–1914) in 1903, Archbishop of Salzburg as of 1900. Cf. Sauer, *Die politischen Aspekte der österreichischen bischofsernennungen*, 246, 254.

<sup>16</sup> ASV, ANV, Borso 690, f. 73r–74r. Taliani, 8 April 1902.

<sup>17</sup> ASV, ANV. B. 690, f. 76r–v. Taliani, 12 April 1902.

<sup>18</sup> Zlámál mistakenly presents the name of his brother – Josef. Cf. Bohumil Zlámál, *Dějiny olomoucké arcidiecéze, sv. IV., část 2/1848–1918* (Kyjov 1979, rukopis), 73. the Archbishop received regular reports about the state of health of his brother. He also decided to pay off his brother's debts and had the property placed under the names of his children. After his death, he paid the bills for the treatment, the grave and the funeral. Cf. ZAOpO, AO, sign. E 3/6, kart. 876, f. 237–320.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Zlámál, *Dějiny Olomouc archdiocese, sv. IV., 73–74*. Josef Svatopluk Machar, „U arcibiskupa Kohna“, in *Oni a já I. 1926–1927* (Praha: Aventinum, 1927), 184–186.

<sup>20</sup> The article itself is dated in Olomouc 3 June, therefore several authors state that the Rectus articles came from 3 June 1902 as opposed to 3 June 1902 when *Pozor* was not published. Cf. Zlámál, *Dějiny olomoucké arcidiecéze, sv. IV., 75*. Týž, *Kapitoly ze života*, 25. Marek, Kohn. 39.

<sup>21</sup> Josef Hofer (1871–1947). This priest published critical articles in *Pozor* against Archbishop Theodore Kohn. Hofer expected support from the priesthood and additionally later lived in concubinage. He left for the Czechoslovak Hussite Church after the war and worked as a teacher and journalist. He was renowned for his conflict with the Archbishop. He died on 8 March 1947 in Luhačovice. According to several sources, he actually regretted his departure from the Church and consequently became reconciled with the Church. Cf. ZAOpO,



tion. When Rectus signed himself as a Catholic priest, the archbishop decided to carry out an investigation as to his identity. During this investigation, however, the archbishop committed certain fatal mistakes on the basis of which he was accused of an attempt at infringing on the secrecy of the confessional in connection with the identity of the penitent (Rectus), infringing the secrecy of correspondence (he requested the original telegram sent to him by Rectus) and also for arresting an innocent priest—the assumed Rectus, P František Očásek. The situation also went as far that the “Rectus Affair” became an issue at the Viennese parliament in May 1903.<sup>22</sup>

The Prague Archbishop Leo Skrbenský himself even expressed his views on the no longer feasible situation. He admits Kohn’s enthusiasm and consequently the priests who had attacked Kohn in the newspapers were harshly criticised. He admits, however, the obvious truth that the Olomouc Archbishop through his problematic style of behaviour “*had caused great dissatisfaction amongst the moderate clergy and sorrow amongst the holy priesthood*”. The radical clergy continued to attack him in the press. The behaviour of the clergy, according to Skrbenský, is not wholly without reason since Kohn, in contrast to his predecessor Cardinal Fürstenberg, had not been in the role of a father, but instead more of a stepfather. He had behaved insensitively and thereby evoked dissatisfaction among the clergy which could be dangerous.<sup>23</sup> The letter makes evident that Skrbenský viewed the behaviour of Kohn as the main problem and therefore felt that a change in behaviour could improve the situation. There is no evident suggestion concerning Kohn’s resignation apparent from the letter.

## Negotiations between Vienna and Rome concerning possible solutions to the Kohn case

Resignation as a solution to the situation in Olomouc first appeared in a document of the Vienna Nuncio Emidio Taliani<sup>24</sup> from April 1903. The nuncio recommends that the pope invite Kohn to Rome and request an explanation for his dangerous actions and furthermore force him to give up his office by means of an agreement whereby he would receive a generous pension from Olomouc and also be raised to the status of Cardinal. A different solution would in his view only worsen the already critical situation. Leaving office on the part of the archbishop would stabilize the tense situation and provide space for mature considerations and negotiations with the government involving finding a solution to the case.<sup>25</sup> The idea also appeared, however, that Kohn could be awarded a status of coadjutor bishop. This was rejected, however, by the Brno Bishop Bauer: “*I am of the opinion that there will not be the needed authority, under these circumstances, for coadjutor temporalis, or chapters from various combined elements, or the clergy or the people. Coadjutor cum jure successionis would have to be elected by the chapter or else nominated. The chapter, however, would not be willing or be in unison.*”<sup>26</sup>

The affair of the Olomouc archdiocese consequently became a regular theme in Bauer’s correspondence with Zapletal. Bauer was informed that he might become the successor in Olomouc

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Bohumil Zlámál, Prameny a literatura k životopisu Kohn a Hoferové afěře, kart. 57, unnumbered. Jonová, *Theodor Kohn, kniže – arcibiskup olomoucký*, 108–156.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. Jonová, *Theodor Kohn, kniže-Archbishop Olomouc*, 122–128, 132–174.

<sup>23</sup> ASV, Seg. di Stato, 1904, rubr. 247, fasc. 1, f. 67–68v. Skrbenský, 4 May 1903.

<sup>24</sup> Emidio Taliani (1861–1907), Cf. Jitka Jonová, „Olomoucký arcibiskup ThDr. Theodor Kohn ve zprávách vídeňské Nunciatury zasílaných Svatému stolci“, *Studia theologica* 35(2009), 55–56.

<sup>25</sup> ASV, Seg. di Stato, anno 1904, rub. 247, fas. 1, f. 53–54v. Koncept Arch. Nunz. Vienna. Borso 698, f. 410r–411v. Taliani, 29 April 1903.

<sup>26</sup> ZAOPO. The Papers of František Zapletal, inv. no. 12, kart. 2, Bauer, 16 May 1903.

instead of Kohn and this probably explains his intense interest in Olomouc. Information linked from the government that there were already discussions concerning which canon could serve as the next archbishop.<sup>27</sup> Grimmenstein had the best qualifications amongst the canons for the throne of the Archbishop.<sup>28</sup> Correspondence intensified between Vienna and the ambassador of the Holy See in connection with the discussions concerning the case of Archbishop Kohn in parliament.

The Ministry of Education asked Goluchowski to determine what steps needed to be taken.<sup>29</sup> The Ambassador Szécsen<sup>30</sup> was supposed to negotiate as quickly as possible with Cardinal Rampolla. Goluchowski also spoke with the nuncio. He was recommended to urge Kohn to visit the Pope as soon as possible in order to be forced to tender his resignation in exchange for the promised yearly pension which would not be an issue in light of the economic situation within the Olomouc archdiocese. He could be named cardinal in the future by the Curia. Talliani informed him that the issue was extremely critical and that the complaints against Archbishop Kohn were not lacking in evidence.<sup>31</sup>

Szécsen reacted quickly and successfully opened negotiations with Cardinal Rampolla as early as 8 May. He discovered that Rampolla had been paying significant attention to the case and communicated to him that the Viennese Nuncio had informed him on paper of the growing complaints and also advised to take a cautious approach. Szécsen stated that he had not as yet received any written reports from the Curia concerning the investigation, nor any steps related to calling Kohn to Rome.<sup>32</sup> He later confirmed that Rome was well informed from the side of the nuncio. Rampolla also informed him that Archbishop Kohn would be called to Rome where he would be urged to a voluntary demise with the promise of the pension or it would be possible to establish a coadjutor although this would be an issue due to the confrontational personality of Archbishop Kohn. The suggestion voiced to Talliani by the nuncio that Kohn could become a cardinal was not confirmed by the ambassador Vannutelli or by first and foremost Rampolla; it was instead viewed as impossible.<sup>33</sup>

Kohn was informed by Cardinal Vannutelli that he would have to go to Rome in order to make a statement concerning the complaints which had reached his ear.<sup>34</sup> Kohn listened and was invited to Rome at the beginning of June.<sup>35</sup> Szécsen informed Goluchowski about this adding that Cardinal Vannutelli was supposed to have stated that although Kohn was a genuine nightmare, he would soon be rid of him.<sup>36</sup>

Shortly prior to Kohn's arrival, Cardinal Vannutelli wrote Cardinal Rampolla, where he informed amongst other things, that he was confident that the removal of the archbishop would

<sup>27</sup> ZAOpO. The Papers of František Zapletal, inv. no. 12, kart. 2. Bauer, attributed to the date 17 May 1903.

<sup>28</sup> ZAOpO. The Papers of František Zapletal, inv. no. 12, kart. 2, Bauer, 22 May 1903.

<sup>29</sup> Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv Wien (further only HHStA), AR, F 26, kt. 61, f. 290r–v. Ministr kultu a vyučování, 2 May 1903.

<sup>30</sup> Nikolaus Graf Szécsen von Temerin, ambassador at the Holy See over the years 1901–1911.

<sup>31</sup> HHStA, Archiv der k. u. k. Botschaft beim hl. Stuhl. Rom Vatikan IV, fasz 24, f. 39–41v, Goluchowsky, 8. 5. 1903. AR, F 26, kt. 61, f. 289r–v, 292r–v.

<sup>32</sup> HHStA, PA XI, Päpstliche Stuhl, kart. 243, f. 211r–v. 10 May 1903. An encoded telegram.

<sup>33</sup> HHStA, Archiv der k. u. k. Botschaft beim hl. Stuhl. Rom Vatikan IV, fasz 24, f. 36–38v, 60r–v. Szécsen, 19 May 1903. HHStA, AR, F 26, kt. 61, f. 191–196v, 281r. Szécsen, 19 May 1903.

<sup>34</sup> ASV, Seg. di Stato, a. 1904, rub. 247, fasc. 1, f. 89r. 22 May 1903

<sup>35</sup> ASV, Seg. di Stato, a. 1904, rub. 247, fasc. 1, f. 114–115r. Kohn, 26 May 1903.

<sup>36</sup> HHStA, Archiv der k. u. k. Botschaft beim hl. Stuhl, Rom Vatikan IV, fasz. 24, f. 30r–v. 2 June 1903.

calm the situation.<sup>37</sup> Kohn received a private audience with Pope Leo XIII in Rome<sup>38</sup> and was soon after allowed to return to Olomouc.<sup>39</sup> The archbishop's return from Rome made it seem apparent that his status was unshaken and that Rome was not planning on a change. Bishop Bauer commented with insight: "*Olomouc remains a mystery and new law suits and attacks are probable.*"<sup>40</sup> The negotiations continued, however, in Rome, and on an intense level.

This was also confirmed in Vienna by the Austrian ambassador. He stated that the departure was allowed for reasons of announced confirmations and visitations. After completion of these he would return back to Rome. He was asked to answer and explain all of the criticisms directed against him. In spite of the political importance which Vienna attributed to the case, Rampolla expressed a preference for a trial in accordance with the regulations of canon law.<sup>41</sup> The Ministerial Chairman Koerber, who supported Kohn's removal, was also informed.<sup>42</sup>

Szécsen consequently submitted an extensive communication in which he presented his impression that the state secretary was attempting to abandon his responsibility for Kohn's case. He initially wanted to hand over the entire affair to the authority of the Consistorial Congregation. Its prefect Vincenzo Vannutelli was supposed to judge the case. The final responsibility would be assigned, however, to the cardinal commission. The count further stated that Kohn had personally made a very positive impression on both the Pope and Rampolla. The position of Cardinal Rampolla changed, however, after Kohn's visit.<sup>43</sup> Szécsen informed Goluchowski in a confidential report in July that the serious illness of the Pope had naturally postponed the expected course of negotiations.<sup>44</sup> Leo XIII died on 20 July 1903. His successor Pius X was elected on 4 August 1903. He did not call Kohn to Rome immediately (the original intention was his return in July 1903) but he allowed the commission to continue with its investigation. A change came about at the post of state secretary, with Rampolla replaced by Merry del Val.<sup>45</sup> Kohn consequently suddenly lost his two biggest supporters: the pope and the state secretary.

Kohn cooperated with the investigation of his case, answered the questions and sent the requested documents.<sup>46</sup> The Archbishops Skrbenský, Kopp and Bishop Bauer were called upon to write up evaluations of the situation. Bishop Bauer wanted to discuss the report with both cardinals. He did not agree, however, with the proposal for a shared report, partially because each of them had been questioned separately and consequently a situation could arise wherein one of the bishops would have a preference to keep quiet in view of the other two. Additionally, three reports with similar contents would be considered more reliable than one with three signatures. Concerning the possibility of the administrator of the diocese, he was uncertain what the congregation under this amounted to (*spiritualibus ac temporalibus?*) concerning the concrete period or

<sup>37</sup> ASV, Seg. di Stato, a. 1904, rub. 247, fasc. 1, f. 118–119v. V. Vanutelli, 9 June 1903.

<sup>38</sup> On 11 June 1903 at 11.30. Cf. ZAOpO. AO, KH 17, kart. 1515, f. 8r.

<sup>39</sup> ASV, Seg. di Stato, a. 1904, rub. 247, fasc. 1, f. 139r–v. 10. 6. 1903; f. 134r. Vannutelli, 10 June 1903. Mír, 20 June 1903, p. 2. Zlámal, *Dějiny Olomouc archdiocese, sv. IV.*, 86. Theodor Kohn, *Lebensdenkwürdigkeiten* (Styria: Graz, 1921), 114–115.

<sup>40</sup> ZAOpO. The Papers of František Zapletal, inv. č. 12, kart. 2. Bauer, 14 June 1903.

<sup>41</sup> HHStA, PA XI, Pápstliche Stuhl, kart. 243, f. 253. HHStA, AR, F 26, kt. 61, f. 174r–v. Telegram, 12 June 1903.

<sup>42</sup> HHStA, AR, F 26, kt. 61, f. 176r–v, 178r–v, 13 June 1903. Marked: urgent, confidential.

<sup>43</sup> HHStA, AR, F 26, kt. 61, f. 170–172v, 16 June 1903. Marked urgent, confidential.

<sup>44</sup> HHStA, AR, F 26, kt. 61, f. 164–166r. Szécsen, 15 July 1903.

<sup>45</sup> The function of state secretary terminated for Rampolla with the death of Leo XIII. Raffaele Merry del Val was officially named on 12 November 1903. Cf. De Marchi, *Le nunziature apostoliche dal 1800 al 1956*, 13–14. The change was welcomed by the state secretary in Vienna. Cf. HHStA, PA XI, Pápstliche Stuhl, kart. 242, f. 36–37v, 9 August 1903.

<sup>46</sup> ASV, Seg. di Stato, a. 1904, rub. 247, fasc. 1, f. 141r–v, 17. 8. 1903; f. 142–143r (for Kohn); f. 144–145v, Kohn, 1 August 1903 and others.

to the death of the Archbishop? Concerning the questions of the administrator, questions tended to arise as opposed to answers. Bauer was concerned, however, that Kohn might obtain a copy of his report.<sup>47</sup> Bauer also consulted with Cardinal Skrbenský. After the completion of the conclave, he requested a meeting with Cardinal Kopp in relation to these affairs. Kopp asked in his reply for him to present not only the report to the consistorial congregation, but also to the Holy Office. Nothing of this nature was found, according to Bauer, in the received instructions. Bauer ended with a question as to whether the possible meeting could occur as early as September or later in October?<sup>48</sup> Bauer consequently thanked Skrbenský for the sent documentation which indicated that Kopp had given up on the idea of the shared report and therefore a council would not take place. Bauer's concept was not in contradiction with Kopp's concept. Bauer only disagreed with Kopp concerning the question of Kohn's loyalty to the Emperor. He sent his concept to Skrbenský and asked him to point out anything therein which he deemed inaccurate.<sup>49</sup>

Cardinal Skrbenský in all probability had the main say. He reported on the situation in Olomouc earlier and had actually worked in the Olomouc archdiocese before his move to Prague. His report was also heavily negative. He makes mention of Kohn's stubbornness and intractability, the quarrels within the diocese and with the state offices. He does not approve of Hofer's articles, but does express the overall atmosphere. No one else is willing to tell Kohn the truth, he does not consult with his fellow bishops, etc. The aversion is on a general level and if Kohn remains at the head of the archdiocese, there is no hope that the atmosphere will improve for the better.<sup>50</sup>

Nothing seemingly happened with the case of archbishop Kohn and consequently in October 1903 the Ministry of Education asked Goluchowski about the developments in the Kohn case in Rome.<sup>51</sup> Goluchowski asked in Rome what the procedure should be in these kinds of affairs.<sup>52</sup> Szécsen informed Goluchowski that Cardinal Vannutelli had told him in confidence that they had been successful in obtaining further information during the summer holidays which indicate that archbishop Kohn can no longer remain at the head of the archdiocese. This case will be handed over to the congregation for negotiations as soon as possible and their conclusion will be submitted to the Pope for a decision. This will consist of whether Kohn will have to leave the archdiocese or not. It now seems most appropriate to call the archbishop to Rome until a decision is made in these affairs and a successor decided upon. The complaints by the government and by others against archbishop Kohn are also well known and a solution to the given case is considered crucial.<sup>53</sup> Reports concerning the coadjutorship indicate that the situation is serious and that a solution is being sought out intensively. When these reports reached the public, certain support for the archbishop actually appeared.<sup>54</sup> This did not change, however, the fact that Archbishop Kohn was no longer counted on and that an appropriate successor was being sought out for his position.<sup>55</sup>

<sup>47</sup> ZAOpO. The Papers of František Zapletal, inv. no. 12, kart. 2. Bauer, 16 August 1903.

<sup>48</sup> ZAOpO, AO, KH 30, kart. 1530, f. 19–20r. Bauer, 4 September 1903.

<sup>49</sup> ZAOpO, AO, KH 30, kart. 1530, f. 36–37r. Bauer, 14 September 1903.

<sup>50</sup> ZAOpO, AO, KH 30, kart. 1530, f. 7–13v. Pragae, anno 1903. Bohumil Zlámál, „K abdikačnímu dramatu arcibiskupa T. Kohna“. *Duchovní pastýř* (1974), pp. 24–25.

<sup>51</sup> HHStA, AR, F 26, kt. 61, f. 160rv. Manuscript for Goluchowski, 27 October 1903.

<sup>52</sup> HHStA, Archiv der k. u. k. Botschaft beim Hl. Stuhl. Rom Vatikan IV, fasz. 24, f. 25–26r. For Szécsen, 7 November 1903.

<sup>53</sup> HHStA, AR, F 26, kt. 61, f. 154–156r. Szécsen, 17 November 1903. Archiv der k. u. k. Botschaft beim Hl. Stuhl. Rom Vatikan IV, fasz. 24, f. 24r–v, 27r–v. 17 November 1903.

<sup>54</sup> ZAOpO. AO, E 3/6, kart. 877, unnumbered. Eduard Zlámál, 27 October 1903.

<sup>55</sup> ZAOpO. The Papers of František Zapletal, inv. no. 12, kart. 2. Bauer, 29 November 1903.

Vannutelli requested Kohn travel to Rome,<sup>56</sup> where he was promised a reception at the end of December on his arrival.<sup>57</sup> Goluchowský was informed in an encoded telegram that the state secretary had communicated to Szécsen in extreme confidence that the investigation of the case of Archbishop Kohn was coming to a conclusion and the new appointee would be called to Rome. They would first of course interview Kohn, and consequently a positive decision would be made.<sup>58</sup> This report was immediately communicated to Minister Hartel.<sup>59</sup> An immediate message that the government would not obstruct the decision of the Holy See was communicated by means of a Nunciature.<sup>60</sup> Taliani's mission as Nuncio at the Viennese court also came to an end at the end of the year 1903. In the same fashion as with this predecessor, he was named Cardinal as a reward.<sup>61</sup> His successor became Gennaro Granito Pignatelli di Belmonte as of January 1904.<sup>62</sup>

Archbishop Kohn actually set off for Rome in December. *Mír* stated that he left for the trip on 27 December 1903 accompanied by the vicar-general Weinlich, various officers, and the majordomus. The administration of the diocese was entrusted to Antonín Klug during the absence of the archbishop.<sup>63</sup> He was, in all probability, not aware of how serious the situation actually was. He was still convinced of his innocence and the justifiability of his behaviour. He stayed in Rome in the Germanicum-Hungaricum College as was the usual custom.<sup>64</sup>

*Pozor* in Olomouc commented that there would be discussions in Rome concerning Kohn's fate.<sup>65</sup> On his departure at the cathedral, the Archbishop was apparently pale and his voice sounded subdued. The canons were extremely cold in demeanour. As was the custom, he was accompanied all the way to the railway station, where after a short and freezing farewell, he departed from the canons, sat down in his luxury wagon and departed. "*It is not yet known when the Archbishop will return from his trip. It will in all probability be around 2 January.*"<sup>66</sup> It was also communicated that Klug had not refused to accompany the archbishop, but had declined due to ongoing health issues.<sup>67</sup>

Kohn had a private audience with Pius X in Rome<sup>68</sup> where they apparently discussed the situation in the diocese. The pope informed him that he had been called to Rome in order to discuss the complaints in front of the consistorial congregation. Kohn informed the pope that the complaints were often the work of fugitive priests who were dissatisfied with the administration

<sup>56</sup> ZAOpO, AO, sign. KH 17, kart. 1515, f. 344r–v. Vannutelli, 3 December 1903.

<sup>57</sup> ZAOpO, AO, sign. KH 17, kart. 1515, f. 345r–v. Kohn, 10 December 1903.

<sup>58</sup> HHStA, AR, F 26, kt. 61, f. 151r. encoded telegram, 5 December 1903.

<sup>59</sup> HHStA, AR, F 26, kt. 61, f. 150r–v. Goluchowsky, 6 December 1903.

<sup>60</sup> ASV, Seg. di Stato, a. 1904, rub. 247, fasc. 1, f. 158r, 2. 12. 1903; f. 159r–v, 7 December 1903; f. 161r, 11 December 1903. ASV, ANV. Borso 708, f. 243r. Merry del Val, 2 December 1903; f. 244r–v, 7. 12. 1903; f. 246r, Merry del Val, 11 December 1903.

<sup>61</sup> Sebastiano Nicotra led the correspondence as the Nuncio's representative during his absence.

<sup>62</sup> Gennaro Granito Pignatelli di Belmonte (10 April 1851, Naples – 16 February 1948, Città del Vaticano), 1899–1904 Nuncio in Belgium, 14 January 1904 named Viennese Nuncio where he stayed up until his return to Rome 6 January 1911. named Cardinal 22 November 1911. Cf. De Marchi, Giuseppe, *Le nunziature apostoliche dal 1800 al 1956*, Libreria editrice Vaticana, Città del Vaticano 2006, pp. 49, 65. Donato Squicciarini, *Nunzi apostolici a Vienna* (Città del Vaticano: Libreria Editrice Vaticana, 1998), 239–241.

<sup>63</sup> *Mír*, 1 January 1904, p. 2.

<sup>64</sup> Archv. Coll Germanicum et Hungaricum (further only ACGH), Hist 122. Diario del Collegio Germanico Ungarico, f. 145v.

<sup>65</sup> *Pozor*, December 25, 1903, 5.

<sup>66</sup> *Pozor*, December 28, 1903, 3.

<sup>67</sup> *Pozor*, December 28, 1903, 5.

<sup>68</sup> On 30 December 1903 at 5 in the afternoon. Cf. ZAOpO, AO, sign. KH 17, kart. 1515, f. 347r.

of the diocese and who behaved in a manner unseemly for the priesthood. The pope apparently approved the steps taken by his bishop.<sup>69</sup>

Archbishop Kohn opened a letter on the first day of the new year 1904 in which he was informed that he was not to leave Rome without the written permission of the consistorial congregation. The vicar-general was assigned the task of gathering the needed faculties for the temporary administration of the diocese.<sup>70</sup> Kohn in all probability thought that he would provide an explanation and then be able to return back to Olomouc. He was not aware of the severity of his accusations,<sup>71</sup> and had no idea that both Rome and Vienna were desirous of his voluntary resignation as the best solution in light of the situation.<sup>72</sup> There was a need, however, to find a suitable candidate who would be able to stabilize the situation in Olomouc.<sup>73</sup>

### Kohn's resignation in March 1904

Szécsen was informed in a confidential letter that Kohn's resignation had the support of the Viennese government since the administrator would be in an extremely difficult position. Kohn would receive a pension paid out from the archbishop's mensal revenue. An exposé was to be created in connection with finding an appropriate candidate for the archbishop's seat.<sup>74</sup> Szécsen informed Goluchowski at the beginning of February that the affairs of Archbishop Kohn were developing in a satisfactory manner. His continuation in office was undesirable due to the pastoral crisis and the national and political quarrels. The only problem was how to force Kohn to resign voluntarily. Fortunately, he was not allowed to leave Rome without the permission of the pope. There was also the need to solve the question of the new Archbishop of Olomouc after his resignation.<sup>75</sup> He also described Kohn's visit to the embassy. When speaking of the complaints, Kohn stated that all of them had been discredited long ago. He assured them of his loyalty to the emperor. Szécsen was of the opinion that Kohn still did not understand the situation and was only attempting to defend himself.<sup>76</sup>

During the stay at the Germanicum-Hungaricum College, Kohn had ceremonial lunches with Cardinal Steihuber. We do not know if these meetings were only of a formal character or if they were actually discussing the case.<sup>77</sup> The archbishop's stay in Rome was also closely followed by the press. *Pozor* initially stated that the return of the Archbishop at the beginning of January would not take place.<sup>78</sup> It later wrote "*that the affairs of Archbishop Kohn were dragging out, particularly when Rome was unable to do anything else than advise Kohn to give up his office*".<sup>79</sup> This is in all probability a valid description of the situation which had arisen. Rome was not interested in removing the archbishop as this could evoke further quarrels. In contrast, their goal was to make the archbishop come to terms with his own guilt, help him understand the impracticality of the

<sup>69</sup> Kohn, *Lebensdenkwürdigkeiten*, 118–120.

