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On the cover: Engravings depicting saints of the Order of the Poor Clares. From Fortunatus Hueber, *Menologium, seu, Brevis, & compendiosa Illuminatio, relucens in Splendoribus Sanctorum, Beatorum, Miraculosorum, Incorruptorum, Extaticorum, Beneficorum, et quocumque Sanctimoniae, vel Virtutis Fulgore, Illustrium, Singularium, aut Praecellentium Famulorum Famularumque Dei, Martyrum, Confessorum, Virginum, Viduarum, Poenitentium* (Monachii: Typis Ioannis Lucae Straubii, 1698). Courtesy of the library of the Convent of the Virgin Mary of the Snow in Prague.

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articles

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Man and Cat in the Low Countries: The Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period

Abstract | The relationship between man and cat in the Low Countries between 600 and 1800 can be described in terms such as kaleidoscopic, but also contradictory, problematic and ambiguous. In the early Middle Ages, people – particularly intellectuals within the Church – came to appreciate the useful aspects of cats in their contacts with them, but from the twelfth century, they began to demonize the animal. A symbolic representation was being developed at the same time, in both literature and visual arts, which associated cats with other negative qualities, such as laziness, vanity, pride and especially lust. Cats only began to receive a modest place as of the middle of the seventeenth century within the context of new home decorations which contributed to the process of identity formation and cultural distinction. This status improvement did not prevent the vast majority of the feline population from being focused on survival in their daily life. Even at the end of this period, many cats were the subject of brutal public entertainment and structural violence. The actual revolution in our relationship with the cat is of recent date. However, anthropomorphization, in which all kinds of human qualities are uncritically attributed to cats, continues unabated.

Keywords | Human-Animal studies; Cats, Low Countries; the Middle Ages; Early Modern Times

Introduction

Animals have always been present in historical publications. Economic historians, for example, have focused on their role as a transport, communication or consumer product, or as an aid to the labour process. Social historians have associated the possession of animals with status and identity. Cultural historians have looked at the place of animals in hunting, as an element of *conspicuous consumption* or as a central part in public spectacles and entertainment. Military historians have brought them into their accounts of battles and sieges. Historians of religion and mentality have seen various different animals as symbols of good or evil. Finally, art historians have been interested in animals as an aesthetic category. Only since the mid-1980s have some historians provided animals with a more central role, one that is no longer confined to an almost incidental or utilitarian presence in the context of human action. It has been contended that animals have a right to their own place in the construction of the past and that the anthropocentric paradigm should be swept aside in favour of a multidisciplinary anthropozoological approach. This has led to the development of human-animal studies (*HAS*), in which animals are considered as they relate to humans. *HAS* historians accept that people and animals have made history together and continue to do so. They investigate the interaction between them and the mutual influence of humans and animals. They analyse how people perceive animals and even

accept that, through their presence and their reactions to human actions, animals have a limited degree of agency.[1]

This article seeks to contribute to a rapidly growing and predominantly Anglo-Saxon historiography of *HAS* studies. The main research question that this study tries to address can be formulated as follows: to what extent can the historian reveal important explanatory variables that may shed light on the relationship between man and cat in the history of the Low Countries from the early Middle Ages to the end of the Early Modern period? It shall be argued that the relationship between man and cat was multilayered or even kaleidoscopic manifesting five different and often conflicting aspects. A number of these aspects had a chronological sequence, while others partially overlapped in time. The ensuing pages aim at the first exploration of the field. They follow a careful but seemingly erratic, although focused, path – just as a cat explores its new territory.

Intellectuals Observe: The Functional Cat

Much of Medieval science is a dialogue with the "book of books." The Bible itself does not mention cats, not even when listing clean or unclean animals,[2] although there is a rather obscure passage on flying cats in the Book of Baruch.[3] It was only during the Early Modern period that cats, like dogs and other familiar animals, were regularly added in Bible translations and commentaries to bring the content of the Bible more in line with people's everyday experiences.[4] One of the oldest descriptions of cats in Western Europe is to be found in the etymological encyclopaedia in twenty volumes by the seventh-century Spanish bishop Isidore of Seville. Isidore praises the *musio*

> who is so called because it is a foe of mice. Common people call it *catus* because it catches mice. Others say, because it sees (*catat*). For it has such sharp sight that it overcomes the darkness of the night by the brightness of its eyes. Hence from the Greek "to burn" comes *catus* which means keen.[5]

Later authors of encyclopaedic compendia such as the French Dominican friar Vincent de Beauvais in his *Speculum naturale* (before 1245), his Brabant colleague Thomas van Cantimpré in his *Liber de natura rerum* (1235–1250)[6] or the Flemish Jacob van Maerlant from the neighbourhood of Bruges, in his *Der Naturen Bloeme* (1270), have amply plagiarised or paraphrased this

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[1] These lines are inspired by the excellent survey of Leen Van Molle, "Een geschiedenis van mensen en (andere) dieren," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 125 (2012): 465–475.

[2] Leviticus 11: 1–8 and Deuteronomy 14: 4–8.

[3] Rainer Kampling, "Vom Streicheln und Nutzen der Katze. Die Wahrnehmung der Katze bei christlichen Autoren von der Spätantike bis zum 12. Hahrhundert," in *Eine seltsame Gefährtin. Katzen, Religion, Theologie und Theologen*, ed. Rainer Kampling (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2007), 95–96.

[4] Gerardus Joannes Nahuys and Jacob Van Nuys, *De Bijbel, door beknopte uitbreidingen en opheldernde aenmerkingen verklaerd*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam: Johannes Allart, 1781), 92–93.

[5] In *liber XII de animalibus*, Paragraph 2 concerning *de bestiis*, verses 38 and 39: "Musio appellatus, quod muribus infestus sit. Hunc vulgus cattum a captura vocant. Alii dicunt, quod cattat, id est videt. Nam tanto acute cernit ut fulgore luminis noctis tenebras superet. Unde a Graeco venit catus, id est ingeniosus, ἀπὸ τοῦ καίεσθαι" (Isidori Hispalensis, *Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, vol. 2, ed. Wallace Martin Lindsay ([Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911]. The English translation is from Ernest Brehaut,trans., *An Encyclopedist of the Dark Ages: Isidore of Seville* [New York: Columbia University, 1912], 226., but I added the last sentence). See also Willem Van Bentum, "Een kat in het nauw," *Tiecelijn* 17 (2004): 68 and Laurence Bobis, *Une histoire du chat* (Paris: Seuil, 2006), 97.

[6] Thomas Cantimpratensis, *Liber de Natura Rerum. Editio princeps secundum codices manuscriptos*, vol. 1, ed. Helmut Boese (Berlin, 1973), 151–152, art. LXXVI.

text.[7] For them, too, the *musio* with its shining carbuncle eyes is capable of catching mice in even the deepest darkness. Its precious fur is a trophy for dealers in hides and skins. Even the great philosophers and theologians of the thirteenth century, such as Albertus Magnus (*De animalibus* from 1254–1257) and Thomas Aquinas (*Quaestiones disputatae de malo* from 1269–1272), copied the fragment.[8] Albertus also provided a detailed description of the cat that would remain a standard and a guideline over the ensuing centuries. The domestic cat exists in various colours, likes to play with its reflection, loves to be stroked by humans and is extremely hygienic. The renowned *doctor universalis* draws his inspiration from his fellow Dominican Thomas van Cantimpré but demonstrated his much praised talent for observation when he described how cats first wash their nose with their paws and afterwards lick their entire body.[9]

None of this is all that spectacular. Europe's intellectual, mainly ecclesiastical, elite presented a rather sober description of the cat, focusing on the functional characteristics that were also much appreciated in the Low Countries in the day-to-day relationship with the animal. Most of the authors largely copied one other. Critical reflection based on personal observation was the exception rather than the rule.[10] True to an established tradition, preference was given to animals that were useful to men. *Utilitas* "usefulness, utility" prevailed.[11] At the same time, as will become apparent in a later paragraph, a number of these intellectuals found a welcome companion in the cat during the long hours spent writing, by day or by night, in the scriptoria. All the conditions were in place to begin the development of a fairly osmotic relationship. Then something terrible occurred, however. The Devil took possession of the cat.

The Devil and the Witch: The Demonological Cat

A popular theory that the cat was treated horribly in the Middle Ages is not entirely correct. It was only from the late twelfth century that the cat became increasingly associated with evil. This association was the result of the gradual development of a systematic demonology. A growing number of learned men believed that Satan and his accomplices were actually present on earth to affect the life of mortals. For demonologists, woman was the creature *par excellence* employed by the Devil to destroy mankind. Women who previously had only been accused of magical practices were now considered the handmaidens of the Devil and therefore had to be punished as heretics. Along with this increasing misogyny, hatred for cats grew. People not only began to personalize the Devil and his companions, but also to bestialize them and depict them as animals.[12] The cat proved to be a preferred representation in this process. Describing Satanic rituals with certain heretical sects, Walter Map, in his *De Nugis Curialium* "Trifles of Courti-

[7] Jacob van Maerlant, *Naturen bloeme*, ed. Eelco Verwijs (Groningen: J. B. Wolters, 1878, 1st ed.; reprint Arnhem, 1980), 126; Ludo Jongen, *Over Viervoeters. Jacob van Maerlant* (Amersfoort – Bruges: Bekking & Blitz, 2011), 77–78.

[8] Guy Guldentops and Carlos Steel, "Critical Study: The Leonine Edition of 'De spiritualibus creaturis'," *Recherches de théologie et philosophie médiévales. Forschungen zur Theologie und Philosophie des Mittelalters* 68 (2001): 199; Ludger Bilke, "Was heiβt hier Katze? Untersuchungen zum Namen der Katze," in *Eine seltsame Gefährtin. Katzen, Religion, Theologie und Theologen*, ed. Rainer Kampling (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2007), 87–88.

[9] Beati Alberti Magni, *De Animalibus lib. XXVI*, vol. 6, ed. Pierre Jammy (Lyon, 1651), 603.

[10] Laurence Bobis, "Contribution à l'histoire du chat dans l'Occident médiéval. Etude critique des sources" (PhD diss. Ecole Nationale des Chartes Paris, 1990). Over the next pages I shall quote the summary published with the same title in *Ecole Nationale des Chartes. Positions des thèses soutenues par les élèves de la promotion de 1990 pour obtenir le diplôme d'archiviste paléographe* (Paris: Ecole Nationale des Chartes, 1990), 17–28.

[11] Steven A. Epstein, *The Medieval Discovery of Nature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 101; Wladyslaw Tatarkiewicz, *History of Aesthetics* (Paris – The Hague: Mouton, 1970), 199.

[12] Irina Metzler, "Heretical Cats: Animal Symbolism in Religious Discourse," *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 59 (2009): 16–32; Raymond Van Uytven, *De papegaai van de paus. Mens en dier in de Middeleeuwen* (Leuven – Zwolle: Davidsfonds, 2003), 75, 152.

ers", which was written between 1181 and 1193, presented the Devil as "a black cat of wondrous size" descending at night by a rope which hangs in the midst of their sanctuaries.[13] Somewhat later, the oldest images appear depicting witches in the shape of a cat running off with the male genitalia.[14] A number of both renowned and less celebrated authors (including Alain de Lille, Gervais de Tilbury and Guillaume d'Auvergne) from the thirteenth century viewed the black cat as one of the forms that could be adopted by a witch or the Devil.[15] With the papal bull *Vox in rama* (1233), which was in reality much more of a decretal letter to several German bishops and a heresy hunter, Pope Gregory IX placed the cat into a demonological context. The highest Church authority confirmed how so-called Luciferians worshiped a black cat at their meetings. The cat was as big as an average dog, possessed an erect tail and the worshipers kissed the creature on its anus ("descendit retrorsum ad modum canis mediocris gattus niger retorta cauda").[16]

After the publication of this bull, a rapid increase occurred in the number of texts and images that depicted how both the Devil and witches could easily transform themselves into a cat to menace mankind. It now became commonly accepted that cats were worshipped as the Devil on the Sabbath, that they orchestrated horrible orgies, castrated men, stole and hid their genitals and even killed young children in their cradles at night. Several heretical sects such as the Waldensians, Manicheans, Albigensians and Cathars (these were also etymologically associated with cats) all worshipped a black cat as the Devil.[17] Even as late as 1726, a polemic work by the Middelburg preacher Jacobus Leydekker still mentions "how the old Waldensians kissed the backside of a cat, which is the form in which Lucifer appeared to them. That is why they are called Cathari after the cat."[18] The black cat was the principal victim. In the late Middle Ages the old colour symbolism has already strongly eroded, causing different and often conflicting interpretations of the same colours. Black was linked with firmness, eminence, solemnity, mourning but also festivity. Negative feelings prevailed, however, with the grim absence of colour. For many people, black was the tint of death and the Devil, associated with putrefaction, corruption, ugliness and heresy.[19] In 1727 the French writer, poet and court historian François-Augustin Paradis de Moncrif observed "Il est vrai que la couleur noire nuit beaucoup aux Chats dans les esprits vulgaires."[20]

It would be wrong to believe that the intellectual elite brutally imposed an unworldly cultural model on the common people.[21] It was uncritically accepted that the cat had magical properties

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[13] "descenditque per funem appensum in medio mire magnitudinis murelegus niger" (*Walter Map*, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. Montague Rhodes James [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1914], 57).

[14] Renilde Vervoort, "De zaak van de gestolen fallussen," *Millennium. Tijdschrift voor Middeleeuwse Studies* 22 (2008): 46.

[15] Philipe Menard, "La tête maléfique dans la littérature médiévale, étude d'une croyance magique," in *Rewards and Punishments in the Arthurian Romances and Lyric Poetry of Medieval France*, eds. Peter V. Davies and Angus J. Kennedy (Woolbridge: D. S. Brewer, 1987), 91; Bobis, *Une histoire du chat*, 199–201; Van Bentum, "Een kat in het nauw," 71.

[16] Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller, "Vox in Rama: Die Dämonisierung des schwarzen Katers," in *Eine seltsame Gefährtin. Katzen, Religion, Theologie und Theologen*, ed. Rainer Kampling (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2007),149–176; Alan Charles Kors and Edward Peters, *Witchcraft in Europe, 400–1700. A Documentary Study* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001, 2nd ed.), 114–116; Carmelo Maddaloni, "La bolla di Gregorio IX e l'olocausto del gatto nero," in *IV Congresso Italiano di Storia della Medicina Veterinaria Grugliasco (Torino), Italia, 8–11 Settembre 2004* (Turin: 2004), 383–390.

[17] James A. Serpell, "The Domestication and History of the Cat," in *The Domestic Cat. The Biology of its Behaviour*, eds. Denis C. Turner and Patrick Bateson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 155; Michael C. Thomsett, *Heresy in the Roman Catholic Church: A History* (Jefferson [NC]: McFarland, 2011), 82.

[18] "de oude Waldenzen kusten het agterste gedeelte van een kat, in welker gedaante, men zegt, dat Lucifer hun verscheen, daarom zynze van de Kat Cathari genaamt" (Jacobus Leydekker, *De hervormde kerk andermaal verdedigt in 't gemeen tegen het pausdom* [Middelburg: M. Schryver, 1726], not paginated, *Aanspraak*).

[19] Raymond Van Uytven, "Rood-wit-zwart: kleurensymboliek en kleursignalen in de Middeleeuwen," *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 87 (1984): 449, 453, 462, 469.

[20] F. A. Paradis de Moncrif, *Histoire des chats (1727). Edition ornée d'un portrait-frontispice avec une Introduction*, ed. Georges Grappe (Paris: Chez Sansot, 1909), 89.

[21] Marcel Gielis, "Magie in het oude hertogdom Brabant. Een onderzoek naar de heksenwaan en de waan der historici," in *De betovering van het middeleeuwse christendom. Studies over ritueel en magie in de middeleeuwen*, eds. Marco Mostert and Albert

in popular superstition, as well. In particular, the connotation with female sexuality – which still survives – was widely known.[22] It is even tempting to assume that this sexual connotation inspired a number of demonological constructions among misogynistic clergy. The choice of other animals for the representation of the Devil points in that direction: the rooster and the male goat were also known for their unbridled lust and passion for procreation. Theologians subtly intertwined doctrines of learned demonology with elements of the magical world and the imaginative superstition of the common people. A continuous and fertile interaction between learned theories and popular convictions therefore seems a better concept to explain the development of the image of the diabolical cat.

The demonological literature of the Middle Ages resulted in the notorious *Malleus maleficarum*. The "Hammer of Witches" (1486), which appeared in a great number of editions and reprints, contains an odd story of a labourer from a town in the diocese of Strasbourg. When the man was chopping wood in the forest, he was suddenly attacked by a huge cat. He managed to chase the animal away but a second and even larger cat appeared. When he tried to chase off this cat as well, he was attacked by a third one. Only with great difficulty was he able to escape the attack by biting, in turn, one of the animals in the head, another in the legs and the third in the back. An hour after his return to town he was arrested by the sergeants of the magistrate as a criminal and brought before the bailiff who had him immediately imprisoned in the dungeon for prisoners awaiting a death sentence. The poor man protested his innocence for three days before he was heard by the bailiff and learned about the charges against him. According to the accusation, three days earlier in the forest he had assaulted three respectable women of his town, causing them to remain in bed with serious injuries. Fortunately for the accused, the magistrate finally believed his version of the events. Wisely, the city fathers decided that the Devil was at work here (*intelligentes opus Daemonis fuisse*).[23] The great French scholar Jean Bodin uncritically copied this story in his *Démonomanie des sorcières*, one of the most influential demonological works of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[24]

In a society where literacy was the privilege of an elite, not everyone obviously had access to the *Malleus*, a difficult and dense scholastic treatise in Latin. The demonological thought process as exposed in the *Malleus* left little or no traces in the Low Countries. The authority of the *Malleus* was modest and its influence minimal. Various authors have noted that the witch-hunt by ecclesiastical and civil authorities was mainly directed against magical practices that were widely disseminated among people.[25] It is possible that the *Malleus* and particularly elements of its learned demonology, had some indirect influence. All kinds of more popular versions, even in the form of comics, introduced parts of the horrific content to the common man and the

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Demyttenaere (Hilversum: Verloren, 1995), 265; Guido Marnef, "Between Religion and Magic: an Analysis of Witchcraft Trials in the Spanish Netherlands, Seventeenth Century," in *Envisioning Magic. A Princeton Seminar and Symposium*, eds. Peter Schäfer and Hans Gerhard Kippenberg (Leiden – New York – Cologne: Brill, 1997), 235–236, 249; Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World. Regulating Desire, Reforming Practice* (London – New York: Routledge, 2000), 264.

[22] Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 2009), 95.

[23] The story is in *pars II*, *quaestio I*, *cap. IX*. I used the edition by N. Bassaeus (Basse): Jacobus Sprenger and Henricus Institoris, *Malleus maleficarum: De Lamiis Et Strigibvs, Et Sagis, Aliisqve Magis & Daemoniacis* (Frankfurt: Basse, 1588), 308–309.

[24] Jean Bodin, *De la Démonomanie des sorcières* (Paris: Chez Jacques du Puys, 1581), 97–98.

[25] Hans De Waardt and Willem De Blécourt, "De regels van het recht. Aantekeningen over de rol van het Gelderse hof bij de procesvoering inzake toverij, 1543–1620," *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Vereniging Gelre* 80 (1989): 28; Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra, "Toverij in Zeeland, een status quaestionis," in *Kwade mensen. Toverij in Nederland*, eds. Willem De Blécourt and Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra (Amsterdam: P. J. Meertens Instituut, 1986), 107–151; Gielis, "Magie in het oude hertogdom Brabant," 263–313; Fernand Vanhemelryck, *De criminaliteit in de ammanie van Brussel van de late middeleeuwen tot het einde van het Ancien Régime (1404–1789)* (Brussels: Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren, 1981), 84, 86; Fernand Vanhemelryck, *Heksenprocessen in de Nederlanden* (Leuven: Davidsfonds, 1982), 30.

normal court procedures or the daily course of justice. In this way a number of prejudices and stereotypes were reinforced or legitimized. Also with respect to the cat, however, one should not overestimate the importance of the *Malleus* in the Low Countries. Although cats as an incarnation of the Devil appear in numerous witch trials,[26] there are no indications of specific cat trials and cat executions. As with people, animals were criminally liable for the acts they were accused of. Cats, however, are notoriously absent from animal lawsuits.[27] The picture of the diabolic cat began to fade when serious cracks appeared in the demonological construct. The Dutch preacher and theologian Balthasar Bekker denounced the superstition that people could transform themselves into cats in 1691.[28] Half a century earlier Abraham Palingh, a linen merchant and a town surgeon in Haarlem, initiated an intellectual campaign against Bodin and other intellectuals who believed that cats were witches in disguise.[29] Reminders of the belief survived in legends, tales and proverbs where ghost animals like the black cat continued to be associated with witchcraft and misfortune.[30] According to a local newspaper, the *Gazette van Gent*, the sudden appearance of a cat at the old cemetery of Gent, near the Rabot and the Bruges Gate in 1895 was enough to cause blind panic in the neighbourhood.[31]

The Imagination of the Artist: The Fictitious Cat

The previous sections dealt with the functional and rather objective aspect of the oldest ecclesiastical descriptions which smoothly passed into an extremely negative image propagated by the Church. Artists soon questioned, however, the dominant image of the damned cat. They endowed cats with a number of features, both positive and negative, which in the eyes of the modern reader are sometimes hilarious, but very often leave him in great perplexity. An artist never creates something out of nothing. "The concrete representation of his images will always reveal features of the real world around him."[32] Surviving prejudices, popular impressions, the reading of *auctoritates* and to a much lesser extent personal observations have fuelled the im-

[26] Jos Monballyu, "Met de duivel op stap in Kortrijk. Heksenprocessen in 1598–1606 als symptoom van een harde tijd," *De Leiegouw* 54 (2012): 65, 68, 89; Anne-Laure Van Bruaene, "Revolting Beasts: Animal Satire and Animal Trials in the Dutch Revolt," in *The Anthropomorphic Lens. Anthropomorphism, Microcosmism and Analogy in Early Modern Thought and Visual Arts*, eds. Walter S. Melion, Bret Rothstein and Michel Weemans (Brill: Leiden, 2015), 36.

[27] J. Brants, "Over dierenprocessen," *Dietsche Warande en Belfort* 120 (1975): 703–706; Edward Payson Evans, *The Criminal Prosecution and Capital Punishment of Animals* (Clark [NJ]: The Lawbook Exchange, 2006); Louis T. Maes, *Vijf eeuwen stedelijk strafrecht. Bijdrage tot de rechts- en cultuurgeschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Antwerp – The Hague: De Sikkel, 1947), 479; Jos Monballyu, "Van vuylle fayten ieghens de nature. Bestialiteitsprocessen in het graafschap Vlaanderen op het einde van de 16de eeuw en het begin van de 17de eeuw," *Biekorf* 100 (2000): 160–161; Vanhemelryck, *De criminaliteit in de ammanie*, 339–340; Van Bruaene, "Revolting Beasts," 32–36; Tom Verschaffel, "Het varken (sus scrofa). Over misdadige dieren en hun verdiende loon," *De Brabantse Folklore en Geschiedenis* 282 (1994): 109–120.

[28] Balthasar Bekker, *De betoverde weereld, zynde een grondig ondersoek van 't gemeen gevoelen aangaande de geesten (…)*, vol. 3 (Amsterdam: Daniel van den Dalen, 1691), 12.

[29] Abraham Palingh, *'t Afgerukt mom-aansight der tooverye (…)* (Amsterdam: Andries van Damme, 1725), 154, 167.

[30] Lieven Cumps, "Resultaten van het sagenonderzoek in het Nederlandse taalgebied," *Volkskunde. Driemaandelijks Tijdschrift voor de Studie van het Volksleven* 73 (1972): 34, 26, 41, 59; Thomas Daniëls, "Resultaten van het sagenonderzoek in het Nederlandse taalgebied," *Volkskunde* 73 (1972): 140; Anne-Marie Viaene-Devynck, "Resultaten van het sagenonderzoek in het Nederlandse taalgebied," *Volkskunde* 73 (1972): 316; Pieter-Jacob Harrebomé, *Spreekwoordenboek der Nederlandsche taal of Verzameling van Nederlandsche spreekwoorden en spreekwoordelijke uitdrukkingen van vroegeren en lateren tijd*, vol. 3 (Utrecht: Kemink en zoon, 1870), 247.

[31] *Gazette van Gent*, 5–7 September 1895.

[32] Raymond Van Uytven, "Cloth in Medieval Literature of Western Europe," in *Cloth and Clothing in Medieval Europe. Essays in Memory of Professor E. M. Carus-Wilson*, eds. Negley B. Harte and Kenneth Ponting (London: Heinemann Educational Books, 1983), 152; Raymond Van Uytven, "L'ange Gabriel et le perroquet, selon Boccace," in *Memoire en temps advenir. Hommage à Theo Venckeleer*, eds. Alex Vanneste, Peter De Wilde, Saskia Kindt and Joeri Vlemings (Leuven–Paris–Dudley [MA]: Peeters, 2003), 189.

age of the imaginary cat with human characteristics. This personification, emphasising vices, was the basis for the extremely negative attitudes towards cats, although the generally accepted anthropomorphism focusing on virtues also enabled a more positive approach.

The earliest literary testimonies are still indebted to the functional descriptions of ecclesiastical authors. The English abbot, Aldhelm of Malmesbury (640–709), Bishop of Sherborne, praises cats in verse in a riddle as a faithful guardian and tireless hunter.[33] Shining eyes in the darkness are mentioned repeatedly. Numerous authors draw attention to the efficient way in which cats catch mice. Soon *exempla* (a kind of moral anecdotes) began to appear in which cats were attributed with a number of moralising features that still stigmatise the animal to this day. As stated earlier, writers did not hesitate to use far-reaching anthropomorphization.[34] Egbert of Liège (972–1032), for example, in his proverbs refers to the domestic cat as a haughty creature full of guile and cunning "that very well knows whose beard it may lick."[35] It is a statement that was to be frequently plagiarised, including a fifteenth-century Dutch proverb, "de catte weet wel wat baert dat sij lackt."[36] In her animal fables (*Ysopet*) from the end of the twelfth century, Marie de France, the oldest known poetess in France, suspected cats of having a dose of cunning, but also pointed to their intelligence, realism and humility.[37] Somewhat earlier, William IX, Duke of Aquitaine and not without merits as an Occitan troubadour, went a step further by speaking of "lo gat mal et felon," the malicious and treacherous cat. This judgement on his part was understandable, however, since a ginger cat with large whiskers had scratched him when two seducing ladies had put his alleged deafness to the test.[38]

Aristotle himself linked shameless lust and unbridled female sexual appetite with cats.[39] Many Medieval authors followed him on that path.[40] This was also the case for the German vagrant Freidank at the start of the thirteenth century. The dangerous – since *Katzen* "cats" rhymes with *kratzen* "scratch" – catcher enjoys the company of young mice (*junger miuse*). It is also said that "Eine Metze und eine Katze leben nach gleichem Satze," in other words, a slut and a cat are one of a kind.[41] The functional mouse-catcher from the early Middle Ages now acquires an erotic significance. *Sonder mauwen muijsen* "catching mice without mewing" in later centuries referred to a secret and forbidden sexual relationship in the Low Countries, amongst other places.[42] Thomas

[33] Kampling, "Vom Streicheln und Nutzen der Katze," 107.

[34] Laurence Bobis, "Chasser le naturel… L'utilisation exemplaire du chat dans la littérature médiévale," in *L'animal exemplaire au Moyen Age. V^e^–XV^e^ siècle*, eds. Jacques Berlioz and Marie Anne Polo de Beaulieu (Rennes: Presses universitaires, 1999), 227–232, 236–237.

[35] "ad cuius veniat scit cattus lingere barbam" (Ernst Voigt, *Egberts von Lüttich. Fecunda Ratis. Zum ersten Mal herausgegeben auf ihre Quellen zurückgeführt und erklärt* [Halle: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1889], 4; Friedrich Seiler, *Deutsche Sprichwörterkunde*, vol. 4 [München: Beck Verlag, 1922], 86.)

[36] Eric De Bruyn, "The Cat and the Mouse (or Rat) on the Left Panel of Bosch's Garden of Delights Triptych: an Iconological Approach," in *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (Antwerp: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 1991), 40. The proverb was also known to the Anglo-Norman Marie de France: "Bien seit chaz ki barbe il lecche" (R. Howard Bloch, *The Anonymous Marie de France* [Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2003], 153–154; Thomas Wright, "The Domestication of Animals in the Middle Ages," *The Intellectual Observer* 6 [1865]: 325).

[37] Bloch, *The Anonymous Marie de France*, 125, 144, 154, 179, 194, 196. See also Sahar Amer, *Ésope au féminin: Marie de France et la politique de l'interculturalité* (Amsterdam – Atlanta [GA]: Editions Rodob, 1999), 160–151, 166.

[38] William De Witt Snodgrass, "The Ladies with the Cat," in *Lark in the Morning. The Verses of the Troubadours. A Bilingual Edition*, ed. Robert Kehew (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2005), 32–33.

[39] Laurinda S. Dixon, *Perilous Chastity: Women and Illness in Pre-Enlightenment Art and Medicine* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1995), 70–71; Richard Cresswell, trans., *Aristotle's History of Animals: in Ten Books* (London: H. G. Bohn, 1862), 103; Gordon Williams, *Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*, vol. 1 (London: The Athlone Press, 2001), 214.

[40] Bobis, "Chasser le naturel," 234–235.

[41] Wilhelm Grimm, *Freidank* (Göttingen: Verlag der Dieterichschen Buchhandlung, 1860), 88–89; Karl Simrock, *Freidanks Bescheidenheit. Ein Laienbrevier* (Stuttgart: Gotta'schen Buchhandlung, 1867), 122.

[42] De Bruyn, "The Cat and the Mouse," 34–37.

van Cantimpré went in the same direction. He called the cat an unclean and unpleasant animal with fierce mating habits around the middle of the thirteenth century. Of interest is the fact that he added a new element to the common negative representation. The preaching friar from Sint-Pieters-Leeuw (near Brussels) did not fail to notice that a cat spent 70 percent of its time sleeping. Henceforth, "immoderate laziness" (*nimia pigritia*) was another sin ascribed to the poor cat.[43] The most renowned anthropomorphic cat from the Low Countries illustrates the transition to a negative image. Despite his small stature (he is referred to as a small animal – *een cleene dier*), Tybeert, the unfortunate tomcat in the animal epic *Van den vos Reynaerde* (1200–1260?), is wise, experienced and cunning. He is severely punished for his gluttony, however, due to preferring a tasty mouse meal over the salvation of his soul.[44] It is apparent that the cat was anything but popular in the late Middle Ages and on the eve of a new era it could expect little sympathy.[45] Even the talent for catching mice, so often praised in earlier centuries, was now interpreted as false and deceptive.[46] As the painter, poet and artist biographer Karel van Mander put it in 1604: like unjust judges cats in the house were often more detrimental than mice (*dickwils in huys schadigher als de Muysen*).[47]

A faithful and watchful, agile and wise, but much more a vain, arrogant, cunning, lazy, false and especially voluptuous creature: the literary reputation of the cat at the start of the Early Modern period was not enviable. The new era recalled from the previous one above all the erotic connotations. Both in the plays and poetry of the rhetoricians, the mewing kitten (*catken*) or the purring puss (*minneken*) refers to a sexually aroused woman. This was also the case in more moralising works. Abraham a Sancta Clara (1642–1709), for example, mentioned the "rubbing and stroking" of the cat (*stryken en streelen*), an amorous creature that "licks and strokes" (*likt en streelt*).[48] The cat is usually a symbol of carnal desire and coquetry in the emblemata literature of the Low Countries.[49] The Jesuit and poet Adrian Poirters advised parents in 1646 to watch carefully over their daughters since "it has been noticed more than once that creeping cats stole the meat from the cooking pot" (*'t is meer als eens gesien dat de sluypende kattekens het vleesch uyt den pot stolen*). His wise advice was by no means original[50] and the subject was often depicted (for example by Nicolaes Maes, *De Luistervink* "The Eavesdropper" in 1657). The Early Modern period added, however, a positive feature to the existing cat symbolism, a quality that was only sporadically recognised in the Middle Ages:[51] the cat as an independent creature *par excellence* and symbol of freedom. According to an invented tradition, the representation must stem from pre-Christian and pagan German elements. This symbolism peaked during the French

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[43] Thomas Cantimpratensis, *Liber de Natura Rerum. Editio princeps secundum codices manuscriptos*, vol. 1, ed. Helmut Boese (Berlin, 1973), 151, art. LXXVI.

[44] Francis Lulofs, *Van den vos Reynaerde. Kritische editie met woordverklaring, commentaar en tekstkritische aantekeningen en een inleiding* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2001), 106–107; Wytze Hellinga, "Het laatste woord is aan Firapeel," in *Pade crom ende menichfoude. Het Reynaert onderzoek in de tweede helft van de twintigste eeuw*, eds. Hans Van Dijk and Paul Wackers (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999), 47–48; Van Bentum, "Een kat in het nauw," 71–74.

[45] Emmanuelle Rassart-Eeckhout, "Le chat, animal de compagnie à la fin du Moyen Âge? L'éclairage de la langue imagée," in *L'animal de compagnie: ses rôles et leurs motivations au regard de l'histoire. Journée d'étude Université de Liège, 23 mars 1996*, ed. Liliane Bodson (Liège: Université de Liège, 1997), 95–118.

[46] See the many examples quoted by De Bruyn, "The Cat and the Mouse," 44–46.

[47] Carel Van Mander, *Het Schilder-boeck (facsimile van de eerste uitgave)* (Utrecht: Davaco Publishers, 1969), f° 130r.

[48] Abraham van Sancta Clara, *De gekheyt der wereldt, wysselyk beschreven en kluchtig vertoondt (…)* (Amsterdam: G. Tielenburg, 1721), 126, 460; Abraham van Sancta Clara, *Judas den aarts-schelm (…)* (Amsterdam: J. Wolters en J. Pauli, 1716), 402.

[49] Karel Porteman, *Inleiding tot de Nederlandse emblemataliteratuur* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1977), 46, 101.

[50] For example in one of the proverbs by Johan de Brune in 1636 ("De luymend' Katten zijn niet bot, zij halen 't vleysjen uyt de pot" or "The creeping or lurking cats are not stupid, they get the meat out of the pot"). See Eddy De Jongh, *Tot lering en vermaak. Betekenissen van Hollandse genrevoorstellingen uit de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1976), 149.

[51] Bobis, "Chasser le naturel," 231–232.

Revolution and was also introduced in the Low Countries.[52] The appearance of cats in the wars of religion and religious polemics was also new.[53] Catholics were associated by their opponents with "cat lickers" (*catte lecken*). Clergy who according to their enemies had retired to the Land of Cockaigne of a monastery or abbey were labeled as "monastery cats" (*kloosterkatten*).[54] This is not surprising as since the late Middle Ages urban citizens were also known as "town cats." Bredero employed the concept of "urban cats" (*stee-katten*) when referring to townspeople.[55]

Iconographic sources portrayed the characteristics that were ascribed to cats in literary texts. Illustrated *bestiaria* or compendia, describing various animals and fantastic creatures, were a popular genre in the Middle Ages. The portrayal of the cat in these bestiaries from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is mainly functional. The *musio* (or sometimes also *murilegus*) appears in various positions: watching or chasing mice, playing with a mouse, holding or eating a mouse, taking an interest in birds, licking its paws or just sleeping.[56] As is the case with textual documentation, but perhaps with a small time lag, the visual representation changed over the course of the fourteenth century. From the late Middle Ages until well into the seventeenth century, the image of a cat symbolised negative features such as coquetry, laziness, falsehood, greed and above all lust.[57] It is hardly surprising in this misogynistic period that the depiction of a cat actually stands for a sexually overactive and adulterous woman.[58] In the company of cuddling or flirting couples, often a dirty old man with a young lass, a cat is never far away.[59] Erotic prints explicitly link the kitten to female sexuality. Engravings with a kitten pointing with its paw to the genitals of a woman, warming up a kettle at the open fire, while she has her skirt raised and her legs spread were extremely popular in the Low Countries in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Sometimes the scene was also engraved on a coin. The accompanying legend "A hearth of your own is worth gold" is full of ambiguity.[60] Apart from the erotic association, however, the cat is also used as an unfavourable allegory in representations of religious themes such as the Garden of Eden, Christ before Pilate and The Last Supper. In some paintings a monkey, another animal

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[52] Annick Boesmans, "Huisdieren," *Volkskunde Driemaandelijks Tijdschrift voor de Studie van het Volksleven* 85 (1984): 154; James Leith, "Ephemera: Civic Education Through Images," in *Revolution in Print. The Press in France, 1775–1800*, eds. Robert Darnton and Daniel Roch (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: University of California Press, 1989), 273; Sam Segal, *Jan Davidsz de Heem en zijn kring* (The Hague: Sdu, 1991), 217; Maurizio Viroli, *La théorie de la société bien ordonnée chez Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Berlin – New York: De Gruyter, 1988), 122.

[53] Van Bruaene, "Revolting Beasts," 25–26, 40.

[54] Andreas Bässler, *Sprichwortbilt und Sprichwortschwank. Zum Illustrativen und Narrativen Potential von Metaphern in der deutschsprachigen Literatur um 1500* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2003), 103.

[55] Fokke Veenstra, *G.A. Bredero's Griane met fragmenten uit het volksboek van Palmerijn* (Culembourg: Tjeenk Willink, 1973), 184; Jörg Rogge, "Ehrverletzungen und Entehrungen in politischen Konflikten in spätmittelalterlichen Städten," in *Verletzte Ehre. Ehrkonflikte in Gesellschaften des Mittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit*, eds. Klaus Schreiner and Gerd Schwerhoff (Cologne: Böhlau Verlag, 1995), 120, note 45.

[56] See a number of images in "The Medieval Bestiary," accessed February 2016, http://bestiary.ca/beasts/beastgallery213.htm#. More generally: Sophie Van den Bossche, "Vupiz est beste tricheresse. De middeleeuwse mentaliteit ten opzichte van dieren aan de hand van bestiaria" (Master's thesis, University of Gent, 2002).

[57] Paul Adriaensen, *Iconografie van de honingbij in de Lage Landen. Bijenkunst en bijensymboliek in het straatbeeld en toegankelijke gebouwen* (Amsterdam – Apeldoorn: Maklu, 1998), 193; Eric De Bruyn, "Het Madrileense Tafelblad: een iconografische benadering," in *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (Antwerp: Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten, 1991), 19.

[58] De Bruyn, "The Cat and the Mouse," 26. Most of the examples in the following notes are borrowed from iconographical sources. Using the handy search engine of the "Koninklijk Instituut voor het Kunstpatrimonium" (KIK) or "l'Institut royal du Patrimone Artistique" (IRPA), I searched the database of this institute: http://balat.kikirpa.be/search_photo.php, accessed January 2016. When possible, and particularly in the case of an anonymous work, I also quote the "object number" of the picture in the KIK-IRPA databank.

[59] See, for example, the painting by David II Teniers, *Old Man and Young Woman*, 1635, (KIK-IRPA 0000184); or Jan Miense Molenaer, *The Amorous Couple in an Inn*,1640–1650.

[60] Royal Library Albert I, Brussels, Cabinet des Médailles, médailler D.

with negative symbolism, looks after a cat and both run away from a yapping dog.[61] For David Teniers the Younger the cat is only honest when there is some cheese in the store cupboard.[62] Kitchen scenes by Flemish and Dutch masters such as Frans Snyders and Willem van Mieris invariably contain a skittish cat begging for food or simply stealing it. Still-lifes with prominent and very realistic displays of food portray a crafty cat approaching almost invisibly and creeping closer to the victuals.[63] Dozing cats are present at drinking parties or amongst carousing and feasting companies.[64] However, in these cases, and contrary to what is believed by certain art historians, the main objective of the artist may have been a realistic and accurate reflection of reality: cats largely had access to bar-rooms and living rooms.

Additional characteristics ascribed to the cat in literature are reflected in the visual art of the time. Against the background of the conflicts between Catholics and Protestants, Catholics everywhere in Europe were represented as cats. As the highest leaders of the Catholics, popes appeared with cats on their shoulders or on their laps.[65] The linguistic association with "cats lick" (*catte lecken*) was supported by a number of folk prints. These show the cat as a false creature that at the same time licks the face and scratches the neck and shoulders.[66] In certain cases this negative symbolism could become very personal. Thomas Murner (1475–1537), the well-known Franciscan and humanist, was, for example, not only portrayed in texts as a silly tomcat ("Murrnar"), but was also depicted with the head of a cat.[67]

Outside the world of high art, the cat was used in heraldic portrayals, particularly in decorations on helmets, coats-of-arms or blazons. Throughout Europe, from Italy and the Papal State to Scandinavia, and from the British Isles to the eastern Habsburg Empire, the nobility proudly wore cats on their shields and banners. The cat proved to be a popular heraldic item in particular in the small states of the Holy Roman Empire. Cats were usually depicted in a rampant pose (*le chat rampant* or *effarouché*), less often with a hunchback (*le chat hérissonné*) or sitting (*le chat assis*).[68] The picture was often limited to the head of the cat, although in certain cases details were added such as a mouse between the teeth or a cat peering into a mouse hole. In certain families the heraldic choice of the cat was obvious because the animal was already part of the name. This was the case for families with names such as *Gatti*, *Katt*, *Katzbeek*, *Katzenstein*, *Katzeler*, *Le Chat*, *von der Katze* or in the Low Countries *Boschat*, *Caters*, *Cats*, *Kets*, *Kattendijk(e)*, *Katwijk*, etc. Families with the name *Muijs* "Mouse" or *Muyser* "Mouser" apparently liked to be associated with

[61] See the painting by Derick Baegert, *Christ before Pilate*, the left wing of the passion triptych (*Passionsaltar*), c. 1500, Saint Lawrence Church,Cologne (KIK-IRPA 20020710).

[62] *Bruegel. Une dynastie de peintres* (Brussels: Europalia, 1980), 274, 275, no 13.

[63] See the paintings, for example, by Frans Snyders in the first half of the seventeenth century, such as *The Fish Stall*, *The Fish Shop*, *The Pantry*, *The Cook in the Larder*, *Hunting Still Life*, *Still Life with Fruit*, *Dead Game*, *Vegetables*, *a Live Monkey*, *Squirrel and Cat*, *Still Life with Oysters and Fish* and many others. Other paintings include Alexander Adriaenssen, *Still Life with Fish*, first half seventeenth century; Joachim Beuckelaer, *The Kitchen*, second half sixteenth century; Willem van Mieris, *A Woman and a Fish Peddler*, 1713. See KIK-IRPA 20026152, 20026155, 20026158, 50005219.

[64] See numerous paintings, for example, by Adriaen Brouwer, *The Musician*, first half seventeenth century (KIK-IRPA 158673); Jacob Jordaens, *The King Drinks*, c. 1638 (KIK-IRPA 40005449), *As the Old Sing*, *so Pipe the Young*, 1640–1650 (KIK-IRPA 40000542); Jan Miense Molenaer, *Men Drinking in an Tavern*, middle of the seventeenth century (KIK-IRPA 20025734); Cornelis Hermansz Saftleven, *Peasants Smoking and Drinking*, seventeenth century; William van Herp, *Tavern Interior with Card Players*, 1660, *Allegory of the Five Senses*, 1660; Justus van Huysum, *Tavern Scene with Slaughtered Pig*, second half seventeenth century (KIK-IRPA 20029072); Adriaen van Ostade, *Feasting Peasants in a Tavern*, 1673.

[65] *Ketters en papen onder Filips II. Het godsdienstig leven in de tweede helft van de 16de eeuw* (Utrecht: Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent, 1986), 174; André Bauwens *et al*., *Opstand en verval. Aspecten van het dagelijkse leven in het Brugse tijdens de laatste decennia van de 16de eeuw* (Bruges: J. Herrebout, 1987), 149; Élisabeth Foucart-Walter and Pierre Rosenberg, *The Painted Cat. The Cat in Western Painting from the Fifteenth to the Twentieth Century* (New York: Rizzoli, 1988), 14.

[66] Maurits De Meyer, *Volksprenten in de Nederlanden 1400–1900* (Amsterdam: Scheltema en Holkema, 1970), 107, image no 97.

[67] Markus Thurau, "Ein Katholischer Kater. Zur Polemik Thomas Murners," in *Eine seltsame Gefährtin. Katzen, Religion, Theologie und Theologen*, ed. Rainer Kampling (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 2007), 177–206.

[68] Johannes Baptist Rietstap, *Handboek der wapenkunde* (Gouda: G. B. Van Goor, 1857), 178.

the great enemy of the vermin that had inspired their naming.[69] Where the family name does not offer an explanation, the owner or bearer of the blazon referred to certain characteristics of the animal he could appreciate;[70] independence and freedom are explicitly mentioned.[71] Most of the images were in sable (black), followed by silver (white) or gold (yellow), indicating that the idea of the demonological cat was far away. The owners were proud of their coats-of-arms and even extended its symbolism into the afterlife. The funeral coats-of-arms and epitaphs of the aristocratic family de Caters in 's-Gravenwezel near Antwerp provide an example. These objects display two standing tomcats, fearlessly gazing at the observer and holding a shield with three other cats.[72] Cats were also found on helmets. Leonard Micault, Lord of Buizingen, had a silver cat on his helmet holding a black mouse in its mouth in 1600.[73] The cat was also of course present in the naming of ordinary people. Abandoned children who were found in a place that was associated with a cat were called *katteken* "little cat" for the rest of their lives.[74]

The imaginary cat led its own life in toponymy, in the names of squares, fields, forests, lands, meadows, brooks and pools. Although the toponym "cat" and its Germanic variants are responsible for major issues of interpretation among experts in various countries,[75] it is obvious

[69] Based on a large sample in Johannes Baptist Rietstap, *Armorial général, contenant la description des armoiries des familles nobles et patriciennes de l'Europe, précédé d'un dictionnaire des termes du blason* (Gouda: G. B. Van Goor, 1861), passim.

[70] Stefaan Hublou, "Van trouwe paarden, ongewenste otters en verwende valken. De heren van Beersel en de hertogen van Brabant in hun houding tegenover dieren (ca. 1405–1580)," *De Brabantse Folklore en Geschiedenis*, 270 (1991): 125.

[71] Marc De Vulson, *La science héroïque, traitant de la noblesse, de l'origine des armes, de leurs blasons (…)* (Paris: S. Cramoisy, 1644), 286.

[72] *Obiits & rouwgebruiken bij de adel. Rouwborden in de Sint-Catharinakerk te 's-Gravenwezel* (The Hague: Heemkring De Drie Rozen, 2002), 36, 44, 45; Luc Duerloo and Paul Janssens, *Wapenboek van de Belgische adel*, vol. 4 (Brussels: Crédit communal, 1992), ill. 2709–2710, no 543; Fernand De Ryckman de Betz, *Armorial général de la noblesse belge* (Liège: H. Dessain, 1957), 119.

[73] A. M. M. Bal, "Geschiedenis van Huizingen," *De Brabantse Folklore* 147 (1960): 218.

[74] Louis De Man, *Vondelingen en hun naamgeving* (Leuven: Instituut voor Naamkunde, 1956), 12 quotes an example for Leuven "inventus in platea felium" (1786).

[75] Gert Karsten, *Noordhollandse plaatsnamen* (Amsterdam: Jacob van Campen, 1951), 58; Rob Rentenaar, *Groeten van elders. Plaatsnamen en familienamen als spiegel van onze cultuur* (Naarden: Strengholt, 1990), 29–30. The Dutch toponym *kat* "cat" may also be linked to a quay or wharf, a narrow opening, a small alley, a narrow waterway or seaway (compare the *Kattegat* between Denmark and Sweden). A *cat* meant something small or trivial, a nothing or nonentity, very often with a pejorative connotation and with a certain disdain. In the eastern part of Flemish Brabant the toponym usually has this significance (Paul Kempeneers, *Oost-Brabantse plaatsnamen. 8. Waanrode* [Leuven: Instituut voor Naamkunde, 1998], 18; Paul Kempeneers, *Tiense plaatsnamen*, vol. 2 [Tienen: P. Kempeneers, 1987), 281; Paul Kempeneers, "Toponymie van Attenrode-Wever. Een geschiedkundige en toponymische studie,"*Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Toponymie & Dialectologie* 79 [2007]: 288; Paul Kempeneers, *Toponymie van Landen* [Leuven: Instituut voor Naamkunde, 2000], 156). A totally different significance was possible as well, the term *kat* "cat" or *kater* "male cat" referring to military terminology related to sieges and fortifications. A (male) cat could indeed mean either an engine or a weapon of war (a siege cat), a wooden shed mounted on wheels with a roof covered in animal hides or sometimes even a defensive wall (Clifford J. Rogers, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Medieval Warfare and Military Technology* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010], 138, 326, 370. See also Willem Bilderdijk, *Geschiedenis des vaderlands*, vol. 3 [Amsterdam: P. Meyer Warnars, 1833], 232; Nicolaes Van Rooswyck, *Korte historische aantekeningen, wegens het voorgevallene in de spaansche belegering der stad Haarlem in de jaaren 1572 en 1573 (…)* [Haarlem: Marshoorn en Van Assendelft, 1739], 46; Johannes Gerrit Willem Merkes, *Het beleg van Maastricht in 1579: Met geschied- en Krygskundige aanteekeningen* [Arnhem: W.J. Thieme, 1827], 92, 94). The *Groote Kat* "Big Cat" was a square at the seaside in Ostend, situated somewhat higher than the surrounding area, where artillery was deployed (Jules De Saint Genois, *Het kasteel van Wildenborg of de Spaansche muitelingen bij het beleg van Ostende (1604)*, vol. 1 [The Hague: De Gebroeders Belinfante, 1846], 33–34, 160, 170). The *cattestraete* in Leuven owed its name to an earth wall but in the French period (after 1794) the name was translated by mistake as *rue des chats* (Kathia Glabeke, *Wat leert de straat? Leuvense straatnamen toegelicht* [Leuven: Peeters, 2011], 119, note 1). Even these alternative meanings, however, eventually refer to the animal: a street barely wide enough for a cat to pass by, siege engines that evoke the features or the physical appearance of a cat, etc. It is therefore safe to conclude that the cat itself was an important source of inspiration for the formation of these microtoponyms. There is also a hypothesis, however, that in a number of cases the toponym *cat* does not refer to the animal, but to mud or mire: Magda Devos, "Valse katten in het Meetjesland," in *Vriendenboek Luc Stockman* (Eeklo: Van Hoestenberghe, 1998), 107–109; Magda Devos, "Betekenis en motivering van enkele diernamen in de toponymie," *Naamkunde* 34 (2002): 218–220. Her thesis is supported by Bram Vannieuwenhuyze, "Katten en wolven, modder en mensen. Twee diernamen in middeleeuws Brussel," in *Voor Magda. Artikelen voor Magda Devos bij haar afscheid van de Universiteit Gent*, eds. Johan De Caluwé and Jacques Van Keymeulen (Gent: Academia Press, 2010), 765–766.

that the cat left its traces in names of streets, houses and breweries, on sign-boards of inns and shops. Almost every town or village had its *kattestraat* "cat street" or *kattesteeg* "cat alley."[76] It also had a number of houses, often breweries,[77] with the name *de Kat* "the Cat," *de grote Kat* "the Great Cat," *de kleine Kat* "the Small Cat," *de wilde Kat* "the Wild Cat," and other variations, a practice used to pay tribute to the animal that managed to keep notorious household pests like mice and rats out of the grain stocks. Like many other animals, the cat was very popular on the sign-boards of inns, pubs, taverns, shops and market stalls. Both the male and the female variant could be found in all kinds of colours (multi-coloured, red, black, gilded), poses and situations (caught, dancing, hunting, sneezing, preaching, fishing, catching or playing with mice).[78] A variant on *le trio de Malice* "the Trio of Evil" in Troyes and other places in France also existed in the Low Countries. These were *de drie valsche dieren* "the three false animals", the trio being a cat, a woman and a monkey.[79] In contrast to many other animals, the heraldic cat was absent from seals and municipal coats of arms in the Low Countries. A probable explanation is that Belgium has no municipalities (villages, towns) that refer to the cat directly in their name. Although the situation is different in the Netherlands, places such as Katwijk or other communities (Kathoek, Katham, Kattendijke, Katwoude) did not bear a cat in their coat of arms. Katwoude does use a stamp that displays a cat resting on a tree branch.[80]

Part of a Cosy Setting: The Domestic Cat

Medieval and Early Modern people liked to surround themselves with animals. A select group of animals served as home entertainment and contributed to sociability. Was the cat a member of this distinguished club? Regardless of religious prejudices or symbolic and artistic interpretations, the cat was a fact of daily life, observed by people who were unfamiliar with theological treatises and cultural ideas or who simply ignored this tradition. The first description of a domesticated cat comes from the biography of Saint Gregory the Great (590–604), a Pope with a fondness for cats. His biography, written between 870 and 880 by Joannes Diaconus of the Benedictine order, includes the story of a hermit who was so impressed by the sermons of Saint Gregory that he wanted to donate his cat, which was all he possessed, to the Saint.[81] From the early beginnings of monastic life, monks looked upon the cat as a genuine pet. One of the oldest images of cats can be found in the *Book of Kells*, written by Irish monks around 800. The well-known chi-rho monogram-incipit (f. 34r) has a lovely scene with two cats and four mice.[82] There is no question here of any animosity or aggression. Two mice are even shown sitting on the back of cats as they quietly observe the scene. Was the monk dreaming of an ideal world while executing his artistic

[76] Edward Amter, "Leuvensche straatnamen,"*Mededeelingen uitgeg. door de Vlaamse Toponymische Vereeniging te Leuven* 8 (1932): 33.

[77] Other companies also received this name at times. Amsterdam, for example, in the middle of the eighteenth century, had a number of soap factories named *de Kat* (Johan Engelbert Elias, *De vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578–1795*, vol. 1 [Amsterdam: N. Israel, 1963], 492).

[78] Jacob Van Lennep and Jan Ter Gouw, *De uithangteekens in verband met geschiedenis en volksleven beschouwd*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Gebroeders Kraay, 1868), 332, 345–346.

[79] Frans De Potter, *Het boek der vermaarde uithangborden* (Gent: F. La Fontaine, 1861), 22; Albert Rutgeerts, *Vlaamsche uithangborden en gevelsteenen* (Brussels: De Burcht, 1843), 19; Alice Morse Earl, *Stage-coach and Tavern Days* (New York – London: Macmillan, 1901), 160.

[80] Klaas Sierksma, *De gemeentewapens van Nederland* (Antwerp – Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1960), 79, 201.

[81] Van Bentum, "Een kat in het nauw," 65; Bobis, *Une histoire du chat*, 59; Suzanne Lewis, "Sacred Calligraphy: The Chi Rho Page in the Book of Kells," *Traditio* 36 (1980): 146; Wright, "The Domestication of Animals," 325.

[82] Robert C. Lamm, *The Humanities in Western Culture. A Search for Human Values* (Boston: Brown & Benchmark, 1996), 228; Edward Lucie-Smith, *Art and Civilizatio*n (New York: Harry S. Abrahams, 1993), 120; Lewis, "Sacred Calligraphy," 146–147 and fig. 6. The book is preserved in Trinity College Library Dublin.

work? Certain rare personal documentation makes clear, however, that cats were welcome in scriptoria and chanceries not only because of their hunting abilities, but for additional reasons. A charming Irish poem from the ninth century suggests that cats were also the ideal comrade during the long hours of writing. The author, a monk, compares his white cat Pangur's hunger for mice to his own hunger for words. He also praises the pleasant company of his quiet companion.[83]

An ideal world does not exist, however. An exceptional testimony refers at times to the less pleasant aspects of cohabitation between man and cat and alludes to tensions, small conflicts and frustrations. A Brother of the Common Life, possibly a monk from Cologne, wrote in 1418 about what he found one morning in the town of Deventer upon returning to his writing table. His words still reflect his bewilderment:[84]

> Nothing is missing here, but one night a cat urinated on this. Cursed be the miserable cat that peed on this book during the night in Deventer and because of that cat, all the other cats as well. And one must be careful not to leave open books at night where cats can get to them.[85]

A large part of the folio in the manuscript is left empty. The scribe has drawn an admonishing finger pointing to the figure of a cat, although it looks more like a donkey, in the centre of a light brown stain. The incident illustrates that cats had access to houses and even to the work and living areas. A number of penitential books from the seventh and eighth centuries also leave no doubt that the domestic cat found its way into barns, basements and attics and was even allowed to enter the rooms and chambers of the household.[86]

The functional reputation of the cat as a mouse exterminator was clearly appreciated in all periods as mice and rats were a genuine plague, both feared and hated.[87] Mice were to be found everywhere, in the kitchens of charitable institutions, in the rood lofts of churches where they chewed on the organ pipes,[88] even in the private rooms of Charles of Lorraine, the popular governor of the Austrian Netherlands in the second half of the eighteenth century.[89] The ubiquity of mice explains why a number of institutions "employed" cats as mouse hunters. This was the case, for example, with the Gent Berg van Barmhartigheid (*Mons Pietatis*, *Mont-de-Piété*), an organisation established for the regulation of pawnbroking. The Berg purchased food for its two cats in 1693.[90] Only recently have economic historians become aware of the tremendous damage

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[83] Mona Gooden, *The Poet's Cat. An Anthology* (New Hampshire: Ayer Publishing, 1946), 23; Rudy Kousbroek, *Pangur Bán: een anoniem Iers gedicht* (The Hague: Statenhofpers, 2004); Gerard Murphy, *Early Irish Lyrics Eight to Twelfth Century* (Oxford: Four Courts Press, 1956), 2–3; Maureen O'Rourke Murphy and James MacKillop, *Irish Literature. A Reader* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1987), 22–23; Monique Gallagher, *Flann O'Brien, Myles na Gopaleen et les autres: Masques et humeurs de Brian O' Nolan, Fou-littéraire irlandais* (Villeneuve d'Accq: Presses universitaires du Septentrion, 1998), 160, note 19.

[84] The document is preserved in the Historisches Archiv der Stadt Köln and its original version reads as follows "Hic non defectus est, sed cattus minxit desuper nocte quadam. / Confundatur pessimus cattus qui minxit super librum istum in nocte Daventrie, et consimiliter omnes alii propter illum, et cavendum valde ne permittantur libri aperti per noctem, ubi catti venire possunt" (Joachim Vennebusch, *Die theologischen Handschriften des Stadtarchivs Köln: Die Quart-Handschriften der Gymnasialbibliothek*, vol. 2 [Cologne – Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 1980] 255–256).

[85] Thom Mertens, "Moderne Devotie en geestelijke literatuur," in *Nederlandse literatuur, een geschiedenis*, ed. Maria Schenkeveld-van der Dussen (Amsterdam – Antwerp – Groningen: Contact-M. Nijhoff, 1998), 79.

[86] Bobis, "Contribution à l'histoire du chat," 21; Bobis, *Une histoire du chat*, 48–49.

[87] François Baptiste, Annelies Coenen and Lucie Verachten, *Un florilège des registres paroissiaux* (Brussels: Archives générales du Royaume, 2011), 122; Pierre Van Nieuwenhuysen and Stefaan Top, "Vlaamse volkskundige gebeden in Wallonië," *Volkskunde. Driemaandelijks Tijdschrift voor de Studie van het Volksleven* 81 (1980): 224.

[88] Lier, Archives of the collegiate church of Saint Gummarus, accounts, no 43; Koen Breugelmans, "De sociale geschiedenis van het Lierse Sint-Elisabethgasthuis 1544–1562" (Master's thesis, University of Leuven, 1983), 89.

[89] Brussels, General State Archives, Secretariat of State and War, no 2612, letter of July 17, 1780 and Administrative correspondence of the Reformed Chamber of Accounts, no 3592–8.

[90] Leen Charles, Guido Everaert, Marie-Christine Laleman and Daniel Lievois, *De Berg van Barmhartigheid in Gent* (Gent: Snoeck, 2003), 52.

caused by pests to output and capital goods, not to mention the relationship between the rat (*rattus rattus*) and the outbreak of plague.[91] Rat cages and mousetraps are mentioned in all kinds of sources, from paintings[92] and devotional pictures[93] to probate inventories[94] to street songs or poems.[95] Some statements or elucidations suggest that people also appreciated the cat for other reasons than purely functional. In a text already quoted, Thomas van Cantimpré refers to the cat as a lazy, lascivious and unpleasant animal, but also mentions that cats seek out warm places and like to play with humans. They also like being stroked, giving expression to their pleasure through a peculiar way of singing (*suo modo cantandi*).[96] Undoubtedly, Cantimpré must have watched sleeping cats as did Jacob van Maerlant, who described how a cat arches its back when stroked.[97] Despite the radical theological offensive in the late Middle Ages, the cat had clearly not disappeared from people's houses at the beginning of the Early Modern period. Witch trials indicate that cats had daily access to poorly secured houses.[98] Eerrijk de Put, professor at Leuven University, court historiographer and private secretary to the Archduke, advised people to only take one dog or cat as a pet due to reasons of hygiene in 1639.[99]

As discussed in the previous section, cats often symbolised negative characteristics both in texts and iconography. This negative image changed over the course of the seventeenth century. The cat reached a stage where conditions were favourable for a certain rehabilitation. A number of authors praised its spirit of liberty, cleverness and sense of cleanliness.[100] The cat even became part of a new setting, the comfortable and cosy house. The iconography also changed around the same time. The cat lost a great deal of its symbolic and emblematic significance in the second half of the seventeenth century. Realistic scenes in the context of everyday domesticity began to replace metaphorical and allegorical representations. Depicting animals became a specific genre, without a false bottom and without moral lessons. The "complicated vocabulary in the expression of veiled, seemingly realistic imagery" also disappeared.[101] In an increasing number of pictures

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[91] Richard C. Hoffmann, "Bugs, Beasts, and Business: Some Everyday and Long-Term Interactions between Biology and Economy in Preindustrial Europe," in *Economic and Biological Interactions in Pre-Industrial Europe from the 13th to the 18th Centuries,* ed. Simonetta Cavaciocchi (Prato: Firenze University Press, 2010), 147–148; Karel Davids, *Dieren en Nederlanders. Zeven eeuwen lief en leed* (Utrecht: Matrijs, 1989), 25, 50; William Chester Jordan, *The Great Famine: Northern Europe in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Princeton [NJ]: Princeton University Press, 1996), 28.

[92] Van Uytven, *De papegaai van de paus*, 249, 250; Nora Schadee, *Rotterdamse meesters uit de gouden eeuw* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1994), 245. See, for example, the painting by Adriaen van der Werff, *Two Children with a Mousetrap*, 1692.

[93] De Meyer, *Volksprenten in de Nederlanden*, 59, illustration 43.

[94] See some samples in the town of Lier and the villages of Brussegem, Eppegem and Grimbergen, all in the former duchy of Brabant: Leuven, State Archives, Greffes scabinaux (acts of the ealdermen) district of Brussels, no 1121, 1222, 3714, 7911 and Lier, Town Archives, Oud Archief, no 1837, 1867. Additional examples are provided by Erik Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, vol. 5 (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, 1991), 240 and Johan A. Kamermans, *Materiële cultuur in de Krimpenerwaard in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw. Ontwikkeling en diversiteit* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999), 94.

[95] Paul De Ridder, "'Lestmael kwam ik tot Brussel eens getreden daer ick veel aerdige dingen sagh.' Twee Brusselse straatgedichten (17de–18de eeuw)," in *Quotidiana. Huldealbum Dr. Frank Daelemans*, eds. Ria Jansen-Sieben, Marc Libert and André Vanrie (Brussels: Archief- en Bibliotheekwezen in België, 2012), 175, 191, note 160.

[96] Thomas Cantimpratensis, *Liber de Natura Rerum. Editio princeps secundum codices manuscriptos*, vol. 1, ed. Helmut Boese (Berlin, 1973), 151, art. LXXVI.

[97] Jongen, *Over Viervoeters*, 78.

[98] Monballyu, "Met de duivel op stap in Kortrijk," 89.

[99] Hugo Dehennin, *Erycius Puteanus (Honorius van den Born). Sedigh Leven, Daghelycks Broodt (1639)* (Gent: Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde, 1999), 193, anagram no 244.

[100] Tom De Roo, "Dierlijk gezelschap, menselijke reflectie. Gezelschapsdieren en hun culturele betekenis in de Moderne Tijd" (Master's Thesis, University of Antwerp, 2004–2005), 94, 95, 129.

[101] Jos De Meyere, *Utrechtse schilderkunst in de gouden eeuw. Honderd schilderijen uit de collectie van het Centraal Museum te Utrecht* (Utrecht: Matrijs, 2006), 191–192; Davids, *Dieren en Nederlanders*, 34–36; Simona Cohen, ed., *Animals as Disguised Symbols in Renaissance Art* (Leiden: Brill, 2008).

and drawings cats are shown eating, drinking, napping, playing and engaging in pranks.[102] This applies for representations of the Holy Family,[103] as well as for a number of indoor scenes depicting a homelike environment with a cat on a bench and a woman reading[104] or with a cat in the company of people spinning and weaving at home.[105] Additional paintings display an idyllic scene with a cat sitting at the feet of a mother and child[106] or on the lap of a little old woman,[107] close to the fire.[108] The cat is depicted with children playing with it,[109] teasing it,[110] stroking it[111] and hugging it.[112] In around 1670, Cornelis de Man (1621–1706), a painter from Delft, depicted a cat with a little bell around its neck quietly watching a couple playing chess near a fireplace. Some of the other intimate interiors painted by De Man show a cat playing with a small ball.[113] The cat also becomes an essential part of a specific genre of animal painting where it is portrayed in an extremely realistic manner: sleeping on a windowsill, looking through a fence or caught in the middle of cleaning and licking itself.[114]

It is extremely likely that the cat has benefited from a number of transformations in material culture. These changes were closely related to new ideas concerning domesticity and the home as a centre of social contact. Over the course of the seventeenth century, a number of traditional urban associations in the Southern Netherlands, such as craft guilds, fraternities, chambers of rhetoric and shooting guilds, lost a great deal of their former functions. These organisations no longer provided the same opportunities for networking or for the acquisition of status and prestige. The wealthy and respectable citizen therefore retreated into his house, which he began decorating with new, often French, consumer goods. In doing so he wanted to promote the image of a decent, civilized, respectable and reliable individual. He therefore transformed his house into a place where he could invite fellow citizens who shared the same values. The display of carefully chosen furniture and tasteful decoration, together with the consumption of exquisite and expensive products, was intended to contribute to an atmosphere of distinction.[115] In the

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[102] A good example of a pranking cat is given in a painting by Nicolaes Maes, *Old Woman Praying or Prayer without End*, 1656–1657 (KIK-IRPA 40004932).