<sup>70</sup> ASV, Seg. di Stato, a. 1904, rub. 247, fas. 1, f. 167r–v, 1 January 1904. ZA Opav, Olomouc branch. AO, sign. KH 17, kart. 1515, f. 351r–v. Vannutelli, 1 January 1904.

<sup>71</sup> In the pastoral letter from January 1904, he adds that the tribunal of the Holy Office declared his innocence as early as September 1903. Cf. ZAOpO, AO, kart. 878, Pastoral letter from 20 January 1904.

<sup>72</sup> HHStA, AR, F 26, kt. 61, f. 144–145r, Szécsen, 12 January 1904; f. 148. Telegram, 12 January 1904.

<sup>73</sup> HHStA, AR, F 26, kt. 61, f. 139–141r, 18 January 1904.

<sup>74</sup> HHStA, Botschaft beim Hl. Stuhl, Rom – Vatikan IV, fasz. 24, f. 9–12. Goluschowsky, 30 January 1904.

<sup>75</sup> HHStA, AR, F 26, kt. 61, f. 130–135v. Szécsen, 9 February 1904.

<sup>76</sup> HHStA, AR, F 26, kt. 61, f. 125–128r, 9 February 1904.

<sup>77</sup> ACGH, Hist 122. Diario del Collegio Germanico Ungarico, f. 146rv.

<sup>78</sup> *Pozor*, January 3, 1904, 1.

<sup>79</sup> *Pozor*, January 11, 1904, 4.

situation and have him resign voluntarily with honour. “*The Vatican is upset about the Kohn affair and view his position as unmaintainable. The Pope could use his power to remove him, but nevertheless hopes that Kohn will heed the friendly reproofs and voluntarily resign.*”<sup>80</sup> Pozor rejects, however, the report that the resignation of the Archbishop was a certainty.<sup>81</sup> Apparently, “*according to the latest reports, if the cardinals are unable to force Kohn to resign, the pope himself would be forced to formally request that Kohn give up his office; this would be very difficult for Kohn to refuse.*”<sup>82</sup> They gradually come to the opinion that it is apparent that the diocese is functioning well even without the Archbishop “*and that the income of the archbishop’s could be used for much better and more useful purposes.*”<sup>83</sup>

Bishop Bauer had an audience with the emperor in February where he was asked about the reports he had received from Rome. Bauer observed both on the part of the emperor and with Minister Hartl, that they were waiting expectantly for a decision from Rome with this being a decision about the archbishop’s resignation. They were very concerned about his possible return. Bauer contacted Skrbenský asking if either he or Cardinal Kopp would inform the pope about the state of affairs. He received an answer from Cardinal Kopp that he had done as requested and informed the pope about the dangerous impact on the faith.<sup>84</sup>

Archbishop Kohn had meanwhile begun to view his further stay in Rome as fruitless, and requested an audience with the pope in order to pay farewell and with a determination to leave Rome. He reasoned that the stay had already been too long which did not suit his entourage (as they did not have appropriate clothing for such a long stay) and primarily a wish to see his ageing and ill father once again.<sup>85</sup> He attended the audience on 23 February where the pope apparently recognized the archbishop’s loyalty to the Holy See and the emperor and even supposedly laughed about the legends regarding Kohn’s insanity. In conclusion, Kohn once again said his goodbyes with the cardinal’s state secretary who showed signs in his face of unease. That same afternoon he received a letter in which he was informed that the pope had not granted permission for his departure and that he was to remain in Rome. Kohn did not expect this.<sup>86</sup>

This event greatly unnerved Vienna and the correspondence between Szécsen a Goluchowski intensified. The correspondence makes apparent that Vienna was apprehensive regarding the possible return of Archbishop Kohn. The nuncio describes this misunderstanding and states that it was probably caused by the approach of the pope which of course did not distinctly allow for his departure.<sup>87</sup> The situation was also communicated to the ministry chairman.<sup>88</sup>

Szécsén informed Goluchowski on 8 March that the pope had voiced his wish for the quick resignation of Archbishop Kohn during an audience.<sup>89</sup> The cardinal commission did actually at this time come to a decision in the case of Archbishop Kohn.<sup>90</sup> Archbishop Kohn faced the consistorial congregation on 9 March 1904. He received the verdict: resignation and banishment from Austria. He was refused a request for a written statement of the verdict. Kohn was told that he had 2–3 days to think it over. He objected the strongest to the banishment from Austria.

<sup>80</sup> Pozor, January 15, 1904, 1.

<sup>81</sup> Pozor, January 20., 1904, 3.

<sup>82</sup> Pozor, January 24, 1904, 3.

<sup>83</sup> Pozor, February 14, 1904, addendum 1.

<sup>84</sup> ZAOpO. The Papers of František Zapletal, inv. no. 12, kart. 2. Bauer, 22 February 1904.

<sup>85</sup> ZAOpO. AO, sign. KH 17, kart. 1515, f. 403–404r. Kohn, 20 February 1904.

<sup>86</sup> Kohn, *Lebensdenkwürdigkeiten*, 221–224.

<sup>87</sup> HHStA, AR, F 26, kt. 61, f. 122r–v. Encoded telegram, 24 February 1904.

<sup>88</sup> HHStA, AR, F 26, kt. 61, f. 121r–v, 123r, 24. 2. 1904; f. 104–112r., 24 February 1904.

<sup>89</sup> HHStA, AR, F 26, kt. 61, f. 116–119r, 8. 3. 1904 (marked as strictly confidential).

<sup>90</sup> HHStA, AR, F 26, kt. 61, f. 73–75r. Szécsen, 8 March 1904.

That same day Kohn requested an audience with the pope which was granted the following day at 10.45.<sup>91</sup>

During the audience, Pius X informed him that he approved of the decree of the consistoterial congregation and that the archbishop can choose the conditions for his resignation. He told Kohn that he could stay in Rome and that he would be joined with one of the congregations (Kohn specifically mentions the Holy Office or the consistoterial congregation). Kohn voiced an interest in a promise of his rehabilitation which the pope did not refuse but left for a later time. Kohn undoubtedly objected to his banishment from Austria, which the pope actually agreed with, and only insisted on his banishment from the Olomouc archdiocese.<sup>92</sup>

Archbishop Kohn submitted his resignation and handed it over to the Pope on 12 March 1904.<sup>93</sup> Merry del Val informed Archbishop Kohn on 14 March that Pope Pius X had justified his voluntary (*sponte ac voluntarie*) resignation due to alienation of people (*aversionem plebis*). This was accepted on 14 March and the Olomouc seat was vacated. The state secretary consequently informed the chapter to elect a chapter vicar. In connection with the law suits, Kohn was informed that the accusations concerning violation of the secrecy of the confession would be dropped.<sup>94</sup> The conditions for his resignation were to be coordinated with the Austrian government. The pope expressed his wishes that Kohn settle outside the Olomouc archdiocese, but he was allowed to stay in the country in light of the advanced age and health of his father.<sup>95</sup>

Szécsen also informed Vienna about the acceptance of the resignation of Archbishop Kohn. He also communicated that the Olomouc chapter had been informed and that it would take the steps for the election of the chapter vicar. There was a need to solve the financial arrangements and the occupying of the vacant throne.<sup>96</sup> He provided information concerning the negotiations about the pension for Kohn and the issue of his next position in additional regular reports. Apparently, the pope recommended that Kohn settle outside the Olomouc archdiocese. This would be appropriate since his further residence in the Olomouc archdiocese could be dangerous as he might interfere with the operations or limit the work of his successor in some fashion. The pope, in light of the ageing father, had allowed him a visit to the Olomouc archdiocese, but by no means permission for permanent residence in Olomouc. Szécsen also referred to the enormous resistance against Kohn settling in Rome.<sup>97</sup>

The acceptance of the resignation of the Archbishop Theodor Kohn freed up the archbishop's seat in Olomouc.<sup>98</sup> The chapter dean was informed that due to the resignation of Kohn in Rome, the pope would be the one to name the successor.<sup>99</sup> Bishop Bauer of Brno was viewed as the

<sup>91</sup> ZAOpO, AO, sign. KH 30, kart. 1530, f. 103r.

<sup>92</sup> Kohn, *Lebensdenkwürdigkeiten*, 228–229.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 230–231.

<sup>94</sup> This is the only information concerning the conclusion of the investigation into the attempt at breaching the secrecy of the confession in the person of a penitent. The materials concerning this case were housed in the archive of the Congregation for teaching the faith and are reserved. There is nothing, however in the archive of the Province of Imperia or in Vienna or Prague, although there should be. Cf. ASV, Seg. di Stato, a. 1904, rub. 247, fas. 1, f. 215r–v. Szabó, 25. 4. 1904; f. 217r, 5 May 1904.

<sup>95</sup> ZAOpO, AO, sig. KH17, kart. 1515, f. 435–436r. Merry del Val, 14 March 1904. The letter is addressed to: Archiepiscopo abdicatorio Olomucensis, Roma.

<sup>96</sup> HHStA, PA XI, Päpstliche Stuhl, kart. 244, f. 104. Telegram, Szécsen, 14. 3. 1904. HHStA, AR, F 26, kt. 61, f. 71r. Encoded telegram, 14 March 1904. Exposé 1904.

<sup>97</sup> HHStA, AR, F 26, kt. 61, f. 57–60v. Szécsen, 22 March 1904.

<sup>98</sup> For more information on the placement of the Olomouc archbishopric, Cf. Jitka Jonová, „Obsazování biskupských stolců v Habsburské monarchii na přelomu 19. a 20. století na příkladu olomouckého arcibiskupství po rezignaci arcibiskupa Theodora Kohna“, *Studia Theologica* 14 (2012), 40–64.

<sup>99</sup> ASV, ANV, b. 727, f. 52r–v, 55r–v, 26 March 1904.



most suitable for Kohn's successor in light of the situation in the Olomouc archdiocese. He was named on 13 May 1904<sup>100</sup> and was ceremonially enthroned on 19 June 1904 in the Olomouc cathedral.<sup>101</sup>

## Kohn's attempts at his rehabilitation

Kohn settled in Ehrenhausen in Styria after his resignation where he purchased a château in the autumn of 1904 and lived up until his death.<sup>102</sup> The condition for his residence outside the Olomouc archdiocese was thereby fulfilled. Kohn continued to work toward the realization of the Pope's promise of rehabilitation of his case. This was not realistic, however, due to there being "too many living witnesses". In contrast, any signs of commentary on the Kohn case were carefully followed not only in the Olomouc archdiocese, but also on the part of the Holy See. Josef Svatopluk Machar visited Kohn in Ehrenhausen in 1909. When Kohn heard he was planning to publish his memoirs about the visit, Kohn had to insist on Machar's written promise that he would not do so.<sup>103</sup>

Archbishop Kohn never, however, gave up hope of his rehabilitation.<sup>104</sup> Kohn wrote his own memoirs and Botek apparently showed the nuncio the treatise. The Holy See was not pleased as the curia along with his successor Bauer were described very critically. There was a wish stated that these memoirs not be published.<sup>105</sup> *Lebensdenkwürdigkeiten* was finally published in 1921. The publication *Temporalien-Übergabe a Grundlinien, Beiträge u. Materialiensammlung zur vorurteilsfreien, sachgemäßen Beurteilung seiner bischöflichen Amtstätigkeit I.–III.* was published in 1913 under the supervision of František Botek. Rome was not pleased and the Viennese Nuncio Raffaele Scapinelli di Léguigno actually told Kohn that the release of these publications was regrettable, did not bring good and would in contrast be a stumbling block for believers. The pope was also against the publication of these kinds of works.<sup>106</sup>

Baron Grimmenstein, who had actually fought against him in the crisis years, visited Kohn in March 1913.<sup>107</sup> He convinced Kohn, for reasons unknown, that the primary guilt behind his removal could be attributed to Bishop Bauer. He also accused Musil and Bishop Wisnar and mentioned Očásek having been the actual Rectus figure. Grimmenstein himself should have regretted everything which he had committed against Archbishop Kohn as well as that which he had written to Rome.<sup>108</sup> It is unclear why Grimmenstein lied to Kohn. Vavruša wrote Provost Stojan on the basis of this visit that an unexpected change was coming about. One of the main engineers of the catastrophe from the year 1904 was plagued by pangs of conscience, had come and admitted

<sup>100</sup> Zlámál, *Dějiny Olomouc archdiocese*, vol. 4, 123.

<sup>101</sup> Mír, 18 June 1904, pp. 1–3.

<sup>102</sup> Jitka Jonová, „Rezignovaný olomoucký arcibiskup Theodor Kohn a jeho pobyt v Ehrenhausenu“, *Studia Theologica* 40 (2010), 1–19.

<sup>103</sup> For more on the relationship between J. S. Machar and Kohn see: Jitka Jonová, „Kohnův pucflek“: Vztah Josefa Svatopluka Machara a olomouckého arcibiskupa Theodora Kohna“, *Studia Theologica* 45 (2011), 42–59.

<sup>104</sup> ASV, ANV, b. 740, f. 294r, 9 November 1911.

<sup>105</sup> ASV, ANV, b. 740, f. 295r–v, 298r, 31 October 1911.

<sup>106</sup> ZAOPO. AO, sign. KH 18, kart. 1515, f. 40r, 13 December 1913.

<sup>107</sup> Josef Grimmenstein (1865–1946) represents an extremely “mysterious” personage whose Baronage was actually uncertain. He seemingly had a solid position in Vienna due to his time as a chaplain in Mayerling. He was provost in the Church of St. Moritz in Olomouc from 1899–1918. He supported the innocent imprisoned P. Očásek and sent law suits to Rome concerning Kohn. He was not that prominent a figure in the Olomouc chapter and actually had to resign from the chapter.

<sup>108</sup> Zlámál, *Dějiny olomoucké arcidiecése*, sv. IV., 392.

everything and had been forgiven from the heart. The injustice which had been committed on Archbishop Kohn was now supposed to be rectified. The role of Skrbenský in this injustice was recalled. It was seen as essential that the Holy See fulfil its promise of rehabilitation.<sup>109</sup>

Pope Pius X died in August 1914. Giacomo della Chiesa, who took the name of Benedict XV, was elected as his successor. Archbishop Kohn also sent him his congratulations.<sup>110</sup> Changes on the Throne of Peter were viewed by Kohn as an opportunity to open up his case once again. He consequently wrote a letter to Benedict XV,<sup>111</sup> the Viennese Nuncio<sup>112</sup> and Cardinal Skrbenský on 15 September 1915.<sup>113</sup> He appealed to Cardinal Skrbenský, as his teacher and mentor, to rectify what he had contributed to. Skrbenský answered Kohn that it was true that he had been called upon by competent persons years ago to discuss the sad conditions within the Olomouc archdiocese. He did not, however, wish to pursue further these now closed affairs.<sup>114</sup> The Olomouc Archbishop František Saleský Cardinal Bauer died on 25 November 1915 and Theodor Kohn soon after on 3 December. The New Archbishop of Olomouc (Kohn's second successor) by postulation became specifically Cardinal Skrbenský.<sup>115</sup>

## Conclusion

Resignations of bishops (with the exception of cases for health reasons or due to old age) were not usual conclusions to their services. This was also the case at the time of Archbishop Kohn. As his position within the archdiocese gradually worsened, both Vienna and the Holy See were interested in finding a suitable solution in order to stabilize the situation. While initially considerations arose as to a possible compromise solution or the naming of a coadjutor, gradually the variation involving Kohn's resignation became prevalent. Vienna was interested in a quick and direct solution and pushed for Kohn's resignation, although respecting the canonic solution to the case. Kohn's case was primarily dealt with by the cardinal commission in Rome. Vienna was not enthusiastic about his return in July 1903 nor his attempt at a return in the winter of 1904. This second return was successfully prevented at the last moment in cooperation with the Holy See. The extended period of the solution to the Kohn case was also a result of the death of the pope. The newly elected Pope Pius X agreed with the recommendation of the cardinal commission that Archbishop Kohn deliver his resignation. This solution to Kohn's case was received extremely positively in Vienna. This was not, however, the only matter which Pius X negotiated with Vienna at the beginning of his pontificate. Although, the sovereign right of veto had contributed to his election as pope, he strongly objected to it as an unacceptable influence on the papal elections by secular powers (it was never used again). Kohn viewed the solution to his case as unjust and never stopped working towards his rehabilitation, unsuccessfully however. There was no question as to his possible return to the Olomouc archdiocese. Kohn did not even return to his home archdiocese after his death despite his desire to be buried in his native Březnice. His remains still lie in Ehrenhausen.

<sup>109</sup> ZAOpO, AO kart. 877, nefoliováno. Vavruša, 15 April 1911.

<sup>110</sup> ZAOpO, AO, sign. KH 18, kart. 1515, f. 42r. Roma, 23 September 1914.

<sup>111</sup> ZAOpO, AO, sign. KH 18, kart. 1515, f. 44–45v, 15 September 1915.

<sup>112</sup> ZAOpO, AO, sign. KH 18, kart. 1515, f. 46–47v, 15 September 1915.

<sup>113</sup> ZAOpO, AO, sign. KH 30, kart. 1530, f. 1–4r, 15 September 1915.

<sup>114</sup> ZAOpO, AO, sign. KH 30, kart. 1530, f. 5r–v. Skrbenský, 24 September 1915. Cf. Zlámál, *K abdikáčnímu dramatu*, 46.

<sup>115</sup> Jitka Jonová, *Kapitoly ze života Lva Skrbenského z Hříště pohledem Svatého stolce* (Uherské Hradiště: Historická společnost Starý Velehrad, 2013), 52–63.

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## Gorazd vs. Žídek. On the Clash of Two Views within the Orthodox Church in the Czech Countries in the First Half of the Twentieth Century

**Abstract** | The aim of this contribution is to probe the history of the Orthodox Church in the Bohemian Lands during the constitutional era, in the 1920s and 1930s. We recall a conflict of two Orthodox groups which, through their leaders—Matěj Pavlík-Gorazd and Josef Žídek—took opposing views on the nature of Orthodoxy in the Bohemian Lands. Žídek advocated a reception of the traditional, Eastern Orthodoxy, meanwhile the bishop Gorazd was a creator of its national, Czech version.

**Keywords** | Orthodox Church – Reform – Bohemian Lands – Czech Orthodoxy – Matěj Pavlík-Gorazd – Josef Žídek – Twentieth Century

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The subject of our contribution is the history of the Orthodox Church in the Czech countries in the constitutional era, which occurred in the 1920s and 1930s. We will recall the conflict of two Orthodox groups, which through their leaders—Matěj Pavlík-Gorazd and Josef Žídek—took opposing views on the nature of Orthodoxy in the Bohemian Lands. Both protagonists, Pavlík and Žídek, were originally Roman Catholic priests and followers of the Catholic Modernist movement.<sup>1</sup> Both crossed over to the Church of Czechoslovakia only to adopt Orthodox dogma.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Catholic Modernist movement in Europe also found its way into the Bohemian Lands and built upon an older tradition involving efforts at reforming the Catholic Church dating back to the period of the Enlightenment. It did not have a theological dimension, however, but instead focused on democratization of the Church, a movement away from its hierarchical arrangement, adaptations to the material status specifically amongst the lower clergy, voluntary celibacy on the part of priests, the use of a comprehensible language for average people in church services and a wider involvement of the layman in the organizational life of the Church. The core modernists were located in Moravia around the priest Karel Dostál-Lutinov (1871–1923) and the magazine *Nový život* (New Life). The ban on the magazine in the year 1907, in connection with the Papal encyclical letter *Pascendi dominici gregis*, only served to increase the dissatisfaction of the clergy with the internal conditions inside the Church. With the emergence of the Czechoslovak Republic in the year 1918, a significant number of the clergy joined the reform movement within the Catholic clergy which objectively strengthened the wave of criticism of Catholicism in the past having been closely linked with the Habsburg Monarchy and it having served the interests of the state politics. Pavel Marek, *Jan Šrámek a jeho doba* (Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 2011).

<sup>2</sup> The reform movement within the Catholic clergy in the spring of 1919 prepared a programme for the reform of the Catholic Church in the Czechoslovak Republic and attempted to introduce it via direct negotiations with the Pope in Rome. The delegation, however, only succeeded in reaching a compromise which served to radicalize and divide the movement. A number of the priests reached a decision to implement the reforms regardless of the position of the Papal curia. This brought about a schism in the year 1920 which culminated in the founding of the nationally focused Czechoslovak Hussite Church which abandoned both Rome and Catholicism. The hurried nature of this step and lack of preparation resulted in theological floundering on the part of the new denomination, with it lacking a clearly defined content to the faith. The leading figures in the denomination also struggled

At first the two men were in consensus both with regards to their work and on a personal level, but eventually their opinions concerning their vision of Orthodoxy in the Bohemian Lands conflicted. Židek wanted to establish a religion anchored in the Russian Orthodox Church while Pavlík believed in the idea of a specifically Czech form of Orthodoxy that would correspond with Czech religious traditions, mentality and religious practices. The relations between the two clerics did not solely break down due to their differing views on a liturgy, and, in the initial stage, on the jurisdiction. The barrier was created due to conflicts growing up from a choleric temper and possibly the same ambitions that both of them shared. Bishop Gorazd and his supporters finally concluded that the priest Židek was a threat to Gorazd's position and that the only solution to this situation was to force him out of the church. To that end, a theological interpretation of Židek's activities served the Bishop well. His aim was to create the impression that Židek was organising an opposition party within the church and was planning to attack the Bishop's leadership position.

This study has no intention of formulating any definite conclusions.<sup>3</sup> It is the first study that deals with this particular issue in the context of the existence of an opposite viewpoint within the church. With regard to the actual appreciation of the personality of Josef Židek in the historiography related to the Orthodox Church, it covers controversial subject matter.

This study cannot utilize every detail of the conflict and the activities of the two protagonists. Specifically, the study relies on documents deposited in central and regional, state and church archives. Contemporary periodicals and pamphlets also became important study resources. Concurrently we used the findings yielded from our own research in the history of the Orthodox Church in the Czech countries, in Slovakia and in Carpathian Ruthenia in nineteenth and twentieth century.<sup>4</sup>

The personality of Matěj Pavlík-Gorazd has been subjected to detailed historical analysis and so we will at this point only present basic information with references to existing literature.<sup>5</sup>

to define themselves and the new society consequently found itself initially oscillating between Orthodox, Old Catholic and Protestant streams. The denomination developed relations with the Serbian Orthodox Church in the years 1920–1924 and leaned toward the Orthodox Church, which logically led to the emergence of the so-called Orthodox crisis, this being an opposition group of clergy gathered around the person of Karel Farský, who disagreed with an orientation leading to additional internal splintering within the denomination. A wing of Orthodox believers consequently found themselves alongside a faction of so-called Modernists who were interested in formulating a new Christianity for the twentieth century. Their cohabitation was accompanied by tension, polemics and conflicts and was realized to be unfeasible over the long term. Pavel Marek, *Církevní krize na počátku první Československé republiky. 1918–1924* (Brno: L. Marek, 2005), 212–294.

<sup>3</sup> Pavel Marek and Volodymyr Bureha, *Pravoslavní v Československu 1918–1953* (Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 2007), 151–77, Pavel Marek, *Josef Židek. Nástin života a díla reformního kněze, zakladatelské postavy pravoslavné církve na Moravě* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2010), 275–297, Pavel Marek, Martin Lupčo, *Nástin dějin pravoslavné církve v 19. a 20. století. Prolegomena k vývoji pravoslaví v českých zemích, na Slovensku a na Podkarpatské Rusi v letech 1860–1992* (Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 2012), 132–141, Pavel Marek, “Der Kampf um die Gestalt der orthodoxen Kirche in der Tschechoslowakei in den Jahren 1920–1938”, *Historia Ecclesiastica* 4:2 (2013): 125–151.

<sup>4</sup> Pavel Marek, Martin Lupčo, *Nástin dějin pravoslavné církve v 19. a 20. století. Prolegomena k vývoji pravoslaví v českých zemích, na Slovensku a na Podkarpatské Rusi v letech 1860–1992* (Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 2012).

<sup>5</sup> Jaroslav Šuvarský, *Biskup Gorazd* (Praha: Ústřední církevní nakladatelství, 1979), “Směřování”, ed. Pavel Aleš (Olomouc: Pravoslavná eparchie, 2002), “Pastýř a martyr”, ed. Pavel Aleš (Olomouc: Pravoslavná bohoslovecká fakulta v Prešove: 1995), Pavel Marek “Kněz reformista. Příklad Matěje Pavlíka-Gorazda”, in: *Člověk na Moravě v první polovině 20. století*, eds. Lukáš Fasora – Jiří Hanuš – Jiří Malír – Libor Vykoupil (Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury), 378–398, Pavel Marek and Volodymyr Bureha, *Pravoslavní v Československu 1918–1953* (Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 2007), 447–58.

Pavlík (1897–1942) graduated from high school in Kroměříž and completed his studies at the Faculty of Theology in Olomouc where he was ordained as a priest in 1902. He served as a chaplain in Karlovice and Brumovice from 1904 to 1920 as well as an administrator and a catechist at the institute for the mentally handicapped in Kroměříž. He belonged to the circle of Catholic modernists and was involved in Catholic political parties. He also worked for a short period as a secretary to a Member of the Vienna Imperial Council and later the Archbishop of Olomouc, Antonín Cyril Stojan (1851–1923).<sup>6</sup> Despite his medical problems (he suffered from a disease of an eye) in 1919–1920 he became involved with the reform movement of the Catholic clergy and was one of the founders of the Church of Czechoslovakia.<sup>7</sup> He belonged to the radical faction. In 1921, however, he fundamentally changed his views and became a leading figure in the movement whose prime aim was to transform the Church of Czechoslovakia into the Orthodox Church. In 1921 he became the first bishop (as Gorazd) in the Church of Czechoslovakia to receive the blessing of the Serbian Orthodox Church.<sup>8</sup> He fought a bitter ideological battle with Karel Farský (1880–1927), the protagonist of the Modernist wing of the church up to 1924.<sup>9</sup> In 1925 Gorazd finally lost the battle, left the church, and converted his congregation to the Czech Orthodox Church led by Archbishop Sawatije who had been ordained by the Constantinople patriarch.<sup>10</sup> Gorazd's tactics worked and he began to dominate the Czech Orthodox Church

<sup>6</sup> František Cinek, *Arcibiskup Dr. Antonín C. Stojan – život a dílo. Pokus o nárys duchovní fysiognomie* (Olomouc, Lidové knihkupectví, 1933), Robert Luft, *Parlamentarische Führungsgruppen und politische Strukturen in der tschechischen Gesellschaft. Tschechische Abgeordnete und Parteien des österreichischen Reichsrats, 1907–1914*. Bd. 2. *Biographisches Handbuch der tschechischen Mitglieder des Abgeordnetenhauses des österreichischen Reichsrats 1907 bis 1914* (München: Oldebourg Verlag, 2012), 351–55, Jiří Malíř a kol., *Biografický slovník poslanců moravského zemského sněmu v letech 1861–1918*, 1. vyd (Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 2012), 661–64, Pavel Marek, “Antonín Cyril Stojan – kněz a politik”, in: *Osobnost v církvi a politice. Čeští a slovenští křesťané ve 20. století*, eds. Pavel Marek - Jiří Hanuš (Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 2006), 122–133.

<sup>7</sup> Pavel Marek, *České schisma. Příspěvek k dějinám reformního hnutí katolického duchovenstva v letech 1917–1924* (Olomouc - Rosice: Gloria, 2000).

<sup>8</sup> Pavlík's consequent Belgrade chairtoina was a consequence of the chaos which accumulated around the Czechoslovak Hussite Church from its founding. The leading figures in the denomination agreed with Pavlík at the time because they themselves were Orthodox in belief. The Modernist opposition, on the other hand, rejected the Orthodox beliefs but pragmatically cooperated with the Serbian Orthodox Church in order to ensure the ordination of bishops and to conserve the principle of apostolic succession. The opposition was interested in following its own programme of theological Modernism. The Serbian Orthodox Church was not completely informed about the internal situation within the Czechoslovak Hussite Church and was additionally in a hurry, placing pressure on the ordination seemingly out of concern that they not lose their authority and influence on the Czechoslovak Hussite Church and its relatively significant number of parishioners. The unusual internal situation within the Czechoslovak Hussite Church at the beginning of the 1920s must consequently be labelled an anomaly.

<sup>9</sup> Pavel Marek, “The ‘Eastern-Orthodox Crisis’ in the Czechoslovak Church Through the Eyes of the Old-Catholics: Cooperation or Merger? Reflections on the Corollary of Czech Catholic Modernism”, *Cosmas. Czechoslovak and Central European Journal*, volume 21:2 (Spring 2008): 22–42.

<sup>10</sup> The Bohemian Lands were a traditional Catholic territory; the Orthodox only found their way into the region in the second half of the nineteenth century in connection with the mission efforts of the Russian Orthodox Church in Prague and in particular in the west Bohemian spa towns of Karlovy Vary, Františkovy Lázně and Mariánské Lázně, which a wealthy Russian clientele would often visit. The mission work was supported by a group of Czech converts who leaned toward the Orthodox faith as a protest against the anti-Czech policies of the Viennese government. This marginal group was not an actual religious community but organised into an association with the mission. The group was actually dissolved during the World War I years and was only renewed after the founding of the independent Czechoslovak Republic. The association, led by the former lawyer Miloš Červinka, worked toward the founding of an Orthodox Church. An order of Czech priests, who had lived in Russia before the War and who had now returned to their own country, served the spiritual needs of the members. One of these returnees was Archimandrite Antonín Vrabec (Sawatij). The Czech Orthodox religious

and became its central figure, a pioneer seeking a specifically Czech form of Orthodoxy in the spirit of his own reform ideas.

Unlike Matěj Pavlík, Josef Židek is a relatively unknown figure and therefore we will focus on him more closely; the book is devoted to portraying his life and work based on newly discovered archived sources.<sup>11</sup> We do not know much about his early life. He was born in the village of Bohuslavice near Kyjov in South Moravia on the 12 March 1889 into a large family, the son of a railwayman and brother to seven siblings. He left the village to study at Olomouc Theological Faculty, where he graduated in 1913. He was ordained by Cardinal František Saleský Bauer (1841–1915). As a Roman Catholic chaplain he worked in various locations; he administered parishes in Pitarná (1915–1917), Medlov (1917–1918), Kroměříž (1918–1919) and Moravská Třebová (1919–1920) and finally on the 1 July 1920 moved to Chudobín, a small village close to Litovel in the Haná region of Moravia. This last placement came at the time when Židek was at his most passionate about the Church of Czechoslovakia; this is the only plausible explanation we have for the fact that he was able to convert a relatively large number of villagers in a very short time and consequently in November of 1920 became a member of the Provincial Council of Elders of the Church of Czechoslovakia in Moravia.<sup>12</sup> The members of the new Church of Czechoslovakia and the Catholics fought each other over the church building in 1920, from which the tension remained until 1923 when the building was returned to the original owner.<sup>13</sup> A particularly significant incident occurred in October of 1920 when a crowd prevented the new Roman Catholic priest from entering the parish and forced his carriage out of the village. Židek was incriminated in this regional scandal, which upset the public from nearby Litovel for many months, and which required military assistance in order to pacify the situation.<sup>14</sup> The

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community turned to the Serbian Orthodox Church with a request for assistance in establishing the Czech Orthodox Church in 1920. The Serbs were already focused, however, on cooperation with the Czechoslovak Hussite Church and consequently did not express an interest in this marginal group of Czech Orthodox believers. The situation culminated in a decision to ask for assistance from the Patriarch of Constantinople in 1923 who was supportive of the efforts of Sawatij and Červinka and finally established an Orthodox Church in Czechoslovakia with three eparchies. Sawatij was named Archbishop of Prague and all of Czechoslovakia. Two Orthodox Churches (Sawatij's and the Czechoslovak Hussite Church) consequently existed next to one another in the Czechoslovak Republic. Pavel Marek, Volodymyr Bureha, Jurij Danilec, *Arcibiskup Sawatij (1880–1959). Nástin života a díla zakladatelské postavy pravoslavné církve v Československé republice* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2009). Pavel Marek, "Pravoslavlí", in: Zdeněk Nešpor et al. *Náboženství v 19. století. Nejčirkevnější století, nebo období zrodu českého ateismu?* (Praha: Scriptorium, 2010), 237–260.

<sup>11</sup> Pavel Marek, *Josef Židek. Nástin života a díla reformního kněze, zakladatelské postavy pravoslavné církve na Moravě* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2010).

<sup>12</sup> Zemský archiv Opava, pob. Olomouc, fond Církev československá – olomoucká diecéze, personální spisy, sig. 16/II, C.

<sup>13</sup> The founding of the Czechoslovak Hussite Church opened up the issue of the ownership of churches. The new denomination broke away from the Catholic Church and understandably, as a new society, did not have its own church service facilities. Masses were served on squares and in provisional locations (for example in schools or gyms), which proved less than satisfactory for the believers. Forced seizures of Catholic church buildings in certain areas consequently came about where former Catholic clergy had transferred allegiance to the Czechoslovak Hussite Church or where a larger group of their believers were present. The Catholics were not willing to give up their property and therefore struggles over churches actually occurred in a number of locations. This issue was solved over time through an intervention by the State. The Czechoslovak Hussite Church received state support for the construction of their own ecclesiastical structures and were forced to return those seized earlier. Similarly, property of the Czechoslovak Hussite Church was seized, on a much smaller scale, by the group of Orthodox believers who later broke away. The situation in the village of Chudobín is a clear example of the struggle over these church buildings.

<sup>14</sup> Pavel Marek, "K problematice tzv. boje o kostely na počátku první Československé republiky", in: *Acta Universitatis Palackianae Olomucensis, Historica* 34, ed. Ivana Koucká (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2008), 59–73.

confusion was resolved when the worshippers from the Church of Czechoslovakia decided to build their own church. The foundation stone of the new Church of St. Cyril and Methodius in Chudobín was laid at the end of May 1923 during a large celebration attended by Bishop Gorazd (Pavlík) and, most notably, by a delegate from the Serbian Orthodox Church, Bishop Dositej (1878-1945),<sup>15</sup> identified as an intermediary of the Serbian Orthodox Church to the Bohemian Lands as well as a patron of the Czech Orthodox Church. Through the devotion of the worshippers led by Josef Žídek the development of the church was carried out, within a relatively short period, by 1925. The situation calmed down only for a short time, however, because the orientation of beliefs of the Church of Czechoslovakia and its organization were unresolved issues and the church split into two factions, Church of Czechoslovakia and the Orthodox Church. Since this polarization also affected people in Chudobín, a new dispute soon erupted there, this time over the church finished in 1925. The argument went to court and ended in 1930 with an Orthodox victory but the enormous debt that had been incurred for the church's development eventually led Žídek's congregation to voluntarily surrender the church to the worshippers from the Church of Czechoslovakia and build a new church.<sup>16</sup> The foundation stone for this church, again consecrated to St. Cyril and Methodius, was laid in the spring of 1934 on land that was purchased by Žídek's family (Žídek had married in 1922) and donated to the village.<sup>17</sup> The church itself was consecrated in 1936 with the participation of Dositej, who was the Metropolitan of Zagreb at that time.

Chudobín, with 58 houses and 340 inhabitants (1938), has prided itself up to the present day on its three churches. Two of them are the "work" of Žídek, which at the very least indicates his eagerness, enthusiasm and dedication. We should not be surprised by the fact that Bishop Dositej regularly attended Chudobín church festivities. Žídek met him for the first time sometime before the mid 1920s in Karlovy Vary during a period when the representatives of the Church of Czechoslovakia initiated early contacts regarding possible collaboration with the Serbian Orthodox Church. Žídek was the first priest in Moravia to be personally mentored by Dositej and he introduced the original unabridged Orthodox liturgy in Chudobín; the Serbian bishop instructed him on how to proceed with the eventual simplification of church services. Dositej visited Moravia in April 1921 and spent a week in Chudobín as a guest of Žídek. He held church services, baptisms, preached and lectured. From then onwards both men maintained friendly personal contact and although they had a few disputes, their friendship lasted until the start of the Second World War. Until April, 1921 Dositej must have viewed Žídek as a central figure among the Moravian clergy who were inclined towards Orthodoxy. At that point, Pavlík had refused to accept the orientation of the Church of Czechoslovakia towards the Orthodox Church and after Dositej's visit to Olomouc in April 1921 we observe the reversal of opinion which resulted in his consecration in Belgrade as a bishop by the Serbian Orthodox Church in September.<sup>18</sup> Žídek

<sup>15</sup> Dositej, birth name Vasič. Pavel Marek, "Srbská pravoslavná církev v Československu ve 20. letech 20. století. K Dositejově podkarpatoruské misi", in: *Studia Balcanica Bohemo-Slovaca*, 6, No. 1, ed. Pavel Boček et al. (Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2006), 317–333.

<sup>16</sup> "Žaloba náboženské obce Církve československé v Chudobíně o vydání pozemku, chrámu a fary soudem zamítnuta". *Věstník československé náboženské obce pravoslavné 1* (1930): 61–63.

<sup>17</sup> He married Ludmila Šupitová from Chotěboř. She graduated from Teaching institute in Litomyšl and at the time of the marriage she was teaching in Litovel. In 1923 she gave birth to their son Pravoslav Žídek (1923–2002), baptized by the bishop Gorazd. After graduation from the Specific Gymnasium in Litovel he graduated from the Army Academy in Hranice and as an officer he operated in Žilina. After a voluntary retirement he became a director in the culture house in Trutnov. In the time of the so called normalization after 1968 he was discharged. He moved to Chudobín and worked in a boiler room in the machine-works in Uničov.

<sup>18</sup> Archiv Ministerstva zahraničí České republiky Praha, fond Politické zprávy Bělehrad, 1. 6. – 31. 8. 1921, č. 435, 439, 445 a 466.

directly participated in this celebration where he had the opportunity to talk to the top officials in the Serbian Orthodox Church, including Dositej. Their relationship deepened in 1922 when Dositej deputised for him during his long stay in the USA. Dositej came to Chudobín again to lecture and teach the worshippers church singing and to teach Židek how to hold Orthodox services. From then onwards, Dositej participated in the consecration of further churches to which he also gave gifts. By 1923 Židek had already prepared an event where local worshippers signed conversion cards to transfer from the Church of Czechoslovakia to the Orthodox Church and he announced entry into the Sawatije parish (1880–1959), the Czech Orthodox community based in Prague,<sup>19</sup> which then formed the second foundation Orthodox movement in the Bohemian Lands.<sup>20</sup> The launch of both events was delayed by a year out of respect for Gorazd and his momentary desire not to hurry.

From the early 1920s Židek presented himself as an enthusiastic supporter of Orthodoxy and we have already shown that he was a pioneer and propagator of the religion in Moravia. He taught himself the old Slavonic language and could also speak Latin, German and some Greek, Russian and Serbian. He studied Orthodox theology and procured holy robes for participants in the liturgy. He systematically translated and copied theological and liturgical works for other clergy (*Enlightening of the Holy Liturgy* by Bobrov, *Eastern Orthodox Christianity* by Cankov, *Orthodox Pastors—morning and evening prayers and songs from the Polish Orthodox Bogoglasnik* by Šavelskij, etc.); one reviewer said that all the great discoveries and theologically valuable materials that were published in Czech were a result of Židek's efforts. He organised meetings of the clergy and instructed them on how Orthodox priests should behave and the drawbacks of Czech Orthodoxy. He built up and maintained contacts with the Orthodox world, comparable with Gorazd, and regularly exchanged letters with many outstanding intellectuals in the Orthodox Church including S. Cankov, L. A. Zander, S. Četverikov, S. V. Trojickij, N. N. Glubokovskij and many others as well as Church representatives such as Jevlogij, Damaskin, Varnava. Gorazd's consecration weakened the position of the Chudobín priest, although at the same time it brought him much joy because he gained a supporter who held exceptional authority and unquestionable abilities which gave him hope that the struggle for the dogmatic character of the Church of Czechoslovakia would result in the adoption of Orthodox dogma. On the other hand, Gorazd's inclination to Orthodoxy, which (as shown by numerous subsequent meetings with representatives of various foreign and domestic churches) was not definitive, brought to the Orthodox movement in Czechoslovakia a new dimension associated with the reforming nature of his personality. In fact, he caused a split among the Orthodox elite, where the joint line became the liturgy, or, in other words, it was a battle between traditional and liberal concepts of Orthodoxy: While worshippers of the Russian Orthodoxy [Sawatije, Jaroslav Alexej Vaněk (1877–1945), Russian immigrants] and their followers [J. Židek, Josef Neruda-Sávva (1898–1989)] worshipped at traditional Orthodox church services in the Czech environment, which was perceived by them as a missionary territory annexed to Eastern Churches, Gorazd pursued the idea of constituting a special form of the Czech Orthodox Church, which would be no different from other Orthodox Churches in terms of dogma, but would have different church service rituals derived from national traditions and adapted to the Czech mentality.<sup>21</sup> His confidence as a church reformer grew

<sup>19</sup> Pavel Marek, "K počátkům pravoslavné církve v českých zemích", in: *Andros Probabilis*. Eds. Jiří Malíř and Pavel Marek (Brno – Olomouc: Matice moravská a Univerzita Palackého, 2005), 285–298.

<sup>20</sup> By his own name Antonín Jindřich Vrabc. Pavel Marek and Volodymyr Bureha, *Pravoslavní v Československu 1918–1953* (Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 2007), 441–445.

<sup>21</sup> After graduation from gymnasium and a teaching institute he worked as a country teacher and school director. In 1924 he was ordained to a priest from the archbishop Sawatij. Radivoj Jakovljevič, "Devadesát let otce Sávvy", *Hlas pravoslavi* 44 (1989): 197–200.



so strong that he wanted to address the entire Orthodox world and challenge it to change. We can trace his theses in Gorazd's unpublished correspondence with Židek from late 1922, which is also a valuable authentic source for clarification of the motives for his reform ruminations.

Gorazd's letters from America also suggest that the initial impulse for the formulation of the Czech Orthodoxy model probably did not come from his own mind. The first person to begin a practical reformation of the Orthodox liturgy and attempt to make it more Czech oriented was probably a priest from Litovel named Karel Koudelka,<sup>22</sup> originally a Roman Catholic priest and a graduate of the Prague Faculty of Theology who arrived in Moravia in August 1920. Gorazd liked his proposals for the individuality of Czech Orthodox church services so much that he began to expand on them, drawing from his own American experiences. Židek undoubtedly observed these movements with concern. Although we are missing written documents from the early 1920s to document our claims, we have already stated the facts in connection to the introduction of the liturgy in Chudobín, which represent a compelling statement of his beliefs. In any case, Židek's stand on this issue is evidenced by the fact that while Gorazd viewed the Orthodox liturgy applied by the group around Archbishop Sawatije as the main obstacle to the merger of the two orthodox directions on the Czech territory, Židek and the entire religious community not only inclined towards it but were already forging ahead with it while Gorazd remained undecided. Židek's letter to Gorazd dated 7 March 1925 clearly formulates his refusal of Czech Orthodoxy:

I have rather dwelled on the request for new experimental church service procedures. Although I agree that the rules for how to present the sacred liturgy should be laid down, if a priest is on his own I cannot subscribe to the creation of some new liturgy. I would rather abide by the Roman liturgy than some kind of falsification of Orthodox liturgy. We seem to have luck in understanding the immense honourable and sacred worship of the Church of God and need to find enthusiasm for it.<sup>23</sup>

On the other hand, the rest of this letter shows that Židek was not against any changes to the liturgy, but believed that liturgical reform must be part of the "Christian Orthodox movement", i.e. it must be accompanied by a penetration of the doctrine into the hearts and minds of the worshippers ("Turn away or return to the church"), or the church service would take second place in terms of the order of the current tasks of the Czech Orthodox movement. Based on this document, we can at least conclude that Židek's thoughts were on how to enrich church services by introducing singing to make the liturgy less gloomy and more noble and sacred. "*It brings sacred enthusiasm and satisfaction.*" He recommended "light melody" which could be inspired, for example, by the old Czech chorales.

It seems that at this stage, until about 1924, the tension between Židek and Gorazd had a more or less latent character; it smouldered beneath the surface without any visible signs or excesses. Up until this point, the opposing opinions on the liturgy had not been of a conflicting nature as all was still in the making without pressure on unification or codification and, in addition, Židek was orientated towards Sawatije's group. The first crisis between the two personalities occurred sometime around 1924 while the question of the liturgy was fully in the background or at first did not play a significant role and was only part of a wider ranging agenda. It was the issue of jurisdiction that came to the fore of their conflict.

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<sup>22</sup> Zemský archiv Opava, pob. Olomouc, fond Církev československá – olomoucká diecéze, personální spisy, sig. 18/II,C.

<sup>23</sup> Archiv eparchiální rady olomoucko-brněnské eparechie Olomouc, fond Gorazdova pozůstalost, nezpracováno, složka opisů Gorazdových dopisů Židkovi pořízená prof. dr. Pavlem Alšem.

The issue of jurisdiction of the Czech Orthodox Church, i.e. the issue of the foreign patronage of the established foreign Orthodox Churches over the Czech Church (including in the Slovak and Carpatho-Russian) territories, emerged as a matter of controversy in 1922–1923 and there is still disagreement among Orthodox worshippers over this issue today.<sup>24</sup> If we simplify the issue, we can say that since the late nineteenth century the Czech Orthodox Church was traditionally inclined towards the Serbian Orthodox Church (all within the Cisleithanian lands), whose claim to the Czech territory in terms of canonical order is disputable. The Church of Czechoslovakia was established based on these older contacts and the situation evolved with the expansion of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the country, which was guaranteed in 1924 by the State Treaty entered into by the Czechoslovak Republic and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The second orthodox faction of the Czechoslovak Orthodox community continued in the pre-war tradition of the Czech-Serbian Orthodox communities. However, when making new contacts, the inertia of the Serbian Orthodox elite meant that this group preferred to contact the Constantinopolitan Ecumenical Orthodox Church and their Patriarch Meletius who established an Archdiocese in Czechoslovakia, led by the leaders of the Prague community, Sawatije and Miloš Červinka.<sup>25</sup> With the two jurisdictions thus established on Czechoslovak territory a natural conflict between the interests of the two foreign Orthodox Churches arose affecting the Orthodox worshippers and causing a split among them, accompanied by tension, arguments and fights.<sup>26</sup>

If we project these factors onto the framework of Židek's life story, it is apparent that the events surrounding the dispute over jurisdiction affected him deeply as his cooperative politics at that time were in crisis. He concluded that remaining in the Church of Czechoslovakia would be unproductive and, even before the final resolution of the so-called Orthodox crises, as the first Orthodox priest in Moravia, decided to abandon the church and together with his community moved over to Sawatije in March 1924.

With this move into Sawatije's Orthodox Church Židek placed himself in the opposing camp to Gorazd and Dositej. His letter to Gorazd dated the 21 July, 1924 perfectly reflects his feelings. Židek's reaction to the new situation in the Orthodox movement is highly excitable, to say the least, and he could not quell his temperament of a "Moravian Slovak". He attacked Gorazd, blaming him for yet another split between the Orthodox worshippers. While in July 1924 Židek presented himself as a follower of the Constantinopolitan jurisdiction and criticized Gorazd and Dositej, less than a year later, before the crucial General Assembly of the Orthodox community in Česká Třebová on the 25 November, 1925, he changed his opinion and turned full circle, offering peace to Gorazd and distancing himself from Sawatije.<sup>27</sup>

We do not know the reasons for Židek's change of opinion, fully realized in 1926 by the official return of the Chudobín community to the jurisdiction of the Serbian Orthodox Church. It is likely that he succumbed to the smear campaign started by the Moravians against the Prague headquarters of the Orthodox Church (at the time when all of the Orthodox community, including Gorazd, were united behind it), which led to the preparation of an internal plot which

<sup>24</sup> The issue of jurisdiction is not our particular subject of interest in this study. Its consideration is contained in the work of Pavel Marek *Pravoslavní v Československu 1918–1942* (Brno: Luboš Marek, 2004). We only mention it here to better illuminate the facts.

<sup>25</sup> Vladimír Grigorič, *Pravoslavná církev v Republice československé. Historicko-kanonické pojednání o pravoslavné církvi v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku, jakož i na Slovensku a Podkarpatské Rusi v přítomné době, s přípojením některých dat o pravoslaví v dějinách národa československého a karpatoruského* (Praha: V. Čerych, 1926).