[103] Anonymous, *the Holy Family with John the Baptist and Elizabeth*, seventeenth century, painting, abbey of Tongerlo-Westerlo (KIK-IRPA 81447); Jacob Jordaens, *The Holy Family*, seventeenth century (KIK-IRPA 20025572); Rembrandt Harmensz van Rijn, *The Virgin and Child with Cat*, 1654.

[104] Jacob Vrel, *Interior with a Woman Sitting Reading to a Young Boy*, middle of the seventeenth century (KIK-IRPA 40004391).

[105] Cornelis Gerritsz Decker, *A Weaver's Workshop*, second half sixteenth century (KIK-IRPA 20026020); anonymous, *The Weaver and his Wife*, seventeenth century (KIK-IRPA 10129185).

[106] Jean Baptiste Huet, *Mother, Child and Kitten*, middle of the eighteenth century (KIK-IRPA 20025528).

[107] Jacques Callot, *Sitting Old Woman with Cats*, copy, seventeenth century (KIK-IRPA 105856).

[108] Lambert Lombard, *Lombard and his Family*, middle of the sixteenth century (KIK-IRPA 10129812).

[109] Jan Cossiers, *Portrait of the Flamen Family*, 1637 (KIK-IRPA 110440); Adriaen van Ostade, *Interior with a Family*, copy, second half of the seventeenth century (KIK-IRPA 115068); Jan Miense Molenaer, *Children Playing with a Cat*, middle of the seventeenth century; Adriaen van der Werff (1659–1722), *Two Children Playing with a Cat Holding a Bird in its Jaws*, 1678.

[110] Judith Leyster, *Laughing Children With a Cat*, 1629 or *A Boy and a Girl with a Cat and an Eel*, 1635; Adriaen van der Werff, *Two Children with a Mousetrap*, 1692.

[111] Maarten de Vos and Antoon Wierinx, *The Flagellation of Christ*, end of the sixteenth century (KIK-IRPA 101184).

[112] Cornelis Dusart, *Children Playing*, second half of the seventeenth century, c. 1689 (KIK-IRPA 106685); Cornelis Hermansz Saftleven, *Sitting Boy with a Cat on his Knees*, 1645.

[113] Laura Michelle Bassett, *The Paintings and Career of Cornelis de Man. Art and Mercantile Culture in Seventeenth-Century Delft* (Michigan: Ann Arbor, 2003), 59–60; Leo C. M. Diepstraten, *Spel uit de kunst in de kunst: schaken en schilderkunst in de Nederlanden van Middeleeuwen tot heden: schilderijen, tekeningen, etsen, gravures en andere grafische technieken* (s. l.: M. Euwe, 2001), 35; Emmanuel Bénézit, *Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs et graveurs de tous les temps et de tous les pays*, vol. 4 (Paris: Éditions Gründ, 1999), 120.

[114] Cornelis Hermansz Saftleven, *Dog, Cat, Hen and Rooster*, second half of the seventeenth century (KIK-IRPA 20031601); *Dog and Cat with a Wheelbarrow*, second half of the seventeenth century (KIK-IRPA 20031590); *A Cat Peeping Through a Fence*, 1666; *A Sleeping Cat*; *A Sitting Cat*; *A Lying Cat*, all second half of the seventeenth century.

[115] Johan Poukens and Nele Provoost, "Respectability, Middle-Class Material Culture, and Economic Crisis: The Case of Lier in Brabant, 1690–1770," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 42 (2011): 159–184. See also Jan De Vries, *The Industrious Revolution:*

Golden Age of the Northern Netherlands, quiet and moderate domesticity also became a virtue to be imitated.[116] The purring cat by the fire fitted perfectly into this picture. For many members of the middle classes, the cat was associated with an air of eminence, epitomised "civilised manners" and made little fuss.[117] In comparison with a dog, a cat requires little care.[118] The fact that it was such a clean animal was also very convenient. The cat's domestic reputation may also have finally worked to its advantage, cats being extremely localised animals and being strongly attached to their home. In around 1761, the Dutch physician, biologist and publisher Martinus Houttuyn summarised this behaviour in the following terms: "They don't like to leave the house in which they have been raised. When not taken away too far, they often return to it" (*Het Huis, daar zy in opgevoed zyn, willen zy niet gaarn verlaaten, en keeren, indien zy niet zeer ver gebragt zyn, dikwils daar heen te rug*) and "If carried away in a bag, they still return. They do not leave the houses when people move out" (*In een sak ver weg gebracht zijnde, komen zy niettemin wederom. De huisen daarmen uit verhuist, verlaten zy niet*).[119]

Unfortunately, one of the most rewarding sources of information for a description of the material culture leaves the historian with empty hands. Cats are completely absent from the probate inventories of the Low Countries.[120] There are indirect indications, however, of their domestic presence. In Doesburg (Gelderland) in 1666 a carpenter had a wooden litter box in his inventory.[121] In the new domestic culture, the chimney became one of the central elements, serving as an eye-catcher that had to be decorated in a proper manner. This could be done using chimney cloth in various materials and with different patterns and designs,[122] but also with all kinds of household goods and objects, including little cats made from wood, pipe clay and Delft porcelain that found a place on the mantelpiece.[123] Cats now appeared on faience tiles which decorated the hearth and the walls of kitchens and other rooms.[124] They were also depicted on firebacks and hearth-plates,[125] embroidery cloths and lace patches.[126]

Despite the demonization of the cat (see previous section) and its unfortunate role in cruel popular entertainment (see following section), the finest specimens found their way to royal

Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy 1650 to the Present (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 22; and Woodruff D. Smith, *Consumption and the Making of Respectability, 1600–1800* (New York: Routledge, 2002).

[116] Piet B. M. Blaas, *De burgerlijke eeuw: over eeuwwenden, liberale burgerij en geschiedschrijving* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000), 40; Donald Haks, *Huwelijk en gezin in Holland in de 17de en 18de eeuw: processtukken en moralisten over aspecten van het laat 17de- en 18de-eeuwse gezinsleven* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1982), 20. The changing attitude to animals and particularly to pets in the late seventeenth century was the most pronounced in England.

[117] Jacob Van Lennep, *Gedichten van den schoolmeester* (Amsterdam: Gebroeders Kraay, 1863), 100.

[118] Also noted by Paradis de Moncrif: Grappe, *F. A. Paradis de Moncrif*, 102.

[119] Quoted by De Roo, "Dierlijk gezelschap," 92, 95.

[120] De Roo, "Dierlijk gezelschap," 141–143, 147, 153; Thera Wijsenbeek, "Delft in the Eighteenth Century," in *Probate Inventories: a New Source for the Historical Study of Wealth, Material Culture, and Agricultural Development: Papers Presented at the Leeuwenborch Conference (Wageningen, 5–7 May 1980)*, eds. Adrianus Maria Van der Woude and Anton Schuurman (Wageningen: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 1980), 164; Thera Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, "Boedelinventarissen," in *Broncommentaren*, vol. 2 (The Hague: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 1995), 45. Unlike cats, dogs have left their traces in probate inventories in the form of dog pens, baskets, dog collars and food bowls.

[121] Database of probate inventories (*Boedelbank*) of the Meertens Instituut (a research institute of the Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen), Doesburg code 1666,1 rubrique 22 (http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/boedelbank/zoekvoorwerp.php).

[122] Poukens and Provoost, "Respectability, Middle-Class Material Culture," 181; Ilja Van Damme, *Verleiden en verkopen. Antwerpse kleinhandelaars en hun klanten in tijden van crisis (ca. 1648–ca. 1748)* (Amsterdam: Aksant, 2007), 197–198, table 5.3 and chart 5.3.

[123] For example at Maasland (1767), Maassluis (1760, 1793), Medemblik (1803) and Weesp (1789) in the database of the Meertens Instituut (see note 121).

[124] Anonymous, eighteenth century, wall tile paneling, Liege (KIK-IRPA 10117804); anonymous, eighteenth century, six faience tiles with cat, Holland (KIK-IRPA 149945).

[125] Anonymous, 1709, fireback in cast iron with domestic scene, Gent (KIK-IRPA 130016).

[126] Anonymous, seventeenth century, embroidery lace (KIK-IRPA 20051687).

courts and the salons of the high nobility and bourgeoisie.[127] Charles of Lorraine, the governor of the Austrian Netherlands, who liked to have animals not only in his palace, but also in his stables and aviaries and at his table (he was an avid hunter), interestingly makes no mention of cats. He did possess, however, several small cats made from Saxon and Chinese porcelain.[128]

The Horror of the Street: The Tormented Cat

Few will associate the idea of an appreciated and even cherished pet within the cosy, domestic warmth of the family with the Early Modern cat. Using archaeological evidence such as bone fragments, Raymond Van Uytven concluded that such privileged cats were indeed much more the exception than the rule.[129] Karel Davids has also argued that affection for cats in the Early Modern period was rare.[130] Their point of view is shared by contemporary authors. Even as late as 1761, Martinus Houttuyn observed that few people kept cats for their pleasure or amusement.[131] Cats that were tolerated in or around the house would not necessarily have been expected to be treated with affection. This statement is well illustrated by the renowned Farce of the Catmaker (*Batement van den Katmaecker*) from the end of the sixteenth century. Two women want to fool their neighbour and perpetual drunkard Heijn (or Henry), who is going to be a father, by telling him that his wife has just given birth. They take a cat and disguise it as a baby:

> Yes, should we only find a cat here
> We will swaddle it in cloth
> And then we will make him believe
> That it is his child.
> (*Jae, moegen wij slechts hier een kat vinnen.*
> *Dien sullen wij hier in die luijeren gaan binnen,*
> *En dan sullen wij hem maecken vroet,*
> *Dattet sijn kint is*).

Heijn believes the story and even strokes his "sweet little prattler" (*soete babbelaerken*). The positive aspect of this story is that a cat is found immediately, this serving to demonstrate the animal's ready availability and proximity. The substitution for an adorable newborn, which was a theme of popular iconography, also seems to argue in favour of the elevated status of the cat.[132] Less positive is the fact that the innocent animal is used for a practical joke and that a cat is entrusted to a brutal drunkard. As soon as "catmaker" Heijn discovers the deception he threatens to beat both women with the poor cat.[133] A number of paintings suggest that domestic cats were quite often mistreated or even abused. The painting by Jan Steen, for example, depicting children teaching a cat to dance, shows a scene that would cause general indignation today.[134] The same

[127] Mark Hengerer, "Die Katze in der Frühen Neuzeit. Stationen auf dem Weg zur Seelenverwandten des Menschen," in *Von Katzen und Menschen. Sozialgeschichte auf leisen Sohle*, ed. Clemens Wischermann (Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 2007), 59–61.

[128] *Catalogue des effets précieux de feu son altesse royale le duc Charles de Lorraine et de Bar, etc. etc.* (Brussels: J. L. De Boubers, 1781), 73, 94, 99; *Le XVIIIe siècle dans le palais de Charles de Lorraine* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 32.

[129] Van Uytven, *De papegaai van de paus*, 151.

[130] Davids, *Dieren en Nederlanders*, 38–39, but see also 42 where he tempers somewhat his earlier remarks.

[131] Quoted by De Roo, "Dierlijk gezelschap," 94.

[132] Femke Kramer, *Mooi vies, knap lelijk. Grotesk realisme in rederijkerskluchten* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2009), 202, illustration no 17; Martha Moffitt Peacock, "The Comedy of the Shrew: Theorizing Humor in Early Modern Netherlandisch Art," in *Laughter in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times*, ed. Albrecht Classen (Berlin – New York: De Gruyter, 2010), 713, fig. 10.

[133] Frederik August Stoett, *Drie kluchten uit de zestiende eeuw* (Zutphen: W. J. Thieme, 1928), 71, 73, 82, 83.

[134] Jan Steen, *The Cat's Dancing Lesson*, between 1660 and 1679.

applies for a number of paintings by Judith Leyster and Jan Miense Molenaer of laughing kids playing with a cat. It is clear from the frightened expression of the kitten in the boy's hand that it is not enjoying the rather wild play in the same way as the children.[135] It is also telling that, unlike dogs and horses, no names of cats have come down to us from the Ancien Regime, only indications of their colour.

Daily reality was grim and at times even gruesome for the overwhelming majority of the feline population. Cats were an easy victim. Several rogue boys hung a living cat in a tree on St James's Square in Leuven in 1740 and pelted it with stones.[136] A group of youngsters and "simple soldiers" shot pigeons, ducks and cats in Lier in August 1748.[137] Apart from sadistic acts such as these, which have occurred throughout human history, cats more than other animals have been the subject of violence on a structural level. In times of extremity, cats suffered the same miserable fate as other animals and people. It is hardly surprising that in times of famine stray cats, as well as dogs, were killed and eaten in large numbers. During the Great Famine of 1316, such testimonies have survived all throughout Europe.[138] While these sources also report acts of cannibalism and often exaggerate the dramatic effects of the catastrophe, there is undoubtedly a great deal of truth in their reports concerning the eating of domestic animals and even pets. Documentation of a similar tenor also exists for later periods. Gilles Li Muisis, for example, at that time the aged abbot of St Martin's Abbey in Tournai, describes how during the English siege of Calais in September 1346, dogs and cats, and even mice and rats, were consumed.[139] Another example comes from Bruges, which was besieged in the spring of 1584 by the Spanish army and where the famine was so bad that "neither dogs nor cats were to be found; because the citizens, driven by hunger, had caught and eaten them all."[140] A similar situation occurred during the Spanish siege of Leiden in the summer of 1574: "Grain stocks became exhausted, no bread could be found. One could witness dogs and cats being devoured as if they were venison."[141] During epidemics, the most dynamic city governments ordered stray dogs and cats to be killed by the hundreds because it was assumed that they spread disease.[142] A natural or human disaster was often considered as divine punishment. People believed they could avert or bring an end to a calamity by making a sacrifice with often a cat being chosen. During the Great Flood of 1717, a cat was beaten to death in eastern Friesland. The dead animal was later thrown into the sea in order to fight evil with evil.[143]

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[135] See also notes 109 and 110.

[136] Pascale Goossens, "Het 'criminele' vooronderzoek als bron voor het Leuvense stadsleven van 1720 tot 1750" (Master's Thesis, University of Leuven, 1982), 86.

[137] Ernest Mast, *Dagboek van Antonius Nollekens inhoudende de oorlogsrampen welke de stad Lier van 13 mei 1746 tot 3 meert 1749 heeft doorstaan* (Lier: Taymans-Nezy, s.d.), 135.

[138] John Aberth, *From the Brink of the Apocalypse: Confronting Famine, War, Plague, and Death in the later Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 13; Robert Steven Gottfried, *The Black Death. Natural and Human Disaster in Medieval Europe* (London: Collier Macmillan, 1983), 29.

[139] Ægidius Li Muisis, "Chronicon majus Aegidii Li Muisis abbatis Sancti Martini Tornacensis," in *Corpus Chronicorum Flandriae*, ed. Joseph Jean De Smet (Brussels: Commission royale d'histoire, 1841), 274.

[140] "er noch honden noch katten meer te vinden waren; want de ingezetenen, door den honger gepraemd, hadden die al gevangen en opgeëten" (Jan Gailliard, *Kronyk, of tydrekenkundige beschryving der stad Brugge sedert derzelver oorsprong tot op heden, naer het achtergelaten handschrift van B.-J. Gailliard* [Bruges: J. Gailliard, 1849], 242).

[141] "de graanen raakten op, daar was geen brood te vinden. Men zag'er hond en kat als wildgebraad verslinden" (Pieter Langendyk, *Willem de Eerste, prins van Oranje, stadhouder van Holland en Zeeland* [Haarlem: J. Bosch, 1762], 111).

[142] William Naphy and Andrew Spicer, *De pest. De zwarte dood in Europa* (Amsterdam: Pearson Education, 2007), 93, 95; Mark Sven Hengerer, "Stadt, Land, Katze. Zur Geschichte der Katze in der Frühneuzeit," *Informationen zur modernen Stadtgeschichte* 2 (2009): 17.

[143] Otto Knottnerus, "Angst voor de zee. Veranderende culturele patronen langs de Nederlandse en Duitse waddenkust (1500–1800)," in *De Republiek tussen zee en vasteland: buitenlandse invloeden op cultuur, economie en politiek in Nederland 1580–1800*, eds. Karel Davids, Marjolein 't Hart, Henk Kleijer and Jan Lucassen (Leuven – Apeldoorn: Garant, 1995), 63.

Cats have also been in danger during times of peace and prosperity. Their screeching and fights regularly caused noise nuisance at night. Cats would often hunt small game such as pheasant, quail, partridge, squirrels, hares, rabbits and weasels. According to all kinds of laws and regulations, even from a respectable institution such as the Council of Brabant, the ears of cats had to be clipped.[144] This conventional "wisdom" dated back to statements by Thomas van Cantimpré, Albertus Magnus and Jacob van Maerlant. They had argued that a cat with its clipped ears loses its nerve and pugnacity (*audacia*), making it easier to keep them at home.[145] "Dog beaters" or "dog clubbers" were urban officials paid by the town authorities to kill stray or dangerous dogs with clubs and large sticks. They also had to occasionally catch and kill cats. In certain towns this unpleasant job was contracted out to a public servant who was on the payroll of larger urban administrations in order to carry out an even more horrifying task as the executioner.[146] Cats in the countryside were not safe either and also had their ears cut when they caused trouble. Under the hunting regulation of June 1753, cats in the county of Flanders could even be shot.[147]

The dead animals ended up on a dunghill or were simply thrown into the water. It was forbidden to drop dead cats "or other things that pollute the water" into wells in Antwerp in 1522.[148] The measure was apparently not always effective, for in 1584 "dead dogs, cats and other stinking beasts" (*doode honden, catten ende andere stinckende beesten*) were found floating in the moats of the ramparts. The dead cats were usually skinned first. Their coats were particularly valued among the regular clergy for the simple reason that, according to the rule of Bernard of Clairvaux (1093–1153), clerics were not allowed to wear fur that was more expensive than cats' fur.[149] Lay persons also certainly valued warm bonnets made from cat fur. Furriers and pedlars always had cat pelts on offer,[150] although a furrier felt greatly insulted when referred to as a "cat skinner,"[151] as the nickname suggested that he purchased raw material of lower quality. In one of the most celebrated paintings by Hieronymus Bosch, The Wayfarer or The Peddler, the shabby central figure carries on his back a wicker basket or a bag with cat skin hanging from it.[152] The Dutch poet and politician Jacob "Father" Cats (1577–1660) advised owners of beautiful cats to be on their guard from furriers.[153] Cat skins were also traded internationally and appeared

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[144] Boesmans, "Huisdieren," 160; Bernardus Hubertus Dominicus Hermesdorf, "De hond in de vaderlandsche rechtsbronnen," *Publications de la Société historique et archéologique dans le Limbourg*, 85 (1949): 260, 263; Van Uytven, *De papegaai van de paus*, 151.

[145] Thomas Cantimpratensis, *Liber de Natura Rerum. Editio princeps secundum codices manuscriptos*, vol. 1, ed. Helmut Boese (Berlin, 1973), 151; Beati Alberti Magni, *De Animalibus lib. XXVI*, vol. 6, ed. Pierre Jammy (Lyon, 1651), 603; Jongen, *Over Viervoeters*, 78.

[146] Fernand Vanhemelryck, *Misdadigers tussen rechter en* beul*, 1400–1800* (Antwerp – Amsterdam: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1984), 56, 67; Fernand Vanhemelryck, "De beul van Brussel en zijn werk (XIV–XIX eeuw)," *Bijdragen voor de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, 19 (1964): 199.

[147] Davids, *Dieren en Nederlanders*, 28; *Vyfden Placcaert-Boeck van Vlaenderen*, vol. 2 (Gent, 1763), 1104, art. X.

[148] De Roo, "Dierlijk gezelschap," 165; Peter Poulussen, *Van burenlast tot milieuhinder. Het stedelijk leefmilieu, 1500–1800* (Kapellen: DNB Pelckmans, 1987), 47; Lodewijk Torfs, *Nieuwe geschiedenis van Antwerpen*, vol. 2 (Antwerp: Buschmann, 1866), 122, note 3.

[149] "Omnia pellicia sunt generis […] aut Catini […] et nunquam de ullo genere majoris pretii" as quoted by Van Bentum, "Een kat in het nauw," 74.

[150] Johan Dambruyne, *Corporatieve middengroepen. Aspiraties, relaties en transformaties in de 16de-eeuwse Gentse ambachtswereld* (Gent: Academia Press, 2002), 29; Jan Gailliard, *De ambachten en neringen van Brugge* (Bruges: J. Gailliard, 1854), 139; Paul Knevel, "Een kwestie van overleven. De kunst van het samenleven," in *Geschiedenis van Holland*, vol. 2, eds. Thimo De Nijs and Eelco Beukers (Hilversum: Verloren, 2002), 231.

[151] Rogge, "Ehrverletzungen und Entehrungen," 120.

[152] Eric De Bruyn, *De vergeten beeldentaal van Jheronimus Bosch. Symboliek van de Hooiwagen-triptiek en de Rotterdamse Marskramer-tondo verklaard vanuit Middelnederlandse teksten* ('s-Hertogenbosch: A. Heinen, 2001), 242; Jeanne Van Waadenoijen, *De "geheimtaal" van Jheronimus Bosch: een interpretatie van zijn werk* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007), 200.

[153] Anthonie Cornelis Oudemans, *Bijdrage tot een middel- en oudnederlandsch woordenboek*, vol. 1 (Arnhem: H. W. Van Marle, 1870), 564; *Dichterlijke werken van Jacob Cats, ridder, raadpensionaris van Holland* (Amsterdam: Gebroeders Diederichs, 1828), 436.

in commercial transactions across northern Europe.[154] The practice of selling the skin of a cat survived past the Early Modern period. According to a local newspaper, 3,000 cats were killed and skinned in Gent during the winter of 1837–1838. Dealers in hides and skins pretended that the cat's coat had a better quality in winter.[155] Other parts of the carcass were recycled as well. In folk medicine, a drink made from beer, cumin, mastic, betony and the fat of a female cat (*cattinensmere*) was supposed to be an excellent cure against persistent headaches.[156] In addition to the fat of the cat, its spleen, bone marrow, meat and even faeces were also common ingredients in contemporary pharmacology. Albertus Magnus had already alluded to the fact that quite a few components of the cat's body possess healing powers.[157]

For many cats, happy events and charivari could also unfortunately mean the beginning of true suffering with a grim end. These types of brutal public entertainment were certainly not exclusively inspired by theological arguments or only based on the reading of the *Malleus* and other demonological treatises. As argued earlier, it was more a question of a mutual exchange of ideas, with negative perceptions among the common people feeding theological arguments and with learned or intellectual religious elements strengthening popular prejudices. A number of authors have questioned whether the crowd enjoyed such gruesome spectacles, while others have suggested that the people attended the executions, ritual slaughters and torturing of animals with great insensitivity or even indifference.[158] The second view seems more valid as the first is incorrect. Too many horror stories have survived in which laughter and shouting drowned out the screeching, caterwauling and howling of creatures in agony.[159] Cats were burned to protect the new couple from future misfortune at weddings. Although the Church opposed such pagan practices, these took place throughout the entire period under consideration.[160] Additional festivities also meant a great deal of misery for cats. During the Brussels *Ommegang* (or procession) in 1549, organised in honour of the crown prince and future King Philip II, the numerous spectators were offered a lugubrious performance. An organ was installed on a wagon, with its pipes replaced with the tails of living cats. The tails were attached to the keyboard so that as soon as a boy, disguised as a bear, began to play the organ, the cats would scream in pain.[161] The Prince of Orange and the Duke of Anjou were "cordially welcomed and received with a wonderful engine" in Bruges in July 1582. The device showed a ship full of fireworks which, when lit on the Market Square in the heart of the city, caused the cats to screech until they were burned alive.[162] A commentator noted that this symbolised the fact that the *geuzen* (a name given to Calvinists and other malcontents) wanted to burn all Catholics (*Catelycken*).[163] This is once again the

[154] Eric Wijnroks, *Handel tussen Rusland en de Nederlanden, 1560–1640: een netwerkanalyse van de Antwerpse en Amsterdamse kooplieden, handelend op Rusland* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2003), 151.

[155] Hugo Collumbien, "Gentse Memoriedagen 17 april 1838," *Ghendtsche Tydinghen. Tweemaandelijks tijdschrift van de Heemkundige en Historische Kring* 28 (1999): 107.

[156] Willem Lodewijk De Vreese, *Middelnederlandse geneeskundige recepten & tractaten, zegeningen en tooverformules*, vol. 1 (Gent: Vlaamse Academie voor Taal- en Letterkunde, 1894), 119, no 434.

[157] Laurence Bobis, "Des usages du chat dans la médecine de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Age," in *Milieux naturels, espaces sociaux. Études offertes à Robert Delort*, eds. Élisabeth Mornet and Franco Morenzoni (Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1997), 717–728; Bobis, *Une histoire du chat*, 85–96.

[158] Benjo Maso, "Riddereer en riddermoed. Ontwikkelingen van de aanvalslust in de late middeleeuwen. Sociologische Gids," *Tijdschrift voor sociologie en sociaal onderzoek* 29 (1982): 305.

[159] Iris Origo, *De koopman van Prato* (Amsterdam: Contact, 1986), 59; Van Uytven, *De papegaai van de paus,* 263.

[160] Herman Roodenburg, *Onder censuur: de kerkelijke tucht in de gereformeerde gemeente van Amsterdam* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1990), 329.

[161] Lucien Perey, *Charles de Lorraine et la cour de Bruxelles sous le règne de Marie-Thérèse* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 1903), 122; Augustin-Joseph Du Pays, *Itinéraire descriptif, historique, artistique et industriel de la Belgique* (Paris: Hachette, 1863), 45; Edward De Maesschalck and Sam Van Clemen, "Beelden groot en klein,"*Tijdschrift van de Alumni Letteren Leuven* 4 (2014): 14.

[162] Jan Ter Gouw, *De volksvermaken* (Haarlem: Erven F. Bohn, 1871), 352–353.

[163] Pieter Leendertz, "Guillaume Weydts, chronique flamande," *De Navorscher*. New series 3 (1870): 116.

old association of cats with Catholics, as mentioned earlier.[164] When commenting on atrocities against cats in the Low Countries one cannot fail to mention, of course, the well-known custom of cat throwing in the town of Ypres. According to an old tradition, cats have been thrown from the belfry tower of the Cloth Hall into the crowd assembled in the market square since the tenth century[165]. The oldest and more or less reliable evidence stems, however, from the late Middle Ages. Living specimens were replaced by toy kittens made from velvet in 1817. Incidentally, the last living cat thrown from the tower actually survived the cruel spectacle.[166]

Conclusion

The English cultural historian Keith Thomas in 1983 observed how the anthropocentric world view and the idea of human uniqueness in world history gradually disappeared in England in the late seventeenth century.[167] As a result of this evolution, human attitudes towards animals and nature in general changed. Since the publication of this ground-breaking book, a large number of human-animal studies have made clear how the late Medieval and Early Modern relationship between man and animal was characterised by a profound ambiguity. Exploitation and destruction of animals grew dramatically as of the late Middle Ages due to Europe's economic and demographic expansion. More or less parallel with this evolution, the need increased to treat more species of animals in a sympathetic, benevolent and even affectionate way.[168] Scholars refer to a transition from "instrumentalisation" to "sentimentalisation" [169] or, directly related to our subject, from "cats in the fire" (*Katzen im Feuer*) to "cats by the fire" (*Katzen am Feuer*).[170] The cat benefited less from this process than other domestic animals such as the dog. When the first documents began to appear, however, the status of the cat in society is certainly not disturbing. For a number of centuries numerous, mainly religious, intellectuals described quite objectively the characteristics of the cat which they had learned to appreciate in everyday life. This image changed over the course of the twelfth century. The cat acquired a bad reputation. It was not so much Christianity itself that was responsible for this change in perception, but rather the rise of a more authoritative Church. This new and "major regulatory agency"[171] became the most extensive power network in Europe. It espoused a strict ideology which stressed human superiority and the dominance of man over creation. It also manifested a growing need to identify enemies

[164] See notes 53, 65 and 66.

[165] Jozef R. S. Cauberghe, *Vroomheid en volksgeloof in Vlaanderen: Folkloristisch calendarium* (Hasselt: Heideland, 1968), 68; André Ver Elst, *Folkloristische tijdspiegel voor België* (Brussels: I. Mertens, 1962), 156; Annemie Moesen, "De Kattenfeesten te Ieper. Een analyse van de Kattenstoet en het Kattenwerpen aan de hand van de theorie van Hobsbawm" (Master's Thesis, University of Maastricht, 2004–2005), 94, 95, 129.

[166] Exceptionally some cats also managed to survive in earlier periods. See the description of a tragicomical case in 1669 ("Een plezierig kattefeest uit de oude kronieken," *Iepers Kwartier. Driemaandelijks tijdschrift voor heemkunde* 7 [1971]: 12–13).

[167] Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World. Changing Attitudes in England 1500–1800* (London: Allen Lane, 1983), 109 sqq. also devoted a number of insightful pages to the changing attitude to cats.

[168] Davids, *Dieren en Nederlanders*, 8, 12, 16, 64–65, 175; Bart De Groof and Johan Verberckmoes, "Inleiding. Klein historisch beestenboek. Oefeningen in cultuurgeschiedenis," *De Brabantse Folklore en Geschiedenis* 282 (1994): 91–92.

[169] Hans Geybels, "Dieren in de religieuze volkscultuur. Van instrumentalisering naar sentimentalisering," *Volkskunde. Driemaandelijks Tijdschrift voor de Studie van het Volksleven* 104 (2003): 289–319; Elsbeth Stassen, "Van bruikbaar tot dierbaar. Over de relatie mens dier," *Tijdschrift voor Diergeneeskunde* 131 (2006): 578–580.

[170] Hengerer, "Stadt, Land, Katze," 19.

[171] Michael Mann, *The Sources of Social Power, vol. I. A History of Power from the Beginning to A. D. 1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 377. See also Erik Aerts, "La religione nell'economia. L'economia nella religione – Europa 1000–1800," in *Religione e istituzioni religiose nell'economia europea (1000–1800). Religion and Religious Institutions in the European Economy (1000–1800),* ed. Francesco Ammannati (Florence: Florence University Press, 2012), 94; Jan Luiten Van Zanden, *The Long Road to the Industrial Revolution: The European Economy in a Global Perspective, 1000–1800* (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2009), 35.

within and outside the doctrine. Ecclesiastical elites consulted the *auctoritates*, but were also inspired by popular magical practices which they covered with a theological overlay. The rapid spread of a learned demonology partly justified and explained the brutal violence and ruthless cruelty of which the cat became a principal victim. In parallel with the theological image of the diabolical cat, literature and iconography developed a complicated symbolism that also turned out to be negative for the cat. The statement by Alexander Pope in 1713 that "The conceit that a Cat has nine lives, has cost at least nine lives in ten of the whole race of them" also holds true for the Low Countries.[172] Fortunately for the cat there were certain bright spots in its gloomy universe. As of the early Middle Ages, sporadic evidence has been preserved reporting an affectionate relationship between men and cats. Over the course of the seventeenth century there was a growing number of literary and iconographic testimonies illustrating the social promotion of the cat with the middle groups.

A friendlier relationship with the cat was only a small part of a societal "civilisation offensive" in which, to use the words of Norbert Elias, *die Freude am Quälen und Töten* "the joy of tormenting and killing" faded away.[173] Or to put it in more modern terms, it was part of a process of moral progress increasingly driven by tolerance and understanding, empathy and altruism.[174] The growth of this process was largely determined by the way in which people in the Early Modern period were ready to accept and tolerate people who were "other:" people with different religious beliefs, with a different skin colour, a different sexual orientation, etc.[175] Only when man was capable of having a decent relationship with the weaker members of his own species – and especially women, children, the sick and the poor, physically or psychologically disabled persons – was he ready to enter into a new relationship with inferior life forms. Cruelty towards fellow humans indeed manifests a remarkably strong correlation with animal cruelty.[176] This evolution towards more empathy was fuelled by changes in religion and by scientific progress that undermined the most primitive expressions of superstition and prejudice. The road to a peaceful and respectful symbiosis between man and cat was still a long one. Barbaric practices had a long life, hardly surprising when one realises that until well into the eighteenth century criminals in the Low Countries were racked and cooked. Ritual cat slaughter in Paris rue Saint-Séverin, immortalised by Robert Darnton, took place in 1740.[177] Orchestrated cat torturing sessions (so-called *concerts miauliques*) could be found on weekly markets and fairs at the end of the eighteenth century.[178] Cat beating, or catcudgelling, was still a gruesome popular sport in

[172] Thomas, *Man and the Natural World*, 110. See also John Brand and Henry Ellis, *Observations on Popular Antiquities: Chiefly Illustrating the Origin of our Vulgar Customs, Ceremonies and Superstitions*, vol. 2 (London: F. C. and J. Rivington, etc., 1813), 396; Samuel Johnson, *The Works of Alexander Pope, esq. in Verse and Prose*, vol. 4 (London: Nichols and Son etc., 1812), 325.

[173] Norbert Elias, *Über den Prozess der Zivilisation: Soziogenetische und psychogenetische Untersuchungen*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1978), 268, 282 (he explicitly mentions the burning of cats). For a critical reception of his ideas: Adrian Franklin, *Animals and Modern Cultures: A Sociology of Human-Animal Relations in Modernity* (London: Sage Publications, 1999), 21–22.

[174] Sam Harris, *The Moral Landscape. How Science Can Determine Human Values* (New York: Free Press, 2010), 177. See also Éric Baratay, *Le point de vue animal. Une autre version de l'histoire* (Paris: Seuil, 2012) and Peter Singer, *Animal Liberation: a New Ethics for our Treatment of Animals* (New York: Random House, 1975).

[175] "Mensen en dieren in het verleden," *Jaarboek voor Ecologische Geschiedenis* 7 (2005): iii–iv.

[176] Geertrui Cazaux, "Verband tussen geweld jegens dieren en geweld jegens mensen," in *Mensen en andere dieren: hun onderlinge relaties meervoudig bekeken*, ed. Geertrui Cazaux (Leuven – Apeldoorn: Garant, 2000), 279–296.

[177] Robert Darnton, *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Cultural History* (New York: Basic Books, 2009).

[178] These sadistic shows were inspired by an iconographic genre in which cats, often in the company of a monkey, would make music together. See, for example, the painting and engravings by Quirin Boel (1587–1633).

the nineteenth century.[179] Even at present, old prejudices survive and some people still compare a black cat with the Devil or his representatives.[180]

At first sight, the real revolution in our relationship with the cat only began a few decades ago when Master Felix, apart from our barns and houses, also conquered our seats, beds and hearts. Only recently has an entire industry been created for cat food, cat vitamins and supplements, cat toys and all kinds of cat accessories including beds, bowls, drinking fountains, scratchers, carriers, litter boxes and furniture. For many vets, cats have become the main clientèle. Some cats are given chemotherapy or receive expensive life-prolonging treatments. A majority of domestic cats at present die by euthanasia, with some of them even finding eternal peace in special cemeteries. Has anything fundamentally changed, however, in our attitude to Felix? On closer examination anthropomorphization has never ended. Indeed, we continue to unquestioningly attribute all kinds of human qualities to the cat, in the many videos on Youtube and Google Video, in commercials, but also in our daily contacts with the cat. While this may signify that we no longer stigmatise and demonise the *musio*, it also indicates that we still project our emotions, frustrations and aspirations on to the eternal cat. Time will tell whether the relationship between man and cat will overcome new challenges such as, among others, the increasing reduction of social spaces and natural areas for the animal, but also the accusations made by ecologists that domestic cats are a threat to global biodiversity.[181]

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[179] Davids, *Dieren en Nederlanders*, 31, 45, 48; Roland Renson, Herman Smulders, Bart Eelbode and Erik De Vroede, "Spelen met dieren," *Volkskunde. Driemaandelijks Tijdschrift voor de Studie van het Volksleven* 85 (1984): 169; Jacob Van Lennep and Jan Ter Gouw, *De uithangteekens in verband met geschiedenis en volksleven beschouwd*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam: Gebroeders Kraay, 1868), 344–346.

[180] Theo Penneman, "Heksenprocessen in Vlaanderen inzonderheid in het Land van Waas 1538–1692," *Annalen van de Koninklijke Oudheidkundige Kring van het Land van Waas* 79 (1976): 125.

[181] See John Bradshaw, *Het geheim van de kat* (Amsterdam: Nieuw Amsterdam Uitgevers, 2013), 330–343; Peter P. Marra and Chris Santella, *Cat Wars. The Devastating Consequences of a Cuddly Killer* (Princeton [NJ]: Princeton University Press, 2016).

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Cherrylips, the Creed Play, and Conflict: York in the Age of Richard III

Abstract | Late Medieval English towns and cities regularly cultivated good relations with a regional magnate in the expectation that he would help protect the interests of the civic governors, but the relationship was always reciprocal. The magnate expected the favour to be returned. Richard of Gloucester, who ascended the throne in 1483 after a brilliant and ruthless coup in which his major political opponents were eliminated in short order and his late brother's heir was bastardised and "disappeared," cultivated just such a relationship with the city of York. The price Richard demanded was de facto control over the government of the city. When he ascended the throne the city laid on an elaborate programme of welcome, the full significance of which has not hitherto been realised. The brief notice of one Cherrylips, a local sex worker, in the city records on the eve of Richard's entry into the city might well go unremarked, but this article seeks to demonstrate that the anxieties she provoked and the city's reaction to her in fact speak volumes of the way in which the city governors had become the (more or less willing) puppets and mouthpieces for the new regime.

Keywords | Richard III; prostitution; Medieval drama; royal entry; civic government; York

Cherrylips is an evocative name. Beyond that her neighbours in Micklegate complained about her to the mayor as a sex-worker and a scold, we cannot claim to know much about her.[1] Her real name was Margery Gray, but whether she was related to a John Gray who two years later in 1485 is recorded as a man who failed to pay his tailor's bills is unknown. The executors of John Carter, tailor, had managed to collect a debt of 3s. from him, but he is noticed in respect of a further 3s. owed for a pair of red hose.[2] On balance however, even if he did not always pay his bills promptly and shared a fondness for the colour red, this slight evidence might suggest that he was a man of some means and so unlikely to be very closely related to Margery, the eponymous Cherrylips. It is perhaps more likely that she was connected with one Thomas Gray, labourer, who was recorded in an undated, but roughly contemporary list of aliens. This Gray and his wife Christina are listed within the extramural parish of St Maurice.[3] "Aliens" usually Scots, found it harder to get regular employment and if Margery were identified as Scottish she might have been drawn into sex work because other doors were closed, particularly at a time of active conflict between the two nations that may have been the prompt for compiling the list of aliens in the first

[1] Lorraine C. Attreed, ed., *York House Books 1461–1490*, 2 volumes (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1991).
[2] P. M. Stell, trans., *Probate Inventories of the York Diocese, 1350–1500* (York: York Archeological Trust, 2006), 651–2.
[3] Attreed, *York House Books*, 309. Gray's ethnicity is not recorded, but Scots were the singularly most prominent immigrant group in York and the name Gray is commonly found in Scotland.

place.[4] What is of interest here is that the city governors took the complaints made to them very seriously. In fact two successive complaints are known of because they were carefully recorded in the early House Books of the city, which served as slightly miscellaneous memoranda of the business of city government. In the first instance the parishioners of St Martin's complained that she was "a woman ill disposed of hyr body to whom ill disposed men resortys," which is of course the definition of the prostitute, the common woman who offers her services indiscriminately to all men able to pay.[5] Her very sobriquet proclaims her identity. The colour red was associated with the sex worker. She is like the prostitutes of the German city of Constance "with red lips" and "rose coloured cheeks" joyously described by the poet Oswald von Wolkenstein, but publicly condemned by preachers who warned men against their allure.[6] The painted lips thus lured clients and advertised her profession. Those who complained against her, however, by so identifying her, served only to objectify her.

There is no record of action on this occasion beyond recording the complaint. Three months later in July 1483 the parishioners of the then separate parish of St Gregory also petitioned. Cherrylips, they complained, was antisocial, sexually promiscuous and a scold among her neighbours – "una skald" as the clerk, whose Latinity only stretched so far, put it.[7] Here we see a common association in the Medieval imagination: the woman who is ungoverned cannot readily discipline her body or her tongue. In both she is promiscuous. As such Margery was a highly disruptive and contentious presence. On this second occasion the mayor acted decisively. She was to leave the city by the following evening or else be thrown into prison at the mayor's pleasure. If she did indeed have kin outside the city walls in St Maurice's parish, she would not have had far to go.

Cherrylips was not the first woman to ply her trade on the streets of York. Indeed a perusal of Dean and Chapter act book one, which records presentments for fornication and adultery within the capitular ecclesiastical court during the later fourteenth and earlier fifteenth centuries, contains numbers of names of women repeatedly so presented in respect of a variety of men such that we can identify them as actively involved in the sex trade. Interestingly, we can identify a parallel group of males who seem to have been serial users of their services since, unlike the secular magistrates' concern with prostitution, the church courts were as interested in the names of the men who purchased sex as much as the women who sold it since fornication and adultery were sinful for both parties.[8] Despite this comparative abundance of evidence for the presence and ready availability of commercial sex in the city, very little is noticed in the records of civic government before the case of Cherrylips. Officially commercial sex had long been outlawed within the city walls and hence within the area largely under the jurisdiction of the city governors. In 1301 an ordinance prepared against the temporary relocation of royal government to the city consequent upon Edward I's Scottish campaign, explicitly forbade any prostitute from staying in the city.[9] In fact a small number of enclaves, the largest of which was the Liberty of

[4] A Margaret Gray is recorded as a householder in the 1443 alien subsidy for York. It is possible she was close kin of the previous generation or even two generations, but it is hardly likely to have been Margery herself; she would have been much too old to be working in the sex trade some forty years on: London, TNA, E 179/217/51, m. 5 found using "England's Immigrants 1330–1550" published electronically at https://www.englandsimmigrants.com/.

[5] Attreed, *York House Books*, 708.

[6] A. Classen, trans., *The Poems of Oswald von Wolkenstein: An English Translation of the Complete Works (1376/7–1445)* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 178. Shakespeare later played on the erotic implications of cherrylips: V. Thomas and N. Faircloth, *Shakespeare's Plants and Garden: A Dictionary* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 78.

[7] Attreed, *York House Books*, 723. Scold is a difficult term. It was regularly used against women and seems usually to have implications of speaking abusively of others: *Middle English Dictionary* under scōld(e) (n.), a and b.

[8] P. J. P. Goldberg, "Pigs and Prostitutes: Streetwalking in Comparative Perspective," in *Young Medieval Women*, eds. K. J. Lewis, N. J. Menuge, and K. M. Phillips (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999), 174–6.

[9] M. Prestwich, "York Civic Ordinances, 1301," *Borthwick Paper*, 49 (1976): 16–17.

St Peter around the Minster, fell outside the authority of the mayor and his fellow aldermen. It followed that Grape Lane, which in the fourteenth-century had been known matter-of-factly as Gropecunt Lane and was very much an area associated with the sex trade, fell outside the city's jurisdiction. In the absence of surviving city court records, it is hard to know whether there was any significant concern to regulate prostitution otherwise, but the city *Memorandum Book* appears noticeably silent. In the context of this silence the sudden appearance of the case of Margery Gray, so very deliberately recorded, begins to appear less like an incidental memorandum of momentary import and of merely passing curiosity to the modern scholar. It is my contention here that the case was used deliberately and symbolically to signal a new-found desire on the part of the city government to cleanse to city of women of ill repute. Cherrylips in other words was a necessary victim of a new political agenda.

There are at least four perspectives we might consider. There is the immediate perspective of Cherrylips as a sexually promiscuous and socially disruptive woman in a neighbourhood not historically particularly associated with prostitution. Indeed, as Sarah Rees Jones has shown, Micklegate could be seen as part of a holy neighbourhood.[10] The church and parish of St Martin were closely associated with the Scropes of Masham, the family of York's martyred archbishop, Richard Scrope, whose cult became much more prominent under Yorkist rule since it was the first Lancastrian monarch that had ordered his execution following the revolt of 1405.[11] Only a little further down the same street were the gates of Holy Trinity priory, the starting point of the annual Corpus Christi celebrations. Indeed the initial complaint by the parishioners of St Martin's was made little more than a fortnight before the feast day and only a few days before Pentecost, a feast given added resonance in York as the day on which St Richard Scrope was beheaded. Margery Gray flaunting her red painted lips at much the same time as respectable, God-fearing folk were prompted to remember both Christ's sacrifice and their virginal archbishop who had shed his martyr's blood standing up for his Church and his city against the Lancastrian usurper was not to be tolerated. Hence "the hole parishon" – the entire parish – complained; or so the record would have it. The city governors duly and deliberately recorded their complaint, though, as we have seen, like politicians of any age they only acted on receipt of further complaint.

The second perspective is that of the city governors to whom the parishioners of St Martin's and of St Gregory's directed their complaint. As we have seen, York's official policy was that commercial sex had no place within the city walls. This was a long established position. Indeed the previously noticed ordinances of 1301, which effectively represent the earliest extant notice of local custom, specifically legislated against prostitutes operating within the city. Any such woman caught in breach of this regulation was to be held in prison for a day and a night and the roof timbers and doors of her dwelling place were to be dismantled so as to prevent her continued residence. Interestingly, the provision for prostitutes was deliberately included in the same clause as a ban on pigs being allowed from wandering the streets. Any pig so caught could be killed and its trotters cut off. The symbolism here was hardly subtle. The wandering pig, a symbol of debauchery and sin, was here equated to the streetwalker, who by her own unchecked wanderings through the city plying her trade threatened to subvert the moral order of society.[12] In a well ordered city, the prostitute, like the leper, was not permitted to enter the gates of the city. Rather similar ordinances are found in Bristol in 1344. London prohibited prostitutes operating

[10] S. Rees Jones, "Richard Scrope, the Bolton Hours and the Church of St Martin in Micklegate: Reconstructing a Holy Neighbourhood in Late Medieval York," in *Richard Scrope: Archbishop, Rebel, Martyr*, ed. P. J. P. Goldberg (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2007), 214–36.

[11] For the cult and its history see essays in Goldberg, *Richard Scrope*.

[12] Goldberg, "Pigs and Prostitutes," 172–4.

within the city walls from at least as early as 1277.[13] As we have already noted, however, there is a remarkable absence of civic regulation in York for more than a century following the Black Death or at least the 1370s when the city's *A/Y Memorandum Book* begins to record matters of concern to the city government. In London the earlier regulations are reiterated in 1393, but this was in the context of a dispute with Richard II about the mayor and aldermen's capacity to provide the city with effective governance which had resulted in the temporary suspension of the city's constitution.[14] Expelling prostitutes from the city was a way of asserting moral authority and stood in contrast to claims of moral laxity at Richard's court.

York seems to have pursued a comparatively laissez faire policy long into the fifteenth century, though in the absence of civic court records we cannot know if in fact action was (periodically or even occasionally) taken. We know the sex trade carried on in the Liberty of St Peter and hence beyond the city's jurisdiction albeit within the city walls, but it seems hardly likely that it was otherwise absent from the city. In July 1482, however, only a year before the case of Margery Gray, the ancient, but apparently long dormant edict was reiterated: "the common women and other misgoverned women shall inhabet thame in the suburbs withoute the walles of this cite."[15] We could see this as part of a wider urban trend reflecting a more conservative, moralistic and frankly patriarchal climate and attitudes on the part of civic magistrates. In Nottingham now lost regulations were enacted in 1463 against prostitutes and brothels and for the regulation of ale houses. In Leicester in 1467 provision was made that required burgesses to report any brothel in their immediate neighbourhood so that the women working there might be immediately expelled. This, however, was part of a raft of regulations designed to clean up the borough both metaphorically and literally. Thus, in the very next provision, women were forbidden from washing clothes in the common wells and, two clauses on, householders were required to cleanse the streets in front of their houses and to make provision to cart away any detritus. The intervening clause related to scolds, both male and female, and their punishment.[16] The most radical legislation came ten years after the York ordinance in a series of related provisions passed by the then Lollard-influenced governors of Coventry. The 1492 ordinances intended a thorough moral cleansing of society from the top down, but included provisions designed to stamp out prostitution and sexual immorality, including the quite extraordinary provision that no unmarried woman below the age of fifty could continue to live on her own or even share accommodation. All such single women were required to find positions in service and so be subject to the authority of a master or at least a mistress.[17]

The House Books effectively reiterated the 1482 ordinance early in 1486. Although this later House Book entry is imperfect and packs a lot of regulation into a few sentences, it is evident that the 1486 regulation is part of a similar programme of moral cleansing designed to remove "common chiders and othre misruled people" from the city. Significantly and symbolically, the provision was to be effected by Sunday in the second week of Lent that year, a time of penance

[13] The Bristol ordinance treats lepers and the "mulier communis" (common woman = prostitute) in the same paragraph: F. B. Bickley, ed., *The Little Red Book of Bristol*, vol. 1 (Bristol: W. C. Hemmons, 1900), 33–4. R. M. Karras, *Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 14–16.

[14] H. T. Riley, ed., *Memorials of London and London Life in the XIIIth, XIVth, and XVth Centuries* (London: Longmans, Green and co., 1868), 534–5; P. J. P. Goldberg, "John Rykener, Richard II and the Governance of London," *Leeds Studies in English*, new series XLV (2014): 63–5.

[15] Attreed, *York House Books*, 261.

[16] W. H. Stevenson, ed., *Records of the Borough of Nottingham, volume II, 1399–1485* (London: Quaritch, 1883), 425; M. Bateson, ed., *Records of the Borough of Leicester*, vol. 2 (London: C. J. Clay, 1901), 291.

[17] M. D. Harris, ed., *The Coventry Leet Book*, Early English Text Society, original series 134, 135, 138 and 146 (London: Kegan Paul for the Early English Text Society, 1907–13), 544–6; P. J. P. Goldberg, "Coventry's 'Lollard' programme of 1492 and the making of Utopia," in *Pragmatic Utopias: Ideals and Communities, 1200–1630*, eds. R. Horrox and S. Rees Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 97–116.

when all good Christians searched their consciences for sin that they might confess against partaking of the Eucharist at Easter.[18] The 1482 ordinance does not so obviously signal a broader reformist agenda. Rather it occurs in the context of the raising of troops towards a campaign against the Scots and may simply be prompted by an influx of sex workers who saw the presence of unusually large numbers of soldiers as a business opportunity. It could, however, be seen alongside a proclamation against vagrants made a month earlier, but after the Scottish campaign had been announced.[19]

A third perspective is hostility to immigrants and to Scots in particular. Although we cannot be sure that Margery Gray was Scots or identified as Scots, her surname and the known presence in York of people bearing the same name who were formally recorded as aliens – persons from outside the realm – is suggestive.[20] Women identified as being Scottish, moreover, were conspicuous among sex workers in the city since discrimination against Scots probably made other kinds of work harder to find.[21] That this was an era of renewed fighting against the Scots and that local men inevitably came to serve as soldiers probably added to this climate of prejudice. The specific context, however, was Edward IV's plans for a Scottish campaign for which he sought Parliamentary support in January 1483 in the form of general taxation. In February Parliament commended Richard of Gloucester and the earl of Northumberland "for their services done and to be done for the aforesaid lord king in defence of the realm in the war recently fought with Scotland" and went on in the same paragraph of the record to grant a tax on "of every persone artificer, not born within this youre seid reame [realm], not made deynszen [denizen, i.e., naturalised], housholdyng within the same reame." In fact a clarification of the provision made it clear that though householders were indeed to pay the relatively large sum of 6s. 8d., even non-householders (other than agricultural labourers) were liable to the tax at the rate of 2s. a head.[22] By later April 1483, only days before the first complaint against Margery was recorded, commissioners were being appointed for the collection of the alien subsidy.[23] It is very difficult, writing in the immediate aftermath of the United Kingdom's "Brexit" referendum, not to notice how such official anti-alien policy serves only to stir up latent xenophobic sentiment. Perhaps it was the context of a tax on aliens and a war with Scotland that prompted people now to complain of their neighbour with the painted lips.

The fourth perspective is the policy of Richard of Gloucester, younger brother of the Yorkist king Edward IV, as prince and preeminent magnate in Northern England prior to his own accession as king and subsequently as Richard III.[24] From shortly after Richard became a major regional power in the mid-1470s, Richard exercised very considerable political influence over the city government of York as the city increasingly looked to Richard as its good lord and patron. This client-patron relationship followed the then usual pattern whereby Richard sought to place his own supporters in positions of power locally who in turn looked to their patron to show favour. Richard very much assumed a position of authority in York in 1476 and over the course

[18] Attreed, *York House Books*, 465.

[19] Ibid., 255–6, 258.

[20] See notes 3 and 4 above.

[21] P. J. P. Goldberg, *Women, Work, and Life Cycle in a Medieval Economy: Women in York and Yorkshire c. 1300–1520* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 152.

[22] "Rotuli Parliamentorum IV," in *The Parliamentary Rolls of Medieval England*, ed. C. Given-Wilson (CD-ROM, Scholarly Digital Editions, 2005), 197, 401; C. Ross, *Richard III* (London: Yale University Press, 1981), 350.

[23] J. A. F. Thomson, *The Transformation of Medieval England 1370–1529* (London: Routledge, 1983), 221.

[24] Edward IV died 9 April 1483 leaving two sons – famously the "Princes in the Tower" – the elder of whom nominally ruled briefly as Edward V. By 26 June the young king, declared to be of illegitimate birth and hence debarred from the succession, was formally displaced by his uncle who ruled as Richard III. The news took time to reach York. An entry in the city's House Books date 27 June is still dated by reference to Edward V, but the next extant entry on 12 July refers to the first year of Richard's reign. (Attreed, *York House Books*, 286.)

of that year and the year following used his influence to ensure the appointment of two of his men to key positions in the city government. Nicholas Lancaster, an Oxford graduate who was somewhat unusually described when admitted to the city's franchise by right of patrimony in 1472 as "clerk and merchant," was already working for Richard when he promoted his appointment to the post of common clerk, in effect the Medieval equivalent of the city's chief executive officer.[25] Richard also engineered the removal of the previous incumbent and the appointment in his place of the lawyer Miles Metcalfe, a member of his ducal council, to the position of recorder, in effect the city council's legal officer, but also something of an ambassador for the city.[26] Richard, it has been suggested by David Palliser, may also have promoted John Brakenbury to the office of macebearer in 1480.[27]

It is apparent that a number of the senior members of the city's governing group came to be close supporters of Richard, though only Thomas Wrangwysh, mayor in 1472 and again in 1484, and Nicholas Lancaster, who progressed from common clerk to be elected mayor in 1485, appear to have been or become in essence clients of Richard.[28] We may note that the two mayors elected to office once Richard had gained the crown were the two most closely identified as Richard's men. The view was summarised in an exchange in a pub at the time of the mayoral elections of 1483. One Stephen Hoghson declared: "Sirs, me thyng [I think] and it plees the communs [commons] I wold we had Maister Wrangwysh, for he is the man that my lord of Gloucestre will doo for [assist]." We know this because a Robert Rede got himself into a lot of trouble by suggesting that the citizen body would not elect any man that Richard of Gloucester favoured as a candidate.[29] Palliser argues that a group of aldermen – Amyas, Chimney, Snawsell, Tonge and Welles – all came to support Richard and would consequently have chosen to pursue policies that would have Richard's broad approval. John Tonge, William Welles and Robert Amyas all served as elected mayors in 1477, 1479, and 1481 respectively.[30]

The July 1482 ordinance against misgoverned women occurred during the mayoralty of Richard Yorke and hence not a name that has been seen as an especial supporter of Richard, but the senior aldermanic council included Amyas, Snawsell, Tonge, Welles and Wranwysh among the nine members present, Chimney then being only a member of the less powerful council of twenty-four.[31] Who may have been involved in the decision issued in the name of the mayor to take action against Cherrylips the following year is not recorded, but the aldermanic bench was still packed with Richard's supporters and Richard himself was regularly doing business with the city. It follows that the reassertion of policy against prostitution and the expulsion of Cherrylips in response to complaints the year following may well have been actions Richard approved of or at least would have been expected to approve of. It may even be that they directly follow a lead provided by Richard himself. His own claim to the throne was justified on the grounds that his brother's marriage to Elizabeth Woodville had been invalid and so his children by that marriage were illegitimate. A few months into his reign in October 1483, Richard issued a "Proclamation for the Reform of Morals," a piece of propaganda directed at the supposedly loose morals of his

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[25] R. Beadle, "Nicholas Lancaster, Richard of Gloucester and the York Corpus Christi Play," in *The York Mystery Plays: Performance in the City*, ed. M. Rogerson (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2011), 43–8.

[26] Attreed, *York House Books*, 114–15; D. Palliser, "Richard III and York," in *Richard III and the North*, ed. R. Horrox (Hull: Centre for Regional and Local History, 1986), 63; A. J. Pollard, *North-East England During the Wars of the Roses: Lay Society, War, and Politics 1450–1500* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 134.

[27] Palliser, "Richard III and York," 64.

[28] Ibid., 63–5.

[29] Attreed, *York House Books*, 707.

[30] Palliser, "Richard III and York," 66–7; D. J. F. Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power: Religious Guilds in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2000), 269, 283–4.

[31] Attreed, *York House Books*, 261.

late brother's court highlighted by the promiscuity of the late king's mistress, Jane Shore. Such a position may have had both currency and some basis in fact. Thomas, Marquis of Dorset, and son of Queen Elizabeth Woodville by her first marriage had allegedly had his own affair with Mistress Shore. Such arguments were an element in his justification for Richard's destruction of Anthony, Earl Rivers and Sir Richard Grey, other key members of Elizabeth Woodville's family, though Dorset himself managed to escape into exile.[32] It is very likely that Richard expressed firm views on sexual morality and attacked adulterers and bawds even before his brother's demise in April 1483. This may therefore be a context for the July 1482 ordinance. It certainly provides good reason why the city's House Books have recorded the first complaint against Cherrylips and why the city acted so decisively on receiving the second.

There may be another consideration worth noticing. Margery Gray "odirwys [otherwise] callyd Cherylipps" was first reported on 12 May, a little over a month after the death of Edward IV.[33] Days earlier on 30 April Richard, Duke of York had met the young King Edward's party at Stony Stratford on their way to London from Ludlow. Richard had taken the boy king into his protection and had arrested Earl Rivers, the king's maternal uncle, and Sir Richard Grey, son of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, Edward IV's widow, by her first marriage. It is very likely that news of the dramatic arrest of the new king's close maternal kin would have reached York in the previous week and would have prompted the family name Grey to be much talked of. By 28 July, when the second complaint was made against Margery Gray, Earl Rivers and Sir Richard Grey had been executed for treason, Grey's brother, the Marquess of Dorset had sought sanctuary in Westminster Abbey, Edward V had disappeared from sight and was officially branded a bastard, and Richard had ascended to the throne.[34] The coincidence of Margery Gray's name with that of the new king's principle enemies may not have gone unnoticed. By exiling her from the city, the mayor and aldermen were symbolically signalling their support for Richard and their acceptance that the Grey family, so recently leading courtiers, were now understood as traitors and enemies of the realm. Margery, the common whore known as Cherrylips, thus embodied all that was bad about the court under Richard's predecessor. Her expulsion was a statement of political loyalties, a cleansing of the palace.[35]

The most pressing reason that the complaint of 28 July 1483 prompted an immediate response lies elsewhere. Micklegate formed the first part of the traditional route for royal entries and from the end of July 1483 the city governors were much focused on arrangements for receiving their patron and now king in the city as part of a wider royal progress.[36] The last thing the city governors could countenance was the pollution of the street by the presence of a misgoverned woman. Just as the streets of Sochi were purged of non-nationals and stray dogs against the 2014 winter Olympics, so Micklegate was cleansed against the royal entry. York needed to impress its new king and to do so in ways that would have commanded Richard's wholehearted approval. Cherrylips' expulsion was a symbolic gesture of the new moral order that the advent of King Richard surely promised.

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[32] David Satiuste, "'Puttyng Downe and Rebuking of Vices:' Richard III and the *Proclamation for the Reform of Morals*," in *Medieval Sexuality: A Casebook*, eds. A. Harper and C. Proctor, (New York: Routledge, 2008), 135–53.

[33] Report of Edward IV's death is given in the city's House Books for 7 April 1483 on which day the mayor and aldermen were to attend a dirige at the cathedral. (Attreed, *York House Books*, 281–2, 708.)

[34] Ross, *Richard III*, 69ff.; M. Hicks, "Anthony Woodville [Wydeville], second Earl Rivers (c.1440–1483);"; R. Horrox, "Sir Richard Grey (d. 1483);" T. B. Pugh, "Thomas Grey, first marquess of Dorset (c.1455–1501)" all in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* published electronically at www.oxforddnb.com.

[35] In medieval thought the regulation of prostitution was considered necessary for, as Augustine was glossed in the thirteenth century, the palace without well-ordered drains becomes polluted: J. Rossiaud, *Medieval Prostitution* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 80–81.

[36] Attreed, *York House Books*, 287–8.

The first of many matters to be settled were the gifts with which Richard was to be presented. A gift of five hundred marks or £333 13s. 4d. was agreed for the king, though the precise nature of the vessel – silver gilt basins or cups of gold or gilt – was left to be determined. The queen was to have a further £100 in another vessel. Probably at much the same date, records of payments by leading citizens to fund this gift were made. Miles Metcalf, the city recorder personally gave £100.[37] The House Books were also concerned with the matter of how the king was to be entertained. On the 11 August it was agreed that "the syght," by which we may understand a spectacle or show, would be paid for by the city.[38] This particular "syght" is not further spelt out in the records. It clearly involved the use of painted canvases as canvas left over was given to the master of the St Christopher guild to make hangings for the common hall, which we now know as the guildhall. We also know that a team of parish clerks headed by Henry Hudson, who was then rector of All Saints, North Street, was assigned the task. Subsequently Hudson, who to judge from his later efforts evidently wrote alliterative verse of some quality, was granted 40s. as reward "for hys labor abowt the sight of the shew."[39] In fact we can be fairly confident that this would have been within an established tradition of royal entries such as is elaborately recorded only a couple of years later for Henry VII, not least because the same Henry Hudson, by then parish priest of Spofforth, was again charged with that undertaking.[40] Henry VII's entry thus provides us with a clue as to Richard's, not least because Hudson's efforts were presumably deemed sufficiently good that he was recruited again for the potentially much more difficult because more politically charged entry of the man who succeeded to the crown by his defeat of Richard in battle.

A royal entry whereby a monarch is welcomed into the city is an occasion of no small importance because it represents an opportunity to enact symbolically the relationship the city wanted to project to its monarch and indeed expected of him. Entries were not just spectacle and entertainment. They were intended to perform a serious political purpose. In the recorded entry for Henry VII, which was designed to appease the new monarch, Ebrauk, the city's legendary founder, addresses Henry as "Most reverend rightwose [righteous] regent of this regaltie," asking that he "Shew your grace to this citie with such abounedance / As the reame [realm] may recover in to prosperite."[41] Of course in 1486, in the very shadow of Bosworth Field, York had a lot of work to do and it required not just the figure of Ebrauk, but also of Solomon, known for his wisdom, David, and lastly the ever merciful Virgin to help convey the city's message. The 1486 record also outlines something of the staging planned for the whole performance which was to be played out through the city's streets just as we know that Richard was received outside Micklegate bar and then processed through the city to the Minster with entertainments on the way. On entering the city Henry was to be confronted with a spectacle that depicted the union of the roses of York and Lancaster, the badge of the new Tudor dynasty. As the king moved through the streets, he would find them hung with cloths. Reaching the old Ouse Bridge, the king would see six kings in council symbolising the six previous monarchs to have carried the name Henry. These kings would then hand a sceptre to Solomon who then addressed the seventh Henry.[42]

The Statute Book of the Vicars Choral records that Richard actually arrived in York, a month after the first notice of his coming, on the feast of the decollation of John the Baptist (29 August), a feast associated in the York liturgy with Christ's passion and also Corpus Christi. Pamela Tudor-Craig's argument is that the timing was carefully staged to reference Corpus Christi of

[37] Attreed, *York House Books*, 291.
[38] Ibid., 289; *Middle English Dictionary* under sight(e) (n.), 9.
[39] Attreed, *York House Books*, 298.
[40] Ibid., 479.
[41] Ibid., 482–3. For Ebrauk see D. M. Palliser, *Medieval York 600–1540* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 20–1.
[42] Attreed, *York House Books*, 482–3.

which guild Richard was a member.[43] He was received outside Micklegate bar, historically the principle entrance gate into the city, with various spectacles on the route to the Minster. Further evidence for Richard's entry is lacking. Whether the text was ever entered into the House Books as was the case in respect of Henry VII we cannot know, but it would have been an embarrassment for such material to have been preserved once the last Plantagenet had been deposed.[44] We may suppose the same use of allegorical and Biblical figures, including those of Ebrauk and of St George, and of heraldic badges including perhaps Richard's badge of the white boar and the white rose of the royal house of York. Following his ceremonial arrival, Richard appears to have stayed about a week prompting the city governors to devise further entertainment as a matter of urgency. The city House Books for 2 September record that "it was agreed that the Creid [Creed] play shall be playd afore our suffreyn [sovereign] lord the kyng of Sunday next cumyng" paid for by a levy of more prosperous citizens or "the most onest men of every parish in thys cite" as the contemporary minute reads.[45]

There is nothing to suggest that this decision was made at Richard's behest, though it is possible. The following Sunday was 7 September, only five days after the decision to enact the Play. This breakneck timetable is confirmed by a further entry dated on the Saturday which notes an agreement that all the city's aldermen and members of "the twenty-four" should accompany the mayor to attend the king in watching the Creed Play as it was performed the following day.[46] Since we know Richard was still in York on the Monday we can presume that the performance of the Creed Play indeed went ahead watched by Richard and his queen. Monday itself was the feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, for whom Richard seems to have had a particular devotion. This was the culmination of Richard's visit. He, together with a very large gathering of magnates and senior clergy, including several bishops, attended a solemn service at the Minster followed by a feast at which his son was invested as Prince of Wales and another illegitimate son was knighted. Some 13,000 livery badges decorated with Richard's device of the white boar were acquired for the occasion.[47]

The absence of recorded notice is frustrating, but typical of the Creed Play. Unlike the much better known Corpus Christi Play which had reached its fully-developed form only a matter of a few years before the royal visit, the two other major dramatic multi-pageant performances in the city, that is the Paternoster Play and the Creed Play, are sparsely documented and not one line of text survives.[48] Much the same is true of the possibly numerous saints plays performed by parishes or devotional guilds, a significant component of York's lost literary, aural and visual heritage and a relic of a pre-Reformation culture. In fact the 1483 performance for Richard III is the earliest documented performance. The Play is known to have been performed subsequently in 1495, 1505, 1525 and for the last time in 1535, a pattern that – but for the absence of evidence for a 1515 performance – broadly coincides with a resolution of 1455 by the Corpus Christi

[43] A. F. Johnson and A. Rogerson, *Records of Early English Drama: York*, 2 volumes (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 132–3; S. W. Lawley, ed., *Breviarium ad Usum Insignis Ecclesie Eboracensis*, 2 volumes (Surtees Society 71, [1880–2]), col. 517. (I am grateful to Amanda Daw for this reference); P. Tudor-Craig, "Richard III's Triumphant Entry into York, August 29th, 1483," in Horrox, *Richard III and the North*, 110–13. Tudor-Craig is entirely mistaken in stating that the guild was responsible for the Corpus Christi Play nor would I agree with her suggestion that the Creed Play was an abbreviated Corpus Christi Play. What may be significant, however, is the guild's association with the Creed Play.