<sup>26</sup> The jurisdiction of the Russian foreign Church partly interfered in the Czechoslovak territory as well, but we are already not taking that into account.

<sup>27</sup> At this gathering Gorazd's group, with the help of state institutions, conducted a coup in the Czech religious community and took over its leadership. Sawatij and his followers were excommunicated.

was officially concluded at the meeting in Česká Třebová. The fact is that in 1925 Židek rejoined Gorazd and his church leadership among the creators of the Czech Orthodox Church and we have no evidence that he continued to maintain contacts with Sawatije's fraction, the leading officials of which continued to consider themselves the official representatives of Czech Orthodoxy under Constantinopolitan jurisdiction. We have no direct evidence of Gorazd's response to Židek's actions, however, we can infer it from the fact that he did not block Židek's vote to the Diocese Assembly and that he entrusted him with tasks related to solving internal church issues. We believe, however, that Židek's lapse was not forgotten and that it had some influence on his suspension from the Orthodox Church several years later.

If we have portrayed the relations between Gorazd and Židek between 1924 and 1925 as tense but subdued, after the final resolution of the Orthodox crisis in the Church of Czechoslovakia and Gorazd becoming the head of the Orthodox Church, we can refer to the gradual deepening of the crisis in their relationship and the brewing of an open conflict, which fully erupted in 1936. This decade was a period involving the establishment of the Czech Orthodox Church, where Gorazd as its leading representative was given the opportunity to present his ideas on the model of the Czech Orthodox Church in practical life. While in the earlier period of the Orthodox crisis in the Church of Czechoslovakia he worked more or less with conception and reflection, as an authority he began to implement orders and monitor how they were fulfilled, with respect to his bishop status. It is understandable that under such circumstances, the area of conflict grew, as not everyone agreed with him. Most concerned was Židek, who as we have indicated above, represented an alternative to Gorazd's leadership due to his genuine deep interest in Orthodoxy, his abilities, individuality and contacts. After the decline in jurisdiction disputes, the issues of a different approach to the overall concept of Orthodoxy and Orthodox church services as recorded in the early 1920's came back to the fore.

Contemporary observers seemed to think that the break in the relationship between Gorazd and Židek came with the death of the priest<sup>28</sup> Alois Václav Ševčík (1875–1930), who had soothed the tension between the two of them using his authority and by supporting Židek. However, the fact that the first conflict in the new period of mutual relations appeared in the mid 1920's indicates that this explanation is not satisfactory and that, in fact, the break was the culmination of long-term antipathy that would have risen to the surface even without external instigation. In 1925 Židek, who was then the Liturgy Officer of the Synod, refused Gorazd's order to compile and organise the Orthodox liturgy which would have been put into temporary use. He argued that he was not Jan Zlatoústý or Basil the Great and that the liturgy would be a mere plagiarism, carrying the name of Zlatoústý, and moreover that this work was unnecessary since the Orthodox Church had its own liturgy, which, for example, he had practiced in Chudobín since 1922. Why create a new one?, Židek asked. Why experiment and instead of using that which is traditional and proven?<sup>29</sup> He critically monitored the attempts to do translations of liturgy texts by colleagues close to Gorazd in the subsequent years. He questioned the language abilities of Gruzín's translators and criticized the editorial work of Josef Leixner (1893–1970). He was outspoken, airing his views at various meetings.<sup>30</sup> Understandably, he made many open and hidden enemies this way.

<sup>28</sup> Zemský archiv Opava, pob. Olomouc, fond Církev československá – olomoucká diecéze, personální spisy, sig. 18/II,C.

<sup>29</sup> Archiv arcibiskupství olomouckého v Olomouci, fond Josef Židek – Sávva: V zájmu pravdy. Doplněk k životopisu Gorazda (Matěje Pavlíka) zpracovaný na základě dosud neznámého archivu Josefa Židka v Chudobíně, Opava 1975. Rukopis, 46.

<sup>30</sup> Pavel Marek, Martin Lupčo, *Nástin dějin pravoslavné církve v 19. a 20. století. Prolegomena k vývoji pravoslavlí v českých zemích, na Slovensku a na Podkarpatské Rusi v letech 1860–1992* (Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 2012), 425–26.

As he cared about the issue and not the authors, Gorazd's authority could not stop him either. When in 1927, Bishop Gorazd, Vladimír Gruzín and Čestmír Kráčmar (1894–1971) published their joint translation of Trebnik,<sup>31</sup> Židek expected it to be a comprehensive translation of the copy apparently used in all Slavic Orthodox Churches. Instead, according to Židek, the world was presented with an “*absurd abbreviated guide, linguistically flawed, so much so that it offended the Orthodox community and compromised Orthodoxy in general*”.<sup>32</sup> Židek declared the Czech Trebnik to be unique, and having no precedent in any other Orthodox Church and, therefore, it would be best if the work would sink underground and a new Trebnik be created. We can read the same strong words in 1933 after the so called Gorazd collection was issued—*A Popular Collection of Prayers and Liturgy Texts*—the basic liturgy guide compiled after Gorazd refused the task of creating a new liturgy. This was a collective work edited solely by the bishop. Židek saw the collection as the body of a guide which would be more suitable for school education than for a church service.

If one's view of the conflict between Gorazd and Židek at the turn of the 1920s and 1930s was restricted to the issue of the church service, such perception of the situation would be incomplete. We have already indicated above that the Chudobín priest was a confident and capable person with his own views who did not need to be managed and did not go to see the bishop for advice. His personality would not let him obey another authority and he did not automatically accept orders that would go against his line of thinking. As Gorazd's peer, colleague and friend, he sometimes had a problem with respect towards the Episcopal office and his behaviour was not always in accordance with the norms and preconceptions concerning the relationship between the hierarchy and the priest. The occasional excesses did not stem from disdain or disrespect but more from his impulsive behaviour resulting from his temper, which he subsequently regretted, continually compensated and apologized for. Gorazd was not without fault either, but we also need to reflect on the fact that the Orthodox community was small and it had to undertake a number of fundamental tasks without having sufficient experience. This seemed to require the steady hand of a leading figure who did not have a sufficient choice of creative collaborators available. It is therefore not surprising that when shortly after the establishment of an ecclesiastical court, which was very difficult to fill with qualified priests, Židek resigned from his post and similarly gave up his membership of the Eparchy Assembly (1930), arguing that the execution of those functions took him away from other, more important work (especially in the area of liturgy—and this was, as we already know, the source of tension) and the conflict between Židek and Gorazd grew even bigger. During the early 1930's Gorazd and his people gradually concluded that Židek distancing himself was not just his usual adventurous behaviour or excess, but an integral part of a wider agenda to create a second centre of the church, an opposite platform, which could jeopardize the leading position of the church elite and divert development in a different direction. They began to view Židek as a dangerous figure who threatened the church and its bishop. These were undoubtedly artificially constructed beliefs which were in fact untrue, thus the events of the mid 1930's surrounding Židek evoke a conspiracy for his liquidation. Events related to the activities of the organisation of young members of the Orthodox Church served as an excuse for the removal of a troublesome person. It was Židek's idea to establish such an

<sup>31</sup> Pavel Marek, Martin Lupčo, *Nástin dějin pravoslavné církve v 19. a 20. století. Prolegomena k vývoji pravoslavlí v českých zemích, na Slovensku a na Podkarpatské Rusi v letech 1860–1992* (Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 2012), 407.

<sup>32</sup> Archiv arcibiskupství olomouckého v Olomouci, fond Josef Židek – Sávva: V zájmu pravdy. Doplněk k životopisu Gorazda (Matěje Pavlíka) zpracovaný na základě dosud neznámého archivu Josefa Židka v Chudobíně, Opava 1975. Rukopis, 52–53

organisation and he also became a dominant figure in this circle that overshadowed Gorazd's leading role in the church.

The origins of organizing the youth of the Orthodox faith dated back to 1928 when Žídek established an Orthodox Youth Club in Chudobín. He was inspired by the Christian Movement of Russian students in Czechoslovakia, supported by the international Russian Orthodox Church. Similar clubs were quickly established in other places and church representatives led by Gorazd welcomed them as necessary to strengthen the role the church. In 1929 Žídek responded to the interest of the youth by organizing a conference for Orthodox clubs to be held in Chudobín and its success promoted the idea of establishing a united organisation with its own headquarters which would give focus and development to the work of young people. His suggestion was received with general enthusiasm and Gorazd himself stated that it was an absolutely necessary step. From then on the path was clear for establishing the association, called the Czech Orthodox Youth Movement, which was to be led by the main initiator and the founding congress voted for Gorazd as honorary chairman. The bishop's reaction to this was a promise of full assistance, through prayer, advice as well as financial help. Without any obvious problems everything went well, the project supported by the whole church, whose leadership did not mind that the association was founded using civil law as it was clearly stated that the association stood on church land and was to work for the benefit of the church. Each event was reported to the Eparchy Council. The activity balance sheets were regularly sent to the church headquarters and it is these reports that provide evidence of the wide-ranging activities of the youth, such as establishing libraries, organising language courses, educational lectures, music and poetry academies, theatre performances, concerts, walks, organized trips etc. The young people also formed new church choirs and took care of the floral decorations in the churches. The movement maintained contacts with Orthodox organisations abroad and looked after the spiritual lives of their members. In 1932, the headquarters of the youth organisation in Chudobín began to publish a magazine titled *Mír* with contributions from leading domestic and foreign authors along the lines of Orthodox intelligentsia.

The first signs of problems appeared in 1931 and initially seemed to be small things, just an expression of desires of the highest authority in the Orthodox Church which Žídek did not take personally. Then Gorazd stopped attending the youth congresses on the grounds that Žídek had taken a divisive position against him and presented a lack of church discipline. This conflict culminated in the middle of May 1936, when the Diocesan Assembly unanimously voted that it was necessary to dispose of the existing organizational structure of the youth movement and establish a new association in each community which would be fully subjected to the church according to the paragraphs of its constitution. At the same time, the Assembly stated that the charter of the Czech Orthodox Youth Movement had not previously been approved by the church body and that this was a breach of the Canonical order, a deliberate attempt to eliminate the influence of the church over the movement, and an attempt to create a faction inside the church. They accused Žídek of egocentrism and of attempting to portray himself as the saviour of the Orthodoxy against a leadership pulling the church onto unorthodox paths. He was also accused of trying to usurp a particular position in the church for himself through the youth movement. All of this took place in a climate where his Chudobín community had slipped into a spiritual barren land and begun to lose members.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Archiv arcibiskupství olomouckého v Olomouci, fond Josef Žídek – Sávva: V zájmu pravdy. Doplněk k životopisu Gorazda (Matěje Pavlíka) zpracovaný na základě dosud neznámého archivu Josefa Žídka v Chudobíně, Opava 1975. Rukopis, 57–68.

Židek's reaction to this new situation was radical. By the end of August 1937, he asked the Eparchy Council to grant him sick leave and he decided to retire, although he also initially declared his defence of the movement, because the church could not abolish an association established in accordance with the Act on Civil Law. In the second phase, however, he resigned and left the youth organization. Although the organisation officials refused to obey the church directive, he himself did not officially support this. Ultimately the movement was dissolved and was replaced by a new religious structure called the Orthodox forum.

Židek's request to retire could be considered the definitive end to the whole episode of infighting in the church. This fight might seem to have been personal, but in reality it addressed some fundamental problems in the Orthodox movement in Czechoslovakia in the years between the two world wars. Židek lost his fight. Some of Gorazd's circle could be happy because their most vocal opponent had been silenced. This case, however, has an epilogue. It seems quite useless and unconstructive to leave behind deep resentment on both sides, which up to the present day provokes disturbing questions.

The Eparchy Council evaluated Židek's statement delivered on the 28 August, 1936 in which he defended the Czech Orthodox Youth Movement. The council interpreted the statement as a sign of gross disobedience and initiated disciplinary proceedings against him. They ordered him to take sick and disciplinary leave; Chudobín's rectory received a new administrator and his suspension was announced to the Regional Office in Brno which stopped paying his salary. It is understandable that Židek's reaction was, to put it mildly, an angry one. The local parishioners became involved as they defended their priest and the tense situation escalated into public excesses and strong words. In early June of 1937 the Eparchy Council lodged a legal action against him with the ecclesiastical court in Prague. The hearing took place in late July and Židek was found guilty on all counts, which were divided into two broad accusations. The first concerned his refusal to comply with the decision of the Diocese to liquidate the Czech Orthodox Youth Movement, which he wanted to lead independently of the views of the Bishop and the Diocesan office. The second accusation concerned Židek's entire activity in the Orthodox Church because it apparently had led to disruption. Although the court acknowledged that all the events stated in the accusation took place under difficult and unclear circumstances and that they were outside the statute of limitations, no excuse could be made for the insults to Gorazd in 1936 when he declared that he could not stomach being part of the same church as him. His threat to leave the church, even though it was made under stressful circumstances, could not be forgiven either. The ecclesiastical court sentenced him to the loss of active service in the Czech Orthodox Eparchy while his title of Orthodox protopresbyter and his right to hold church services would remain intact. The ruling was fully confirmed by Bishop Gorazd, dated the 18 November 1937, and signed in Třebíč.<sup>34</sup>

Židek refused to accept the accusations in their entirety; he tried to defend himself, but his defence was fruitless. He was of the opinion that it was too far-fetched to classify his actions with regard to the Orthodox Youth Movement as rebellion, because the chairman must act on the basis of the duties assigned to him by the statutes. It was impossible for him to accept that they would look for old disputes and manipulate them to suit the accusation. It also seemed to him that the aim of the legal proceedings was to drag him over the coals rather than objectively assess his activities. The legal action was based on unsupported assumptions and suspicions and contained crude insults, labelling him a sick and ambitious villain. He wrote: *"The evil spirit*

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<sup>34</sup> Archiv arcibiskupství olomouckého v Olomouci, fond Josef Židek – Sávva: V zájmu pravdy. Doplněk k životopisu Gorazda (Matěje Pavlíka) zpracovaný na základě dosud neznámého archivu Josefa Žídka v Chudobíně, Opava 1975. Rukopis – verdict from 14th October 1937.

of hatred and resentment of which the accusation is full of, dominated the whole investigation”, regretting: “The entire process against me is most cruel and ruthless; without any regard for my family and regardless of my health.” All this piece of work is in conflict with the spirit of Christ.<sup>35</sup>

Žídek also tried to defend himself at the civil court, however, with regard to the nature of the dispute, he failed. He wrote personal letters to Gorazd and to the divided Chudobín church community but to no avail. His friends at home and abroad defended him in front of the head of the Serbian Orthodox Church, Metropolitan Varnava, and also in front of Gorazd. The Paris Metropolitan Jevlogij was on his side and the Russian Prague Bishop Sergij also expressed his understanding of his situation. It seems that Gorazd’s call to Žídek in 1938 in which he ordered him to sign a declaration to be printed in the Church Bulletin was the only response Žídek received. He was ordered to acknowledge that the statutes of the Czech Orthodox Youth Movement were in contradiction to the view of the church and that it was necessary to abandon any resistance and proceed with the transformation of the movement. The document does not mention any further offences although a full expression of his regret was demanded. With regard to the circumstances surrounding the founding of the youth association, Žídek refused to sign the statement as he considered it to be a lie. He therefore burnt his last bridge, which could have led to the establishment of a type of *modus vivendi*. Žídek wrote to his most loyal friend, J. A. Vaněk, with apparent emotion:

I am breaking contact with Bishop Pavlík completely. Lord, forgive him, I want to hear from him no more. It was an unfortunate moment in my life, when I met him. He caused me terrible mental suffering, first in an underhanded manner and later on more violently. I cannot conceal that the Serbian Orthodox Church also showed their bureaucratic administration colours; it became apparent that the master is always innocent and the servant is always guilty. They watched my fight with the master as spectators in the arena.<sup>36</sup>

The last sentence of the above extract from the letter reflects the reality: overall, Žídek’s elimination was executed without major response as the case involved only a narrow circle of people and the uninterested succumbed to the official propaganda of a rebellion. It had particular impact on the members of the Eparchy Council, some of whom resigned, although they were quickly replaced by others. The fifty year old Žídek found himself in existential uncertainty and his fallen social status was only consoled by his wife, who worked as a teacher. It was necessary to find a way out of the situation. His friends abroad advised him to leave Czechoslovakia and join the Orthodox community in America, Yugoslavia or Poland. If we assess the overall situation in which Žídek found himself we must conclude that to accept these suggestions to emigrate would result in a new beginning—a radical and drastic solution. Žídek and his family endured a difficult time in deciding, of which we have preserved testimony in the form of a letter addressed to J. A. Vaněk. The final verdict was a surprise to the Orthodox community—Žídek chose to return to the Roman Catholic Church.

The controversy between both parties as represented by the press, who could not solve anything and only made the crisis worse, was the last straw in the entire case.<sup>37</sup> Žídek joined the

<sup>35</sup> Archiv arcibiskupství olomouckého v Olomouci, fond Josef Žídek – Sávva: V zájmu pravdy. Doplněk k životopisu Gorazda (Matěje Pavlíka) zpracovaný na základě dosud neznámého archivu Josefa Žídka v Chudobíně, Opava 1975. Rukopis—statement of grounds from 3rd June 1937).

<sup>36</sup> Archiv arcibiskupství olomouckého v Olomouci, fond Josef Žídek – Sávva: V zájmu pravdy. Doplněk k životopisu Gorazda (Matěje Pavlíka) zpracovaný na základě dosud neznámého archivu Josefa Žídka v Chudobíně, Opava 1975. Rukopis, 102–03

<sup>37</sup> Josef Žídek, “Odpadlý kněz se vrací do Církve”. *Rozsěvač* 1 (1939), 5, “K prohlášení p. faráře Josefa Žídka v Rozsěvači”. *Věstník československé náboženské obce pravoslavné* 10 (1939): 7–9.

Roman Catholic Church in December of 1938 and after his interview with Archbishop Leopold Prečan (1866–1947) sent the Pope a request for secularization.<sup>38</sup> It was granted in 1940 and Žídek found himself working for charity, at first in Litovel and later in Brno as a director of a Catholic Charity. After the restoration of the Orthodox Church in 1946 he tried to revive his case and requested the Eparchy Council of the Orthodox Church in Prague and the Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church for rehabilitation. It is currently unknown what motivated him to do this; it seems that he needed to resolve the issue of his pension. The request caused misgivings; no one had any desire to return to the past. It did not stand a chance of success under the circumstances as the verdict was still valid and the church leadership did not have sufficient powers to order a retrial. However, the comment made by one of the officials seems apposite as he wrote at the end of the request that it is difficult to look for the truth when mistakes were made on both sides. Žídek finally resigned after this attempt and continued to withdraw into the background. After retiring he spent most of his time working in his garden until his death on the 9<sup>th</sup> of November, 1968 in the women's monastery in Plaveč near Znojmo, where he retired in the final stage of his severe illness with stomach cancer. He died a Catholic and his grave is in the cemetery in Chudobín, next to the Orthodox Church in the village which became his destiny.<sup>39</sup> On the day of his funeral, as the village chronicle states, the sound of the bells from all three Chudobín churches accompanied him on his path of reconciliation.

Bishop Gorazd (Pavlík) decided the direction of the Orthodox Church in the Czechoslovakia by means of power. The room for activities of the opposition was restricted to private functions. Gorazd followed his idea of Czech Orthodoxy until his death in 1942. After the war the church in Czechoslovakia continued his legacy and developed it even after the changeover into the jurisdiction of the Russian Orthodox Church. Recently it has been signaled that the Church is gradually deflecting from Gorazd's idea and Czech Orthodoxy is becoming a historically concluded period.

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<sup>38</sup> Zemský archiv Opava, pob. Olomouc, fond Arcibiskupství olomoucké, card 12.

<sup>39</sup> Josef Žídek was buried here together with his mother Ludmila (1895–1975), son Pravoslav and daughter-in-law Magda (1929–1999).



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## The Primacy of the Past in Salazar

**Abstract** | Whereas there is a general agreement that Salazar was a conservative politician, the *Estado Novo* regime is frequently labeled as “Fascist”. Referring to Nazi-fascist mythologies, this paper defends Salazarist legitimacy discourse as having a fundamentally conservative and counter-revolutionary nature. Even though the Salazarist anti-modern and counter-revolutionary philosophical background overlapped with fascist/nazi/authoritarian regressive political imagery, it was deeply rooted in traditionalist nationalism. Nazi-fascist societies were—at least partly—produced by a “modernist revolution”/“temporary revolution”, i.e. a palingenetic myth of “creative destruction” (Roger Griffin). In Portugal it was rather traditionalism and its preeminent mouthpieces (Maistre, Bonald, Donoso Cortés) that were echoed in Salazarist discourse. This is why Salazar’s basic theses remind more of Maistre, Burke, Maurras or papal encyclicals than Mussolini or Hitler. Whereas in other parts of Europe traditionalism did not manage to take control of national policy and was exploited in favour of Nazi-fascist “(supra)temporal revolutions/purges”, Salazarism espoused ideology founded on traditionalist legitimacy myths. Allied with the papacy, maintaining a neutral equidistance between both warring blocs, and being suspicious of the modern liberal order, Salazar repeated the “great truths” of European traditionalism. The Portuguese regime put into practice “*occidentalisme intégriste*”, i.e. it entertained the myth of the redemptive, prophetic, and providential role of Portugal as a moral authority within Christian West.

**Keywords** | (Anti)-Modernity – Salazar – Maistre – Maurras – Counter-Revolution

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*“A new mentality will bring Portugal back to life.”<sup>1</sup>*

### Introduction

This paper analyzes the Portuguese dictator Salazar, and his political ideas and concepts as revealed in his speeches, interviews and official discourse. Such a panoramic overview of his thought will give us access not only to his deeply conservative and anti-modern political thought and philosophy but also to the fundamentally counter-revolutionary nature of the Portuguese regime. Paying attention to traditionalist, unmodern and anti-modern traits of Salazarism the paper attempts to: 1. juxtapose the Salazarist cultural revolution to that of Nazi-fascism and show their completely different background, 2. insert Salazarism and *Estado Novo* into the counter-revolutionary tradition as reflected in the works of its French classics (Joseph de Maistre, Charles Maurras, Henri Massis, Jacques Bainville, Jacques Ploncard d’Assac) and therefore 3. oppose the Salazarist “traditionalist revolution” to the Nazi-fascist cultural revolution as far as the conception of history is concerned.

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<sup>1</sup> António Ferro, *Salazar, homem e a sua obra* (Lisboa: Empresa Nacional de Publicidade, 1933), xxxix.

Though historiography and the social sciences have not ignored the singular phenomenon of Salazarism completely and have introduced interesting and highly relevant frameworks (Sternhell, Taguieff), they are mostly focused either on the French counter-revolutionary/fascist tradition (Sternhell) or on the philosophical question of modernity (Taguieff). As far as Portuguese historiography is concerned, its terminology views Salazarism predominantly as a sort of “fascism” (Costa Pinto) or “dictatorship”. Eventually the historiography recognized Salazarism’s counter-revolutionary inspiration but has not analyzed it sufficiently in the international context (Torgal, Archer Carvalho). If there are works that recognize the minor role of fascism in Portuguese cultural and political history (Medina, Costa Pinto), they nevertheless associate Salazar with fascism. At best there is a recognition of two political right-wings (fascist and traditionalist) in the Portuguese early twentieth century (Gallagher, Blinkhorn, Bernardo) or studies of the Portuguese counter-revolutionary right (Braga, Torgal) without a closer link to Salazarism and with a persistent tendency to oppose local traditionalist monarchists (integralists) to Salazarism: something that Medina calls the “integralist paradox”—conflict between two counter-revolutionary nationalisms.<sup>2</sup>

Considering Sternhell’s bi-polar “*illuminisme—anti-illuminisme*” concept as too extensive and therefore vague, I prefer to use Taguieff’s concepts of the “first traditionalism” (i.e. the very first conservative reaction to the French revolution) and the “second traditionalism” (an anti-modern discourse including late nineteenth century nationalist, racist, and anti-semitism-cum-nazi-fascist thinkers as well) which allow us to view Salazarism as one of the counter-revolutionary ramifications. Whereas “fascism(s)” were widely analysed, conservatism and its relation to fascism has been much less so.<sup>3</sup> The present article aims to contribute to this field.

Regarding the way Portugal and Salazarism pertain to the European counter-revolutionary tradition I am going to refer to Salazar’s voluminous *Discursos* (1928–1950), his two books dedicated to his French sympathizers (*Comment se relève un Etat, Révolution dans la paix*), the interviews Salazar-Ferro (*Salazar, homem e a sua obra*), interviews conceded to the international press (1967), interviews Salazar-Henri Massis (1939, 1961),<sup>4</sup> letters to Salazar from Charles Maurras, basic doctrinary work by Charles Maurras (*Mes idées politiques*) and Joseph de Maistre (*Considérations sur la France*). Because of the limited space it is not possible to quote the above mentioned sources in their entirety. For this reason I will restrain myself to the most eloquent quotes.