[44] The surviving early House Books are imperfectly preserved and there is reason to think not all the records of the period around Richard III's usurpation of the throne have been preserved: Attreed, *York House Books*, 704.

[45] Attreed, *York House Books*, 292.

[46] Ibid., 292–3.

[47] J. Raine, ed., *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster* (Surtees Society, 35 [1859]), 210–12; Ross, *Richard III*, 150.

[48] A. F. Johnson, "The Plays of the Religious Guilds of York: The Creed Play and the Pater Noster Play," *Speculum*, 50, 1 (1975): 57–8, 70–72; P. Hoskin, "The accounts of the medieval Paternoster Gild of York," *Northern History*, 44, 1 (2007): 7–33; P. J. P. Goldberg, "From Tableaux to Text: The York Corpus Christi Play ca. 1378–1428," *Viator*, 43, 2 (2012): 265–7.

guild, who had taken ownership of the Play, that the Play should be performed every ten years.[49] Whether or how often the Play was in fact performed between 1455 and 1483 is unknown, though the likelihood is that performances had taken place. The absence of documentation is simply a product of the fact that it was the guild and not the city that managed the Play. The larger point is that this was a very special Play, more special than the Corpus Christi Play, and something that occurred at most once a decade. This point is reinforced by what may be gleaned of the Play's early history.

The Creed Play is first documented in the will of the chantry priest and deputy clerk to the city William Revetour made in 1446. This left the text of "le Crede Play" in the form of a book of eighty-eight leaves, very possibly of Revetour's own composition, to the city's Corpus Christi guild. Revetour came to be closely associated with the guild and became a warden of the guild in 1440, but how far if at all the guild had involvement in the production of a Creed Play prior to Revetour's death is not known.[50] What we may surmise is that some sort of Creed Play may have followed from the inspiration of Archbishop's Thoresby's concern to educate the laity in the rudiments of the faith, precisely the same inspiration that may have underpinned the Paternoster Play whose origins can be traced back into the later fourteenth century; knowledge of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, along with the Ave, the Seven Works of Mercy and the Seven Deadly Sins were central to catechistical teaching following the Fourth Lateran Council of which Archbishop's Thoresby's programme was an exemplar.[51]

As Alexandra Johnson has argued in an important article that attempts to reconstruct the form of the lost Paternoster and Creed Plays, the Creed Play was probably divided into twelve sections, each associated with one of the twelve apostles and a key moment in the Biblical narrative and the life of Christ in particular.[52] Thus the opening clause "I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth" was associated with the apostle Peter, to whom the city's cathedral church was dedicated, and the Creation. Likewise the clause "From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead" referenced the Last Judgement and was associated with the apostle Philip. Johnson went on to suggest the possible Corpus Christi pageants that fitted most closely with the pertinent theme, thus, in the examples just cited, the Tanners' pageant of the Creation and the Tailors' pageant of the Ascension respectively.[53] Recently I have taken this argument a stage further by noticing that several of the most likely pageants to have been associated with a multi-pageant Creed Play production were connected with the leasing of pageant houses on Toft Green, near the site of York's first railway station, now the city council offices. Indeed, with the sole exception of the bakers, only those comparatively few crafts that came to lease dedicated pageant houses are also likely contenders to have contributed pageants to the Creed Play.[54] This was likely conceived of as a highly prestigious production such that could only be afforded periodically, which tallies with Revetour's own stipulation that the Play was to be

[49] Johnson, "The Plays of the Religious Guilds," 59–64.

[50] A. F. Johnston, "William Revetour, Chaplain and Clerk of York, Testator," *Leeds Studies in English* 29 (1998): 153–71; Goldberg, "Tableaux to Text," 266, 271–2.

[51] Goldberg, "Tableaux to Text," 264–7.

[52] Johnson was herself building upon the work of M. D. Anderson. (Johnson, "The Plays of the Religious Guilds," 66–9).

[53] Ibid., 59, 68–9.

[54] The pageant houses probably represent lock-up storage spaces in which dedicated wagons might be kept securely from one year to the next. My argument, which challenges the conventional assumption that most crafts participating in the annual Corpus Christi drama had dedicated pageant wagons and hence pageant houses, is that only a small number of crafts, viz., the tanners, the goldsmiths, the tapiters, the carpenters, the tailors and the mercers, in fact possessed dedicated wagons and that these were first created for a prestigious multi-pageant Creed Play first performed sometime in the 1420s. (Goldberg, "Tableaux to Text," 268–70.)

performed at least every twelve years. When the play text was copied in 1455, perhaps against a production that year, this stipulation was revised to every ten years.[55]

The Creed Play was thus a prestigious and comparatively expensive production which had almost certainly had been performed periodically prior to 1483. If since 1455 the Play had really become a once a decade production, we may speculate that it had been last performed in 1475 – the year before Richard gained *de facto* lordship over the city – and so would have been due again in 1485. That it was due in a couple of years may, therefore, have been a factor in deciding to bring it forward so as to suitably honour Richard as monarch and especial good lord to the city. That this was an established production with wagons and properties already prepared would have made it logistically possible, but the extreme brevity of time between the council's decision to stage the Play, whether at Richard's behest or otherwise, and the actual performance must have prompted much hurried and rather intensive rehearsals. How far Richard would have realised just how singularly the city was honouring him, we cannot know, but it is highly likely he appreciated that his engagement with this highly symbolic act of civic piety was important in helping to forge ties of loyalty between himself, the city and indeed the wider region. We know, for example, that Richard returned to York the following year over the feast of Corpus Christi presumably *inter alia* to see both the Play and the procession. More importantly, unlike the Corpus Christi Play, the Creed Play was by this date specifically associated with the Corpus Christi guild that had possession of the play book and which Richard himself had been admitted to as a member in 1477.[56]

The decision by the city governors to perform the Creed Play in honour of Richard and as a prelude to the investiture of his son the following day may or may not have been in response to instructions from the king, but in making the decision the city took de facto control of the Play. Hitherto performances of the Creed Play were undocumented in extant records because the Play was managed by the guild of Corpus Christi, not the city. The Corpus Christi guild itself had begun in 1408 as a confraternity of clergy, but especially lesser clergy. To these a small body of devout laypeople were also admitted whose raison d'être was tied to the remembrance of the martyred Archbishop Scrope.[57] Within a few decades the membership expanded considerably reaching a peak around 1455 when Cecily, Duchess of York was admitted.[58] Admissions fell back following this peak before rising again markedly at much the same date as Richard of Gloucester achieved prominence as a regional power. Although the ranks of the clergy expanded considerably, not least because more senior clergy and religious were freely admitted, the greatest increase was from York citizens and civic officials. Increasingly, however, the guild attracted gentry from the region and a number of women and men from the greater aristocracy. In a number of instances they can be associated with town houses in York.[59] Members of the extended Neville family, to which both Richard's mother and his wife Anne belonged, were especially prominent. Richard and Anne themselves were admitted in 1477. By 1483 the guild had thus swollen enormously in size, becoming in some respects a county club for the great and the good. In a sense the guild had also became a Yorkist club, supportive of Yorkist over Lancastrian claims to the throne in an era of civil war. Indeed the devotional purpose of the guild helped give legitimacy to the Yorkist cause. Scrope, moreover, had been a martyr at the hands of the first Lancastrian

[55] Johnson, "The Plays of the Religious Guilds," 82–3.

[56] R. H. Skaife, ed., *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York* (Surtees Society, 57 [1872]), 101.

[57] P. J. P. Goldberg, "St Richard Scrope, the Devout Widow, and the Feast of Corpus Christi: Exploring Gender, Emotions and Governance in Early Fifteenth-Century York," in *Authority, Gender and Emotions in Late Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. S. Broomhall (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 66–71, 75.

[58] Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power*, 164–84; Skaife, *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi*, 55.

[59] The Percy earls of Northumberland held *Percy Inn* in Walmgate and a *Neville's Inn* is recorded in 1406 in the same street. (A. Raine, *Mediaeval York: A topographical survey based on original sources* [London: John Murray, 1955], 108–9).

king, Henry IV and hence his cult became latterly a Yorkist cult.[60] Richard's membership from 1477 may have lent prestige to the guild and symbolised his close association with the city and the region, but for Richard himself it was a way of strengthening his influence using what in modern political discourse is referred to as "soft power."

The decision to stage the Creed Play cannot be seen as a substitute on a smaller scale for the Corpus Christi Play that had already been staged a few months earlier. As we have seen, it was in fact a highly prestigious production. To stage it, especially in this way, was unprecedented and spoke to the closeness of the client-patron relationship between the city and their newly crowned monarch. The association of the Play with the Corpus Christi guild to which the play had belonged for a couple of generations meant, moreover, that Richard's membership of the guild was also honoured. What is striking, however, is the manner in which the decision to put on the Play is recorded in the city House Books. The minute is bald: "it was agreid that the Creid play shall be played afore our suffreyn lord the kyng of Sunday next cumyng apon the cost of the most onest men of every parish of thys cite." The laconic nature of the entry is in one sense typical of the House Books, but there is an omission that merits comment. The Play belonged to the guild and not the city, but the Corpus Christi guild is not even acknowledged. When the city next decided to enact the Play, the decision is again recorded in the House Books, but this time there is a gesture to the authority of the guild: "it is agreid be the said presence yat ye Maister and kepers of Corpus christi gilde shall cause ye Crede play to be plaid yis yere … acordyng to ye warnyng gyfyn to ye said Maister be ye Maire."[61] The power relationship, however, is essentially that implicit in the 1483 entry: the city instructs, the guild complies.

The way the city governors came to regard the Creed Play in 1483 as de facto their own to be performed at their command can be seen in the context of the way the city had already assumed ownership of the Corpus Christi Play. The early history of the Corpus Christi Play is obscure, but it appears to have begun as a Passion sequence associated with various artisanal crafts and with little or no direction from the city. By the early fifteenth century mercantile guilds started to become involved and the cycle more clearly emerged as a Creation to Doomsday narrative. At the same moment that mercantile guilds began to participate, civic government took an increasingly active role in policing the cycle.[62] The most significant moment in the process whereby the city effectively assumed ownership of the cycle was, however, the 1476 ordinance which gave the city the power to vet performances at the gates of Holy Trinity Priory. Hand in hand with this as Richard Beadle has observed was the collection by the city of the individual pageant texts into a register which was then used as the authoritative text by which performances were judged.[63]

Beadle has pointed to the role that was played by Thomas Wrangwish the then recently elected mayor in instigating the 1476 ordinance and, somewhat more speculatively, to that of Nicholas Lancaster, the city's newly appointed common clerk, in compiling the extant register of pageant texts that provided the basis for the annual scrutiny of pageants and their performers. Beadle plausibly suggests that the timing of these two actions and their association with men who supposedly enjoyed Richard's patronage is indicative of a more immediate interest on the part of Richard in the Corpus Christi Play and its performance. In fact only Lancaster's association with Richard at this date is documented, but Wrangwish certainly came to be favoured by the prince. The decision in 1477 to restore the otherwise discarded Marian pageants of the Purification of

[60] Pollard, *North-Eastern England*, 189–90; Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power*, 172–4; P. J. P. Goldberg, "Introduction," in Goldberg, *Richard Scrope*, 8–9, 13, 15; C. Norton, "Richard Scrope and York Minster," in Goldberg, *Richard Scrope*, 198–213.

[61] Attreed, *York House Books*, 292; Johnson and Rogerson, *Records of Early English Drama: York*, 177.

[62] Goldberg, "Tableaux to Text," 248–63.

[63] Attreed, *York House Books*, 29–30; R. Beadle and P. Meredith, "Further External Evidence for Dating the York Register (BL Additional MS 352900)," *Leeds Studies in English*, new series 11 (1980): 51–8; Beadle, "Nicholas Lancaster," 42.

the Virgin and the Burial of the Virgin may or may not strengthen the case.[64] There is perhaps another related argument to be made. The Yorkist kings seem to have had a clear sense of the value of propaganda and this we have seen in Richard's own instructions for the performance of his entry as king in 1483. It may be that men who were close to Richard, but also in positions of magisterial authority within the city realised that by exercising tight control over the Corpus Christi Play, they would be better able to promote the city and its governors. The 1476 ordinance in effect represents the culmination of a longer history of creeping annexation by the city government of what was in origin very much a popular artisanal projection of devotional enthusiasm.

The mayor and aldermen no doubt felt the control they came to exercise over the Corpus Christi Play was proper to them as godly governors. The de facto claim over the Creed Play was more of a coup prompted by the urgent need to provide further entertainment for a patron who was looked to as the guarantor of the city's fortunes in economically difficult times. The nature of the Corpus Christi guild who actually owned the play is the clue here. We have already seen how the guild from Richard's perspective was something of a Yorkist club and an instrument of "soft" power. From the perspective of local members, however, the guild was a means for the politically ambitious to meet and greet, and a way for lesser men to be noticed by more powerful and more connected men. In short, for men who wanted to get on in civic government, in aristocratic service, even in the service of the new king, the Corpus Christi guild of York was the best club around. However, local York members were in fact numerically the most significant group.[65] There was a sense that the guild was not only the best club around, it was also their club. When the city decided that the Creed Play would be performed they assumed that the guild would comply because they had come to think of themselves as the guild.

I want to end by pondering once again the relationship between the fate of Cherrylips and the values of the city government in the time of Richard III as Duke of Gloucester and as king. Cherrylips seems to have been used to signal a policy of reform and renewal which reflects and probably follows an impetus from Richard. We know that Richard exercised considerable political leverage through the exercise of good lordship and his men came to occupy some key roles in the government of the city. The larger context, however, is that what was happening at York resonates with policy in other major urban centres at a broadly similar period as we have seen at Nottingham and Leicester some years in advance of York or at Coventry a decade later. It follows that there may well have been considerable sympathy amongst York's ruling elite for a morally righteous campaign to promote good order, to revitalise the Corpus Christi celebrations in a way that gave clearer control to the city governors and helped promote the reputation of the city, to promote the veneration of the Virgin as a model that respectable women might aspire to, and to cast out the misgoverned woman as a sower of dissension and vice. Richard and the city government were essentially following a current trend towards a more authoritarian, more self-righteous, more gender conservative model of good governance, indeed godly governance. It was a model in which moral authority was increasingly vested not in churchmen, but in the prince and the civic magistrate. Devotion was inseparable from politics. The civic entry used Biblical figures and saints to project a political message. The Corpus Christi Play and the Creed Play were not just occasions of collective devotion, but vehicles to convey political messages about the proper order of society.

There is, however, a paradox here and Cherrylips is at the heart of that paradox. Late Medieval civic Catholicism can at times suggest a certain pious smugness. It was perhaps too easy for those who enjoyed both power and wealth – we should not be too much convinced by civic pleas of

[64] Beadle, "Nicholas Lancaster," 31–52; Palliser, "Richard III and York," 63–6.
[65] Crouch, *Piety, Fraternity and Power*, 178–83.

poverty – to feel relatively comfortable in their endowment of masses, their benevolence to the right sort of poor, their veneration of the appropriate saints. To remove the likes of Cherrylips, that painted whore, from the principal thoroughfare of Micklegate so close to the anniversary of the martyrdom of the blessed virgin martyr Richard Scrope and so close to the church associated with Scrope's family and indeed close in time and place to where the sacred host began its annual procession through the streets of York on the feast of Corpus Christi, cannot have seemed other than the proper duty of a godly magistrate. What is obscured, however, is that, to echo the Apostles' Creed, the Christ who was born of the Virgin, suffered under Pontius Pilate and was crucified, who was bodily present in the consecrated host of the Eucharist that was ritually paraded through the city's streets at the feast of Corpus Christi, was also the man who befriended tax collectors and prostitutes. Indeed the hatters and capmakers' Corpus Christi pageant of "The Woman Taken in Adultery" retells the narrative from St John's gospel in which Christ challenged those who were so keen to punish the woman who had sinned. Sadly the critical pages are now lost from the extant Register.

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Bohemian and Moravian Beguine Communities in the Middle Ages[1]

Abstract | Although neither Bohemia nor Moravia are typical areas connected with the Beguine movement, interesting evidence concerning their existence does exist which has been neglected thus far by foreign research. While the local Beguine communities were not as large as in the Netherlands, France or certain imperial cities, they were inherent to the religious spectrum of Bohemian and Moravian towns of the High and Late Middle Ages. There is reason to believe that the Beguines could have been found in every larger town, while certain houses remained inhabited until the Modern period. This text provides a basic comparison of the Beguine communities in Western Europe with that known about these spiritual societies in Bohemian and Moravian towns. It primarily focuses on the organization, function and form of the domestic communities leaving aside subtler questions aimed for example at the spirituality of the domestic Beguines or their orthodoxy in relation to the official Church.

Keywords | the High and Late Middle Ages; Bohemia; Moravia; Beguines and Beghards; Spirituality; Hussitism; Urban Sources

The Beguine label currently evokes an uncertain feeling of mystery arising from the fact that this phenomenon has already died out in areas where it blossomed previously, primarily in current-day Belgium and the Netherlands. With the death of the last nun, which apparently took place in 2013, an important element in the history of spirituality, which had lasted for eight centuries in Europe, vanished.[2] Although neither Bohemia nor Moravia, lying on the boundary of the expansion of the Beguine movement,[3] are typical areas connected with its advancement, interesting evidence also exists here concerning their existence, which has thus far been neglected

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[2] The last Beguine apparently took her oath in 1996, see Hans Geybels, *Vulgariter Beghinae. Eight Centuries of Beguine History in the Low Countries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 72.

[3] A specific chapter of the movement is the Beguines of Świdnica, the so-called *moniales capuciatae*, with ties to the Prague communities. Extensive information was preserved thanks to the Inquisition interrogations, which were recorded in connection with them in 1332. With a reference to the relevant sources, seeRudolf Holinka, "Sektářství v Čechách před revolucí husitskou [Sectarianism in Bohemia Before the Hussite Revolution]," in *Sborník Filosofické fakulty University Komenského v Bratislavě*, Yearbook VI, no 52 (3), (Bratislava 1929): 97–100. Compare also Danuta Lapis and Bohdan Lapis, "Beginki v Polsce w XII–XV wieku [Beguines in Poland in the twelfth-fifteenth centuries]," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 78, vol. 3 (1972): 534–539. Most recently and in detail, see Magdalena Ogórek, *Beginki i waldensi na Śląsku i Morawach do końca XIV wieku* [Beguines and Waldensians in Silesia and Moravia Until the End of the Fourteenth Century] (Racibórz: Wydawnictwo i Agencja Informacyjna WAW Grzegorz Wawoczny, 2012), 78–96, 213–236.

by European research. This text provides a basic comparison of the Beguine communities in Western Europe with that known about these spiritual societies from Bohemian and Moravian towns. I also try to establish the circle of sources which could cast additional light in the future on ideas concerning their functioning in the Czech Lands. I primarily focus on questions connected with the organization, functioning and form of the domestic communities, leaving aside subtler questions aimed for instance at the spirituality of the domestic Beguines or their orthodoxy in relation to the official Church.[4]

Generally on Beguines in Europe

The Beguine movement can be viewed as one of the branches of the revivalist religious efforts of the High Middle Ages. It was a multi-class phenomenon and its main features can be summarized very uneasily in several sentences.[5] The basic characteristic is the fact that it was a free association of women who lived a pious life filled with work and prayer within urban society, although one occasionally also encounters evidence of their existence in settlements of a rural type.[6] The link between the Beguine way of life and highly urbanized European areas is an important feature of the movement. One of the main differences in the life of these lay nuns and their contemporaries housed in nunneries lay in the fact that Beguines lived in communities of women of a similar belief but without a monastic oath. The vows consisted of cleanliness and respect for the principles of the community integrated into the society that surrounded them. The boundary between the Beguine communities and traditional female orders, however, sometimes seems quite blurred in the sources, which is also evidenced by the fact that some of the originally free women's communities became order communities over time.[7] Unlike the order houses, the Beguines did not create a hierarchy of houses or an internally closely connected network. Each of them was governed by somewhat different rules and communication between them took place on an informal yet intensive basis.[8] This minimal rate of institutionalization made them more vulnerable to distrust and escalating pressures from the official Church organization.

The beginnings of the Beguine movement can be traced back to south-east Netherlands prior to 1200 and are usually placed in the context of the search for new forms of lay piety for individu-

[4] Rudolf Holinka considered the orthodoxy of the domestic communities of the Beghards and Beguines based on fragmentary reports of the Bohemian provenance; see Holinka, "Sektářství v Čechách," 88–121. An interesting passage indicating some of the unorthodox religious practices of Czech Beguines can be found in the Inquisition protocol in relation to Hradec Králové, see Alexander Patschovsky, ed., *Quellen zur Böhmischen Inquisition im 14. Jahrhundert*. Monumenta Germanie Historica, 11. Band (Weimar: Hermann Böhlaus Nachfolger, 1979), 220–223.

[5] Synoptically on the content and history of the Beguine movement in Europe, cf. Walter Simons: "Beguines," in *Women and Gender in Medieval Europe. An Encyclopedia*, ed. Margaret Schaus (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2006), 66–68, here also the list of relevant literature up to 2006. An extensive and updated bibliography on the Beguines is also accessibleon http://collective-action.info. Literature on the Beguine societies for understandable reasons comes from and focuses mainly on the area of the Netherlands, of the current works, see e.g., Walter Simons, *Cities of Ladies: Beguine Communities in the Medieval Low Countries 1200–1565* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003). Synoptically on that, see also Geybels, *Vulgariter Beghinae.* The Beguine communities in the Empire, from which these ideas primarily spread to the Czech Lands, are mapped including the catalogues of the individual Beguines by Frank-Michael Reichstein, see Frank-Michael Reichstein, *Das Beginenwesen in Deutschland. Studien und Katalog* (Berlin: Verlag Dr. Köster, 2001).

[6] Cf. Katherine A. Lynch, *Individuals, Families, and Communities in Europe, 1200–1800. The Urban Foundations of Western Society*. Cambridge Studies in Population, Economy and Society in Past Time 37. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 80, note 37.

[7] Cf. for medieval Hungary, Daniela Dvořáková, "Kláštory a domy begín v stredovekom Uhorsku [Cloisters and Houses of the Beguines in Medieval Hungary]," in *Sanctimoniales. Zakony żeńskie w Polsce i Europie Środkowej (do przełomu XVIII i XIX wieku*), eds. Dariusz Karczewski, Andrzej Radzimiński, Zbigniew Zyglewski (Bydgoszcz: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Kazimierza Wielkiego, 2010), 163.

[8] Beguines of Świdnica were in close contact with other Beguine houses in Silesia as well as in the Czech Lands and the Empire. There were certain tendencies for economic cooperation between the houses, cf. Ogórek, *Beginki i waldensi*, 87.

als, associated with the high level of the urbanization of these areas. This was conditioned by the social factors which were also essential for the emerging movement. Whereas earlier research dealing with the motivation of women to join the Beguines emphasized the surplus of the female populace over the male, and hence difficulties in finding a partner for marriage along with the lack of means for entry into traditional orders, the latest research views it in a wider demographic and socio-economic context.[9] The correlation between a broad spectrum of religious and secular reasons several decades later led a number of various groups of *mulieres religiosae* to the practice of a highly pious way of life in more or less formal associations of similarly thinking laywomen. The popularity of the movement increased in the Netherlands at the beginning of the thirteenth century. The phenomenon of pious women living in solitude retreats into the background and more numerous and more hierarchically organized communities emerge, with a so-called *magistra* or *procuratrix* standing at the head, a parallel with the mother superior in traditional orders.[10]

Although the Fourth Lateran Council forbade the emergence of new orders and forms of ecclesiastical life, Jacques de Vitry managed to acquire oral consent in 1216 from Pope Honorius III for "pious women" to live in communities and encourage one another in a life dedicated to God and manual labour. The movement consequently began to spread dynamically into other areas of Western Europe before the middle of the thirteenth century. From its beginnings, an affinity between the Beguines and mendicant orders is apparent, this often being an eyesore to representatives of the secular clergy. Distrust and suspicion on the part of the official Church accompanied the movement unceasingly. This could have been because of the justifiably emphasized close connection between the teachings of some of the Beguine communities and their male variants, the Beghards, and the so-called Brethren of the Free Spirit. This connection established the basis for an accusation which eventually culminated with certain representatives of the movement being burned at the stake. Mention will be made of at least the renowned trial of Marguerite Porete from 1310.[11]

The results of an ecumenical council in Vienne from 1312, which condemned the Beguines as heretics and forbade their existence, is an important milestone in the history of the movement. It allowed the women, however, to continue to live in pious communities without order vows. This was a clear contradiction which might have had the aim of separating the wheat from the chaff, thus the orthodox communities from the heretical.[12] It provided arguments, however, to both the opponents and adherents of the movement. It is apparent that the Beguines never entirely rid themselves of the label of heresy and their existence remained objectionable to many ecclesiastical representatives, until the wave of the Reformation finally swept them away almost everywhere in Europe.

The First Beguine Communities in the Czech Lands

The origins of Beguine communities in the Czech Lands might have already been connected with the time of Bruno Bishop of Olomouc. This view is supported by the text of his letter to the Pope from 16 December 1273 where the Bishop describes the prevailing ecclesiastical situation

[9] On changes in the paradigm within research on the Beguines synoptically, see Kim Overlaet, "To Be or Not to Be a Beguine in an Early Modern Town: Piety or Pragmatism? The Great Beguinage of St Catherine in Sixteenth-Century Mecheln," in *Single Life and the City, 1200–1900*, eds. Julie de Groot, Isabelle Devos, Ariadne Schmidt (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 140–142.
[10] Cf. Václav Vladivoj Tomek, *Dějepis města Prahy 3* [History of the City of Prague] (Praha: U Františka Řiwnáče, 1875), 234.
[11] On her personage recently, see e.g., Tanya Stabler Miller, *The Beguines of Medieval Paris. Gender, Patronage, and Spiritual Authority* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 138–144.
[12] This is the view of Holinka, "Sektářství v Čechách," 93.

in the "German Empire and adjacent areas" (*in regno Alemanniae et partibus convicinis*).[13] Bruno mentions here men and women, whose faith is not approved by the apostolic throne, and who should consequently be included among other sects. He emphasizes the fact that they do not want any secular or spiritual power above them and that they even avoid the marital status which also applies for young women living the way of life of widows. In a direct allusion to Paul's epistle to Timothy, he states that young women should not be included among widows.[14] These women, in his view, inactively and with gossip visit the houses of others from where they set out the path of Satan. They flee confession and do not want to accept the holy sacraments. The Bishop believes that it would be the best for their correction that they marry or join approved orders.[15] Although it is possible that Bruno is referring her to Beguines, although the reference to the rejection of sacraments contradicts this, it is somewhat problematic to connect the given passage directly with the Czech Lands since a geographical specification is missing in the text. This time frame would correspond, however, with the situation in neighbouring Silesia, where the first Beguines houses are accounted for in Legnice and Wrocław.[16] Beguines are explicitly mentioned several years later, however, as the public at the first mass after the ordination of the Bishop of Prague Tobiáš of Bechyně.[17] The Zbraslav Chronicle (*Chronicon Aulae Regiae*) created in the first third of the fourteenth century speaks of the supposed spread of Beguines as well as Beghards into numerous towns and villages and about the Pope acting against them based on their "erroneous thinking and superstitious heretical fabrications" (*de pluribus enim eorum erroneis opinionibus et supersticiosis hereseos adivencionibus*) and "the worst carnal infamies" (*pessimas carnalitas spurcicias*).[18] There is, however, an unfortunate lack of any kind of more detailed information from that time on the form or method of the organization of these communities here. There is only information available on the domestic situation from a later period.

As has already been mentioned, the earliest manifestation of the movement are the individual pious women who fully devoted themselves to the service of God, the needy and a life in poverty within urban society, whether actively or in a cloister as hermits. This is the case of Yvette de Huy (1158–1228) one of the first renowned Beguines, who entered this path as a young widow, the mother of three children, or Marie of Oignies (1177–1213), who set out on the path of a radical pious life along with her husband.[19] Although the specific names are not known, it can be assumed that similarly inspirational people also established through their exemplary lives the ideological pillars for the communities of women living in Bohemian and Moravian towns, who subsequently purchased a house together or moved to a house that one of them owned. The communities of pious women could subsequently associate with already existing organizations: hospitals or leper colonies, this being given by the work description which the Beguines focused on, or also the Minorite cloisters, which is also demonstrated here. This scenario applies,

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[13] Ibid., 89, here in note 292 additional evidence of their existence here is mentioned from the very beginning of the fourteenth century. Similarly, see also Vondra, cf. Václav Vondra, "Zmínky o bekyních a beghardech z jižních Čech v inkvizičních protokolech [References to Beguines and Beghards from South Bohemia in Inquisition Protocols]," *Jihočeský sborník historický* (1983/LII/1): 31; or Alexander Patschovsky, *Die Anfänge einer ständigen Inquisition in Böhmen. Ein Prager Inquisitoren-Handbuch aus der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin – New York: Walter De Gruyter, 1975), 74, note 281.

[14] Timothy 1: 5, 9 and 5, 11. I would like to thank Sona Žákovská for pointing this out.

[15] Jindřich Šebánek and Sáša Dušková, eds., *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris regni Bohemiae*, t. 5/2 (Praha: Acdemia, 1981), 375, no 719.

[16] Cf. Lapis and Lapis, "Beginki v Polsce w XII–XV wieku," 526.

[17] Josef Emler, ed., *Vypravování o zlých létech po smrti krále Přemysla Otakara II.* [Narrative on the Evil Years after the Death of King Přemysl Otakar II](Praha: Fontes rerum Bohemicarum [= FRB], t. 2, 1874), 339–340.

[18] Josef Emler, ed., *Petra Žitavského kronika Zbraslavská* [Peter of Zittau's Zbraslav Chronicle] (Praha: FRB, t. 4, 1884), 249. The translation is cited after František Heřmanský, ed., *Zbraslavská kronika. Chronicon Aulae Regiae* [Zbraslav Chronicle: Chronicon Aulae Regiae] (Praha: Svoboda, 1976), 318.

[19] Simons, "Beguines," 66.

for instance, to Prague, Čáslav, Hradec Králové,[20] Moravian towns, as will be presented below, and also for Český Krumlov, where at the beginning of the 1270s the Beguines also joined the convent of the Minorites and Poor Clares, which led to the emergence of a unique double or triple-cloister.[21] The association of Beguine communities with private chapels is also demonstrated in Prague. Interesting cases are known of the ties of the Beguine communities directly to the sovereigns from neighbouring Hungary. Ladislaus IV in the 1270s provided the Beguines with an abandoned cloister and another Beguine community resided directly in the Buda castle and enjoined the long-term favour of the Hungarian kings.[22] Privileges were also granted to the Beguine communities by the dukes in Poland.[23] The most advanced form of the organization are consequently the extensive Beguine courts (*curtes beguinarum*) which used to include their own church, cemetery, hospital and husbandry yard and often stood outside the actual developed urban area. However, we encounter this advanced form, which at the time of the greatest fame of the movement was inhabited by hundreds of nuns, almost exclusively in the Netherlands.

Livelihoods, Motivations and Social Profile of the Beguines

The Beguine way of life included active charitable work for the urban society, in diverse forms: from the raising of burgher children to care for the poor and ill. Significant areas of their interest also included work in the textile trades or services. [24] Their communities also willingly accepted the manifestations of the mercy of their fellow burghers and also did not hesitate to use extreme means, bordering on self-harm, for its stimulation. This is interestingly testified to by a rarely preserved Inquisition act of the Świdnica Beguines who were investigated in the 1330s for suspicion of heresy.[25] As with the classic cloisters, the Beguines spent part of their day in contemplation, with a focus all over Europe on primarily divine love, veneration of the Eucharist, Christ's passion and the Virgin Mary.[26] These women were not afraid to verbalize their religious experiences, typically in the vernacular languages. This used to be in some cases another reason for their persecution, when they would be accused of preaching, which was traditionally forbidden to women.[27] In pre-Hussite Bohemia then this feature, hence active religiosity, the interpretation

[20] The existence of the Beguines is known in Čáslav and Hradec Králové and the topographic proximity of their house to the convent of the Minorites thanks to the preserved Inquisition interrogations of Havel of Jindřichův Hradec held in the 1330s, cf. Patschovsky, *Quellen zur Böhmischen Inquisition im 14. Jahrhundert*, 220–222, 228.

[21] There are disputes in the relevant literature as to whether it is possible to identify the small quadrature of the Krumlov Minorite cloister with the house of the Beguines; for the latest on these discussions, cf. Helena Soukupová, "Sdružený klášter minoritů a klarisek v Českém Krumlově a jeho místo v architektuře mendikantů [The Associated Cloister of the Friars Minor and Poor Clares in Český Krumlov and its Place in the Architecture of the Mendicants]," in *Klášter minoritů a klarisek v českém Krumlově. Umění, zbožnost, architektura*, ed. Daniela Rywiková (Český Krumlov: Veduta, 2015), 37–38. This question is also mentioned by: Jiří Bloch, "Vývoj fasád klášterních objektů v Českém Krumlově [Development of the Facades of the Monastic Buildings in Český Krumlov]," in ibid., 115.

[22] Dvořáková, "Kláštory a domy begín v stredovekom Uhorsku," 163–165.

[23] Lapis and Lapis, "Beginki v Polsce w XII–XV wieku," 530; Ogórek, *Beginki i waldensi*, 67–76.

[24] Beguine involvement within the textile trades is often highlighted regarding Western European cities, but as shown by M. Ogórek, this feature is also essential in Silesia, cf. Ogórek, *Beginki i waldensi*, 80–85. Beguines in Silesia, in her view, initiated innovations in crafts, such as the spinning wheel, cf. ibid., 81.

[25] One of the interrogated nuns mentions deliberate fasts, sleep denial and blood release, which was supposed to arouse greater compassion. This is cited with references to the relevant sources by Ewa Wółkiewicz: "Formy dobročinnosti ve slezských městech ve středověku [Forms of Charity in Silesian Towns in the Middle Ages]," in *Milosrdenství ve středověkých městech. Documenta Pragensia Supplementa IV*., ed. Kateřina Jíšova (Praha: Archiv hl. města Prahy, Scriptorium, 2013), 94. On the Beguines of Świdnica, see note 3 here.

[26] Simons: "Beguines," 67–68.

[27] On the preaching of Hussite women, see e.g., Císařová-Kolářová, *Žena v hnutí husitském* [A Woman in the Hussite Movement] (Praha: Sokolice Praha–Nusle, 1915), 131–132.

of the Scriptures in the vernacular language and an emphasis on the frequent reception of the sacraments connected up the Beguine movement with the pre-Reformation streams. Additional emphasized common features of both streams were consequently criticism of the immoral life of the clergy and tendencies towards folk mysticism.

Just as the forms of Beguine organization manifested a distinct variability, the motivation of the individual women was also diverse for joining the communities and their individual fates. The strong charisma of pious women and the desire for an active religious life could have been for some of them the main reason for joining a community, but even more pragmatic circumstances could have played a role. A number of urban women could have found themselves in difficult life situations and needed to take shelter in a community, which did not have such formal rules as a cloister, for a short or longer period. In the case of Beguines, an emphasized motivation was also the effort to avoid a forced marriage.[28] Beguines could leave the community at any time without sanctions and in some cases even take back their property depending on the internal regulations of the individual communities.[29] The fates of the individual nuns consequently indicated a significant dynamism. A number of them left the community for a time, married and led a family life, while others in contrast decided to join a traditional religious order.

This note leads us to the question of the social profile of the Beguines. In urban centres, where the sources are more informative on this problem than in Bohemian and Moravian towns, researchers have drawn the conclusion that some of members of the movement came from wealthy families, but mainly they were representatives of the middle and predominantly the lower classes. I would in all likelihood also reach similar conclusions in the case of Bohemian and Moravian towns. At least in the case of Prague, Rostislav Nový has expressed this meaning when speaking of socially weaker classes which did not have enough finances for the dowry required in cloisters.[30] An exception on domestic soil in this respect could be the association of noblewomen, Hus' supporters, gathered around Anežka of Štítný. It is disputable whether these women can be considered Beguines in the proper sense of the word.[31]

The Prague Beguines

The Prague houses of the Beguines were with one exception situated in the Old Town. They were founded by the local economic and social elite and the given female community consequently bore the name of these families, for example, the Olbramovics, Hopfners, etc.[32] Václav Vladivoj Tomek identified 9 of them up to 1400 in Prague. Another 7 then emerged over the subsequent

[28] Cf. Simons, *Cities of Ladies*, 71; Overlaet, "To Be or Not to Be a Beguine," 151.

[29] E.g., the Beguines of Świdnica did not have this possibility, cf. Lapis and Lapis, "Beginki v Polsce w XII–XV wieku," 534.

[30] Rostislav Nový, "Ženské řeholní a laické komunity v předhusitské Praze [Women's Orders and Lay Communities in Pre-Hussite Prague]," *Documenta Pragensia* 13, *Žena v dějinách Prahy* (1996): 45.

[31] See Císařová-Kolářová, *Žena v hnutí husitském*, 71–72. Unlike others, Císařová-Kolářová is rather restrained in labelling the society of aristocratic young women, which included Anežka of Štítný, as Beguines. The group settled at Bethlehem Chapel at the beginning of the fifteenth century and were consequently recalled by Hus at Constance. I share the reservedness of Císařová-Kolářová. I believe that these young aristocratic women did not consider themselves Beguines (although their lifestyle corresponded with the Beguines in a number of regards), but this label from the pen of Hus' enemies, namely Štěpán of Dolany, was actually intended to slight and discredit them, see Václav Novotný, *M. Jan Hus: život a učení*, 1/2 (Praha: Jan Laichter, 1921), 217

[32] Císařová-Kolářová, *Žena v hnutí husitském*, 123. On the day-to-day lives of the Prague Beguines comp. Eadem, *Posluchačky v kapli Betlémské* [Female Listeners in the Bethlehem Chapel] (Praha: Kalich – Praha, 1947), 25, as well as Tomek, *Dějepis města Prahy 3*, 233–234; On the Prague Beguines most recently, Martin Musílek, *Patroni, klienti, příbuzní: Sociální svět Starého Města pražského ve 14. století* [Patrons, Clients, Relatives: the Social World of the Old Town of Prague in the Fourteenth Century] (Praha: Václav Žák, Casablanca, 2015) 219, 258.

15 years.[33] As can be observed in Tomek's topography, the continuity of the individual communities is extremely interesting as is the fact that in certain cases several Beguine houses existed in close proximity. Being a private foundation, this growth undoubtedly testifies to the rising piety and religious fervour of the laymen or laywomen. It is assumed for the Bohemian and Moravian towns that the spiritual guidance of the communities was usually provided by the priest of the parishes where they belonged provincially or a representative of one of the orders.[34] The Bohemian and Moravian Beguine communities were not all that numerous, numbers between 3 and 12 are recorded in Prague and it was very likely not all that different in other towns.[35]

It has already been mentioned that the Prague Beguines had strong ties with the emerging reform movement. The position toward the Beguines by the main representatives of the pre-Reformation also demonstrates, however, a certain ambivalence. There were, on the one hand, Militz of Kremsier and Matthias of Janov who explicitly criticized them as heretics, although otherwise the position of both reformers to the female element is fairly positive. It has much in common, on the other hand, with their religiosity and everyday lifestyle, beginning with an emphasis on the literal interpretation of the Bible and ending with the desire for the frequent taking of the Eucharist.[36] This clear proximity is usually primarily emphasized in the case of the project of Militz's Jerusalem. This consisted of a penitent community of reformed prostitutes and Militz adherents, who in their primary features were not all that different from an orthodox Beguine community.[37]

The Beguines were also viewed with a certain distrust and antipathy by parts of Bohemian society. This is best attested to by the preserved anti-Hussite satirical compositions from the time, when the Beguines and so called "Wycliffites" were reproached for being overly clever, quarrelsome and inflexible in relation to the official Church. They were satirized (in song Beguine) and also accused of immorality (in song Wycliffite) with a clear effort to discredit these women.[38] Both of these above-mentioned compositions make it apparent that their authors were mainly provoked by the women's ability to read the Scriptures and discuss it. The Beguines were a genuine eyesore for the anti-Hussite propaganda, beingdistinctive representatives of reform. This is also attested to by texts from the pens of the leading domestic representatives of anti-Hussitism Štěpán of Dolany and Ondřej of Brod.[39]

The active, personal participation of women in the battle events in the first phase of the revolution is a specific chapter of the Bohemian Reformation.[40] Beguines are also explicitly mentioned among these women in various contexts, the "grey Hussite nuns," sympathizing with the radical Táborites and taking part in a number of violent acts. As is summarized aptly by the main source for the early phase of the revolution, the chronicler Vavřinec of Březová: "[…] er-

[33] See Václav Vladivoj Tomek, *Základy starého místopisu pražského* [Foundations of Early Prague Topography] (Praha: Grégr, 1866), dept. 1, Staré Město pražské, here an overall synopsis, see the index, p. 275, headword *Beginarum*. Rostislav Nový explains how the greatest concentration of the population, and also the strongest social antagonism, was there, Cf. Nový, "Ženské řeholní a laické komunity," 45.

[34] Holinka, "Sektářství v Čechách," 89.

[35] The communities of Beguines were not significantly greater in many imperial and Polish towns, usually the number was up to 20 even there. Lapis and Lapis, "Beginki v Polsce w XII–XV wieku," 529; Ogórek, *Beginki i waldensi*, 73.

[36] Holinka, "Sektářství v Čechách," 111–121.

[37] Cf. Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley – Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), 13. The ideology of the religious movement of the Beguine type in terms of their relation to the official Church is discussed by Kaminsky as well as in the theoretical treatises of Matthias of Janov, see ibid., 22.

[38] Both poems are included, for example, in a selection of old Czech lyrical poetry prepared by Jan Vilikovský, see Jan Vilikovský, ed., *Staročeská lyrika* [Old Czech Lyrical Poetry] (Praha: Melantrich, 1940), 118–122.

[39] Kaminsky, *A History*, 255, note 113.

[40] Cf. Pavlína Rychterová, "Viklefice a její předchůdkyně [Viclifite and its predecessors]," in *Člověk českého středověku*, ed. Martin Nodl, František Šmahel (Praha: Argo, 2002), 241–242.

roneis hereticis atque scandalosis doctrinis multorum corda non solum Thaboriensium, sed et Pragensium fuerant infecta, et presertim plurimum sororum, quas begutas nominare solemus."[41] It is also apparent from other references in his chronicle that the engagement of the Beguines in the extreme wing of the movement was very distinct in the early phase of the revolution, which corresponds with the contemporary manifestations of the Beguine movement elsewhere in Europe.[42] Similar controversial outputs might have discredited these women in the eyes of contemporary society and could have been one of the reasons they lost their potentially positive charisma.[43] Some of the Beguine houses did not sympathize with the radicals and as a result their property was confiscated. Two thirds of the Beguine groups in Prague finally disappeared during the Hussite wars and only a few survived into the sixteenth century. Of significance is the fact that the Beguine houses on the site of the former Militz Jerusalem and at Bethlehem Chapel indicate the longest continuity.[44]

Beguines in Moravian Towns

There are unfortunately not many detailed reports on the development and functioning of the Beguine communities in the Moravian Medieval sources, and not even their existence has been thematised more distinctly until recently. An originally informal female religious community on the lines of the Beguine associations is considered in the case of the Brno Herburgs/Herburks (after their first representative named Herburg), who were however incorporated into the Dominican order prior to the middle of the thirteenth century.[45] The exceptionally interesting fate of two brothers from Brno Albert and primarily Jan, who set out at some point in the first third of the fourteenth century for Cologne where they joined the Berghards is also mentioned relatively often in the relevant literature. Jan was a wealthy burgher, who (in his own words) for internal reasons at the advice of the master of the Berghards in Brno, left his wife, family and supposedly joined the "voluntary poor" for twenty years in Cologne before achieving a state of "perfection." He communicated this during interrogation by the inquisitor Havel from Jindřichův Hradec. Under Havel's influence, he then joined the Dominican order and in a Latin file, which was somewhat paradoxically used later as a handbook for inquisitors, described his experiences from a life among the "heretics."[46]

An analysis of the tax sources of the Brno provenance of the second half of the fourteenth century provides more specific information on the Beguine houses in Brno.[47] It was quite typical that one of their houses is situated in the Měnínská district opposite the cloister of the Friars Minor. While it is smaller than in Prague, and although one does not encounter such a prominent

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[41] Josef Emler, ed., *Kronika Vavřince z Březové*(Praha: FRB, t. 5, 1893), 424.

[42] Kaminsky is of this opinion, *A History*, 255: "These Beguines or Begutae, as the hostile sources call them, seem to have played the same role as they did elsewhere in Europe, that of providing a hothouse in which the ideals of evangelical piety, nourished by female emotion, could flower into the most luxuriant forms of heretical extremism."

[43] Cf. Rychterová, "Viklefice a její předchůdkyně," 244–245.

[44] Císařová-Kolářová, *Žena v hnutí husitském*, 128–130; Zikmund Winter, *Kulturní obraz českých měst* [The Cultural Image of Bohemian Towns], part 2 (Praha: Komisí u Františka Řivnáče, 1892), 115–116

[45] Most recently with a reference to the literature, see Libor Jan, ed., *Dějiny Brna 2* (Brno: Statutární město Brno, Archiv města Brna 2013), 720–723.

[46] On Jan of Brno, cf. Albert Hauck, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands V* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1920), 413–414; Patschovsky, *Die Anfänge einer ständigen Inquisition*, 73–74; Holinka, "Sektářství v Čechách," 100–102; most recently Jan, *Dějiny Brna 2*, 729–730.

[47] On the Beguines in Brno, cf. Michaela Malaníková, "Brněnské ženy 1343–1477 ve světle berních pramenů [Brno Women 1343–1477 in the Light of Tax Sources]," *Brno v minulosti a dnes* 18 (Brno, 2005): 25–27.

figure, as for instance Agnes Blannbekin in nearby Vienna a few decades earlier,[48] the numbers of the Beguine communities in Brno grew from 1350 and in some cases even the individual names of their inhabitants have been preserved: Kateřina, Irmgarda, Adléta and Markéta. These women, although living in one house, paid into the municipal collection separately, which indicates that they must have had their own property and as a result were listed as independent payers of the tax. This corresponds to the situation in other European towns wherein Beguines sometimes kept their property and did not necessarily give it to the community. Klára also lived in Brno's Měnínská district. She figured in the sources as a girl (*puella*) from 1350 to 1351 and is referred to as a nun in the same place within the urban quarter from 1355. Two years later she is listed here as *domus Clare* which very likely reflects the emergence of a religious community of lay nuns in an originally private house. The sources from the same time in a similar way, always in proximity to Klára, also mentions Žofie, who from 1365 has an identical label, hence *pegina*. Another four Beguine communities can be found that same year in Brno named after their founders. The reports on these communities regularly appear in Brno until the end of the fourteenth century, only to disappear with the beginning of the next century.

Due to a lucky coincidence or the preservation of source material, the history of the beguine movement in the Moravian metropolis can be dated even further into the past than the local municipal books record. Not only does the already mentioned Jan of Brno refer to the Beguines in Brno, [49] but in one of the fragments of the Inquisition protocols of the Bohemian provenance the very interesting case of the ties with the Brno Beguine community is also demonstrated to the South Bohemian Waldensians, namely already in the 1330s, when the tax sources from this city were not yet preserved.[50] The Beguine Kunla, daughter of the cabinetmaker Schilher of Olešná in the Jindřichův Hradec district, lived in a house in Brno with other co-inhabitants according to the interrogation. They were to be members of the Waldensian sect where also relatives and friends of her father could be found according to the protocol.[51] The first editor of the so-called Brno fragment, Ivan Hlaváček considered the possible Brno origin of one of the preachers interrogated by the Inquisition in Jindřichův Hradec.[52] These ties, albeit accidental, due to the preservation of the source base, are also interesting since several decades later, at the time of Hussitism, Brno became firmly on the Catholic side like the other larger Moravian royal towns. Of interest is the fact that one of the Prague Beguine houses at the beginning of the fifteenth century was called the *beginarium olim Franae de Brunna*, which clearly indicates the origin of the founder/representative of this community. [53]

In another Moravian royal town, Jihlava, several Beguine communities can be encountered up until the middle of the fifteenth century. One of the streets is even named for them, bearing the name *U Bekyň* "At the Beguines."[54] One of the inquisition fragments speaks of two Beguines,

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[48] Latin Revelationes of Agnes Blannbekin were made accessible to the public in the 1990s in a German translation, see Peter Dinzelbacher and Renate Vogeler, eds., *Leben und Offenbarungen der Wiener Begine Agnes Blannbekin (d. 1315)* (Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 1994); a few years later then in English: Ulrike Wiethaus, *Agnes Blannbekin, Viennese Beguine. Life and Revelations* (Cambridge: St Bury Press, 2002).

[49] Holinka, "Sektářství v Čechách," 111, note 364.

[50] These interesting contacts are also highlighted, quoting other examples, Ogórek, *Beginki i waldensi*, 257–264.

[51] See Patschovsky, *Quellen zur Böhmischen Inquisition im 14. Jahrhundert*, 191/10. This case is also mentioned by Vondra, "Zmínky o bekyních a beghardech z jižních Čech," 32–33.

[52] Ivan Hlaváček, "Inkvisice v Čechách ve 30. letech 14. století [The Inquisition in Bohemia in the 1330s]," *Československý časopis historický* 5 (1957): 533, the actual text of the above-mentioned interrogation is edited here on p. 535/1. The so-called Brno fragment was also edited by A. Patschovsky, see Patschovsky, *Quellen zur Böhmischen Inquisition im 14. Jahrhundert*, 238–255.

[53] See Tomek, *Základy starého místopisu pražského*, 167, no 665b.

[54] Cf. František Hoffmann, *Jihlava v husitské revoluci* [Jihlava in the Hussite Revolution] (Havlíčkův Brod: Krajské nakladatelství, 1961), 133–134. For more detail on the street *U bekyň* "At the Beguines", see František Hoffmann, *Místopis města Jihlavy v první polovině 15. století* [Topography of the Town of Jihlava in the first half of the fifteenth century] (Jihlava: Moravský

by the name of Luchardis and Mechtilda who were also originally from Jihlava,[55] living in the 1330s next to the convent of the Friars Minor in Čáslav. They organized suspicious religious gatherings in the cellar of one of the houses.

Beguines also sometimes lived in so-called *domus animarum* (*seelhaus*) as one of their important tasks was to pray for the soul of the founder. Beguines are also identifiable under this label in Medieval Olomouc. The local Memorial Book, again in the second half of the fifteenth century, makes it clear that at least two of their houses were situated at the Dominican cloister of St Michael.[56] In connection with the documents from Jihlava and Olomouc, proving the presence of Beguines in these towns up until the second half of the fifteenth century, the reasons for the disappearance of the communities in contemporary Brno can be contemplated. Was there possible repression of the grey sisters here? The sources in this regard are unfortunately silent.

Conclusions

While the Bohemian and Moravian communities of the Beguines were not as large as in the Netherlands, Paris or certain imperial cities, they were inherent to the religious spectrum of these towns of the High and Late Middle Ages. Although it cannot always be demonstrated with the sources, there is reason to believe that the Beguines could be found in every larger town, while some houses remained inhabited up until the Modern Period. This is particularly valid for Prague, although here specifically Hussitism amounted to a turning point, where the majority of Beguine communities did not survive, even though in the first phase of Hussitism these women significantly engaged on the side of the radicals in public affairs. Unlike neighbouring Poland or the Hungarian Kingdom, it has not been possible to prove the direct protection of the Beguines on the part of the sovereigns and dukes for the Czech Lands. The domestic communities emerge with activity "from below" and local Beguines instead belonged to the less wealthy classes of the urban population. A detailed analysis of the Bohemian and Moravian municipal books and excise tax sources seems to be potentially promising in the future for examining the existence of Beguine communities as I have tried to demonstrate using the case study of Medieval Brno. The identification of the Beguines will not always be easy, however, and is unfortunately not even clear. It is possible to at least determine the period of the appearance of the individual communities, possibly their numbers and also the location of the Beguine houses within the urban topography.

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zemský archiv – Státní okresní archiv v Jihlavě ve spolupráci s Archivem Akademie věd české republiky v Praze, 2004), 29–30, and see also here in the index the headword: *bekyně* "Beguine," 221.

[55] Patschovsky, *Quellen zur Böhmischen Inquisition im 14. Jahrhundert*, 228.

[56] Libuše Spáčilová and Vladimír Spáčil, eds., *Památná kniha olomoucká (kodex Václava z Jihlavy) z let 1430–1492, 1528* [Memorial Book of Olomouc (Codex of Václav of Jihlava) from 1430–1492, 1528] (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2004), see here the headword: *bekyně* "Beguine," 574.

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Preachers against Sin? Utraquist Priests in Religious Life and the Case of Jan Lahvička[1]

Abstract | This study attempts to look at priests as individual actors of religious history. Their behavior reflects the typical motifs of Medieval popular Christianity. They were also confronted with the ideas of the more radical reformations of the sixteenth century. The Consistory, a clerical body of church administration, worked at building up Utraquist identity. This was initially directed against the domestic radical tradition, the Unity of Brethren, and later with the influence of the foreign Reformation. The study is an attempt at a historical sociology of religion. It tries to present priests as a specific social group. The micro-historical case study of Jan Lahvička can serve as an example of the above-mentioned thesis.

Keywords | Christianity; Utraquists; Priests; Confessions; Identity

Utraquist priests are a specific group in the history of the sixteenth century. Due to its early origin in the Hussite revolution (reformation), the Utraquist church can be viewed as a specific part of the history of the Reformation in Europe.[2] The Czech Lands were not a political centre and it remains an open question as to when their isolation was broken.[3] A thematic disproportion can be seen in contemporary historiography. While the history of the Reformation in German lands, France and England are considered part of the official story of the Reformation, no less important events in Eastern/Central Europe are not so deeply incorporated into Reformation history. The isolation of the cultural and religious events in Bohemia is not a consequence of the diligent effort for the right interpretation of history as much as a division of Europe during the Cold War.[4] The goal of this study is to analyze certain aspects of the existence of Utraquist priests as representatives of Christian ethics in the cultural and religious context.[5]

[1] This article was supported by the grant IGA_FF_2015 *Kořeny individuality: Konflikt mezi jedincem a komunitou v historii* (SGS, UP).

[2] James Palmitessa "The Reformation in Bohemia and Poland," in *A Companion to the Reformation World*, ed. Ronnie Po-Chia Hsia (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing 2004), 185.

[3] According to Josef Válka, the consequences of the fifteenth century religious wars ended with the removal of the seat of the kings to Prague at the end of the sixteenth century. Josef Válka, "Rudolfine Culture," in *Bohemia in History*, ed. Mikuláš Teich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 117–119.

[4] Western historiography has pointed out that there is a considerable disproportion in terms of research in Central European Reformation history. According to these proclamations, such a research is fundamental. See Alec Ryrie, "Introduction," in *Palgrave Advances in The European Reformation*, ed. Alec Ryrie (London: Palgrave, 2006), 2; Graham Murduck, "Central and Eastern Europe," in ibid., 36–37; Diarmaid MacCulloch, Mary Laven and Eamon Duffy, "Recent Trends in the Study of Christianity in Sixteenth Century Europe," *Renaissance Quarterly* 89 (2006): 706.

[5] For an interpretation of Utraquism as a church connected to traditional local Christianity of the Western kind, one can observe for example: Zdeněk V. David and David R. Holeton, introduction to *Bohemia Religious and Reformation Practise* 6 *(BRRP)*, eds. idem (Praha: Filosofický ústav Akademie věd, 2007), 14.

The Utraquist church has its own official theology, specific to this movement. One of the attempts to describe it was as follows "Articles, which priest and lay people *sub utraque* are obliged to withhold" from 1526. It emphasizes the tradition of the Utraquist confession formulated "according to the Compacts […] as our faithful ancestors […]neither add or remove anything with special attention to the Holy mass and the communion of the holy Body and the Blood of the Lord in both species to the old and young alike; as is the custom and law for Christians and as it is commanded by Almighty God and the Apostles and as it was defended and liberated by our ancestors and confirmed by the holy martyrs."[6] One might argue that these points are the centre of Utraquist teaching. They prevented a reunion with the Catholic Church on the right, but also differ greatly from the Lutheran and Calvinist teaching on the left.[7] A deeper insight into the consistorial agenda, which was concerned with the behavior of priests, places these findings in a new light.

Priests were very important figures in everyday life in the Reformation period as they were intermediaries between official theology and religious practice. When trying to describe the confessional character amongst commoners, two major issues need to be dealt with. The first is the often mentioned lack of sources reflecting the illiterate strata of society.[8] A second issue is the mistaken notion that believing lay persons participating in the Church were deeply religious persons. This is reinforced by the interchangeability of pre-modern times with the so-called "age of faith," despite the numerous studies demonstrating a preference of material needs over spiritual ones.[9]

The article attempts to look into Utraquist priests from a different point of view from either that of official theology or noblemen holding political power. One should not forget, however, that priests cannot be taken as representing the lowest classes. Priests have been representatives of high culture in regionally determined societies for a number of different reasons. Education, authority, contacts and particularly power as a specific form of communication made the priest part of the elite of every community. In our attempt to describe the specifics of confessional life without using key figures in history we cannot depend on the existence of such unique cases as Ginzburg's Mennochio. We therefore attempt to view priests as protagonists somewhere in between "history from below" and "history from above" in accordance with the prevailing view that both concepts are inseparably mingled.[10]

Official concepts have their meaning in the designation and generalization of historical reality. There is a need to consider concrete relationships between the individual protagonists of historical reality. This article is therefore focused on the interaction between individual persons and

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[6] "Artikulové, jež kněží a lid obecný sub utraque zachovávati povinní jsou […] podle compactat jsou […] jakž předkové naši věrní […] nic nepřidávajíce a nic neujímajíce, a zvlášť co se služby mše svaté a rozdávání Těla a Krve Páně jeho svaté starým i mladým pod obojí způsobu dotýče u řádův jiných křesťanských, tak jakž jest nám Bohem všemohoucím I apoštoly ustanoveno, našimi předky osvobozeno I dovedeno, tak jakž svatých mučedníků utvrzeno." (Klement Borový, ed., *Jednání a dopisy konsistoře katolické i utrakvistické. I. díl, Akta konsistoře utrakvistické* [Praha: I. L. Kober, 1868], 18.)

[7] Zdeněk V. David, *Nalezení střední cesty: liberální výzva utrakvistů Římu a Lutherovi* (Praha: Filosofia, 2012), 101. An English version is also available but this paper refers to the Czech version. See Zdeněk V. David, *Finding the Middle Way: The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther* (Washington: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2003). Ota Halama argues for the self-confidence of the Utraquists at the beginning of the sixteenth century and describes the obstacles to re-unification with the Catholic Church. See Ota Halama, "Utrakvistická konfese z roku 1513," *Studia historica Brunensia*, 62 (2015): 373–387.

[8] Aron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). This study refers to the Czech translation Aron Gurevich, *Nebe, peklo, svět: cesty k lidové kultuře středověku* (Jinočany: H & H, 1996), 8–12.

[9] Beat Kümin, *Drinking Matters: Public Houses and Social Exchange in Early Modern Central Europe* (London: Palgrave Macmillian, 2007), 81; David Bagchi, "Germany and the Lutheran Reformation," in Ryrie, *Palgrave Advances*, 31.

[10] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (New York: New York Univesity Press, 1978). This study refers to the Czech translation Peter Burke, *Lidová kultura v raně novověké Evropě* (Praha: Argo, 2005), 18–27.

society.[11] The micro-historical survey of the individual fate of the priest Jan Lahvička through the sources of the Utraquist consistory serves as a kind of appendix. Lahvička's case is remarkably well documented due to his constant breaking of the social norms of his times.

An Utraquist Priest between the Church and Community

One of the important questions concerning the role of Utraquist priests is whether it is possible to use the acculturation thesis within the context of pre-modern popular piety. To what extent was the Christian doctrine accepted by the wider social strata? There are two possible acknowledged interpretations. Jean Delumeau perceives Medieval society as imperfectly Christianized and points out its intensive superstitious piety. He argues that the wide spread of Christian doctrine is related to the Reformation and the Catholic reaction to it, i.e., the Council of Trent.[12] The British historian John Bossy follows the same intentions but describes them differently. He perceives Medieval society as naturally Christian. This natural Christianity is based on the relationship between the priest and his community, not the indoctrination. Protestant churches as well as Catholics forced parishioners to be indoctrinated in the way of religious typographical tyranny. As will become apparent this attitude was actually impossible for Utraquism. This article views Utraquism as a movement based on this local, natural Christianity based on communal relationships.[13]

The Utraquist Reformation is not only specific in terms of theological orthodoxy but also in orthopraxis, probably even more so.[14] Utraquist is not represented mainly by the noble elite but can be viewed as Zdeněk V. David argues as "the Commoners' Church."[15] The power is not in the hands of the bishop but the consistory of priests. This is a kind of presbyterial system with priests as key figures. The Consistory deals with a number of phenomena which can be viewed as relics of Medieval not institutionalized natural Christianity. This was very important because Utraquism is interpreted as a movement of the domestic Medieval tradition of reformed Catholic Christianity. The Reformation, both Protestant and Catholic, had a deep impact on the European religious sphere. Utraquism was influenced by this new Reformation movement although it still lay heavily in its own Medieval tradition. These two influences also impacted the lives of Utraquist priests.

The focus will now be on an explanation of the last part of the title of the article title, preaching against sin. Preaching was an important part of the oral culture. It was a key element of mass

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[11] Eric R. Wolf, *Europe and the People Without History* (Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: University of California Press, 1990), ix–xi.

[12] This theory is an assumption in Delumeau's book about the social history of the Counter-Reformation. See Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism between Luther and Voltaire: A New View of the Counter-Reformation* (London: Burns and Oats; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1977).

[13] John Bossy, "Blood and Baptism: Kinship, Community and Christianity in Western Europe from the Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries," *Studies in Church History* 10 (1973): 129–143; John Bossy, *Christianity in the West 1400–1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985). This study refers to the Czech translation John Bossy, *Křesťanství na Západě 1400–1700* (Praha: Karolinum, 2008). Concerning the relationship between the above-mentioned works: Philip M. Soergel, "Popular Religion," in Ryrie, *Palgrave Advances*, 243.

[14] Jan Milíč Lochman, *Zeal for Truth and Tolerance: The Ecumenical Challenge of the Czech Reformation* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1996), 28–29. Also according to Pavel Kůrka the practise of the Utraquist church was more significant than theology. See Pavel Kůrka, *Kostelníci, úředníci, měšťané: Samospráva farností v utrakvismu* (Praha: Historický ústav, 2010), 159.

[15] Utraquism as "the commoners' church" was connected to the development of towns and its exceptional position during and after the Hussite religious wars. The legitimity of Utraquism was constructed in competition with the nobility. Zdeněk V. David, "Utraquism as Commoners' Church," *BRRP* 8 (2008): 161–164.

communication in pre-modern society.[16] Preaching has had a long tradition in terms of maintaining the moral integrity of priest's community.[17] In order to maintain moral integrity, priests had to use the terminology of sin which codified moral offences. This role of the priesthood dates back to Medieval period[18] and directly connects Utraquist priests to the tradition of Medieval Christianity. Preaching was also the main tool of Reformation propaganda in the sixteenth century. It is sometimes viewed as a key element of the Reformation, omitting its role in older history.[19] Preaching played an important role both at the beginning of the Hussite "revolution" and in the later history of the movement.

The priest Jiřík of St Nicholas in Prague sent a letter to the consistory in 12 April 1564 with the apology: "that he was acting peacefully, scorning sins and preaching the Gospel teachings and if any fallacy can be found in his writing, he was willing to submit to edification peacefully."[20] Jiřík emphasizes the fulfillment of his duties and therefore his moral preaching fits in line with the above-mentioned schemes. His rhetoric became more interesting when he was accused of heresy. He should deviate from traditional Utraquist doctrine and side with radical Reformation "preaching of the Zwinglian mass."[21] He tried to defend himself by pointing out that he had preached against sin. By emphasizing the preaching against sin, he tried to proclaim his confessional identity.

A similar attitude to writing on edification of Utraquist priests can be found from 1526. The first article of the twelve proclaimed that every cleric and priest should preach freely "against pikhart heresy following the old and new orders of the gracious king as well as mortal sins as it is ordered by the law of the Lords and the Compactats."[22] The article also points out, however, that they should avoid personal invectives against concrete individuals. It is once again apparent that confessional disputes are placed alongside preaching against sin.

The critique of Picardy is one of the traditional ways of constructing Utraquist identity. At the very beginning of the sixteenth century, Mikuláš Konáč composed a dialogue of a faithful Bohemian speaking against a member of the Unity of Brethren. The Bohemian describes key aspects of the Utraquist movement and its ambivalent relationship with the Catholic Church. The Bohemian explains that the Utraquist have never separated themselves from the Catholic Church.[23] A similar topic is the main theme of one of the most important chapters of the Bílejovský chronicle in which the term Picard can be considered a superordinate term for all "new" confessions.[24] A wide reflection on the theory of sin can be found in Utraquist tracts – from the top of the official hierarchy, represented by Bohuslav Bílejovský or his friend and successor

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[16] Martin Čápský, *Město pod vládou kazatelů: charizmatičtí náboženští vůdci ve střetu s městskou radou v pozdně středověkých českých korunních zemích* (Praha: Argo, 2015), 19.

[17] Kaspar von Grayerz, Kim Siebenhüner, introduction to *Religion und Gewalt. Konflikte, Rituale, Deutungen (1500–1800)* by eds. K. von Grayerz, Kim Siebenhüner (Göttingen: Vandenhoek – Ruprecht, 2006), 9–25.