## Nazi-Fascist and Traditional Right

In charting the map of European fascism Roger Griffin used the concept of the “palingenetic myth”, which, in his view, underlined the European fascist adventure of the first half of the twentieth century and absorbed a lot of modernist imagery. Analogous to George L. Mosse or Eric Nolte, Roger Griffin views fascism as a “transpolitical phenomenon”.<sup>5</sup> Pointing at the collective psychology of that time as reflected in arts, literature, political thinking and philosophy, Griffin

<sup>2</sup> João Medina, *Salazar e os fascistas* (Lisboa: Livraria Bertrand, 1978), 77.

<sup>3</sup> Martin Blinkhorn, “Introduction: Allies, rivals, or antagonists? Fascists and conservatives in modern Europe”, *Fascists and Conservatives: The radical right and the establishment in the twentieth-century Europe*, ed. Martin Blinkhorn (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 3.

<sup>4</sup> Henri Massis, *Salazar, face à face. Trois dialogues politiques* (Genève: La Palatine, 1961).

<sup>5</sup> Renzo de Felice, *Comprendre le Fascisme* (Paris: Ed. Seghers, 1975); Ernst Nolte, *Der Faschismus in seiner Epoche* (München: R. Piper, 1963); George Lachman Mosse, *Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich* (New York: Howard Fertig, 1981).

analyses *Zeitdiagnosen* of that time and concludes that the German and Italian Nazi-fascist regimes did not represent merely social and political revolution but also “temporary revolution”. In other words, these regimes/movements embraced pseudo-religious *Weltanschauung* whose origins can be traced back to *fin-de-siècle* apocalypticism<sup>6</sup> and whose discourse referred both to “palingenetic myth” and “modernist revolution”.<sup>7</sup> For Griffin, both “modernist revolution” and the “palingenetic myth” (myth of the new beginning) constituted the very essence of the new Nazi-fascist order and produced a feeling of “running out of time”. From this perspective fascism conceived of itself as a purgatory agent “to purge civilization of decadence, and foster the emergence of a new breed of human beings which it defined in terms not of universal categories but essentially mythic national and racial ones”.<sup>8</sup> Such “creative destruction” was legitimized “not by the divine will, reason, the laws of nature, or by socio-economic theory”, but by the profound belief “that history itself was at a turning point and could be launched on a new course through human intervention that would redeem the nation and rescue the West from the imminent collapse”.<sup>9</sup> If there were any speculations and theories about the romantic aspect of fascism,<sup>10</sup> then it was this aspect, labelled by Griffin as a “creative destruction”, “modern apocalypse”, “the sense of a beginning”, the “palingenesis” which had directed the “fascist cultural revolution” and was supposed to be “brought about not through suprahuman agency, but engineered through the power of the modern state”.<sup>11</sup>

Griffin links fascism with modernism, which—in his view—shared a similiar vision of historical time and faith in a sort of “break-through” (Griffin’s term *Aufbruch*) into the new historical dimension. As some scholars have observed, it is these spiritual/religious characteristics that link early twentieth-century fascism with the French revolution. While the French revolution “put its stamp on a novel view of the sacred” and “created a civil religion which modern nationalism made its own”, fascism “showed some continuity of mind with the French revolution”.<sup>12</sup> A closer look at revolutionary festivals, rituals, myths (new order, new man) and symbols, Utopianism, cults, martyrs, mobilization of the masses, the importance of psychology of the masses, political liturgy and activist politics reveal many similarities—especially as far as Latin fascism is concerned.<sup>13</sup> Some fascists (George Valois) were convinced that the French revolution was “the beginning of a movement, both socialist and nationalist, which the fascists would complete”.<sup>14</sup> Nevertheless, there were significant differences as far as views on human nature (pessimistic/optimistic view, the human being as essentially good or bad, instinctual or reasonable being etc.), social organization, and progress are concerned.

Concurrently—next to various French revolutionary progeny and fascism—there was a traditionalist right resulting from early nineteenth-century legitimism and ultramontanism. Its theoretical resources date back to the critique of the pre-revolutionary social contract theories,

<sup>6</sup> Walter Laqueur, “Fin-de-siècle – once more with feeling”, *Journal of Contemporary History* (1996): 5–31; Francis Baumer, “Twentieth-century Version of Apocalypse”, *European Intellectual History Since Darwin and Marx*, ed. W. W. Wagar (New York: Harper and Row, 1966), 110–134.

<sup>7</sup> Roger Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism: The Sense of a Beginning under Mussolini and Hitler* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 4.

<sup>8</sup> Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism*, 6.

<sup>9</sup> Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism*, 6.

<sup>10</sup> Robert Soucy, *Fascism in France: The Case of Maurice Barrès* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1972), 14–15.

<sup>11</sup> Griffin, *Modernism and Fascism*, 8 (note 17).

<sup>12</sup> George Lachman Mosse, “Fascism and the French revolution”, *Journal of Contemporary History* (1989): 5.

<sup>13</sup> Mosse, “Fascism and the French revolution”, 24–25.

<sup>14</sup> Mosse, “Fascism and the French revolution”, 22.

eighteenth-century French monarchy reformers and advocates of papal infallibility, which is something that makes it completely different from modern political doctrines including Nazi-fascism. Traditionalist discourse referred neither to a cult of youth, the mobilization of the masses nor to a New Man. Nevertheless, modernity pushed traditionalists to use of some modern devices (in theory most apparent in Maurras, in practice it is visible in Salazar's willingness to introduce paramilitary organizations and a propaganda apparatus). In spite of a certain willingness of the traditionalist right to collaborate with the Nazi-fascist right, it was leery about its cult of violence, *l'action pour l'action* attitude and the faith in "destructive construction". Traditionalists' fear of Nazi-fascist destruction of traditional values is illustrated in the following lines by Henri Massis about Spengler's then recently published *Untergang des Abendlandes*:

There is a sort of pre-established harmony between decadence of the West and the German genius (...). Nation-socialist movement is exactly that kind of movement of culture destruction (...). New civilization (...) is not just rejection of the most excellent achievements of human culture. (...) Is it necessary to point at the danger of such heroism, that, from its very beginning, declares itself to be repudiator of western humanism. Prepared and accepted by Spengler's philosophy national socialism directly threatens values of the West: it is an instrument—dreamt of by this philosopher—of the Occident decadence.<sup>15</sup>

In Portugal fascist imagery was introduced by means of futurism and modernist reviews. After the Great War it was briefly epitomized by the short-lived dictator Sidónio Pais and reinforced by D'Annunzio's and Mussolini's imported personality cults. Adherents of such new religiosity were limited to small groupings of young intellectuals, artists and their reviewers. A few of them are considered to have been authentic fascists: Homem Cristo Filho,<sup>16</sup> António Pedro<sup>17</sup> and Rolão Preto and his Blue Shirts (*Camisas Azuis*).<sup>18</sup> They became dedicated to international fascism (Homem Cristo Filho), conspired against Salazar from abroad (Rolão Preto), later entered into Salazarist structures (António Ferro) or were converted to democracy (António Pedro).

In contrast to the North European countries, twentieth-century Portugal was still a predominantly rural and little modernized country. Reform attempts of the Portuguese Enlightenment (Pombal, Verney) and republican reforms were not sufficient to introduce and carry out modernity.<sup>19</sup> At the time of the Portuguese campaign in the Great War a preponderant majority of the population lived in pre-modern conditions, lacked basic education and did not identify itself with the republic. In spite of modernizing reforms the illiteracy rate continued to be very high, and a significant part of the population continued to resist secularization and modernization. The Portuguese wartime campaign, the instability of republican governments, and the tragic

<sup>15</sup> Henri Massis, "Spengler, le précurseur", *La Nouvelle Revue Française* (1933): 350–352.

<sup>16</sup> João Medina, *Os primeiros fascistas portugueses. Subsídios para a história ideológica dos primeiros movimentos fascistas em Portugal anteriores ao nacional-sindicalismo* (Lisboa: Atlântida Editora, 1978); Cecília Barreira, "Homem Cristo Filho: algumas considerações em torno do seu percurso ideológico-político", *O Fascismo em Portugal*. Actas do Colóquio realizado na Faculdade de Letras de Lisboa em Março de 1980 (Lisboa: 1982), 175–185.

<sup>17</sup> António Costa Pinto, "The Literary Aspirations of Portuguese Fascism", *Fascism and European Literature/Faschismus und Europäische Literatur*, eds. Stein Ugelvik Larsen and Beatrice Sandberg (Bern: Peter Lang Publishers, 1991), 238–253.

<sup>18</sup> António Costa Pinto, *Os Camisas Azuis. Ideologia, Elites e Movimentos Fascistas em Portugal (1914–1945)* (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1994).

<sup>19</sup> Joaquim Murilo de Carvalho, "Intellectual history in Brazil: rhetoric as a key to reading", *Topoi – Revista de História* 1 (2000): 123–152; Joaquim Ferreira Gomes, "Luís António Verney e as reformas pombalinas do ensino", *Verney e o iluminismo em Portugal*, Actas do Colóquio: Verney e a Cultura do seu Tempo realizado na Universidade do Minho em 2 e 3 de Abril de 1992 (Braga: Universidade de Minho, 1995): 7–27; Filipe de Meneses, *União sagrada e sidonismo. Portugal em guerra 1916–1918* (Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 2000), 32–36.

economic situation led to several right-wing plots and the unpopularity of the liberal regime. At that time Salazar's thoughts were taking shape—during his studies in the Catholic seminary, within the Academic Center of Christian Democracy (CADC) and the Portuguese Catholic Center (CCP) Salazar witnessed the republic's convulsions, the birth of the counter-revolutionary grouping *Integralismo Lusitano* (1914), Pimenta de Castro's coup (1915), Sidonio Pais' dictatorship (1917–1918) and the experiment of the Northern Monarchy (1919).

According to some, Salazar can be considered neither doctrinary<sup>20</sup> nor a “man of action” like Mussolini or the other dictators of his time.<sup>21</sup> Salazar considered himself a mediator of traditional pre-modern values and a herald of historical continuity of pre-revolutionary Portugal which became the main point of reference of his political imagery: “*Salazarist political imagery is structured (...) both around the past and the unity of historical national continuity (...)*.”<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, already during the 1920s, aware of the civilizational crisis of the West and having a Catholic education, Salazar turned to counter-revolutionary authorities. As Rolão Preto confessed to João Medina: “*At the faculty he had a reputation of being a monarchist (...) I am convinced that he did not know Maurras at that time. In Portugal Maurras was not known. It was us who brought him from exile. (...) I think he read Catholics, (...), encyclicals, popes, Leo XIII (...)*.”<sup>23</sup> As is apparent in his first speeches, Salazar evaded the apocalyptic fascist “constructive destruction” discourse Griffin writes about and decided to “*take lessons from the past (...) and to build new order*”<sup>24</sup> already in 1930. In 1934 he referred to the 1926 military coup as a *coup de grâce* to the progeny of the French revolution and the Portuguese liberal revolution (1820): “*The movement (...) led by the army and the naval forces on May 28<sup>th</sup>, 1926 tended to remove liberalism, individualism and parties' and social struggles once for all.*”<sup>25</sup> Salazar became the “*fertilizer of military action in May 28<sup>th</sup>, 1926 the action of which would have been sterile without his seed (sic)*.”<sup>26</sup> Peripheral Portugal enabled Salazar to realize “nation salvation” in the spirit of pre-modern values, to survive World War II and to criticize modern liberal parliamentary systems<sup>27</sup> with reference to “eternal truths”<sup>28</sup>

Those who study the origins of *Estado Novo* frequently refer to Maurras and *Action française*<sup>29</sup> as an ideological matrix of Salazarism. There is not agreement on whether Salazar became acquainted with Maurrasism as lately as via *Integralismo Lusitanismo*<sup>30</sup> or already as student.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, it is clear, that, exactly like Salazar, many of Maurras' other sympathizers

<sup>20</sup> Yves Léonard, *Salazarismo e fascismo* (Lisboa: Inquérito, 1998), 55.

<sup>21</sup> João Medina, *Salazar e os fascistas* (Lisboa: Livraria Bertrand, 1978); Ferro, *Salazar, homem e a sua obra*, passim.

<sup>22</sup> Léonard, *Salazarismo e fascismo*, 7.

<sup>23</sup> Medina, *Salazar e os fascistas*, 60.

<sup>24</sup> António de Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos I (1928–1934)* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1961), 76–77.

<sup>25</sup> Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos I*, 336.

<sup>26</sup> Helena Pinto Janeiro, *Relações luso-francesas durante a II guerra mundial (1940–1944)* (Lisboa: Edições Cosmos, 1998), 41.

<sup>27</sup> António de Oliveira Salazar, *Entrevistas (1960–1966)* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1967), 6–7, 67.

<sup>28</sup> Oliveira Salazar, *Entrevistas*, 104.

<sup>29</sup> Emmanuel Hurault, “Droite maurrassienne et salazarisme des années trente à Vichy”, *L'Action française et l'étrangere*, ed. Catherine Pomeyrols and Claude Hauser (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2001): 123–135; João Bernardo, *Labirintos do fascismo. Na encruzilhada da ordem e da revolta* (Porto: Edições Afrontamento, 2003), 88–90; Richard Griffiths, “Fascist or Conservative? Portugal, Spain and the French Connection”, *Portuguese Studies* 14 (1998): 138–151; Stewart Lloyd-Jones, “Integralismo Lusitano and Action française, their roots and shared principles”, *Portuguese Journal of Social Science* 2.1 (2003): 33–59.

<sup>30</sup> Medina, *Salazar e os fascistas*, 60–61.

<sup>31</sup> Bernardo, *Labirintos do fascismo*, 88–90.

in Latin America (Jackson de Figueiredo) and in Québec (Lionel Groulx) did not absorb the modernist aspects of Maurras' thought and became much closer to Maistre.

Already in the 1920s Salazar repressed his monarchism and distanced himself from Maurras' "*politique d'abord*" to substitute it with "first the spiritual".<sup>32</sup> Hereabouts one can find the demarcation line between Salazarism on the one hand and *Action française* and *Integralismo Lusitano* on the other. Nevertheless, Salazarism came into being during the 1920s in close connection with Maurrassism and integralism (and their short-lived, 1923–1936, Spanish congener *Acción Española*) as progeny of early nineteenth-century counter-revolution. In spite of many differences (rather of a practical than a theoretical nature) Salazarism, Maurrassism and integralism can be viewed as similar and mutually compatible doctrines. Their common and underlying imagery refused the "monstrous modern state"<sup>33</sup> and principles of the French revolution not for the sake of "new fascist man" but for the sake of Thomist "*omnis potestas a Deo*"<sup>34</sup> and Maistrian counter-revolution. The same principles were later adopted by Latin American elites in their doctrine of national security.<sup>35</sup>

The longevity of Salazar's regime can probably be attributed to its ineffectiveness—many of its counter-revolutionary principles (restoration of the monarchy, union between throne and altar or abolishment of church-state disestablishment) were never realized. For this reason some of his counter-revolutionary "colleagues" despised him and accused him of opportunism:

There was always a group of monarchists believing that Salazar would introduce monarchy. But he did not do it. He said neither yes nor no. (...) He was above all eclectic. (...) The point was not his adherence to integralism, monarchism or Catholicism: he took advantage of all that. I repeat: he did all that because of his personal profit (...) church was afraid of him (...).<sup>36</sup>

Contrary to Rolão Preto's testimony, Salazar explicitly rejected restoration of the monarchy on several occasions.<sup>37</sup> Salazar's compromise with modernity was not by any means the singular one. Maurras drew much more from Comte's positivism than from Maistre's theocratic ultramontane counter-revolutionary thinking; he was agnostic and as such condemned by papal curia. That is confirmed by Roland Sarti's thesis according to which:

Political conservatism is indeed a modern phenomenon (...) we would not renounce the principles and techniques of modern politics, including pursuit of popular support, development of mechanisms of mass mobilization, courting of specific interest groups for political purposes, and use of mass media to convey political messages.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Léonard, *Salazarismo e fascism*, 59.

<sup>33</sup> António de Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos IV (1943–1950)* (Coimbra: Editora Coimbra, 1961), 245.

<sup>34</sup> Charles Maurras, *Mes idées politiques* (Paris: Fayard, 1941), 39.

<sup>35</sup> Miguel Rojas-Mix, "Charles Maurras en Amérique Latine", *Le Monde diplomatique* 11 (1980): 15.

<sup>36</sup> Rolão Preto about his personal testimony in the interview with João Medina. Medina, *Salazar e os fascistas*, 161.

<sup>37</sup> Oliveira Salazar, *Entrevistas*, 169–170.

<sup>38</sup> Roland Sarti, "Italian Fascism: Radical Politics and Conservative Goals", *Fascistes and Conservatives: The radical right and the establishment in the twentieth-century Europe*, ed. Martin Blinkhorn (London: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 15.

The same can be said about Salazar and Salazarism but it does not imply a counter-revolutionary basis to Salazar's policy. In spite of the explicit theocratic discourse he sometimes employed, Salazar never introduced the theocratic state:

Put at the top of Salazar's system of thought, the reference to God seems to evoke a theocratic model or a regime where authority—understood as emanating directly from divinity—is exercised by one sovereign seen as a representative of God on the Earth or even an incarnated God. *In absentia* of the monarchy he does not wish to restore, the Portuguese dictator would take on (...) features of the Tibetan Dalai Lama.<sup>39</sup>

## Counter-Revolutionary Matrix

The nineteenth century created a number of anti-Modernity schools of thought. Besides romanticism, there was anti-semitism<sup>40</sup> and the rudiments of fascism,<sup>41</sup> but first and foremost counter-revolution. According to Sternhell, the revolt against the Enlightenment was originally an intellectual revolt, i.e. a revolt against French and Kantian concepts of the Enlightenment.<sup>42</sup> Antimodern traditionalism originated in the eighteenth century.<sup>43</sup> It viewed modernity as “decadent” in all sorts of areas: the strongest aversion was felt towards the modern way of political organization but, in a broader sense, it was an aversion to the modern way of life and human existence.

Whereas Sternhell begins his analysis of anti-modern discourse via a considerably large bipolar pattern *illuminisme—anti-illuminisme*,<sup>44</sup> Taguieff's arguments result from anti-modern rhetoric which encourages him to discriminate between “first traditionalism” and “second traditionalism” (containing Nazi-fascist thinkers as well). In Taguieff's view, the most prominent examples are Bonald, Donoso Cortés, Nietzsche, Spengler and Evola.<sup>45</sup> In Salazar's speeches and interviews one frequently runs across the words “monstrous modern state”, references to God, to “great ancestors” or to national Catholic traditions. Let's now turn to Taguieff's list of four basic points of traditionalism. Each of them can easily be identified as parts of the robust basis of Salazarism and his paternal French counter-revolutionary *maîtres* including Maurras:

### 1. *The world itself is in a process of decadence.*

This is one of the effectively broadcasted Maistrarian theses identifiable a hundred years later in Maurras, Evola and Salazar. Revolution constitutes the crucial and/or starting point of it (in some authors preceded by the Reformation). Whereas Salazar is not so explicit on this point, preeminent Salazarist historians link such decadence with prominent figures of the Portuguese

<sup>39</sup> Léonard, *Salazarismo e fascismo*, 62. The thesis about the similarities between Salazar and the Dalai Lama was introduced by historian Thomas Gallagher in his book *Portugal: A Twentieth-Century Interpretation* (Manchester, 1983).

<sup>40</sup> Zeev Sternhell, “Le fascisme, ce ‘ce mal du siècle...’”, in: *Le mythe de l'allergie française au fascisme*, ed. Michel Dobry (Paris: Albin Michel, 2003), 376.

<sup>41</sup> Sternhell, “Le fascisme, ce ‘ce mal du siècle...’”, 365.

<sup>42</sup> Sternhell, “Le fascisme, ce ‘ce mal du siècle...’”, 366.

<sup>43</sup> Jacques Godechot, *Contre-révolution. Doctrine et action* (Paris: PUF, 1986); Antoine Compagnon, *Les anti-modernes. De Joseph de Maistre à Roland Barthes* (Paris: Gallimard, 2005), 21.

<sup>44</sup> Zeev Sternhell, “Os anti-iluministas de hoje”, *Le Monde diplomatique-Brasil* 12 (2010): 18–19; Zeev Sternhell, *Les anti-Lumières: une tradition du XVIIIe siècle à la guerre froide* (Paris: Gallimard Folio, 2010).

<sup>45</sup> Pierre-André Taguieff, “Le paradigme traditionaliste: horreur de la modernité et antilibéralisme. Nietzsche dans la rhétorique réactionnaire”, *Pourquoi nous ne sommes pas nietzschéens*, ed. Pierre-André Taguieff (Paris: Grasset, 1991), 228.

Enlightenment (first of all marquis Pombal). “*There is a satanic quality to the French Revolution that distinguishes it from everything we have ever seen (...). All this goes beyond the ordinary circle of crime and seems to belong to another world*” observes Joseph de Maistre in 1797.<sup>46</sup> Maurras in his interpretation of the West followed some of those who are today considered fathers of conspiratorial theories (abbé Barruel):

All the serious modern crises were of an Oriental nature (...) the German reformation, English reformation, French reformation, then, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the three French revolutions between the Reign of Terror, the Commune and finally in the 20th century in Moscow (...) all that was of the same nature (...) it expresses (...) an intellectual Hebraism (...). These instigators or ideologues (...) attest the same violent pressure of the Semitic Orient on the Occident which they make denationalized and demoralized.<sup>47</sup>

**2. The essence of decadence consists of the loss of the superior and most valuable (absolute) values which means that no authority and no hierarchy can either refer to them or be based on them.**

In *Considérations sur la France* Maistre repeatedly remarks upon the impossibility of substituting divine institutions by manmade ones (especially government and constitution):

It would be curious to examine our European institutions one by one and to show how they are all Christianized, how religion mingles in everything, animates and sustains everything. Human passions may pollute and even pervert primitive creations, but if the principle is divine, this is enough to give them a prodigious permanence.<sup>48</sup>

And again:

In order to bring about the French Revolution, it was necessary to overthrow religion, outrage morality, violate every propriety, and commit every crime. This diabolical work required the employment of such a number of vicious men that perhaps never before had so many vices acted together to accomplish any evil whatsoever.<sup>49</sup>

In Maurras it is nature that takes the place of the Maistrian God. A considerable part of his doctrinary work *Mes idées politiques* is dedicated to what he called “*politique naturelle*”. Such a concept of politics leads him to the principle of heredity and to “tradition” (“tradition means transmission”<sup>50</sup>) as two basic building blocks of all social life: two principles that go against the French revolution, its progeny and Nazi-fascism. For Maurras, tradition and heredity are essential and upper-most social and political principles resulting from nature itself. They are founding principles of western civilization: “*Notice that medieval Christian societies were imbued with the feeling of the supernatural status of the future life and were characterized by extreme sensitivity to a father’s earthly reward in his sons.*”<sup>51</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Joseph de Maistre, *Considerations on France*, trans. and ed. Richard A. Lebrun (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 14.

<sup>47</sup> Maurras, *Mes idées politiques*, lxx–lxxi.

<sup>48</sup> Maistre, *Considerations on France*, 42.

<sup>49</sup> Maistre, *Considerations on France*, 84.

<sup>50</sup> Maurras, *Mes idées politiques*, 67.

<sup>51</sup> Maurras, *Mes idées politiques*, 63.