[18] In fact these questions were crucial for Christianity in the ancient beginnings of the movement. For the present topic it is important to deal with the Medieval attitude of clergy to the issue of sin.

[19] Henry Kamen, *Early Modern European Society* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2005), 222–223.

[20] "Že se pokojně choval a žehral na hříchy a evangelické učení že kázal a spis, který učinil a v něm nějaký blud že by se nacházel, že se podává k naučení a pokojně se chovati chce." Julius Augustin Pažout, ed., *Jednání a dopisy konzistoře katolické a pod obojí. Nové řady díl I. (1562–1570)* (Praha: Historický spolek, 1906), 55.

[21] "Chceli on Cvingliánsků mši míti." Ibid., 54.

[22] "proti bludům pikhartským podle dávního i nynějšího rozkázání krále milostivého i proti smrtedlným hříchům, jakž zákon páně i compactata ukazují" Julius Pažout, ed., *Jednání a dopisy konzistoře pod obojí způsobou přijímajících a jiné listiny téže strany (1525–1562)* (Praha: Historický spolek, 1906), 22.

[23] Mikuláš Konáč z Hodíškova, *Dialogus, v kterémž Čech s pikartem rozmlúvá, že sú se bratří valdenští všetečně a škodlivě od obú stran oddělili* (Praha, 1515), knihopis no 4273; A4b–A5a.

[24] Ota Halama, "Kněz Bohuslav Bílejovský a jeho Česká kronika," in *Bohuslava Bílejovského Kronika česká*, ed. Ota Halama (Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, 2011), 15.

Pavel Bydžovský to the priests from the periphery of the Utraquist influence.[25] These include remarkable literary works such as *Masopust* by Vavřinec Leander Rvačovský or *Duchovní město* by Václav Porcius Vodňanský.[26] There is no doubt that these writing were reproduced orally and were used by the above-mentioned priests in their preaching.[27] One should not forget that the importance of the preaching was not only in the communication relationship between the priest and lay people, but also in the making of the specific speech of theology and its connection with visual culture.[28]

The Priest in the Light of the Acts of the Consistory

The image presented by older historiography was made up of the ideological and ethical decline of later Utraquism.[29] It was difficult, however, to obtain a different one when we consider the task of the consistory. The consistory had to deal with cases which were problematic, not necessarily those where everything was as it was supposed to be. It task was not to award medals for perfect clerical duty but was concerned with cases which dealt with the disruption of unity in the church. Harmony and unity were highly evaluated virtues of society.[30] It is only logical that the consistory was promoting this ideal, wherein even the priests themselves were supposed to lead society to this ideal "especially in times like these, leading them to the unity."[31]

Even though the image of moral decadence is a rather simplistic view, the entire situation is blurred. The following lines are concerned with a number of important points of the consistorial agency which allows us to open up the question of the sociology of religion in historical sources and the behavior of the people historical society.[32]

A traditional question is the lifestyle of common priests. The Reformation and Trent Counter-Reformation led to establishing the catechism and disciplination of priests as well as religious life in general. Prior to this period, transgressions of priests against official doctrine had been quite common. Priests were often only poorly educated and did not differ much from other community members. These problems were regularly a part of the consistory agency. Priestly

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[25] Pavel Bydžovský, *Knížky o přijímání Těla a krve našeho Pána našeho Ježíše Krista pod obojí způsobu* (Praha, 1538–1538), knihopis no K01393. In this tractate Bydžovský is polemicising with Luther and Melanchton. According to Z. V. David, Bydžovský deals with a critical reflection of work by leading figures of the German Reformation. See David, *Nalezení střední cesty*, 210–211. A different tractate deals with the theory of the seven deadly sins, see Pavel Bydžovský, *Tento spis ukazuje, že biskupové biskupa, a biskup kněží a kněží těla a krve Boží posvěcovati mají,* (Praha, 1543), knihopis no K01396.

[26] Vavřinec Leander Rvačovský, *Masopust* (Praha, 1580); Knihovna Královské kanonie premonstrátů na Strahově, Sbírka rukopisů, Václav Porcius Vodňanský, *Duchovní město*, sign. DB II 4. For the way of use of the seven deadly sins theory in these writings, see Radim Červenka, "Proti kněžskému neřádu, krve křesťanské vylévání, lakomství, svatokupectví, smilství, pýše a neposluhování svátostmi: Sedmero hříchů a utrakvisté v 16. století," *Folia Historica Bohemica* 30, (2015): 257–277.

[27] Peter Burke, "Communication," in *A Concise Companion to History*, ed. Ulinka Rublack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 160.

[28] Martina Šárovcová, "Jan Hus on Illuminated Manuscripts of the Bohemian Renaissance," *BRRP* 8 (2011): 302–303.

[29] For example, Ferdinand Hrejsa, *Česká konfese: její vznik, podstata a dějiny* (Praha: Česká akademie pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1912), 4; Josef Janáček, *České dějiny: Doba předbělohorská* (Praha: Academia, 1972), 198–199.

[30] Gudrun Gleba, *Die Gemeinde als alternatives Ordnungsmodell: Zur sozialen und politischen Differenzeirung des Gemeindebegriffs in den innerständischen Auseinandersetzungen des 14. und 15. Jahrhunderts* (Köln: Böhlau, 1989), 9–11.

[31] "Zvláště těchto časů, i k svornosti napomínali." Pažout, *Jednání a dopisy konzistoře (1525–1562)*, 48.

[32] Josef Válka, "Tolerance či koexistence? (K povaze soužití různých náboženských vyznání v českých zemích v 15. až 17. století)," *Studia Comeniana et Historica* 18 (1988): 240. Key figures in Bohemian and especially Moravian sixteenth century religious history – the historian Josef Válka paid a great deal of attention to the religious situation of this era. The result of these efforts is the concept of Christianity overflowing confessional frontiers in the Czech Lands before the Battle of White Mountain in 1620. A representative picture of Válka's ideas can be seen in summary in an anthology of his work: Josef Válka, *Husitství na Moravě; Náboženská snášenlivost; Jan Amos Komenský* (Brno: Matice moravská, 2005).

robes were quite a common issue as well as transgressions against the mandatory shaved circled hair – the tonsure: "priestly robes, walking, boldly everybody should hold, unless for a good and pious reason."[33] A later entry mentions concrete recommendations to avoid fashion excesses such as hats, berets, shirts with ruffs, short dresses or "not walking to the altar in slippers."[34] These recommendations were quite similar to Catholic ones.

Another topic was married priests and priest living with concubines. Utraquism had never abandoned celibacy and allowed clerical marriages. Married priests were actually quite common in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, both amongst Utraquists and Catholics.[35] Interpretation of these cases is quite challenging. Married priests could be found from the time of the introduction of celibacy in Bohemia in 1143. John Bossy proposed the hypothesis that most of the priests honored celibacy. Those who did not were anomalies in distant areas far from church authorities. He notes that there were differences in the perception of the marriage of priests amongst parishioners.[36] It is possible that Bohemia in the sixteenth century might be this case. A notification to clerical adepts from 1564 reminds them: "*Item coelibatum* they have to promise, they may bear holy purity and avoid sex with women."[37] A common justification of the priests is the reason for the reminder, declaring that they did not know about the restriction of celibacy.

It is possible to assume, however, that long coexistence with confessions permitting marriages among priests might led to the interpretation that these marriages were acceptable. The above-mentioned Vavřinec Leandr Rvačovský might be taken as example in support of this thesis. He was married and even had eleven children after he received the office of dean in Slaný. He even requested a new wife, probably due to the death of his first wife. He was definitely not a Protestant, however, not only because of the conservative opinions presented in his works, but primarily because he was expelled from Slaný and accused of observance of old Utraquist ways.[38]

This story from Rvačovský's life is an example of an idiosyncrasy, probably motivated by a pragmatic point of view. According to Pavel Kolář, who studied consistorial acts from 1562 to 1570, the eclecticism of parish priests led to this idiosyncrasy.[39] It is not surprising that the opinions of parish priests were intertwined with many different confessions. The Czech Lands were the crossroads for reformations and it had to difficult for poorly educated priests to maintain orthodoxy. Zikmund Winter describes this complicated situation by using a historical proverb "how many millers, that many mills, how many friars that many faiths."[40] This image by Winter is one of great confessional hybridity. Utraquists were a kind of defense against Protestantism. Moreover, this was later accompanied by Recatholization personified by the Jesuits. Despite this fact, Z. Winter viewed this Recatholization as unsuccessful. One example from Jindřichův Hradec involves Jesuits reporting that a Hussite priest converted 500 people, while Jesuits converted only 14.[41]

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[33] "kněžský oděv, chod, pleš, všickni máme zachovati, lečby toho bezelstná a hodná příčina byla." Pažout, *Jednání a dopisy konzistoře (1525–1562)*, 23.

[34] "v pantovflích k oltáři aby nechodil." Ibid., 149–150.

[35] Noemi Rejchrtová, "Ženy na utrakvistických farách," in *Husitství – reformace – renesance: Sborník k 60. narozeninám F. Šmahela*, vol. 3, ed. Jaroslav Pánek (Praha: Historický ústav 1994), 752.

[36] Bossy, *Křesťanství na Západě,* 89.

[37] "Item coelibatum mají slíbiti, mohú-li čistotu svatú snésti a ženského pohlaví vystříhati." Pažout, *Jednání a dopisy konzistoře (1562–1570)*, 71.

[38] Zikmund Winter, *Život církevní v Čechách: kulturně-historický obraz z 15. a 16. století* (Praha: Česká akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1896), 205; Josef Lacina, *Paměti královského města Slaného: Za svobody i v porobě*, (Slaný: R. Vokoun, 1885), 70.

[39] Pavel Kolář, "Utraquist Liturgical Practise in Later Sixteenth Century," *BRRP* 8 (2011): 234.

[40] "kolik mlynářů tolik měř, kolik farářu tolik věř." Winter, *Život církevní v Čechách*, 127.

[41] Ibid., 143.

The issue of doctrinal deviations is the main part of the consistorial agency. In a record from 1526 the consistory warned the priest before starting anything new.[42] Its was traditional Utraquist rhetoric, being a kind of legitimation strategy focused on old teachings. Anything problematic was labeled as new. Similar rhetoric was present in *Kronika česká* by Bohuslav Bílejovský, rightly considered the ideological manifesto of Utraquism.[43]

The reactions of the friars themselves are important. They proclaimed ignorance and a willingness to be instructed, for example, the married priest Václav.[44] His confession of faith, which he presented to the consistory is basically Utraquist, but there are a number of problematic points: the marriage of priests, the idea of predestination and an emphasis on justification by faith. The idea of *Sola fide* is a key point for the entire Protestant Reformation.[45] A specific attitude to this idea was present in the Bohemian Reformation, as can be seen in the thinking of the priest Václav. He concludes his letter, however, with the proclamation that he did not reject "better instruction" and if he received it, he would be willing to accept it.

Tobiáš, a friar of Církvice, also wanted to act according to the consistory orders. He employed a wide range of arguments in his defense, some of them being fairly curious. He did not celebrate the mass in proper dress because his sacristans had locked his garments in a chest which he did not have a key for. He did not celebrate mass during weekdays because his parishioners did not have interest in them, etc. The consistory threatened him with expulsion because he was trying to cover up his preaching of Lutheran and Zwinglian teachings. Tobiáš also concluded that he would follow the consistory in everything.[46] This case can be considered an example of a pragmatic attitude.

Priests stubbornly holding their views against the consistory were rare cases. Pavel, a friar at the Church of St Havel persistently refused instructions from the consistory. The consistory tried to explain this situation several times, but with no use. According to Z. V. David, the consistory applied this strategy of peaceful dialogue on purpose.[47] This rejection of the authoritarian attitude might have been caused by bitter experience from beginnings of the Bohemian Reformation. Nevertheless, this case ended with priest Pavel being expelled from the Utraquist church, a harsh punishment in comparison with typical consistory proceedings.[48]

The case of priest Matěj of Prosik is an important addition to the question of confessional disputes. He abandoned Utraquist ways and wanted to join the sub una faction. He refused to serve the Eucharist to children and old people and celebrate the holiday of Master Jan Hus.[49] This case is an interesting example of the main differences between Utraquists and Catholics and is also the reason why was it was impossible to reunite the Utraquist and Catholic churches.

The above-mentioned cases from the everyday life of priests managed by an Utraquist consistory can serve as examples of the non-authoritative attitude of the consistory. Kolář emphasizes the administrative decentralization of the Utraquist consistory in the second half of the sixteen century. There are several interpretations of this situation. One interpretation proposes that the Utraquist church had lost its vitality, lost its revolutionary heirloom from the late Medieval period

[42] Pažout, *Jednání a dopisy konzistoře (1525–1562)*, 20.

[43] Petr Hlaváček, "Reflection on the Religious and Political Roles of the Czechs in Europe in the Early Modern Age," *BRRP* 8 (2011): 333.

[44] Pažout, *Jednání a dopisy konzistoře (1525–1562)*, 336–338.

[45] Berndt Hamm "Was ist reformatorische Rechtefertigungslehre?," *Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche* 83 (1986): 1–38.

[46] Pažout, *Jednání a dopisy konzistoře (1562–1570)*, 45–46.

[47] David, *Nalezení střední cesty*, 21–22.

[48] Pažout, *Jednáni a dopisy konzistoře (1525–1562)*, 139.

[49] Pažout, *Jednáni a dopisy konzistoře (1562–1570)*, 43.

when the Hussite movement began.[50] An analysis made, however, by Pavel Kůrka does not reveal any serious problems concerning its practical functionality.[51] Another interpretation turns to the ideology of the entire movement. The Utraquists despised the monarchical methods of the Catholic Church because of bitter historical experience.[52] This should have been the reason why the consistory relied more on dialogue and mutual agreement. There is one last interpretation which should be taken into account, however, which is built on the wider context of the social history of the Reformation. The research of Peter Blickle points out the growing importance of local communities (*Gemeinde*). The community status was legitimized by the rule of "common good" (*Gemmeinnutz*). He proposes that the community was the birthplace of the Lutheran Reformation. The existence of community ruled according to the principle of a common good was a growing alternative for political life in late Medieval and Early Modern times. The application of Reformation thoughts was connected with the development of community life.[53]

The situation in the Czech Lands seems to have been similar. There was a great increase in the political importance of towns during the Hussite revolution, especially in Bohemia. It was in these communities where Hussite teachings were formed. Moreover after the reorientation of the nobles to the more attractive Lutheran confession in the sixteen century, Utraquism remained the dominant confession in the towns. Lacking economic and political power, the Consistory had to negotiate with the community in a dialogical manner. This might serve to explain the permanent dispute in the consistorial agency.

The Unorderly Priest Jan Lahvička

Jan Lahvička has left quite a remarkable record in the Consistorial agency in which he appeared regularly over the years 1541–1556. The reason was, as usually is in such cases, constant transgressions against the norms. Jan Lahvička was in conflict with two sides, the Consistory and the community he was living in. His fate can in many ways be used as affirmation of the above-mentioned statements, but this possibility to look into the individual level of history is quite unique.

Priests could hold significant power in his city. Josef Hrdlička, in his precise micro-historical analysis of Jindřichův Hradec, noted that priests even attended sessions of the city council.[54] The office of the spiritual Shepherd was closely connected with his flock and any disturbance of this connection might led to the expulsion of the Shepherd.[55] The case of Vavřinec Leandr Rvačovský which was previously mentioned might serve as an example of this.

The story of Jan Lahvička begins with this background. The first record dates back to 1 July 1541 and mentions the conflict between Jan Lahvička and the citizens of Nymburk.[56] The Dean of Nymburk Lahvička is admonished to adopt peaceful behavior. The admonition was caused

[50] For example, Martin Nodl "Česká reformace," in *Umění české reformace (1380–1620)*, eds. Kateřina Horníčková and Michal Šroněk (Praha: Academia, 2010), 28, 33.

[51] Kůrka, *Kostelníci, úředníci, měšťané*, 16.

[52] David, *Nalezení střední cesty*, 25.

[53] Peter Blickle, "Reformation und kommunaler Geist: Die Antwort der Theologen auf den Verfassungswandel im Spätmittelalter," *Historische Zeitschrift* 261 (1995): 369–371.

[54] Josef Hrdlička, *Víra a moc: politika, komunikace a protireformace v předmoderním městě – Jindřichův Hradec 1590–1630* (České Budějovice: Jihočeská univerzita v Českých Budějovicích, 2013), 101–102.

[55] Josef Petráň, "Sociální kategorie v Komenského Listech do nebe," *Studia Comeniana et Historica* 4 (1972): 10.

[56] Pažout, *Jednání a dopisy konzistoře (1525–1562)*, 175.

by his preaching in which he offended the town people. This transgression was reprimanded by Utraquist articles from 1526. Another scandal was caused by his life with his "girlfriend." The conflict was begun by a violation of priestly moral standards which were guarded by the community.[57] This transgression was perceived as a violation of the principle of withholding order, the so-called "common good."[58] Lahvička built his apology on the rhetoric of his tranquil behavior and intention to lead the community to "love and concordance."

Despite Lahvička's assurance, the conflict escalated further. Neither his frequent admonitions to law and justice, nor his writings denying the veracity of the accusations, served to persuade the consistory of his innocence. The consistory initially declared that the disobedient priest would be defended, but later came to the conclusion that despite Lahvička's rhetoric, there was no willingness to seek correction.[59] The issues of the town councilors of Nymburk were specified in later records. Lahvička offended two councilors – one was slandered of adultery and the other a bastard. He also mocked the entire town council and encouraged the townsfolk to an inversion of roles – subjects should behave like their lords.[60] It seems that Lahvička made use of carnival motifs in his rhetoric, as the inversion of roles is typical for carnival culture. The use of a dishonest culture of humor might be easily perceived as an insult. Similar conflicts quite commonly accompanied this carnival symbolism.[61]

Jan Lahvička probably did not have all that much support throughout all the classes of town society. His behavior did not only outrage the political elite: "And many people gathered and murmured, why is this behavior endured and led to the attack."[62] It is consequently more relevant to evaluate it as a conflict between a priest and a community than as a fight between fractions in the community. The entire conflict led to an expected outcome: "We ordered the priest Jan Lahvička to stop preaching and exercising the office of friar in Nymburk and he has to warrant that he will do so."[63] Lahvička appealed to justice and law for two weeks but in the end required a new assignment in the town of Brod, although the Consistory did not approve his relocation.

It is obvious that Lahvička could not stay in Nymburk any longer. He appeared as dean in Chrudim in 1548 when he was asked to testify against the poacher Jan Nosal by the draper Jan Křeček. Lahvička did so and accused the poacher of bragging about his hunting success during their common journey to Prague. Lahvička's stay in Chrudim was not spared, however, of conflicts either. This time he was accused of holding heretical articles:

> First about the Virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, especially on the remembered day of the incarnation of Jesus Christ, he said that when she was a young woman some young man came to her and that they performed corporeal acts of indecency. Second about Corpus Christi, that what priests present on the altar is nothing more than common pies, and while administering the Sacrament

[57] Kamen, *Early Modern European Society*, 178.

[58] Blickle, *Reformation und kommunaler Geist,* 371–372.

[59] Pažout, *Jednání a dopisy konzistoře (1525–1562)*, 176.

[60] The Utraquist writer Vavřinec Leandr Rvačovský described the origins of carnival in an inversion of roles between subjects and their lords, see Vavřinec Leandr Rvačovský, *Massopust*, ed. Dušan Šlosar (Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2008), 45.

[61] The most celebrated example of this behaviour was described with use of the micro-historical method in a work about the village of Montaillou. A Czech translation of the book is also available. Emmanuel la Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error* (New York: George Braziller, 1978). This study refers to the Czech translation Emmanuel la Roy Ladurie, *Montaillou, okcitánská vesnice v letech 1294–1324* (Praha: Argo, 2005).

[62] "I sběhlo se mnoho lidí a reptali někteří, proč mu to trpí, veleli k šturmu udeřiti." Pažout, *Jednání a dopisy konzistoře (1525–1562)*, 178.

[63] "Rozkázáno jest knězi Janu Lahvičkovi, aby víc v Nymburce nekázal a ouřadu kněžského tu v Nymburce víc neužíval a to aby uručil." Ibid., 179.

> he did not pay any respectfulness nor used venerable words, which all decent priests use. Third, that he plays down holidays and fasts, does not teach them, as the Church does, nor announces them.[64]

These accusations point out two important elements of late Utraquism. Once again we can see proof of wide idiosyncrasy in the teachings of Utraquist priests. It also points out the conservative side of Utraquism which had quite a lot in common with Catholic attitudes. Utraquists venerated their own saints including the Virgin Mary. This question was quite sensitive for Utraquists. An attack against the virginity of the Virgin Mary was heresy for Christian confessions in general but one has to keep in mind that Utraquists had a unique attitude to the cult of saints in the context of the Reformation milieu. Special attention was paid to the martyrs of the Bohemian Reformation, especially Jan Hus and Jeroným of Prague.[65] The second point is one of the most central teachings of Utraquism and that is denying that Christ is present in Eucharist and an emphasis on receiving the Eucharist *sub utraque*. Jan Lahvička was well aware of this. He defended himself by proclaiming that he had always believed and taught communion of both species – blood and body and he also believed in the real presence of Christ in these two Eucharistic substances.[66] The last point worth noting in this accusation is the issue of holidays and fasts. Fasts were a particularly important part in the process of repentance and were supposed to absolve the believer of his sins. It was a powerful tool in the believer's struggle against his sinful body.[67] This is the reason why fasts played an important part in the rhetoric of confessional conflicts, as can be seen from the studies of Zikmund Winter.[68]

Jan Lahvička denied all his accusations as in the case mentioned above. He even brought a number of witnesses who were supposed to testify to his orthodoxy. All his efforts were futile in he end, however, and this time he was punished more severely, being imprisoned for three months.[69] The church career of Jan Lahvička was complicated by one more thing, this being his suspicious relationship with Anna Mírkovna, who has been living with him in his mansion although she was married to another man. Lahvička himself proclaimed that she was his aunt, however, the Consistory did not believe him and kept referring to her as his "girlfriend." The genuine nature of this relationship is unfortunately impossible to define on the basis of the Consistorial acts. The Consistory found, however, his explanation insufficient and convicted Lahvička, "he was found guilty of impudent sin."[70] The main reason for this strict judgement was the fact that Anna was married. The Consistory here acted as a moral authority and the Utraquist office is in this attitude similar to those other Reformation consistories, all of which were preoccupied with moral, especially with adultery, offences and drunkenness.[71]

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[64] "První o Panně Mariji, matce Pána našeho Jesu Krista a zvlášť na den památný vtělení Pánna Krista, kterák by samotna byla mladice a k ní samotné přišel mládenec, užívajíc k tomu i hnutí života svého neslušné. Druhý o Těle Božím, že to co se od kněze na oltáři ukazuje, nic není než jako by jiné koláčky byly, a při posluhování velebnými svátostmi žádné uctivost ani slov, kterýchž všickni věrní kněží požívají, nepožívá. Třetí, svátky, posty lehčí o nich neuče jakž církev učí, ani jich oznamuje." Ibid., 255.

[65] The theme of the cult of saints in the Bohemian Reformation was described by Ota Halama who pointed out the reduction in the Utraquist attitude in the question of saints. The special role of Saint Jan Hus and Saint Jerome of Prague is the most significant sign of Utraquist veneration of saints. See Ota Halama, *Otázka svatých v české reformaci: její proměny od doby Karla IV. do doby České konfese* (Brno: L. Marek, 2002).

[66] "A z strany svátosti těla a krve Páně že jest vždycky věřil a učil, a věří a učí, že jest tu práve Tělo Pána Krista a pravá krev jeho, a tak chce do své smrti věřiti a učiti, jakž i svědkové ti vysvědčují." Pažout, *Jednání a dopisy konzistoře (1525–1562),* 256.

[67] Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of the Western Guilt Culture, 13th to 16th Centuries* (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 1990). This study refers to the Czech translation Jean Delumeau, *Hřích a strach: pocit viny na evropském Západě ve 13. až 18. století* (Praha: Volvox Globator, 1998), 227.

[68] For example, Winter, *Život církevní*, 93.

[69] Pažout, *Jednání a dopisy konzistoře (1525–1562)*, 256–257.

[70] "nestydatým hříchem vinným býti ho uznáváme." Ibid., 255.

[71] Kamen, *European Early Modern Society*, 178.

This is not the end, however, of the story of Jan Lahvička and his disputes with the Consistory. Another one emerged after the death of Anna Mírkovna in 1553. Lahvička, at that time a friar in Pardubice, was in dispute with her widowed husband Ambrož Příbek. Ambrož demanded the return of the possessions of his deceased wife. Despite Lahvička's frequent assertions that he would return all of her belongings, he did not do so. Later threats from Příbek were a sign of escalation in their conflict. Příbek allegedly threatened to shoot Lahvička. When Lahvička later saw Příbek with a rifle, Lahvička immediately reported him and Příbek was placed in prison. Although the Consistory ordered Lahvička to give the things back to Příbek, Lahvička did not have to pay compensation for Příbek's imprisonment, despite his efforts.[72] Two years later this dispute emerged yet again in the Consistorial agenda.[73] Lahvička still had not returned the items to Příbek. This time it was Lahvička who was imprisoned until his friends gave back all the disputed possessions. Ambrož Příbek was satisfied and thanked the Consistory, "and priest Jan went away silently," both from our historical inquiry and the consistorial acts.[74]

The case of Jan Lahvička and Anna Mírkovna demonstrates how problematic the question was of priests living with women, whether they be wives, concubines or female cooks. Even Emperor Ferdinand I himself tried to legalize not only the communion of both species, but also marriages for priests.[75] A number of intellectuals also supported this idea, for example, Havel Phaeton Želanský. He supported clerical marriage because priests should serve as an example for the community. Moreover, the virtues of marriage were the only protection from the temptation of the devil.[76]

Conclusion

The position of late Utraquism was complicated. Utraquist roots in Medieval Hussite heresy prevented a reunion with the Catholic Church and their conservatism did not allow them to incorporate fully into the new European Reformation. With this context in mind this study attempts to examine priests as individual protagonists in religious history. Their behavior reflects the typical motifs of Medieval popular Christianity. They were also confronted with ideas of more radical reformations of the sixteenth century. The Consistory, a clerical body of church administration, was working at building up Utraquist identity. This was initially against the domestic radical tradition, the Unity of Brethren, usually called "Picards," and later with the influence of the foreign Reformation.

The study is an attempt at a historical sociology of religion. It tries to present priests as a specific social group. The source analysis has indicated that preaching against sin had been an important element, used in moral rhetoric as well as in the construction of Utraquist identity. Another important aspect is the existence of a large number of deviations from official Utraquist doctrine, which point to the continuation of undisciplined Medieval Christianity. Confessional hybridity was a common occurrence in practice although the Consistory refused to admit it. It repeatedly reprimanded priests and tried to instruct them in traditional doctrine. The growing influence of a communities in the political sphere involved the weakening power of the Consistory to enforce its demands. The Consistory had to negotiate its demands in dialogue with the

[72] Pažout, *Jednání a dopisy konzistoře (1525–1562)*, 309–311.

[73] Ibid., 330–332.

[74] "A kněz Jan mlče odešel." Ibid., 332.

[75] Anton Ludwig Frind, ed., *Urkunden über die Bewilligung des Laienkelchs in Böhmen unter Kaiser Ferdinand I.* (Praha: Verlag der k. böhm. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1873), 11.

[76] Havel Phaëton Žalanský, "Kniha o ctnosti anjelské," in *Žena není příšera, ale nejmilejší stvoření boží: diskursy manželství v české literatuře raného novověku*., eds. Jana Ratajová and Lucie Storchová (Praha: Scriptorium, 2009), 539.

parish community. This micro-historical case study of Jan Lahvička can serve as an example of the above-mentioned thesis. Due to the number of his delicts, Jan Lahvička left behind a quite remarkable trace in consistorial acts. Lahvička was in conflict with both the Consistory and his community. He was reprimanded for his theological views as well as for his moral transgressions, in particular for his life with a woman married to another man.

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Standing Firm in Times of Change: The Poor Clares and the Town of Cheb/Eger in the Early Modern Period[1]

Abstract | The study deals with the relationship between a female monastery and an Early Modern town. While in the Middle Ages female cloistered monasteries (mostly inhabited by nuns of noble origin) were usually separated from their urban environment, the Reformation brought about a radical change. Monasteries came under scrutiny, some of them were harassed and some dissolved. Others survived but became dependent on the momentary situation in the town. The monastery of the Poor Clares in Cheb/Eger was one of those that survived. The town council, nonetheless, seized the land property of the monastery and made use of the economic resources of the monastery. The restoration, however, of the Catholic Church in the town in the seventeenth century brought no major change in this and the town continued to exercise control over the economy of the monastery. This control was enabled and justified this time by the fact that the new nuns were mostly daughters of the local citizens.

Keywords | Religious Orders; Poor Clares; Early Modern Towns; Urban Elites; Confessionalisation; Cheb (Eger)

Introduction

The town of Cheb was undoubtedly an important town as well as a centre for the entire region throughout the Middle Ages as well as Early Modern Times. The region of Cheb belonged to the Stauf domain in the twelve and thirteenth centuries and therefore also became part of the Přemysl Otakar II occupation. After the battle at Mühldorf in 1322, this part of the Empire became the pledge which Louis IV gave the Czech King John of Bohemia. In the Luxembourg and Jagellonian eras, the town of Cheb grew into a central power for the surrounding area and gave rise to a powerful structure known in the Middle Ages by the apt name of a "city-state" (*der Stadtstaat*). The powerful and mighty town could boast a population of approximately 10,000 in the years 1390–1450 and consequently became the political, economic and cultural centre of the region. The key to such success lied in its position as a pledge town which made it independent from the ruler as well as of the council of the Czech kingdom. The autonomy of Cheb was first harmed by the centralization attempts of the reigning Habsburg dynasty. While the town managed to maintain its external image and inner structure even after the turn of the seventeenth

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century, the town was successfully forced to pay taxes and financially support the ongoing war with the Turks in accordance with the requests of the Emperor. This was the case with all of the towns under the Czech Crown. Cheb was in this respect comparable to other Czech towns in the first quarter of the eighteenth century.[2]

The Conventuals or Dominicans could only settle in large and rich Medieval towns at the time of massive expansion of the mendicant orders which began at the beginning of the thirteenth century.[3] Both orders also established their convents in Cheb (the Conventuals around 1256, the Dominicans as late as 1294). Cheb hosted, among other orders, a commandry of the Teutonic Order and towards the end of thirteenth century there were also the Knights of the Cross with a Red Star.[4] The monasteries were viewed by the townsmen, however, as a potential threat to the town economy and soon found their position in the organism of the town. The order members conducted church services, gave sermons and heard confessions in the environment of their churches. They without any doubt responded to the topical questions of town life. As a result of the order peregrination, they brought the latest knowledge of various fields into the cities and their houses became temporary homes to some of the outstanding personalities of the orders. The inhabitants of the order communities guaranteed that in times of epidemic outbursts there were enough competent people to provide spiritual help to more of the sick than a parish priest and his chaplains could manage. Each religious house, including a convent of a mendicant order, represented an important market for the town's craftsmen products. A cloister was also a proper place to live for the many townsman who joined the order which had their cloister in the town.[5]

The integration of the cloister into the town organism to the extent that was typical of male monasteries was unheard of for nuns and their convents. Above all, it was only permissible in the Middle Ages to build a convent of Poor Clares or Dominican nuns inside the town walls. The fact that the idea of radical poverty in Central Europe was primarily accepted by rather high society led to the logical consequence that the cloisters of those orders were mostly founded by female members of the reigning dynasty. At the time of the founding or entering of the "second" generation, they were financially supported by property dedicated to them in surrounding villages and homesteads. They were inhabited by the royal or aristocratic founders, their relatives and ladies of their courts.[6] The cloisters were more open to the nobility in the future in comparison

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[2] Cf. F. Kubů, *Chebský městský stát. Počátky a vrcholné období do počátku 16. století* (České Budějovice: Veduta, 2006); F. Kubů, "Das Egerland im Wandel des Mittelalters," in *Bayerisch-böhmische Nachbarschaft*, eds. F. Boldt, R. Hilf (München: Bayerische Landeszentrale für politische Bildungsarbeit, 1992), 73–83. Concerning Cheb and its history, see E. Šamánková, *Cheb* (Praha: Odeon, 1974); V. Prökl, *Eger und das Egerland* (Falkenau: Müller u. Weiser, 1877); K. Siegl, *Eger und das Egerland im Wandel der Zeiten* (Eger: J. Kobrtsch, 1931); H. Sturm, *Eger. Geschichte einer Reichsstadt*, II. Bände (Augsburg: Adam Kraft Verlag, 1951–1952).

[3] Tomáš Borovský, *Kláštery, panovník a zakladatelé na středověké Moravě* (Brno: Matice moravská, 2005).

[4] For a recent summary about the history of the monasteries of this town, see P. Vlček, P. Sommer, D. Foltýn, *Encyklopedie českých klášterů* (Praha: Libri, 1998), 241–249.

[5] The relationships between town and male monasteries have been described a number of times. For Franciscans in the Czech Lands by M. Elbel, *Bohemia Franciscana. Františkánský řád a jeho působení v českých zemích 17. a 18. století* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2001), for Jesuits I. Čornejová, *Tovaryšstvo Ježíšovo. Jezuité v Čechách* (Praha: Hart, 1995).