**3. Decadence is accelerated via general progress, thanks to the discutabilité of the principles and the radical relativism of the modern world. Eternal truths are rejected and replaced by liberal metaphysics which concedes essential quality to discussion.**

“Why so many laws? Because there is no legislator. What have these so-called legislators done in six years? Nothing, because to destroy is not to make. It is hard to imagine the unbelievable spectacle of a nation giving itself three constitutions in five years.”<sup>52</sup> The infectivity of liberal ideas (taken as *destructrices* of all the order, authority and security) consists exactly in this. For Maurras an attack on *discutabilité* is equal to an attack on the party system: “France is disrupted because those who govern it are not statesmen but partymen; if sincere they think only of the well-being of their own party; if insincere they think only of how to fill their pockets;”<sup>53</sup> “What is the government of the republic? A government of parties or nothing. What is a party? A division, a parting”<sup>54</sup> and further “Ideas of parties, divisive ideas have their passionate adherents in the republic; but an idea of unity, an idea of fatherland does not possess either adherents or armed protectors.”<sup>55</sup> In Portugal *discutabilité* is associated with modernity, and revolutionary abstract and general principles. As Salazar confessed to Massis in 1939: “we lived in lies, in hyperboles”<sup>56</sup> and rejected the parliamentary form of government: “The second part of the 19th century and first decades of the this one seem to reveal that a parliamentary regime cannot offer a satisfactory solution to the problem.”<sup>57</sup> Even after World War II, Salazar states, that “(...) today the parliamentary system of the government has run out of devices and finds itself in decadence.”<sup>58</sup> The disputability of principles leads to lies and thus falls through to decadence: “France is not made to live in democracy. Neither France nor any other country. Democracy is ‘mensonge universelle’, an expression which does not come from me but from Pius IX. Democracy is a political malady.”<sup>59</sup> Salazar defended the counter-revolutionary (and papal) principle of *indiscutabilité* on the occasion of 10th anniversary of the “national revolution”: “(...) we strive to restore the comfort of souls unbalanced by doubts and the negativism of the century. We do not discuss God and virtue; we do not discuss our homeland and its history; we do not discuss authority and its prestige; we do not discuss the family and its moral; we do not discuss the glory of work and one’s duty to it.”<sup>60</sup>

**4. The process of decadence is conceived as irreversible and fatal and is “embellished” by what is viewed as abnormal, atypical or pathological.**

Counter-revolutionary tradition interprets the turning point of modernity in different ways: the end of one world can be understood both as the end of the world as such and the creation of a new world. Interpretations extend from radical pessimism to the most serene optimism and faith in the new world coming. As Isaiah Berlin observed, Maistre’s “task, (...) was to destroy everything which the eighteenth century had built up.”<sup>61</sup> Even though Maistre believed in the sa-

<sup>52</sup> Maistre, *Considerations on France*, 55.

<sup>53</sup> Maurras, *Mes idées politiques*, 189.

<sup>54</sup> Maurras, *Mes idées politiques*, 188.

<sup>55</sup> Maurras, *Mes idées politiques*, 190.

<sup>56</sup> Henri Massis, *Chefs* (Paris: Plon, 1939), 99.

<sup>57</sup> António de Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos IV (1943–1950)* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1961), 257.

<sup>58</sup> Oliveira Salazar, *Entrevistas*, 6.

<sup>59</sup> Maurras, *Mes idées politiques*, 266.

<sup>60</sup> António de Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos II (1935–1937)* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1961), 130.

<sup>61</sup> Isaiah Berlin, “Introduction”, *Joseph de Maistre: Considerations sur la France*, ed. R. A. Lebrun, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1974), xiii.

tanic essence of the Revolution, he was firmly convinced that history itself will find its way back to the right order of things: “All the monsters born of the Revolution have, apparently, laboured only for the monarchy. Thanks to them, the lustre of victories has won the admiration of the world and surrounded the French name with a glory that the crimes of the Revolution can never entirely eclipse; thanks to them, the king will reascend his throne with all his pomp and power, perhaps even with an increase of power.”<sup>62</sup> For Salazar (as for Maurras) decadence is the consequence of imported “exotic” decadent doctrines which he considered politically and morally pernicious because of their destructive effect upon both traditions and Catholicism. Such a diagnosis led Salazar to conceive of the “*re-Portuguesing of our social and political institutions and the cult of good, healthy, productive national traditions*” and to urge the country “*not to give way to lazy imitations of foreign origin*”.<sup>63</sup> These measures were supposed to protect Portugal from liberal parliamentary decadence. Salazar belongs—both theoretically and practically—to a different school: “*these discourses do not approximate to whatever our present model is: they belong to another school*”,<sup>64</sup> i.e. to that of Maistre and Maurras.

Taguieff’s diagnosis is more interesting if we are aware of the finer nuances between the first traditionalism (and its inheritors) and the second traditionalism whose best representatives Taguieff finds in Nietzsche and Evola. According to Taguieff the “second traditionalism” did not appear until the twentieth century:

Nietzsche seems to be rather the founder of the second tradition of the radical traditionalist thought whose intellectual and political legacy appeared already during the first part of the 20th century. Legatees (...) of the latter anti-modern traditionalism form a legion among philosophers and scholars: Spengler and Évola, Édouard Barth and Drieu La Rochelle, Léon Chestov, Cioran ..., and obviously Heidegger. By way of them the second traditionalism made its way to policy of the 20th century (...).<sup>65</sup>

All this denouncing of modernity, Revolution, adoration of classical arts, Greco-Roman civilization, *Latinité* (in Maurras’s case) and nostalgic views back to the “good old days” should not lead to a lack of differentiation. Maurras’ call for “*traditionnelle, héréditaire, antiparlementaire et décentralisé*” monarchy perfectly corresponds to *Integralismo Lusitano*’s demands in its Magna Carta of Portuguese traditionalism,<sup>66</sup> a document referring to the counter-revolutionary legacy of 1824, but as Jacques Godechot and Antoine Compagnon observed, in French history, already before 1789, there were at least three discernible “traditionalist schools”: 1. conservative, 2. reactionary, and 3. reformist.<sup>67</sup>

## Renewal or Leaving the “Monstrous Modern State”

Already in 1928—i.e. before the formal establishment of the *Estado Novo* regime—Salazar declared himself to be a competent reader of the depth of the Portuguese soul. His official discourses abound in images and imagery which are supposed to increase the “national consciousness” of Portuguese people and to turn their attention to the national legacy and spirit of their ancestors. He declared himself to be the humble mediator of great truths which he managed to draw from deeper layers of collective unconscious. It seems that implicit allusion to his own sensibility

<sup>62</sup> Maistre, *Considerations on France*, 16.

<sup>63</sup> Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos I*, lv.

<sup>64</sup> Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos I*, lvi.

<sup>65</sup> Taguieff, “Le paradigme traditionaliste”, 228.

<sup>66</sup> “A Magna Carta do Tradicionalismo Português”, *Nação Portuguesa*, N.º7 (January 1915): 225–227.

<sup>67</sup> Godechot, *La contre-révolution*, 25–26.

made him privileged enough to become a medium speaking for multitudes of dead ancestors. That is why his ideas are “generally known: I can even say they are not mine, but of our collectivity (...) because I drew from the depths of national consciousness or because (...) it [our collectivity] adopted them and made them its own”.<sup>68</sup>

Driven by the collective spirit of Portugal, Salazar preaches “re-Portugueseing of our institutions” and the obligation to “work persistently on the ‘inner’ discovery not to give way to lazy imitation of foreign creation”.<sup>69</sup> The above mentioned observations provide us with insight into the Salazarist amalgama, i.e. the unification of different political currents into Salazarism, or something that resembles Sidónio Pais’ former attempt to politically integrate the whole nation.<sup>70</sup>

As António Sardinha’s biographer Ana Isabel Sardinha Desvignes has observed, Salazar’s generation deeply absorbed Maurice Barrès’s cult called “*les morts et la terre*”.<sup>71</sup> The aforementioned quotations from Salazar seem to be close to the Barrèsian cult. Is it possible that Salazar’s—just as in the case of Barrès or Sardinha—traditionalism was a sort of Barrèsian cult blended with Catholicism? I will not jump hastily to conclusions. Salazar was a Francophile, read French authors and absorbed their thoughts. The Barrèsian cult, in spite of being very influential and wide-spread among intellectuals, was a cult of the soil, ancestors, “ancestral soul”, national past and blood, and is not so easily observable in Salazar. Whereas in Sardinha the cult is quite visible (especially in his early work and poetry inspired by the local tradition of *neolusitanismo*), in Salazar it might only be perceivable in those of his speeches where national traditions, institutions, national past and habits are invoked. Whereas Sardinha confessed his fundamental adherence to Barrès,<sup>72</sup> there is no such confession in Salazar, not even in his interviews with Henri Massis or Christine Garnier.<sup>73</sup>

*Action française* intellectuals<sup>74</sup> and the young António Ferro<sup>75</sup> called Salazar a “mystic of ciphers”, a “monk” or “*froid exécuteur de l’intérêt national*”. Maurice Maeterlinck called him “*un homme providentiel*”, and others called him a “mystic”.<sup>76</sup> Such labels pertained to the Salazar’s distinctive personality that made him different from other political leaders and dictators of his time: his modesty, simplicity, aloofness, life in retirement, misanthropy and mysogyny.

Did Salazarism contain a sort of conjuring of the past, a renewal of a spiritual bond with the soil, traditions and past generations? Fernando Rosas identified such conjuring in the overarching and essential myth of “palingenetic myth”.<sup>77</sup> According to Rosas, it is an old national myth of the Portuguese renaissance (*Renascença Portuguesa*) which was supposed to end “national decadence” (initiated in 1820 with the Liberal revolution). Its first twentieth-century harbingers were integralists. Receiving lessons from Maurras and Parisian *Action française*, integralists aimed

<sup>68</sup> Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos I*, lvii.

<sup>69</sup> Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos I*, lv.

<sup>70</sup> Pais’ short regime *República Nova* (1917–1918) was supposed to unify “all the Portuguese of good will” (“*todos os portugueses de boa vontade*”), expression used by Salazar himself (*Discursos I*, p. 167).

<sup>71</sup> Ana Isabel Sardinha Desvignes, *António Sardinha (1887–1925). Um Intelectual no Século* (Lisboa: ISC, 2006), 162–164.

<sup>72</sup> Sardinha Desvignes, *António Sardinha*, 163.

<sup>73</sup> However, in some of his speeches Salazar invoked some French writers (of example Paul Bourget and his famous work *Le Disciple*) who were so dear to Sardinha.

<sup>74</sup> Ferro, *Salazar, homem e a sua obra*, 144; Massis, *Chefs*, passim; Jacques Bainville, *Dictateurs* (Paris: Denoële & Steele, 1933), 166–170.

<sup>75</sup> Ferro, *Salazar, homem e a sua obra*, 10–11.

<sup>76</sup> Pinto Janeiro, *Relações luso-francesas*, 42.

<sup>77</sup> Fernando Rosas, “O Salazarismo e o homem novo. Ensaio sobre o Estado Novo e a questão do totalitarismo”, *Análise Social* 157 (2001): 1034.

at restoration of an “antiparliamentary traditionalist organic monarchy”. It was they who were the direct precursors of the Portuguese national revolution.

In 1944, speaking in front of the members of government about the crisis of the so-called “modern state”, Salazar asked himself a question: “what to do then?”. His answer reveals the similarity, though not identity, with Portuguese integralists and French Maurrasians: “*Embrace with all all determination disposable traditions of the past, present realities, (...) just aspirations of people, longing for authority and discipline, the agitating generations of our times, and to build a new order of things that (...) correspond better to our temperament and to our necessities.*”<sup>78</sup> In his speech of July 1930 Salazar rejected experimentation with new concepts, strategies or institutions. Similarly to Maurras and integralists, Salazar preferred looking backwards. In November 1932 he was slightly more specific when putting the Portuguese case into the European context. Again, one can see that Salazar viewed experimentation with untested “novelties” with suspicion and believed that old concepts should be at the forefront:

A long ago moral unity of nations got broken (...). Philosophical concepts entombed by the time get back to the foreground with new aspects, intending to solve the most serious problems; in the middle of difficulties of all possible kinds, people feel crushed in the iron circle of their traditional truths and losing their faith in the former, they start to believe in the latter (...). As always happens in such turning points of the history, some, (...) deny the value of the present and the past and want to build a completely new world (...).<sup>79</sup>

Salazar—contrary to Mussolini or Hitler—did not intend “*to build a completely new world*” and did not lose his faith in “*traditional truths*”. But what were those “*disposable traditions of the past*” and “*philosophical conceptions entombed by the time*”, that were supposed to “*get back to the foreground*”? In the same year Salazar confessed to António Ferro his rejection of fascism: “*He himself [Mussolini] declared: ‘fascism is a typical Italian product as well as Bolshevism is Russian product. Neither of them can be transferred and cannot exist outside its natural space.’ On the contrary, Portuguese Estado Novo can neither escape nor pretend to escape the limits of morals which it views as a necessary part of the fundamentals of regenerative efforts (...).*”<sup>80</sup> As far as Portuguese monarchists are concerned, in 1932 Salazar respected them as “*a considerable force*” whose strength “*arises out of tradition, out of deficiencies in the republican regime*”, a force that constitutes:

All the reaction against demagogy (...). Nevertheless Salazar viewed their ambitions as a theoretic chimaera without any footing in reality: (...) ideas do not always have either the power to make things happen or practical utility. (...) Except for rare exceptions steady European monarchies are situated in the North (...). These monarchies are (...) almost only hereditary republics. From the south to the center and the east (...) there is a conviction that certain social requirements were more easily feasible under republic than under monarchy (...).<sup>81</sup>

In an interview with António Ferro, Salazar was slightly more specific. The Portuguese prime minister emphasized that the idea of monarchy was not his idea,<sup>82</sup> but that he invited monarchists to join nascent *Estado Novo*: “*What I beg monarchists for or what I recommend to them is to be ready to enter the life of Estado Novo without the false idea that to collaborate with the present-day*

<sup>78</sup> Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos I*, 76–77.

<sup>79</sup> Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos I*, 164.

<sup>80</sup> Ferro, *Salazar, homem e a sua obra*, 74.

<sup>81</sup> Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos I*, 167–171.

<sup>82</sup> Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos I*, 21–23.

*situation is to take a step towards their honourable ideal.*<sup>83</sup> The Liberal tradition or human rights doctrine as a theoretical basis of national renewal was viewed with the same suspicion.<sup>84</sup> The exhaustion and emptiness of such doctrines were repeatedly emphasized even after World War II.<sup>85</sup>

Salazar's intention to re-establish "Portuguese truths" (*verdades portuguesas*) and to lead his nation in accordance with its natural *habitus* earned the well-deserved attention of French traditionalists. Even though Salazar expressed reservations with Ferro's reference to his reputed "Maurrassian formation",<sup>86</sup> he exchanged letters with the French doctrinaire, read his texts and followed principles of Maurrasian "*politique naturelle*". There is no space here for a deeper analysis of the more or less explicit concord between Salazar's political practice of "habitus policy" and Maurras' theory of "*politique naturelle*",<sup>87</sup> but contemporaries viewed it as self-evident. Here we have a testimony of Maurras' disciple, the writer and journalist Henri Massis, in 1939 after interviewing Salazar: "*But these ideas are those propagated by the political doctrine of Charles Maurras! In them are all de Maistre, all La Tour du Pin, all Fustel de Coulanges, and also the teachings of the greats Encyclicals! Yet, these ideas are ours; but here we see them applied and realised by a man who governs, incarnated in a real experience, inscribed in living history.*"<sup>88</sup>

As we will see further, Salazar and his propaganda apparatus followed "habitus philosophy" on many levels of social life: in commemorations, feasts, cinematography, arts, architecture, education, sport, leisure time activities, family life, religion, tourism, the arranging of competitions, award granting, and the "official historiography" of the regime. These are good examples of the "habitus philosophy" lurking behind Salazarist traditional palingenesis.

## Traditional Palingenesis

Salazarism cautiously referred to the Portuguese past, to great landmarks of national history and—differently from the demo-liberal doctrine of the First republic—lacked and even avoided the ideas of progress, growth and material welfare. That is why any interpretation of Salazarism is bound to look back to the distant past, to Portuguese national traditions and to its economic backwardness as a part of its ideology and worldview. Historical analyses agree that the Salazarist regime was an "amalgam", "hybrid", and "eclectic". Already in 1930s it was labeled as a "*marriage of priests and doctors*" (Fernando Pessoa) or a "*hybrid dictatorship of generals and professors*" (Miguel Unamuno), a regime "*firmly grounded in the meek underbelly of our nationalistic conservatism making use of what had been tried or outlined before in ideas and practice*" (João Medina).<sup>89</sup>

Integralists, Salazar's ideological precursors, were—among others—interpreters of national history. They consisted of respected young intellectuals who strove to "return" national history to its true traditional principles. Integralists accentuated two crucial landmarks of their national history: 1. Restoration; i.e. reign of Dom João IV, 1640–1656 (*Restauração da Independência*), and 2. Pombal and *Pombalismo* (the short eighteenth-century period of Portuguese Enlightenment). Salazar's "temporary revolution" adopted both integralist attitudes and applied them.

<sup>83</sup> Ferro, *Salazar, homem e a sua obra*, 22.

<sup>84</sup> Ferro, *Salazar, homem e a sua obra*, 147.

<sup>85</sup> Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos IV*, 257–259; Oliveira Salazar, *Entrevistas*, 6–7.

<sup>86</sup> Ferro, *Salazar, homem e a sua obra*, 144.

<sup>87</sup> Maurras, *Mes idées politiques*, xv–lxxxvii.

<sup>88</sup> Massis, *Chefs*, 94.

<sup>89</sup> João Medina, Salazar, *Hitler e Franco* (Lisboa: Livros Horizonte, 2000), 52.

In Portugal, the Enlightenment and its values are associated with the first royal minister Pombal and the philosopher Verney.<sup>90</sup> There is no doubt that Pombal's and Verney's modernization projects were the most important attempts to modernize Portuguese society and empire. Nevertheless, changes that Pombal and Verney strove to introduce were short-lived and insufficient. The so-called *Pombalismo* had a very short and limited effect and had to face strong anti-modernist reaction.

Since the eighteenth century *Pombalismo* has been associated with a crucial historical shift and a specific ideological interpretation of Portuguese history and institutional reformism. Pombalism epitomizes the decisive reversal in the history of Portuguese absolutism. But Pombal's attempt to introduce enlightened absolutism (*absolutismo esclarecido*) stirred up a considerable number of conflicts.

The Portuguese liberal tradition was noted for its extensive re-interpretation of national history. Throughout the nineteenth century Portuguese liberals strove to point to the alleged popular and liberal spirit of Portuguese society. One of their foremost arguments was that of a popular constitution having existed long before nineteenth-century liberalism. The nineteenth-century liberals were striving to re-formulate and resuscitate semi-mythic medieval constitutionalism the origin of which was traced back to the beginning of the kingdom. According to them, the absolutism of previous centuries was a false political order whose initiators were the last kings of the Aviz dynasty. Later dynasties—Habsburgs (Filipes) and Braganças—simply continued the order already established by the Aviz dynasty. According to liberals, nineteenth-century constitutionalism represented the renewal of a distant primeval order. In their view the Restoration period (initiated in 1640) constituted the first return to a primeval constitutionalist monarchy. That is why they viewed the first of king of Bragança dynasty—Dom João IV (1640–1656)—as a truly “popular sovereign”. Nevertheless, in their view absolutism was re-established under Dom João V (1706–1750). The goal of nineteenth-century liberalism was to restore the “liberal” past.

The question of the political nature of seventeenth-century Portugal and the Restoration produced many controversies already during the eighteenth century and became one of the crucial ideological battles between nineteenth- and twentieth-century intellectuals. Even though the legitimist/miguelist counter-revolutionary right was defeated already in 1834, its theoretical arguments continued to play a very important role. The traditionalist politico-ideological current acted partly as a reaction against the French revolution, and partly as a reaction to local liberal “traditionalism” as described above. Counter-revolutionaries were probably the first and the strongest political force striving to reverse historical events and to prove the falsity of the idea of local liberal tradition and Pombalist inheritance (which they accused of defeating organicist absolutism).<sup>91</sup>

Marquis Penalva, a pioneer of counter-revolutionary readings of history, glorified king-restorer of Dom João IV, spoke about “Portuguese liberties” as not being true “archaic liberties”. Later, in 1825, it was Faustino José da Madre de Deus who spoke in the same spirit.<sup>92</sup> Counter-

<sup>90</sup> Luís António Verney (1713–1792), philosopher, priest, professor. Verney was a harsh critic of traditional and obsolete methods of education and a reformer of Portuguese education. In Portugal his methods were countered.

<sup>91</sup> Such is the note of *Dissertação a favor da Monarquia* (1799) by marquis de Penalva, where the author admitted the existence of Cortes de Lamego (semi-mythic assembly considered as a moment of the foundation of Portugal) and interpreted it in a constitutional way. Contrary to them, he always stressed that there was nothing “liberal” in Portuguese primeval monarchy. He even asserted that all the law had depended on “*puro arbitrio do rei*” and that Cortes had had consultative character. Luís Reis Torgal, *História e Ideologia* (Coimbra: Editora Livraria Minerva, 1989), 55.

<sup>92</sup> In his book *The Peoples and the Kings (Os Povos e os Reis)*, 1825, Faustino concedes the existence of a semi-mythic assembly *Cortes de Lamego*, but—in contrast to liberals—tries to emphasize that there was not anything

revolution strived to envision restoration not as a popular movement but as a renewal of political traditions perfectly corresponding with absolutist tradition. Counterrevolutionary historiography had its nationalist aspect and thus, naturally, considered a restoration movement as a positive thing (liberation from Spain). On the other hand it criticized eighteenth-century as a period of elevated influence of foreign liberalism.

The liberal current did not follow foreign precepts without reservations. One of the archetypal figures of Portuguese positivist republicanism, the eminent representative of the 1870 Generation and second provisional president of the republic (1810–1811), Teófilo Braga (1843–1924), was also—ironically—a great inspiration on integralist leader António Sardinha. Braga interpreted the seventeenth century in a profoundly negative way (as integralists did): not in terms of a popular sense of freedom and liberty, but in terms of profound backwardness.<sup>93</sup>

When defending organic traditionalist and antiparliamentary monarchy (*monarquia orgânica tradicionalista antiparlamentar*) *Integralismo Lusitano* underpinned its own politico-cultural project using an ideological syncretism behind which one can suspect the whole arsenal of counter-revolutionary thinkers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The integralist ideological push was significantly weakened shortly before the fall of the republican regime, when—in 1925—the leader of *Integralismo Lusitano*, António Sardinha, passed away. The next year, *Action française* suffered an even stronger shock when condemned by pope Pius XI.

For Salazar and Salazarists national history was something to be seized. As has been already noted, the Salazarist concept of history had its predecessors especially among local counter-revolutionary traditionalists. Though Salazarism did not defend absolutist monarchy, its representatives believed that the entirety of the constitutional period (i.e. since 1820, and not merely the theory of popular sovereignty defended by the First republic) was a fatal error. Salazarist “progress” was sort of a “regress”, but it was that kind of regression that was viewed as salutary, benign, and rewarding. Salazar’s generation was supposed to be the “lifesaving generation” (*geração da resgate*) with the ambition to realize a great historical shift: “it is said and repeated that we witness one of the greatest reversals in history: (...) we are realizing social transformations from which the new world will arise”.<sup>94</sup>

The new Salazarist myth was not created exclusively in works of “official historiography”, but was composed bit by bit via a mythization of the national past with the use of public feasts, parades, expositions and competitions. These events were a way the dead ancestors, their accomplishments (medieval battles such as Ourique, Aljubarrota; overseas discoveries or national monarchy restoration) were celebrated—evoking the distant past, dead compatriots and soldiers—just as in Nazi-fascist regimes.<sup>95</sup> On those occasions Ferro compared Salazar to an infant D. Henrique.<sup>96</sup> For others, Salazar was mythicized into the semi-mythic king Sebastian or twentieth-century dictator Sidónio Pais. Thus Salazar took on the gigantic dimensions of a national saviour, an incarnation of the “Portuguese race” or Sardinha’s *Homo Atlanticus*.

liberal in Portuguese primeval monarchy. He even asserted that all the laws always depended on “*puro arbitrio do rei*” and that Cortes was just consultative organ and was summoned when the king decided. Luís Reis Torgal, José Amado Mendes and Fernando Catroga, *História da história em Portugal* (Lisboa: Temas e Debates, 1998), 56.

<sup>93</sup> A generation famous because of the so-called *Conferências do Casino* (May 1871) whose first and dominant figure was Antero de Quental (1842–1891). The generation connected the spirit of positivism with the aesthetics and claim of active policy participation. Under the constitutional monarchy Antero was a deputy (member of PRP) and supporter of federalist republicanism

<sup>94</sup> Torgal, Mendes, and Catroga, *História da história em Portugal*, 274.

<sup>95</sup> George Lachman Mosse, “Fascism and the French revolution”, *Journal of Contemporary history* (1989): 5–26.

<sup>96</sup> Torgal, Mendes, and Catroga, *História da história em Portugal*, 275.

As Salazar clearly expressed in his discourse on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the *coup d'état* (May 28, 1926), and even before in his 1934 discourse, he expected the young generation would realize the “salvation” of national history and set it on the “right course”.<sup>97</sup> The professional and official historiography of the regime was written largely by historians of an integralist background who took advantage of their knowledge in the service of Salazar and believed in Salazar’s providential mission. Thus Sardinha’s “historiographical revisionism” was smuggled into Salazar’s “historiographic nationalism”.

In Portuguese thought there was a traditional longing for Great Portugal (*Portugal Maior*), dreamy imagery representing a certain overlap of European Portugal with different continents and cultures. Under Salazar such imagery was recreated and gained its force. Integralists systematically referred to that Utopian vision. Their idea of “*dead ancestors dominating the living*” stemmed from Comte and Maurras and was preached especially by preeminent Salazarist historians of an integralist background: João Ameal (1902–1982),<sup>98</sup> Caetano Beirão (1892–1968), Rodrigues Cavalheiro (1902–1984) and Alfredo Pimenta (1882–1950).<sup>99</sup>

The Alexandre Herculano award, introduced by the regime propaganda apparatus (SPN), was conferred to outstanding works of historiography. Ameal received it in 1943 for his work *História de Portugal* where a teleological conception of history was very similar to that of António Sardinha: the critical moment of national history came with Pombal and his “*tabula rasa monarchy*” (*monarquia da tábuia rasa*, i.e. a deviation from the “natural course” of national history). The work was published in 1940 (the year of a double anniversary: i.e. the foundation of the kingdom in 1140 and its restoration in 1640), a year, which, was itself, celebrated as the mythical land-mark of national history. While Europe and indeed most of the world were in the grip of World War II, Portugal organized the Exposition of the Portuguese World (*A Exposição do mundo português*) where the country was portrayed as an island of calm and peace. In the same year Salazar signed a concordat with the Catholic Church and the missionary agreement. Both were supposed to confirm the country’s role as a decisive defensor of Christian peace.

## Salazarist Rural Utopia

Ainsi cet homme hier inconnu, qui arrivait au pouvoir sans brigue, cet homme sans amis à favoriser, sans clientèle électorale à satisfaire, sans attaches partisanses, cet homme, libre de tout compromis, put nêtre que “le froid exécuteur de l’intérêt général” et ne considérer que la grandeur, la noblesse du devoir assigné.<sup>100</sup>

Salazar became well-known as an intellectual, misanthrope, misogynist, and monk. Ferro noted that Gérard Braun had called him a “mystic of numbers” and Massis repeatedly mentioned his education of “*professeur et clerc*”.<sup>101</sup> Foreign visitors were frequently astonished to witness his humble lifestyle. Salazar’s French acquaintances Christine Garnier and Henri Massis were fasci-

<sup>97</sup> Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos I*, 303.

<sup>98</sup> Third count of Ameal, an ex-integralist considered the leading ideologue and historian of *Estado Novo*. Author of the famous ideological work *Decálogo do Estado Novo*. Philosophically his works were based on Thomism, traditionalism and counter-revolution. He belonged to those integralists who did not refuse collaboration with Salazarism.

<sup>99</sup> Pimenta, “enfant terrible” of the regime, was part— though a free part—of the group. Pimenta sided both with integralism and fascism, but moreover he was openly a Germanophile and antisemite. In some way he collaborated with Salazar, *Estado Novo* and its cultural institutions.

<sup>100</sup> Massis, *Chefs*, 89.

<sup>101</sup> Ferro, *Salazar, homem e a sua obra*, 6.



nated by the austerity and simplicity of his monastic lifestyle: he did not enjoy public appearances, did not strive for publicity, and stood aloof from people.<sup>102</sup> In 1933 Ferro described him as a very mysterious and invisible man whose intentions were completely unknown to the greater public. Nevertheless, Ferro included Salazar in the group of admirable leaders:

The people that never spoke to him, never heard or saw him, that never see the way he smiles or gets angry, (...) Is it possible that Dr. Salazar will be dictator à la Mussolini or à la Sidonio Pais, but a bit revered? Is he going to be a dictator à la Machiavelli's 'Prince', skilfully measuring all his actions, saying for himself 'no' when his mouth 'says' yes or vice-versa? Will he become a Dominican like Savonarola, trying to cure the Portuguese from their sins and vices or a Franciscan like St. Anthony, trying to defeat social disorder and injustice? Is he going to be (...) a statesman similar to the Austrian Seipel, simple but a great clerk of the souls and budgets?<sup>103</sup>

In the European context Salazar's characteristics were unusual, yet he managed to become considerably popular within European conservative political circles. His propaganda apparatus (SPN and later SNI) succeeded in personifying both the regime and Portugal in him. Salazar himself successfully embodied and personified his country and nation as a simple, austere, modest, poor, honest Catholic who feels happy even if living in very needy conditions.<sup>104</sup> Such an image of "proud austerity" fits into counter-revolutionary and Catholic ideological substratum and into Salazarist "rural utopia" whose "temporary revolution" became counter fascist/modernist radicalism and aimed at heavenly rural supertemporal Utopia. Famous and ideologically instructive is Salazar's *Lessons (Lições de Salazar)*, a series of images by Martins Barata, which portrayed a Portuguese rural Utopia as preached by Salazarist authorities. In addition "the most Portuguese of all Portuguese villages", or *Portugal dos Pequenitos*, became panegyricized by foreign journalists and writers.<sup>105</sup>

Martins Barata's illustrations, *Portugal dos Pequenitos*,<sup>106</sup> Platin's sonnet *Le Bonheur de ce monde*<sup>107</sup> and foreign visitors' descriptions of the humble Portuguese lifestyle, are descriptions of a mythic and idyllic home, the pre-industrial and pre-urbanized society, a countryside inhabited by simple and honest people honoring Catholic traditional values, a society where all the power derives from God: *Omnis potestas a Deo* or *non est potestas nisi a Deo*. In other words, Salazarist imagery takes us back not only to the Christian myth and pre-industrial society but also to counter-revolutionary (re)vision of Portuguese society and to a rejection of power derived from the people and parliamentary politics. It is this imagery that permeated national education (*educação nacional*) as characterized by João Medina when describing Martins Barata's depiction of Portuguese society. According to Medina, Barata's pictures were supposed to epitomize

<sup>102</sup> These French Salazar's sympathizers came from Pétainist and right-wing quarters (Poujade, Tixier-Vignancourt, Benoît, Carcopino and many others).

<sup>103</sup> Ferro, *Salazar, homem e a sua obra*, 10.

<sup>104</sup> Massis, *Chefs*, passim.

<sup>105</sup> "The most Portuguese village in Portugal" (*aldeia mais portuguesa de Portugal*). Village of Monsanto is located in Salazar's home region Beira. Heloisa Paulo, "Portugal dos Pequenitos – uma obra ideológico-social de um professor de Coimbra", *Revista de História das Ideias* 12 (1999): 395–407.

<sup>106</sup> *Portugal dos Pequenitos* is architectonic piece by Cassiano Branco. Bissaya-Barreto (1886–1974), author of that project, was Salazar's ex-schoolmate and friend. The project was supposed to be a celebration of regionalism, colonialism and the symbolized ideal of "chastity of nation". Paulo, "Portugal dos Pequenitos," 395–407.

<sup>107</sup> Antwerpian poet Christophe Plontin (1520–1589) in whose essay Salazar found his ideal of "casinha portuguesa" (small Portuguese house). In contrast to the Zeitgeist he found there antimodernist and Utopian ideal, a sort of perennial philosophy or medieval "*pax ruris*". Pictures of Martins Barata with the title of *Lições de Salazar* (Salazar's lessons) come from 1938 and are—similarly to Plontin's poem—a resumé of Portuguese (Salazarist) mentality, which reflects the triad "*Deus, Pátria, Família*".

three national ideals and principles: 1. the rustic ideal, 2. the triad: father, mother, children and 3. the Catholic God. Both Plantin's poetry and Barata's illustrations referred to regressive imagery of Christian ideal so dear to and venerated by Salazar's contemporaries Eugénio d'Ors, Plínio Salgado, Berdyaeff, Henri Massis, Hillaire Beloc, G. K. Chesterton, Gonzague de Reynold and others. Even if Salazar distanced himself from Maurras,<sup>108</sup> French Maurrasians continually referred to consonance between him and their *maître*. Some of them (Massis) identified his anti-totalitarian nationalism as "ours".

Resembling Joseph de Maistre and the first traditionalists Salazar refused to allow Portuguese life to be determined by liberal ideologies, abstract political theories or universalist ideas. Is it possible that in saying "*those philosophical concepts buried by the time are coming back to the first line with its new aspects and with the aim to resolve the most serious problems*",<sup>109</sup> Salazar believed himself to be predestined to change the course of history in all of Europe? Salazar meant to return national life to its everydayness, tradition, and habitus. Thus, it was—contrary to "modern" doctrines—nature itself that was to be the guide of nation in its history.

Some boast of already made and complete political systems which are ready to be applied to healthy or sick societies, with whatever condition of work, education or culture, with whatever race or on whatever place. And those people, obsessed by their own doctrines or cabinet dreams, cannot know what people are like and how people live: living in ivory-towers because of their a priori theories and cut off from the past because of their ambition to build future that is not connected with it, they do not need memory. But we are not like that.<sup>110</sup>

Salazar used similar arguments against Maurras—though he did not agree with him on the basic (neo)-Thomist direction of his politics:

I have read the books by Maurras; they seduce by clarity and logic (...). Nevertheless, between me and the unconditional admirers of the French doctrinarian, there is a difference of attitude (...). For Maurras and his disciples the political phenomenon is the social phenomenon par excellence and politics is the great factor in peoples' lives which determines their further evolution. Their military banner, *Politique d'abord*, speaks clearly and synthetizes admirably the dynamics of pure Maurrasians. But what is contained in this expression is the error of history and sociology and constitutes a danger for the new generations' formation. For sure, politics has its place (...). But a country's life is more complex, larger, escapes the organs and actions of power much more than many people think: the history of a nation is not only the history of its conquerors and great kings; it is, more than any other thing, the result of the work that the environment imposes on men, work of qualities and of imperfections of the people that live in that environment.<sup>111</sup>

At the beginning of the twentieth century Portugal did not lack modernist movements and intellectual/artistic currents ready to cut off the country's past and transform it into a dynamic and progressive country (futurism, modernism) and to link policy and art (fascism). Portugal belonged to the underdeveloped countries where modernist political ambitions were particularly strong. Portuguese disciples of Mussolini such as Antonio Ferro, Homem Cristo Filho, António Pedro or Rolão Preto<sup>112</sup> spotted their authoritarian ideal first in Sidónio Pais and in his short dictatorship. Nevertheless, later events revealed the Mussolinian ideal as not very compatible

<sup>108</sup> Ferro, *Salazar, homem e a sua obra*, 144–145.

<sup>109</sup> Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos I (1928–1934)*, 164.

<sup>110</sup> António de Oliveira Salazar, *Discursos III (1938–1943)* (Coimbra: Coimbra Editora, 1961), 64.

<sup>111</sup> Ferro, *Salazar, homem e a sua obra*, 144.

<sup>112</sup> George L. Mosse and Noël O'Sullivan use these categories in the same sense. According to them fascism is noted for 1. nationalization of masses and 2. "new man" and "new nation" utopia which is something that fascism

with the Portuguese temperament. In the long run, “activist political style” (O’Sullivan), “nationalization of masses” (Mosse) and “modernist palingenesis” (Griffin) only had a few adherents in Portugal. Whereas Homem Cristo Filho died prematurely in Italy, Ferro joined Salazar’s *Estado Novo* (in 1933 became head of SPN), Rolão Preto became a dissident, lived in exile and later joined the democratic opposition. Preto’s philo/para-fascist movement of national syndicalism (N/S) was dissolved already in 1934!

The decisive supremacy of traditionalism was partly due to the activities of the propaganda apparatus SPN founded in October 1933 and directly linked with the presidency of the government. Its activity had two dimensions: inner (where it was interested in consensus within the nation) and outer (where it aspired to a redefinition of the international political map and a resolution to the biggest issues of Portugal’s international policy: 1. the regime as it was viewed abroad, 2. colonial empire). SPN collaborated with Censorship Commissions (*Comissões de Censura*) and directed the tourism sector. Decree N.º 30 289 (3 February 1940) introduced the National Council of Tourism (*Conselho Nacional do Turismo*) as a part of SPN. Thus SPN became responsible for Portuguese civilization propaganda and the presentation of *Estado Novo* both on the local and international levels. Here, SPN’s activity was permeated by ideas of Lusitanian “typicalness”, “Portuguese villages”, imagery of “poor, diligent, but happy” people: these aspects were supposed to function as lures not only for tourists but also for sympathizers of the regime. Decree N.º 31 259 (9 May 1941) introduced an enlargement of the hotel network that functioned similarly. Genuine “show-rooms” of truly Portuguese lifestyle were presented in SPN hostels (*Pousadas do SPN*). These hostels made up an accommodation network that was arranged in such a way such that their visitors unfailingly received an idealized image of the countryside and of the “Portuguese nation”.

The Portuguese “regeneration model” represented a purely national way incommensurable with that of vicinal Spain or Nazi-fascist regimes. Its “international dimension” consisted of Taguieff’s “first traditionalism”, Maurrasian “integral nationalism”, para-military organizations (*Mocidade Portuguesa, Legião Portuguesa* etc.), some state organs (SPN, later SNI) and perhaps a specific type of corporatism. Nevertheless, the apparent rejection of modernity together with the longevity of the regime constitute a symbolic expression of a deeply rooted psychological aspect of both the regime and Portuguese society. One must ask if idealization of the past—a visible aspect of Salazarism and other national movements—is a lasting aspect of the Portuguese mentality. Even today a large part of the Portuguese population seems to idealize Salazarist Portugal and its so conscientiously elaborated mythology. There is no doubt that Salazar, his close collaborators and the regime itself, skillfully capitalized on it.

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reports|

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## Confessional Culture Between the Middle Ages and Modern Times

In May 2013 a new ESF project called *Confessional Culture Between the Middle Ages and Modern Times—Reinforcing International Research at the Department of History, Palacký University Olomouc* (CZ.1.07/2.3.00/20.0192) was launched at the Department of History at Palacký University in Olomouc. As the title itself suggests, one of the main goals of the project is to help further integrate Olomouc's research into international research—both in a methodological and a pedagogical context, as well as in the context of presenting local research results to a wider international audience. New valuable contacts and networks will be provided by a research focusing on miscellaneous topics of confessional culture, which have recently been getting increasing attention from Czech historiography. For a long time, however, the confessional topic, which is a crucial subject of research in European and mainly German historiography as a part of research on the concept of confessionalisation, stood rather on the margins of focus of Czech historians. The project introduced above has the ambition to use the research potential of the confessional question within the context of the religiously turbulent environment of the Czech lands with special attention on the city of Olomouc in the medieval and early modern periods. In doing so the project will help to fill a void in Czech historiography, to connect its results with international research and to make more effective international cooperation of the Department of History in the field of confessional studies and in other fields.

The project and its ambitious goals are being accomplished by a working team, consisting of scholars, researchers and doctoral students who focus on the period of the middle ages and early modern times. A crucial feature of the team, besides the expertise of its members and their international experience, is its interdisciplinarity. History, art history, theology and philology – the inclusion of these fields of study in the project's research helps to examine the topic of confessional culture in its complex form and allows the team to utilize contacts from a wide group of international researchers. As a part of the new international research network the team has begun to cooperate with the University of Aberdeen (UK) and with the local *Centre for Early Modern Studies*. This cooperation will help to adequately answer the growing call for internationalization of historic research and education which nowadays represents one of the main challenges of the academic world and will help to methodically and pedagogically innovate research at the Department of History in Olomouc.

The planned internationalization will affect the research as well as the education of students. Activities which are included in the project reflect this purpose. On the one hand these activities are meant to support research and therefore focus on scholars and doctoral students. A new research platform, *Centre for Religious History*, an umbrella platform for project activities, is arising as a part of the project and contributes to the development of the department and to the expansion of its interdisciplinary and international cooperation. The *Centre* consists of members of the project team, scholars and doctoral students, and of foreign specialists who staff the official board of the *Centre*. To deepen and improve abilities and knowledge of both scholars and doctoral students a series of international workshops, which will focus on the topic of interna-

tional publishing and editing practice, has been organized. Members of the team are going to international conferences to present the results of their research. Each of them is also going to use a one month fellowship to do research at one of the renowned foreign institutions which offers sources important to their topics and they are each going to give a lecture back at the Department of History to inform local students about the newest trends in historic research. A narrow circle of the project's members work on a collective monograph. The book, which represents one of the main outputs of the project, is going to be published in a prominent international publishing house and will introduce specific and confessionally complicated development of the city of Olomouc to a wider international audience.

On the other hand project activities are going to enrich education at the Department of History and are meant for students of bachelor, master and doctoral studies. A series of lectures given by foreign researchers specialising in history, art history, theology and philology will take place at the Department of History throughout the whole project period. Important in this context was a summer school which brought together both students and scholars to discuss for two weeks various topics reflecting the main theme of confessional culture.

In the first half of year of the project several of these activities took place. In October 2013 (2–6 October) one of the international workshops mentioned above was organized by the *Centre for Religious History* in Aberdeen (Scotland) in cooperation with the local *Centre for Early Modern Studies*. During this meeting members of the project team together with a group of foreign historians, who focus on the topic of confessional culture, discussed the collective monograph about Olomouc and research of doctoral students as well as the current research of the foreign historians present. Furthermore, several members of the project team presented various topics at international conferences in Belgium, Slovenia, Italy and the USA and did research at foreign institutions (mainly in Germany, England and Italy) which was followed by their lectures for bachelor and master students at the Department of History in Olomouc. For the same group of students the lectures given by foreign researchers were also organized. The lecture with the title *Translating Christianity: the making of Roman Catholicism as a world Religion, ca. 1500–ca. 1700* was delivered in November by Simon Ditchfield, one of the prominent experts on the early modern history of the Catholic church, who also led a student workshop focusing on the theme of historiography of Reformation – *How to write a history of Catholic Reformation for the 21st century*.

A series of lectures also continued in the spring semester with several lectures given by foreign researchers. The first of them, Graeme Murdock, introduced students to the particularly topical problem of confessional coexistence in the early modern period in his lecture *Do Good Fences Make Good Neighbours? Living with Heretics in Early Modern Europe*, which was followed by the topical workshop *What is microhistory?*. In April students heard two lectures which were presented by Liudmyla Sharipova (*Evil women and other women: a case of political witchcraft in early modern Ukraine*) and Gábor Klaniczay (*Un/official Dominican saints in Hungary*). The semester of lectures closed in May with a lecture from Karin Friedrich (*Confessional Networks and Practice of Confessionalisation in Late Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth-Century Lithuania: the Case of the Protestant Radziwills*). The main event of the previous project period was the two week long summer school which took place in Olomouc from the 23 June until the 4 of July, 2014. The first week of this school was devoted to a series of lectures given by members of the project team who introduced to participating students various aspects of and views on the main topic of confessional culture. In the second week a group of 25 master and doctoral students presented their own research and discussed it further with the scholars present. Their papers are going to be published in an electronic collective monograph which is edited by Jitka Kohoutová. The summer school program was also enriched by several educational and cultural excursions thanks to which the theory of confessional culture met its practical side.

A list of upcoming activities and planned outputs of the project covers a further series of lectures from foreign researchers which will continue with lectures of both European and American historians. Also the building of the main research platform of the department of history—the new *Centre for Religious History*—will continue and expand. It creates an extensive research background of the department which will mediate the most current results of historiographical research in the field of religious history, and through various activities will support and enrich research at the Department of History. By creating a new network of international contacts and by deepening international cooperation the *Centre* will help to further anchor the research of Olomouc's Department of History into wider international structures and therefore will help to better present not only the results and outputs of the project *Confessional Culture between Middle Ages and Modern Times* but also the future research conducted at Olomouc's Department of History.



reviews|

Zdeněk V. David

## ***Nalezení střední cesty: liberální výzva utrakvistů Římu a Lutherovi***

Praha: Filosofia, 2012. 659 pp. ISBN 978-80-7007-369-8

Reviewed by Radim Červenka

This book, written by the Czech-American historian and philosopher Zdeněk V. David, is a translation of an older English publication of the same work. Finally Czech readers have the opportunity to become acquainted with this work, translated by the author himself, which has been enriched by the addition of a chapter not included in the original English version. While this extra chapter is created by dividing the twelfth chapter into two parts, the detailed footnotes nevertheless deserve a positive evaluation. After waiting a long time Czech historians can now read a complete evaluation of the history of Utraquism in the sixteenth century. If one were to look for an earlier writing on this subject, one would have to go back almost a hundred years to the work of Ferdinand Hrejsa.<sup>1</sup> Another possibility could be the work of Josef Macek—*Víra a zbožnost Jagellonského věku*—but it focuses on religiosity in fifteenth century Bohemia only.<sup>2</sup> The problematic of the historiographical reception of Utraquism are mentioned in David: predominantly historians focused on the second wave of the Czech reformation—usually called the Unity of the Brethren.

One of the main themes of David's work is to reconsider, or rather to subvert, the term "neo-Utraquism". Contemporary literature used the term neo-Utraquism, which should be considered theologically something between Lutheranism and Utraquism. The main argument David presents hinges on the fact that the word "neo-Utraquism" itself is not present in contemporary sources. It is peculiar that the author himself did not present the thesis in this particular work, but in another study.<sup>3</sup> Even though *Nalezení střední cesty* is a compilation of David's earlier, minor studies, the study containing the thesis mentioned is not present. This omission is accompanied by some minor problems, the repetition of certain ideas, for example.

It is only fair to honor the publication due to its examination of historical sources hitherto missing in modern research. Arguments put forward in literature missing these sources are not fully credible, a fact which both Robert Evans and Czech cultural historian Josef Petráň have noticed.<sup>4</sup> Not to disregard it entirely, contemporary historiography has indeed produced many studies of minor issues in the Utraquist church, such as the works of Richard Holeton, Pavel Kůrka and Ota Halama. It is unfortunate that Halama's work on Utraquist saints has not been reflected upon even in the Czech version of David's monograph.

<sup>1</sup> Ferdinand Hrejsa, *Česká konfese. Její vznik, podstata a dějiny* (Praha, 1912).

<sup>2</sup> Josef Macek, *Víra a zbožnost jagellonského věku* (Praha, 2001).

<sup>3</sup> Zdeněk V. David, "Celistvost církve pod obojí a otázka novoutrakvismu". *Český časopis historický* 101:4 (2003): 882–910.

<sup>4</sup> R. J. W. Evans, *Rudolf II. and His World: A Study in Intellectual History 1576–1612* (Oxford, 1973), 29. Josef Petráň, "Stavovské království a jeho kultura v Čechách", in: J. Petráň, *České dějiny ve znamení kultury* (Pardubice, 2010), 104.

The Utraquists' position between Catholic Rome and radical German reformers, after Luther's appearance, is a crucial issue for Z. V. David. On this point, the author refutes the idea of a partition between the more progressive Neo-Utraquism and the retrograde, old Utraquism, which called for unification with Rome. The book deals with Utraquist theological differences in comparison to the statements of Lutherans, and, contrarily to them, David tends to emphasize the similarities between Utraquist and Catholic theology. The main distinctions from the Catholics in Utraquist theology were: the Holy Communion "*sub utraque*", Holy Communion for babies, and the celebration of John Hus and Jerome of Prague as saints. Lutheran theology was too radical for the Hussites. They rejected the principal of *sola scriptura* just as they did that of *sola fide*. Another of the key differences between the Czech and German reformations was the question of priesthood for all believers. The Utraquists' insistence on the apostolic succession of priests seemed very old-fashioned to the more radical Lutherans. Nevertheless, the preservation of this rule was one of the key concepts in Utraquist theology. For them it was the Pope and bishops who consecrated the holiness of the priest's office.

Zdeněk V. David is concerned with other important issues of the new confessions. Utraquists strictly separated the ideal position of the Pope as Christ's representative from his position as a lay monarch, being deeply offended by the latter. The Utraquists despised the worldly rule of priests. The Czech reformation had a long tradition of criticizing priests' morality, especially with regard to simony or selling indulgences. Before Luther, the Utraquists were the only theological opposition to Rome. The rise of the Reformation in neighboring countries strengthened their political position, but not their theological one. In the period of Czech confession, Czech reformers preferred political alliance with the renegades of Rome rather than with those who were theologically quite similar to them but still aggressively Catholic. It is important to note that the Utraquists always considered themselves to be true Catholics. David is well aware of this fact and therefore consistently refers to the Catholics as "Romans". Utraquists expected that the Pope would match their high moral standards, but did not try to prove their theses to the Pope. This is David's main argument against the often held opinion that the Lower consistory was trying to unite itself with Rome at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Another of David's important concepts is "the liberal way". He strictly rejects that this liberalism was brown-nosing in any way. The Utraquist openness to compromise was closely connected with the plebeian character of the church, which lacked political background. This is a main difference it had from the Anglican Church, which can be considered as taking another type of 'middle way', according to David. The Anglican Church, which holds the king himself as its head, had a completely different political position than the Utraquist church, whose king was Roman-Catholic. Among the most important meritorious elements of this work is its wide survey of different problems connected to the Reformation. Reflections upon many sources from different countries are found in the work, such as Erasmus's view on the Utraquists, and the accounts of contemporary foreign travelers passing through the Bohemian Lands. David's emotional engagement is obvious but carefully weighed against his capable learned and balanced interpretation there is no need to criticize it. Unfortunately, some questions remained unanswered and it will be no easy task for anyone to complete the gaps left by David. One of the most glaring of these questions is the problem of religious hybridity, which was raised in the work of Zikmund Winter.<sup>5</sup> Even though the possibility of small anomalies is mentioned by the author, he does not especially concern himself with this question. David sometimes contradicts himself. He praises the openness and tolerance of the Utraquist relationship with the Unity of Brethren, however, in the chapter discussing one of the main Utraquist theologians Pavel Bydžovský, he

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<sup>5</sup> Zikmund Winter, *Život církevní v Čechách: kulturně-historický obraz z 15. a 16. století* (Praha, 1896).

strongly criticized the Unity, as well as Bohuslav Bílejovský, another important figure of Utraquist theology.

The book by Zdeněk V. David has the ambitious goal to both describe the history of Utraquism before The Battle of White Mountain and to polemically disprove certain historiographical myths. This goal is accompanied by many interpretational problems, and the author's speculative methodology presents even more issues. David's fresh concept brings many new questions and not all of them are answered in this study. Thus, his book is a great starting point for further study and it is a shame that despite the long period of time that has passed between the English and Czech versions no deeper analysis or advancement of the work was made over this period.

Jaroslav Miller

## ***Propaganda, symbolika a rituály protestantské Evropy (1580–1650)***

Praha: NLN, 2012. 289 pp. ISBN 978-80-7422-215-3

Reviewed by Hana Ferencová

The debate around the confessional and political rivalries and tension in early modern European society is frequent subject of discussion among historians of this period. Having been thoroughly examined over the decades, this debate has in recent years been experiencing the notable interest of foreign as well as Czech scholars. Spanning the research areas of the European Reformation, Protestant propaganda campaigns and political iconography, various monographs and studies dealing either generally or more specifically with the ideas of sixteenth and seventeenth century Protestant culture have appeared since the 1970s. The book under review by Jaroslav Miller is not only an outstanding contribution to our understanding of the development of Protestant propaganda in the early modern period, but also offers one of the most comprehensive treatments of this topic to have been published in the field of Czech historiography.

Miller develops his argument over six densely packed chapters (excluding the introduction and conclusion), each divided into several shorter parts. Taking into consideration its structural, logical, thematic and chronological order, it is an easy book to read and possesses the clarity necessary for a full understanding of its principal theses. One of Miller's chief aims seems to have been to give a thorough review of the historical emergence of Reformation propaganda and its meaning. In this context, the first chapter focuses on the construction of the self-legitimated tradition and past of Protestants. This construction was supported by an interpretation of history in which the resistance against tyrannical and papist Rome definitely prevailed. The next chapter takes the analysis farther by examining not only national sentiments but also ideas of pan-protestant unity and, moreover, the legendary heroes and myths shared by the Protestant parties across Europe. The part most worthy of note in the book is Miller's debate on the "new" media of communication. He found space to discuss the question of Protestant drama, court festivities and tournaments, and, finally, periodical newspapers, all thematically arranged in the second section of the monograph. In addition to the most common forms of the Protestant propaganda efforts such as leaflets and pamphlets, he stresses the significance of other primary sources broadly spread in early modern society. He rightly emphasizes the possible political meaning of the theatre and the stereotypical image of the Catholic enemy produced and formed by the theatrical production of that time. When analysing the dramatic tradition of Elizabethan and Early Stuart England he, surprisingly and somewhat disappointingly, only briefly touches on the role of the French enemy that served as the alternative to the Catholic/ Spanish one, although the Spanish matter is elaborated in detail. On the other hand, it is necessary to appreciate his flowing narrative style which has him avoid a too descriptive and exhaustive retelling of plays.

This study ranges widely not only in the huge number of period prints it contains but also in space. Besides Western European countries (England, France, the Netherlands etc.), this book also concentrates on Central European regions, for instance Germany, Silesia and the Bohemian Lands which enables it to contextualize all information on the tensions between Catholics and

Protestants in the whole of Europe. By expanding the spatial extent of his interest the author has outstandingly surpassed the perspective of his previous publication *Falcký mýtus*, which was limited to the relationship between the English and Bohemian kingdoms.

Jaroslav Miller has written a notable monograph that significantly contributes to the discussion on religious and political division in Europe in the years before and during the Thirty Years War. Utilizing the pioneering works of the historian Frances A. Yates and various representatives of New Historicism (particularly Stephen Greenblatt) as historiographical models, Miller seeks to show, in elaborate and appropriate detail, the full weight of the narrative strategies and chief arguments developed by the Protestant propaganda. Last but not least, the variety of analysed sources is complemented by other medias of communication such as the theatre, periodical newspapers, court festivities and tournaments the role of which in the propaganda campaigns cannot be omitted or marginalized. This fascinating story about the creation of Protestant historical culture as the rival to the Catholic one seems to be one of the first attempts of Central European historiography to provide a full, well-rounded, Europe-wide picture of the politically and confessionally motivated propaganda of sixteenth and seventeenth century Protestantism.

# Hrsg. von Brigitte Mazohl und Ellinor Forster

## ***Frauenklöster im Alpenraum***

Innsbruck: Universitätsverl. Wagner, 2012. 280 S., 28 Abb. ISBN 978-3-7030-0491-9

Rezensiert von Jarmila Kašpárková

Der Problematik der Frauenklöster in der Frühen Neuzeit wurden in letzter Zeit gleich mehrere interessante Bücher gewidmet. Die hier vorgestellte Publikation legt Beiträge vor, die im September 2008 im Rahmen der in der Nähe des Benediktinerklosters Säben verlaufenden Tagung präsentiert wurden. Einige von diesen Autoren (Christine Schneider, Ellinor Forster, Ingrid Facchinelli, Stefan Benz) wirkten auch in der Arbeitssektion des 13. Internationalen Kongresses der *International Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies* mit, der in Graz unter dem Titel *Female Religious Life in East-Central Europe in the Long Eighteenth Century* veranstaltet wurde; einige trafen ein Jahr später auf dem Boden der Schlesischen Universität in Opava (Troppau) anlässlich des Workshops *Piety and Fluidity of the Boundaries between Convent and World* wieder zusammen. Auch diese Treffen brachten ein Buch hervor.<sup>1</sup> Die vorgestellte Publikation ist also keineswegs ein isoliertes Ergebnis mit regionaler Thematik, sondern es ist wichtig, sie in dieser Atmosphäre der gemeinsamen Treffen und Diskussionen zu betrachten.

Bei der Entstehung des außerordentlichen Treffens der sich für Frauenklöster im Alpenraum interessierenden Forscher stand zunächst keine Historikerin, sondern eine Politikerin – die Südtiroler Landesrätin für Kultur Dr. Sabine Kasslatter Mur, die sich der kulturellen sowie geschichtlichen Bedeutung der erwähnten Klöster für die Tiroler und Trentino-Region bewusst wurde. Sie gab somit unwillkürlich den Impuls nicht nur zum Blick auf die einzelnen Ordenshäuser, sondern auch insbesondere zur (vor allem zukünftigen) komparativen Erforschung von Frauenklöstern innerhalb eines Gebiets. Zum ersten Mal bemühte sich Ende der 1980er Jahre die französische Geschichtsschreibung um das Studium von Kommunitäten verschiedener Orden im Rahmen einer Region;<sup>2</sup> im Falle der Frauenklöster handelt es sich stets um eine interessante historiographische Herausforderung. Auch im Bewusstsein des Potenzials dieses Gedankens, der vom Mittelalter bis zur Moderne untersucht werden kann, brachten die Forscher ihre Studien in dem vorliegenden Sammelband zusammen.

Die Publikation wird durch das Einleitungswort der Herausgeberinnen Brigitte Mazohl und Ellinor Forster eröffnet. Es konzentriert sich kurz auf die Historiographie zum Thema. Immer öfter wird die Grenze, von der an die ersten grundlegenden, sich mit den Frauenklöstern beschäftigenden Werke angeführt werden, in Richtung Gegenwart verrückt, was auch von diesen Historikerinnen bestätigt wird. Die einst gepriesenen Werke der feministischen Geschichtsschreibung der 1970er Jahre werden heute als zu tendenziell wahrgenommen. Das erste bedeutendere Buch

<sup>1</sup> *Between Revival and Uncertainty. Monastic and Secular Female Communities in Central Europe in the Long Eighteenth Century/ Zwischen Aufbruch und Ungewissheit. Klösterliche und weltliche Frauengemeinschaften in Zentraleuropa im „langen“ 18. Jahrhundert.* Eds.: Veronika Čapská, Ellinor Forster, Janine Christina Maegraith, Christine Schneider. Opava 2012.

<sup>2</sup> Wie informiert Jan Zdichynec, *Přístupy k výzkumu ženských klášterů kontemplativních řeholí v raném novověku* [Herantretensweisen an die Erforschung der Frauenklöster der kontemplativen Orden in der Frühen Neuzeit], in Martin Nodl – Daniela Tinková (eds.), *Antropologické přístupy v historickém bádání* [Anthropologische Herantretensweisen in der Geschichtsforschung]. Praha 2007, S. 96, 121, Fußnote 8.

ist nach Forster und Mazohl die 1991 herausgegebene Arbeit von Anne Conrad über die Rolle der Ursulinen und Jesuitinnen im katholischen Reformprozess des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts.<sup>3</sup>

Die Beiträge sind in vier Abteile gegliedert, die sich auf die Geschichte der Frauenklöster aus eigener Sicht (Geschichtsschreibung), die Problematik der Klausur, den Blick auf die Klöster von außen und die heutigen Spuren der Frauenklöster im Sinne der materiellen Gegenstände, aber auch der Spiritualität konzentrieren. Es ist schade, dass der Beitrag von Julia Hörmann-Thurn und Taxis in das erste Abteil eingegliedert ist, anstatt die ganze Publikation zu eröffnen. Die Autorin beschäftigt sich darin mit einer Übersicht über den Frauenmonastizismus in dieser Alpenregion.

Die Studie von Julia Hörmann-Thurn und Taxis *Frauenklöster im mittelalterlichen Tirol und im Trentino – Ein Überblick* zeigt, dass das Fundament für die Tätigkeit der Frauenklöster in der Region gerade im Mittelalter gelegt wurde. Während in der Barockzeit eine riesige Zunahme von Männerklöstern zu beobachten ist, blieb die „Karte“ der Frauenklöster in der nachtridentinischen Zeit fast gleich. Was bedeutete das aber für die Klöster selbst? Die Autorin betrachtet (relativ traditionell) die Klöster als wichtige lokale Zentren in wirtschaftlichen und künstlerischen Zusammenhängen oder Zusammenhängen der Mädchenerziehung. Gleichzeitig zeigt sie jedoch, dass das Leben der einzelnen Orden trotz der proklamierten Ähnlichkeitstheorien überaus mannigfaltig war. Sie konzentriert sich dabei auf den Blick auf die sozialen Grundlagen der Klöster oder auf die Lokalität, in der sich das Kloster befand. Im Laufe der Jahrhunderte befanden sich im Alpenraum etwa zwanzig Frauenordenshäuser. Vierzehn davon werden von der Autorin näher geschildert – die Benediktinerinnen in Sonnenburg und Müstair, die Prämonstratenserinnen in Wilten, die Dominikanerinnen in Lienz, Maria Steinach, Innichen, Mariathal und Kloster Santa Margherita di Sorbano, die Klarissen in Trient, Brixen und Merano, die Waldschwwestern in Halltal, die Beginen in Bruneck und die Augustinerinnen in Sant’Anna di Sopramonte – einigen von ihnen sind dann eigene Beiträge gewidmet.

Im Abteil *Chronik und Geschichte* setzt Stefan Benz noch die Linie der Komparation von einzelnen Ordenshäusern im Hinblick auf deren niedergeschriebene Vergangenheit fort. Das Schreiben über die eigene Vergangenheit richtete sich nach drei Hauptkategorien – Bewahrung, Gedächtnis und Erinnern. Alle beeinflussten das Endbild über die Geschichte des Klosters, das mit Hilfe von verschiedenen Gattungen vermittelt wurde. Benz formuliert die These, dass, während sich viele Forscher durch die normativen Quellen beeinflussen ließen, so dass die Klausur in der Geschichtsschreibung zum meistbehandelten Thema wurde, das Leben der Schwestern viel mehr – wie die Chroniken zeigen – durch die Formung und Ermutigung im asketischen Modell des Ordenslebens gebildet wurde. Er beschäftigt sich auch mit der Struktur und Ordnung des Klosterarchivs und zeigt, wie die einzelnen Kategorien des Archivmaterials wahrgenommen wurden und insbesondere, dass diese ein Ganzes bildeten. Schließlich analysiert er die Einstellung der Ordensschwwestern zum Schreiben selbst. Das Wort übernimmt dann Christine Schneider mit ihrem Beitrag *„Zu Nuzen, Trost und Unterricht aller nachfolgenden [...]“ Die österreichischen Ursulinenchroniken im 18. Jahrhundert* über den Aufbau des offiziellen Gedächtnisses in den Häusern der Ursulinen in Innsbruck, Salzburg und Bruneck. Ingrid Facchinelli (*Alltag und Ordnung in den Quellen des Klosters Säben*) nutzt für ihren Beitrag sowohl narrative, als auch normative Quellen und konzentriert sich auf jene bekannte Spannung zwischen der Realität und der Norm im Umfeld eines der bedeutendsten Tiroler Klöster.

Das Abteil *Innerhalb und außerhalb der Klausur* wird durch die das prosopographische Herantreten nutzende Studie über die Brixner Klarissen eingeleitet. Erika Kustatscher zeigt in dem

<sup>3</sup> Anne Conrad, *Zwischen Kloster und Welt: Ursulinen und Jesuitinnen in der katholischen Reformbewegung des 16./17. Jahrhunderts*. Mainz 1991.



Beitrag *Die Welt (in) der Klausur. Spirituelle Ideale und realer Alltag im Brixner Klarissenkloster im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* am Beispiel des Brixner Klosters eine interessante Dynamik des Klarissenordens, die gewöhnlich nur mit der mittelalterlichen Geschichte in Zusammenhang gebracht wird. Die Klarissen wurden im Grunde genommen durch die Benediktinerregel formiert, die ihnen 1263 Urban IV. erteilte, gleichzeitig wurden sie stark durch das Beispiel der Heiligen Klara von Assisi und des Heiligen Franziskus, und schließlich auch von ihren Vorgesetzten-Mendikanten beeinflusst. Wie äußerte sich das im Leben des frühneuzeitlichen Klosters? Durch die regionale Herkunft der Schwestern und die häufige Interaktion des Klosters mit der Stadt näherte sich der Orden den Franziskanern, durch die starke Betonung der „vita communis“ erinnerte er an die Gedanken der Heiligen Klara, durch die Einführung der Institution von Laienschwestern wirkte er als typischer Mönchsorden. Die Forscherin Eva Cescutti (*Mädchenschule und Frauenkongregation: Maria Hueber „revisited“*) bearbeitet die Problematik der Kongregation der Tertiärinnen des Heiligen Franziskus und deren kostenloser im Jahre 1700 in Brixen gegründeter Mädchenschule. Ellinor Forster beschäftigt sich in ihrer Studie *Zwischen Landtag und Huldigungsumritt. Politische Handlungsspielräume des Stifts Sonnenburg und des Klarissenklosters Meran in der Frühen Neuzeit* mit der politischen Rolle einiger Klöster. In die Zeit kurz nach der Säkularisierung vieler Klöster bringt uns Christine Roilo – *Von Neubeginn in schwieriger Zeit. Das Kloster zum Hl. Kreuz auf Säben ober Klausen 1816–1825*. Während viele Klöster wegen der Josephinischen Reformen untergingen, rangen andere – insbesondere die Ursulinen – mit einer enormen Zunahme von Schwestern aus anderen Orden.<sup>4</sup> In einer imaginären Mitte zwischen diesen beiden Extremen befanden sich Häuser, die dank Fürsprache einer einflussreichen Persönlichkeit auch weiterhin existieren konnten. Auf solche Klöster bezog sich jedoch in der Regel auch eine Reglementierung im Sinne einer Beschränkung von Nachwuchsaufnahme, und viele Güter wurden durch den Religionsfonds konfisziert. In einer solchen Situation waren die Oberinnen gezwungen, ein Dilemma hinsichtlich der Zukunft ihres Hauses zu lösen. Die Schlussseiten *Was bleibt* sind den erhaltenen Gegenständen materieller Kultur, sowie der Problematik der jegliche Aufhebungen überdauernden Ordensspiritualität gewidmet.

Das Buch zeigt, wie reich und mannigfaltig das Ordensleben in einer Lokalität war. Es macht auf eine Menge von unterschiedlichen Quellen aufmerksam, die entweder genutzt oder neu interpretiert werden können. Ein Forschungspotenzial besitzen aber auch diejenigen Quellen, die hier nicht in Betracht gezogen wurden – beispielsweise die Gebetbücher der Schwestern. Gleichzeitig fordert das Buch auch zu einem Weiterstudium auf. Angesichts der Idee einer möglichen Komparativstudie bezeichnen wir das Werk für einen vielversprechenden Anfang, der zur Fortsetzung anregt.

Übersetzt von Hana Jadrná Matějková

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<sup>4</sup> Vgl. Christine Schneider, Die Auswirkungen der Josephinischen Klosteraufhebungen auf den Wiener Ursulinenkonvent, in *Between Revival and Uncertainty*, S. 131–154.

Aleš Vyskočil

## ***Slovník představitelů politické správy na Moravě v letech 1850–1918***

[Lexikon der Vertreter der politischen Verwaltung in Mähren in den Jahren 1850–1918]

Praha: Historický ústav, 2011. 375 S., 15 Abb. ISBN 978-80-7286-183-5

Rezensiert von Lukáš F. Peluněk

Fast ohne Widerhall in der historischen Gemeinde<sup>1</sup> erschien das Werk des Historikers Aleš Vyskočil (\*1973), das die Staatsverwaltung in Mähren zwischen den Jahren 1850 bis 1918 aus biographischer Sicht darstellt. Die Publikation kam im Historischen Institut der Akademie der Wissenschaften der Tschechischen Republik heraus. Der Autor ist Mitarbeiter der Brüner Niederlassung dieser Institution und hat sich mit der Problematik der Staatsverwaltung in Mähren im 19. und am Beginn des 20. Jahrhundert langfristig beschäftigt.<sup>2</sup> Das Lexikon ist die erste Verarbeitung des Themas im mährischen Raum. Die Staatsverwaltung in Böhmen stellte schon früher Alexandra Špiritová vor.<sup>3</sup> Nur kurze Zeit nach dem Lexikon Vyskočils erschien in Brünn ein ähnliches biographisches Lexikon von Jiří Malíř und Kollektiv:<sup>4</sup> beide Werke stellen eine gute Basis zur Erforschung der mährischen Geschichte dieses Zeitabschnitts dar.

Das Lexikon Vyskočils hat eine klare Struktur, die aus neun Textabschnitten besteht. Nach einer kurzen Einführung (S. 7–9), in der der Autor die Motive zur Abfassung des Werkes nennt, folgt ein selbstständiger Abschnitt über den Aufbau der einzelnen biographischen Stichworte (Vor- und Familienname, professionelle Einordnung, Lebensdaten, Bildung, Dienstjahre, Stufen der Karriere, Wirkungsorte, Titel, Auszeichnungen, Zusatzinformationen, Quellen und

<sup>1</sup> Das geringe Interesse für das Lexikon äußert sich dadurch, das bisher nur zwei Rezensionen publiziert wurden. Schau Josef Harna, review of *Slovník představitelů politické správy na Moravě v letech 1850–1918*, by Aleš Vyskočil, *Moderní dějiny. Časopis pro dějiny 19. a 20. století*, 2012, 276–277; Tomáš Sterneck, review of *Slovník představitelů politické správy na Moravě v letech 1850–1918*, by Aleš Vyskočil, *Jihočeský sborník historický*, 2012, 369–370.

<sup>2</sup> Stellvertretend nennen wir einige Studien: Aleš Vyskočil, „Státní autorita versus občan aneb prvoinstanční úřady politické správy na Moravě v době zápasů o jazyková nařízení“, in *Vývoj české ústavnosti v letech 1618–1918. Sborník příspěvků* (Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, 2006), 622–663; Vyskočil, „Státní správa a samospráva na přelomu 19. a 20. století a v prvních desetiletích 20. století na příkladu města Prostějova“, in *Občanské elity a obecní samospráva 1848–1948*, ed. Lukáš Fasora et al. (Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 2006), 212–218; Vyskočil, „Úředník. Příklad Petra Ehrenfelda, Franze Bacha a Josefa Wierera“, in *Člověk na Moravě v první polovině 20. století*, ed. Lukáš Fasora et al. (Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 2006), 56–68; Vyskočil, „Úřednická kariéra mezi Brnem a Vídní“, in *Brno Vídní, Vídeň Brnu. Zemské metropole a centrum říše v 19. století. Sborník příspěvků z mezinárodní konference konané 22.–23. listopadu 2007 v Brně* (Brno: Matices moravská, 2008), 127–142.

Mit diesem Thema beschäftigte sich der Autor auch in seiner vorheigen Monographie: Vyskočil, Aleš. *C. k. úředník ve zlatém věku jistoty*. Praha: Historický ústav, 2009.

<sup>3</sup> Špiritová, Alexandra. *Slovník představitelů státní správy v Čechách v letech 1850–1918*. Praha: Státní ústřední archiv, 1993.

<sup>4</sup> Malíř, Jiří et al. *Biografický slovník moravských zemských poslanců v letech 1861–1918*. Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 2012.

Literatur). Der nächste Abschnitt erklärt die im Text benutzten Abkürzungen (Grade- und Titelbezeichnungen, Funktionen) und führt ein reiches Verzeichnis von Quellen und Literatur auf.

Im Kapitel „Die zeitgenössische Staatsverwaltung und Beamtenschaft“ (S. 19–35) werden die Entwicklung und Besonderheiten der Staatsverwaltung und der Beamtenschaft vorgestellt, von der grundsätzlichen Verwaltungsreformen Maria Theresias und Josefs II., über die bedeutenden Meilensteine der Jahre 1848 und 1867 bis zum Ausbruch des Ersten Weltkriegs, resp. bis zum Kriegsende. Der Autor hebt die Spezifik des Verwaltungsdualismus der Regierung Franz Josefs I. hervor, als Staats- und Gerichtsmacht strikt voneinander getrennt waren. Die Studie ist um übersichtliche Tabellen angereichert, die die Einteilung der Verwaltungskreise in politische und Gerichtsbezirke in den Jahren 1850–1855, 1855–1868 und 1868–1918 festhalten. Zugleich definiert der Text sorgfältig die Rechtsbefugnisse der einzelnen Beamten und die zeitgenössische Hierarchie der politischen Verwaltung.

Nach der Einleitungsstudie folgt der Hauptteil – die 350 biographischen Artikel. Danach folgen Überblicksregister der Statthalter, Vizepräsidenten, Leiter der präsidentalen Statthalterkanzleien und der Bezirksämter. Am Schluss findet man im Lexikon die Porträts der mährischen Statthalter (S. 357–371) und ein Namenregister (S. 372–375).

Möchte man das Lexikon Vyskočils kritisch bewerten, wird man keine bedeutenden Vorwürfe formulieren können. Das Lexikon ist sehr sorgfältig zusammengestellt und man kann es als ein Musterwerk seiner Gattung darstellen. Der Autor mied erfolgreich die Fallen und Fehler, die der Lexikon-Gattung üblicherweise zueigen sind. Im Gegensatz zum *Biographischen Lexikon der Abgeordneten des mährischen Landtages* von 2012 enthält sein Lexikon ein Namenregister, das in dem Werk von 2012 fehlt.<sup>5</sup> Die einzelnen biographischen Aufsätze sind zwar manchmal sehr kurz, das kann jedoch die Absicht des Verfassers gewesen sein.

Stellt man sich die Frage, warum Vyskočils Werk von mährischen historiographischen Institutionen so wenig Beachtung fand, ist die Antwort m. E. einfach: Wenn ein Werk zum mährischen Thema bspw. in Brünn oder Olmütz erscheint, entgeht es der Aufmerksamkeit der mährischen Historiker nicht. Falls aber eine mährische Monographie in Prag erscheint, was eher selten passiert, bleibt sie in Mähren unbeachtet.

Zum Schluss kann man konstatieren, dass das rezensierte Lexikon einen bedeutenden Beitrag zum Kennenlernen der Kultur- und politischen Geschichte Mährens in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts darstellt. Das Lexikon kann jedem Historiker der Allgemeinen sowie der tschechischen und der Regionalgeschichte dienen, der sich mit diesem Zeitabschnitt und diesem Thema beschäftigt.

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<sup>5</sup> Siehe meine Rezension (*Historica Olomucensia* 46-2014, 275–278), wo ich auf das Problem (Absenz des Registers) aufmerksam machte.

# Czech and Slovak Journal of Humanities

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