[6] The issues of support by noble women was summarized by Elizabeth Allyn Woock, "Reaction of the Establishment of Mendicant Orders in Central Europe During the Thirteenth Century" (Master's Thesis, Palacký University, 2013), 47–52. On this theme cf. G. Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000). See also B. Roest, *Order and Disorder: The Poor Clares Between Foundation and Reform* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 145–153. Concerning Agnes of Bohemia, see Ch.-F. Felskau, *Agnes von Böhmen und die Klosteranlage der Klarissen und Franziskaner in Prag. Leben und Institution, Legende und Verehrung*, Bd. 1; Bd. 2 (Nordhausen: Traugott Bautz, 2008); and H. Soukupová, *Anežský klášter v Praze* (Praha: Vyšehrad, 2011), and further literature mentioned here. Concerning the conditions for the foundation of the Poor Clares convents, for example, A. Sutowicz, "Fundacja klasztoru klarysek wrocławskich na tle fundacji innych placówek żeńskiego zakonu franciskańskego na zemiach polskich," *Perspectiva, Legnickie Studia Teologiczno-Historyczne* V, no 2 (9) (2006): 122–140.

with the lower classes members. The clausura[7] was a barrier to close contact with the immediate surroundings of the convent.

Although the first years after the founding of the Poor Clares convent in Cheb are hard to describe in detail, the above-mentioned characteristics are to a certain extent applicable to the convent as well. The historiography of both the town of Cheb and the Franciscan order (even though records were only preserved from the Early Modern period) ascribe the foundation of the convent to two noblemen from the region of Cheb, namely to Hecht of Poghrat and Honigar of Seeberg. Although the historiographs were fairly certain about the names, there was a lack of agreement as far as the dates were concerned. The foundation dates which were mentioned cover a relatively long period of time from the year 1209 (which was out of question for the convent of Poor Clares) to much more realistic years such as 1260, 1268 or 1269.[8] In contrast, the first preserved document testifies that the village of Dřenice was presented to the convent by Přemysl Otakar II on 14 January 1273. With this in mind, it is possible to reconsider the impulse of the convent foundation and ascribe it to the ruler himself. This naturally serves to postpone the act of foundation and shift the dating towards the years 1270–1273.[9]

Although inspection of further details such as the fire that afflicted Cheb in 1270 or the fact that Přemysl Otakar II only joined the region of Cheb to his domain in 1266[10] will in all probability not lead historians to a definite answer to the dating issue, it may nevertheless help in selecting the most probable out of all the accessible hypotheses. There are above all the indisputable advantages brought to the King by the foundation of the Poor Clares convent in a newly acquired, but far from surrendered area. The foundation of the office of the Royal highest burgrave in 1267, for example, demonstrates that apart from the act of war annexation there had been hidden attempts to achieve political annexation as well.[11] The Poor Clares convent could have been just another strong point within the newly conquered area, especially considering the fact that the Prague convent of the same order was still inhabited by the King's aunt Agnes of Bohemia who was also the founder of the Prague convent and who incorporated the Přemyslid mausoleum into the building programme of the convent.[12] The first Poor Clares in all probability came to Cheb from Prague, the sisters from a cloister in Seußlitz (by Meißen) were only connected to

[7] On this theme by the Poor Clares, cf. P. Maranesi, *La clausura di Chiara d'Assisi. Un valore o una necessità?* (Assisi: Porziuncola, 2012). On *clausura* from various points of view see E. Makowski, *Canon Law and Cloistered Women: Periculoso and Its Commentators, 1298–1545* (Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1997); K. Norberg, "The Counter-Reformation and Women: Religious and Lay," in *Catholicism in Early Modern History: A Guide to Research*, ed. J. W. O'Malley (St. Louis: Center for Reformation Research, 1988), 133–146; M. Brennan, "Enclosure: Institutionalising the Invisibility of Women in Ecclesiastical Communities," in *Concilium 182. Women – Invisible in Theology and Church*, eds. E. Schüssler Fiorenza, M. Collins (Edinburgh: Hymns Ancient & Modern,1985), 38–48.

[8] Views of the previous historiography were provided in K. Siegl, *Das Salbuch der Egerer Klarissinnen v. J. 1476 im Egerer Stadtarchiv* (Praha: Selbstverlag des Vereines für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen, 1905), 3–4; and A. Hlawatsch, *Die Geschichte des ehem. Klarissenklosters in Eger* (Marienbad, 1920), 3; out of Early Modern urban historiography, mention should be made of the chronicle of Pankraz Engelhardt, "general" chronicle 1697–1726, the chronicle of Michael Schlecht, the chronicle of Salomon Gruber, etc. – deposited in the State Archive Cheb [SACh], Archive of the Town of Cheb [ACh] and digitalizated on the websites www.portafontium.eu. Out of Early Modern order historiography, see National Archives [NA], Archives of the Bohemian Franciscan Province [ABFP], book 422, Descriptio Conventuum Almae Provinciae Argentinae a P. Sergio Fridrich; National Library Prague [NLP], Cheb MS.46/261(141), De ortu et progressu Almae Provinciae Argentinae seu Alemanniae ordinis Sancti Francisci fratrum Minorum strictoris observantiae Recollectorum, 1750; or SACh, ACh, Egrische Stadt, Kirchen, und Landt Cronicka von P. Sergius [Fridrich] (also digitalizated on the websites www.portafontium.eu).

[9] Siegl, *Das Salbuch der Egerer Klarissinnen*, 24; see also V. Knoll, "Paulsdorfové a chebské klarisky. Příspěvek k nejstarším dějinám Dřenice a Klášterního Dvora," *Minulostí Západočeského kraje* 42, no 1 (2007): 7–51; and ibid., 8 concerning the foundation of Clarist monastery in Cheb in 1270–1273.

[10] Cf. Kubů, *Chebský městský stát*, 9; Šamánková, *Cheb*, 36.

[11] Sturm, *Eger*, 385.

[12] See Soukupová, *Anežský klášter*; H. Soukupová, "Přemysl Otakar II. a program jeho pražského pohřebiště," in *Česko-rakouské vztahy ve 13. století. Rakousko (včetně Štýrska, Korutan a Kraňska) v projektu velké říše Přemysla Otakara II. Sborník příspěvků ze symposia konaného 26.–27. září 1996 ve Znojmě* (Praha, 1998), 203–216; H. Soukupová, "Anežčin stavební a duchovní

this group.[13] It would also be possible to place the Emperor's foundation act either in the period after the year 1270, assuming that the Emperor was the only founder, or to view him as the one who restored the convent after the fire in the town.

Both possibilities lead, however, to the conclusion that the convent was founded in a town whose inhabitants took a fairly minor part in the foundation process. The Poor Clares were allotted a cloister in 1287 and although more convent buildings were built over the following years, the first nuns had already devoted themselves to a quiet life away from the secular world.[14]

The Reformation as an Encroachment on the Balance between the Town and the Convent

The Medieval detachment between the convent and town was not absolute. There is no doubt that the cloisters accepted funds provided by the townsmen while at the same time guarding their own sovereignty with a watchful eye and not accepting obligations to pay the taxes and fees which the townsmen were subject to. The property approvals issued by the Czech kings pointed among other things to the fact that the convent property was an independent domain.[15] The request to reform the Cheb Poor Clares convent addressed to the Poor Clares of Nürnberg (member of Observant branch) in the middle of the fifteenth century ranked among the exceptional moments when the Cheb town council supported by the local nobility crossed the otherwise respected barrier between the rights of the convent and the town. The reform in question should also impact the town's Conventuals. Both the cloisters in Cheb disregarded the rules of their respective orders which required a life in modesty. Europe also saw a new Observant movement growing in importance. The supporter of Franciscan reform Giovanni da Capistrano visited Cheb in 1451. Bearing this in mind, the inhabitants of Cheb and the local nobility pleaded over the years to come that the Pope begin with the reform. The decision on the reform was announced to the cloisters' inhabitants by the abbot of the Waldsassen cloister, who as a respected dignitary of the Regensburg church province together with two representatives of the church, was also the executive power of the reform. The reformers dismissed those Poor Clares unwilling to obey. In cooperation with the town council, the church representatives introduced five nuns from the Nürnberg Saint Clara order to the convent of Cheb in September 1465. The leader of the reform group Felicitas Trautmann was declared abbess.[16] It seems though that gaining better control over the convent's property was not the main motivation of the councilors.[17] In the case of the Poor Clares, it was not recommended to accept the so-called *first rule* (rule of the Saint Claire) which required complete poverty.[18] The town council was fully aware of this since the invitation of the Nürnberg Poor Clares was preceded by a detailed correspondence with the Nürnberg

počin – klášter na Františku (k 750. výročí založení královského pohřebiště)," in *Svatá Anežka Česká a velké ženy její doby*, eds. M. Šmied, F. Záruba (Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2013), 135–150.

[13] Cf. Knoll, "Paulsdorfové a chebské klarisky," 8.

[14] For the history after the foundation in short, Vlček, Sommer, Foltýn, *Encyklopedie*, 243–244. The Medieval history of the Poor Clares in Cheb has not been composed, for a deep study see the copies of the documents in Siegl, *Das Salbuch der Egerer Klarissinnen*, or A. Schubert, *Urkunden-Regesten aus den ehemaligen Archiven der von Kaiser Joseph II. aufgehobenen Klöster Böhmens* (Innsbruck: Wagner, 1901), 150–175.

[15] Hlawatsch, *Die Geschichte*, 4–5; Siegl, *Das Salbuch der Egerer Klarissinnen*, 5–10.

[16] See K. Halla, "Die Reform des Konvents des Franziskanerordens von Eger und der Einzug der Observanten," in *Das Bistum Bamberg in der Welt des Mittelalters*, eds. Christine and Klaus Van Eickels (Bamberg: University of Bamberg Press, 2007), 151–162; Hlawatsch, *Die Geschichte*, 5–7; J. Kist, *Das Klarissenkloster in Nürnberg bis zum Beginn des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Nürnberg: Sebaldus-Verlag, 1929), 60.

[17] For example, Halla, "Die Reform des Konvents" expected the establishing of the strict poverty.

[18] Cf. Lezlie S. Knox, *Creating Clare of Assisi: Female Franciscan Identities in Later Medieval Italy* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 123–156.

town council. Any questions, doubts and proposals could as a result be settled in advance. The stability of convent property continued after the reform, which can be easily demonstrated by the construction of the convent's own church which commenced in 1467.[19] A report on the stability as well as on legal continuity is also represented in the urbarium from 1464 and the *Salbuch* founded in 1467.[20]

The reformation movement ignited by Martin Luther had a great deal in common with the renewal of the Church in the fifteenth century. At this time many cloisters returned or were forced to return to closer observation of their own original rules.[21] The clue to the above-mentioned events in the Cheb Poor Clares convent can be found in the reform movement. The radical conduct of the first Lutherans did not find consist in only appeals for the renewal of the spirit of the monastic rules. The orders as well as cloisters were supposed to no longer be necessary in the reformed church. Order members, both men and women, especially in the countries of Germany either voluntarily left the cloisters or were expelled by secular forces, these being either the nobility or the town municipalities.[22] The historical research was primarily focused on a description of the Lutheran view of life appropriate for the reformed Church and the arguments used by theologians at the time in order to support the view of monastic life as pointless.[23] The scope of scholarly interest includes the process of convent dissolution and abandonment as well as the place established by the ex-members and their subsequent attempts to find a new role within society.[24] Historians have confirmed the existence of a number of woman communities eager to continue obeying their monastic promises and insisting on the necessity of staying in the convent and continuing their previous lifestyle including the choir prayers and full respect for the regulations, since they perceived it as a way to serve God.[25] This has part of the research on convents apart from the above-mentioned results of the Reformation movement such as the expulsion from the convents or convent abandonment. A number of the female order members therefore fled to Catholic countries and moved their communities with them.[26] Others converted to the Lutheran faith but disobeyed some of its rules and remained faithful to the monastic regulations of their lives.[27] Still other respectable personalities formed a barrier to the anti-monastic thoughts of the Reformation and advocated the right to lead a monastic life. Their

[19] Hlawatsch, *Die Geschichte*, 7–8.

[20] Urbary and *Salbuch* are placed in SACh, ACh. Urbary with inv. no 1003. The edition of Salbuch was published by Siegl, *Das Salbuch der Egerer Klarissinnen*.

[21] W. R. Estep, *Renaissance and Reformation* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1986).

[22] Cf. J. A. K. McNamara, *Sisters in Arms: Catholic Nuns through Two Millennia* (Cambridge – London: Harvard University Press, 1996), 419–422.

[23] Cf. S. Hendrix, "Luther" and R. Kolb, "Confessional Lutheran theology," in *The Cambridge Companion to Reformation Theology*, eds. D. Bagchi, D. C. Steinmetz (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 39–56, 68–79.

[24] Difference between the position of men and women in the Reformation was noted by M. E Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 186–192 and M. E. Wiesner, "Women's Response to the Reformation," in *The German People and the Reformation*, ed. R. Po-Chia Hsia (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988), 148–171; A. Rüttgardt, "Die Diskussion um das Klosterleben von Frauen in Flugschriften der frühen Reformationszeit (1523–1528)" in *"In Christo ist weder man noch weyb." Frauen in der Zeit der Reformation und der katholischen Reform*, ed. A. Conrad (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag, 1999), 69–94.

[25] Cf. Wiesner, *Women and Gender*, 192–194; Amy Leonard, *Nails in the Wall. Catholic Nuns in Reformation Germany* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2005), 5–6.

[26] C. Walker, "Recusants, Daughters and Sisters in Christ: English Nuns and their Communities in the Seventeenth Century," in *Women, Identities and Political Cultures in Early Modern Europe*, eds. S. Broomhall, S. Tarbin (Aldershot: Routledge, 2008), 61–76.

[27] Wiesner, *Women and Gender*, 193–194; M. E. Wiesner, "Ideology Meets the Empire: Reformed Convents and the Reformation," in *Germania Illustrata: Essays on Early Modern Germany Presented to Gerald Strauss*, eds. A. C. Fix, S. C. Karant-Nunn (Kirksville: Truman State Univ Press, 1991), 181–195.

personal example consequently supported the results of other convents.[28] Many convents being Catholic institutions became tolerated within the towns which had themselves converted to the Lutheran faith. The outstanding monograph by Anna Sauerbrey provides a complete picture of the conditions and motivations under which some of the convents of Strasbourg operated.[29] The topic has also been dealt with by Amy Leonard.[30]

The above-mentioned studies proved that it was possible in a Lutheran town for Catholic convents to operate. They were not obliterated, however. The conversion of townsmen resulted in a disturbance to the equilibrium of two strong subjects. The convent became a tolerated marginal house in the town, owned some of its property and had the power to decide on a number of the convent's inner issues. The convent was not abolished since a convent was dependent on the town council and in many respects turned it into a subject the presence of which brought the town indisputable advantages above all of an economic nature. As Amy Leonard aptly defined it: "The convents could then be used for the common good."[31]

The proposed article aims at verifying whether the above-mentioned characteristics were valid for the town and their convents in Bohemia, in particular the convent in Cheb and its community of Poor Clares.[32] It also seeks to pose the question as to whether the Reformation did not actually form the conditions for the convents to be overtaken by towns. This was convenient for the towns of all epochs and under all kinds of sets of conditions. The answer to the question will be provided based on an observation of the mutual relationship between the town and the convent over the years 1564–1618 as well as prior to the given period and after the year 1620.[33]

The Reformation Era in Cheb and the Poor Clares Convent

After the town of Cheb requested the reformation of both convents in the mid-fifteenth century, there is no detailed information on the relationship between the town and the convent. The attention of convent representatives was drawn to the construction of the new church which in all probability overruled the newly introduced rules of the order concerning regular changes in the abbess office. Although a normative text leading to such a conclusion was not preserved, this conclusion can be drawn on the basis of the length of the office.[34]

The abbess reformer Felicitas Trautmann and her nuns returned to Nürnberg in 1470 and abbess Ursula Pirck was consequently elected to the office. The order sources have the following

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[28] G. Deichstetter, "Der Geist des Klarissenklosters Nürnberg," in *Caritas Pirckheimer. Ordensfrau und Humanistin – ein Vorbild für die Ökumene.* Festschrift zum 450. Todestag, ed. G. Deichstetter (Köln: Wienand, 1982); J. Gatz, *Was taten die Franziskaner für eine causa der Nürnberger Äbtissin Caritas Pirckheimer?* (Sonderdruck aus *Vita Fratrum*, 1971); Ch. Woodford, *Nuns as Historians in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002), 78–105.

[29] A. Sauerbrey, *Die Straßburger Klöster im 16. Jahrhundert, Eine Untersuchung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Geschlechtergeschichte* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2012).

[30] Leonard, *Nails in the Wall*.

[31] Ibid., 8. Also Sauerbrey, *Die Straßburger Klöster*.

[32] The religious situation in the town of Cheb is described below; for the history of the Czech Lands and changes in faith, see R. J. W. Evans, *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy 1550–1700: An Interpretation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979); and H. Louthan, *Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

[33] Already Prökl, *Eger*, 608–616 and Hlawatch, *Die Geschichte* paid attention to themes of tight relations and mutual help between the convent and the town. Further research was initiated in my doctoral thesis: Jarmila Kašpárková, "Kláštery klarisek a františkánských terciářek v českých zemích v raném novověku," (PhD diss., Palacký University, 2014). As for the periodization see the literature in the following notes.

[34] Concerning one of the texts for reform, see M. Mladějovská, *Legenda o blahoslavené Anežce: chebské zlomky* (Praha: Vladimír Žikeš, 1948). The normative texts or statutes have not survived, but hagiographical and spiritual have, for example, NLP, XVI G 24; XVI E 16. These manuscripts could have been created during 1465–1470 or later because of permanent contacts between both convents. See Kist, *Das Klarissenkloster*, 60, 128–130.

to say about this: "erat de eo conventualien, quae pro reformatione cooperatae sunt."[35] It can be assumed that this stance made her an excellent candidate for the abbess rather than the election of the nuns' plenum. It can also be assumed that the election itself was conducted under the supervision of the province superiors of Saxony, which was also the case five years earlier. A new election was held in the same way four years later. Barbora Braumann, elected in 1474, was devoted to careful upkeeping and necessary repairs to the church and the convent remained in the abbess office. The ongoing work involving construction changes was consequently able to continue until its completion. She in all probability held the office up until 1489, the year of her death.[36]

The first notable clash between the town and the convent took place during the term of office of abbess Kateřina of Seeberg (1499–1531) at the end of the sixteenth century. She made an appeal to King Vladislav II in 1505 to confirm the validity of the old privileges of the convent such as the fact that the goods meant for the Poor Clares convent (such as beer and wine, etc.) should be excluded from duty. She also asked the King to confirm the fact that the convent is not supposed to be forced to support contributions to the combat readiness of the state of Cheb; the King met the convent requirements. As a consequence the town council protested quite radically. The burgmeister immediately presented counter-arguments to which the indecisive King surrendered as quickly as he had first met the convent requests. He consequently retracted the confirmation issued only shortly before in 1506.[37] The rapid counteraction suggests that the abbess had only accidentally left the privileges unconfirmed that year and that there was a dispute between the abbess and the town regarding the payment duties of the convent. The abbess disregarded the decision of the King and continued to follow the privileges issued in the past, especially one dating back to 1372 issued by Charles IV who guaranteed the total financial independence of the convent.[38]

A change in the irreversible stance of both parties was brought about by the German Peasants' War. The inhabitants of Cheb were able to observe the developments in the neighbouring Saxony rebellion very closely. It is not surprising that a leading role was now played by violence in many disputes. A rebellion arose in the surroundings of Cheb in 1525 and there was even an uprising of the townsmen in the town of Cheb. A number of the town council representatives, as well as the court representatives and town inhabitants, took advantage of the chaos and invaded the Poor Clares convent where they obtained valuables as well as precious privileges issued by Czech kings.[39] The first treaty between the town and the convent (abbess Ursula Schlick) was signed nine years later in 1534, describing the obligations of the convent towards the town such as the duty to pay a 30 gulden tax in relation to each 1000 gulden paid by the city as a whole. They were forced to keep horses and soldiers for the sake of combat readiness. They also had to promise to send the convent subjects to a socage. The town of Cheb had to promise to bring water to the convent and take care of the feed channel.[40]

The seeming readiness on the part of abbess Ursula Schlick for compromise had a rational behind it. Aside from King Ferdinand's appeal to find a conciliatory solution, it was primarily due to events taking place inside the Poor Clares convent in Nürnberg who maintained lively contacts with the nuns of Cheb. The Nürnberg convent faced a serious pressure for conversion

[35] NLP, Cheb MS.46/261(141), *De ortu et progressu*, 156.
[36] Ibid.
[37] Siegl, *Das Salbuch der Egerer Klarissinnen*, 13–14.
[38] Ibid., 8.
[39] Kubů, *Chebský městský stát*, 134; Hlawatsch, *Die Geschichte*, 9–10.
[40] SACh, ACh, sign. A-3021, fasc. 488, box 361, *Vergleich zwischen der Stadt Eger und der Closter St. Clarae*, 1534; Hlawatsch, *Die Geschichte*, 10.

from the Nürnberg representatives since 1525. The municipality converted to the Lutheran faith and the resistance for the era in question laid mainly in the brave stance of its abbess Caritas Pirkheimer.[41] The Poor Clares of Cheb had thus far not confirmed the manifestation of the new faith or been forced to face the requests of the town council. The situation of the Poor Clares in Germany motivated them, however, to deepen their own spiritual life and remember the core of monastic life. Abbess Ursula asked the provincial Augustin Alveldt in approximately the early 1530s to prepare a comment on the rule. Advelt specialized in controversial theology and before he became a provincial he worked as the guardian of the convent in Leipzig. It was there and at that time that he became a strict adversary of the theology of Martin Luther. According to the afterword which he attached to the comment, it was clear what motives drew the Abbess to ask this particular man "[…] eptessin mich besuch, hat mich Schrifft vermanet und gebetten mit Worten, das ich sollthe diße arpeit thun […] das sie mocht wissen die Wahrheit war, auf das Closter leben gegründet seyn, in Cleidung andere Ceremonien oder Dienstwerke oder sowie und Weis."[42]

The Latin version of the comment was provided by Alveldt in 1534 and a year later the text was translated into German. The comment surprisingly became a stumbling block within the convent. The province chapter in an effort to stand strong against the spreading Lutheran faith decided to reform the Poor Clares and allocated a new confessor Caspar Sager to the convent in 1534. The Poor Clares rejected him, however, (possibly because of his disagreement with Alveldt's work?). The province superiors declared the Poor Clares disobedient and brought the dispute in front of the Bishop of Regensburg, the cardinal protector and the town council of Cheb. The Cheb council was referred to as *reforming Fathers, convent honour lovers, helpers of the Reformation and the true religion*.[43] The four-year dispute only resulted in the Franciscans resigning the spiritual management of the Poor Clares who could ask for a chaplain elected from the diocesan priests.[44]

Filip Melanchton paid a visit to the town of Cheb in 1541 and later in 1552 and 1555. Shortly prior to this certain towns in the region such as Aš (Asch) or the Upper Palatinate converted to the Lutheran faith.[45] The town representatives maintained a waiting stance similar to the situation with the Schmalkaldic War in the years 1546–1547 when they chose not to take part in the fighting and the uprising against the King.[46] In was in fact ironically the Catholic convents naturalized in the town that helped with its conversion to the Lutheran faith, since they were interconnected by provincial ties to the cloisters in Saxony or Thuringia where the Reformation took place.[47] Abbess Ursula Schlick was concerned about the weakening of the position of the orders even as early as 1534 when she signed the treaty, this was nothing being anything unusual.[48] The situation came to a point in the 1550s when the commander of the Teutonic Order of Thuringia appointed the Lutheran Christopher of Dacherode to office and later when the

[41] Ibid., 9–10; Woodford, *Nuns as Historians*, 78–105.

[42] NLP, XVI H I, *Widmung zur Glose über die Clarissinenregel, an den Convent zu Eger*, 1535, f. 225–226; the original Latin version – NLP, XVI E 20 was written a year before; for later copies, see L. Oliger, "Zu Augustins von Alfeld Regelerklärung des Klarissenordens," *Franziskanische Studien* V (1918): 220–222; about Alvedt see P. Lehmann, "Alveldt, Augustin von," in *Neue Deutsche Biographie*, Bd. 1 (Berlin: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1953), 230–231.

[43] SACh, ACh, sign. A-3063, fasc. 493, box 364, *Ad spectatissimini Magistratum Egranum*, 1538; Hlawatsch, *Die Geschichte*, 10–13.

[44] NA, Franciscans Cheb, sign. R 1/1. Inv. no 31, *Bishop of Regensburg, Pancratius negotiated a deal between Franciscan and Poor Clares in Cheb*, February 3, 1539.

[45] H. Knetlová,"Chebská komenda křižovníků s červenou hvězdou za komturství Georga Runnera z Chvalšin (1609–1632)" *Sborník muzea Karlovarského kraje* [SMKK] 17 (2009): 33–90, here 41.

[46] Šamánková*, Cheb*, 93–94.

[47] Knetlová, "Chebská komenda," 41.

[48] See note 39.

parish priest of St Nicolas Church Mikulas Sachs, another member of the Teutonic Order died, their superior was forced to wait for the solution of the property issues until 1564 when he sent another Lutheran, Hyeronimus Tilesius, to Cheb.[49] Before the townsmen of Cheb could hear the first sermon by Hieronymus and be converted by its influence, the Poor Clares were assuming the cloister would be abolished as was the case in many of the towns west of Cheb. A number of the Poor Clares even fled. The abbess of Poor Clares convent, Margharetha of Au (1554–1559), considered their situation desperate and therefore issued a document in 1557 which declared that she was giving up the right of escheat for the sake of the convent subjects. She attempted to sell the former convent homestead called *Nonnenhof* to the town in 1558 and when she did not succeed in obtaining the Emperor's permission, she signed a pledge treaty with two nobleman of Cheb Jachym of Schwamberg and Christopher Zedwitz. She subsequently asked her priors to release her from her promises and after her plea was denied, left the convent in the company of five nuns.[50]

The Lutheran Town and the Catholic Convent

The conversion to the Lutheran faith in 1564 opened up a new chapter in the town policy with some of the goals seeming easier to achieve than before. The town council sent a deputation to the King, asking him to confirm the faith conversion and new regulations of the church were issued in 1565.[51] The issue of the convents in the town became extremely topical.[52]

The Emperor postponed the decision on the newly announced conversion of Cheb for the period of his planned stay in Bohemia. The conversion actually was illegitimate and it was actually illegal to abolish the convents which was the natural consequent step in many other towns.[53] It is not known whether the city council actually considered the option. In the case of the Poor Clares the town council was actually more interested in the financial situation of the convent. The Poor Clares were inquired whether they were supposed to pay for the *Nonnenhof* after the four-year pledge terminated (i.e., in 1562), with the council offering the Poor Clares a mortgage. Two years later the town council required that the Poor Clares fulfil the treaty of 1534.[54] The growing demands sprung from the desire of the town to seize control over the Poor Clares property.[55]

The successor of the escaped Margaretha von Au, Anna Veyl (1559–1565), only had a little space to manoeuvre over in her negotiations.[56] Not only did the pledge over *Nonenhof* harm the income of the convent but the town conversion meant that she had to defend the name of the convent against the sermons of Tilesius in which he presented the convent as a place that has

[49] Cf. Knetlová, "Chebská komenda," 41–42.

[50] NLP, Cheb MS.46/261(141), *De ortu et progressu*, 157; Hlawatsch, *Die Geschichte*, 14–16; concerning perception of this event by contemporaries, see the chronicle by Pankraz Engelhardt, the chapter "Wie die Nonnen zu Eger aus dem Kloster geloffen" (about depositing, see note 7).

[51] Cf. Knetlová, "Chebská komenda," 42.

[52] To this theme cf. Sauerbrey, *Die Straßburger Klöster*.

[53] Cf. Knetlová, "Chebská komenda," 44.

[54] SACh, ACh, sign. A-3024, fasc. 489, box 362, letters between the Abbess and representatives of the town fromMay 14, 1559 etc.; NA, Archive of the Prague Archbishopric [APA], Historica, inv. no 3504, sign. C 121/5, box 2115, *Poor Clares in Cheb*, *Anna Veyl to the Archbishop of Prague, A. Brus from Mohelnice*, 1563.

[55] Cf. Sauerbrey, *Die Straßburger Klöster*.

[56] See, for example, NA, APA, Historica, inv. no 3504, sign. C 121/5, box 2115, *Anna Veyl to the Archbishop of Prague, A. Brus from Mohelnice*, January 26, 1565. In this letter, the Abbess described the situation shortly after the conversion of the town to Lutheranism. The same theme was in a letter from the Catholic preacher Gregor Richter to the consistory in Regensburg from May 20, 1564 (see Knetlová, "Chebská komenda," 41). The letter from Veyl is rich in information and uses Biblical language to demonstrate the position of the convent which remains to the Catholic faith, for example, "[…] wir sind Schafflein unter der reisentl Wölffen."

no Divine origin and which God never wanted to exist.[57] The convent lost donations due to this image. Anna Veyl lost her credit with her priors who debated the situation of the convent with the burgmeister who for obvious reasons pictured the defender of the convent privileges in a bad light. Abbess Anna was therefore suspended during the visitation of Theodoricus Gerhardus due to poor economic management of the convent.[58]

Although Abbess Apolonia Funck (1565–1579) is described in historiography as a good manciple, a strong adversary to the town council and a renewer of the spiritual life in the convent.[59] Although she was pictured as a direct counterpart to Abbess Veyl, it seems that the text is just a mirror of the general opinion of the town council as well as the opinion held by the visitator Gerhardus. It was actually Funck who placed the majority of the convent property into the hands of the town council. Immediately after her installation in 1566, she signed a treaty with the town where she confirmed the obligations from past treaties and committed herself to paying part of the expenses on the Turkish tax. She provided the town council with facsimiles of the most important parts of *Salbuch* to consult and consequently gave up one of the most important privileges, in order not to let anyone see the accounting of the convent.[60] The Abbess seemingly met the requests of the town council, behind their back, however, she brought the treaties to the Archbishop of Prague.[61] She expected the Bishop to intervene for the sake of the Knights of the Cross with a Red Star, who were at that time still active in Cheb. The influential recatholization of Cheb was just about to begin and the King along with the Cheb ordinary sent their commissioners to defend the rights of the Catholics. The plan was spoiled, however, due to the growing appeal of the threatening war against the Turks. The Emperor wanted the townsmen of Cheb to provide the money necessary for the war and as a result the issue of recatholization was put aside.[62] Instead of direct action by the commissioners, however, the issue was resolved by a document issued by Rudolf II.

Rudolf II issued a document in 1585 for the sake of the Poor Clares convent, hereby confirming that all the privileges issued thus far were valid. The treaty also granted the convent a pardon stating that the townsmen of Cheb would provide proper help. Rudolf II therein captured the status quo in writing wherein the town of Cheb was responsible for the upkeep of the convent property in the role of the convent "defender." A sentence enabling the Poor Clares to seek another protector (*Schutzherr*), in case the town will not provide "Schutz und Schirm," further confirmed in an adequate way the status quo and codified it.[63]

Records on the economics of the convent and the agenda moved to the town office by the year 1586. This change was based on the Rudolf II document and the rights of the town included a decision as to which tithes were to be paid directly to the town. The municipality was also entitled to vote for the administrator of the convent estates. Town clerks should also be turned to by all the convent subjects in case they had any pleas or requests. The judicial competence of the convent over their subjects was automatically passed to the court of Cheb. It is also apparent from the *Rathsbuch* and the protocols that the town council had the right to approve novices.

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[57] SACh, ACh, sign. A-3024, fasc. 489, box 362, non-dated letter from Anna Veyl after leaving the convent in 1565.

[58] Ibid.; NAP, APA, Historica, inv. no 3504, sign. C 121/5, box 2115, *letter from visitator Gerhardus to the Archbishop of Prague, A. Brus from Mohelnice,* January 10, 1566. Cf. Siegl, *Das Salbuch der Egerer Klarissinnen*, 18–19.

[59] NLP, Cheb MS.46/261(141), *De ortu et progressu*, 150; Hlawatsch, *Die Geschichte*, 17.

[60] SACh, ACh, sign. A-3025, fasc. 490, box 362, *Nonnen Closter Vertrag*, 1566; *Extract aus dem Saalbuch.*

[61] NA, APA, Historica, inv. no 3504, sign. C 121/5, box 2115, *Abbess Funck to the Archbishop of Prague, A. Brus from Mohelnice, on the feast of Apostle Jacob*, 1566, September 21, 1566; March 12, 1567, etc.

[62] Cf. Knetlová, "Chebská komenda," 42–43.

[63] SACh, ACh, sign. A-3026, fasc. 490, box 362, *Kaysers Rudolphi confirma[ti]on*, 1585; Hlawatsch, *Die Geschichte*, 18; concerning "defenders" of monasteries, see J. Macek, *Víra a zbožnost jagellonského věku* (Praha: Argo, 2001), 200–222.

Power over the convent had once again after long years passed to the town by 1586 and the town consequently became the *patron* of the convent.[64]

The status quo came about as the office of the Abbess was passed to Magdalena Lochner (1579–1593) and was held by her successors Ursula Helm (1593–1606) and partly Katerina Rudisch (1606–1636). The success of the convent was under the patronage of the town, which can only be testified to by the aforementioned agenda, although there are not that many other sources. The information on the convent admission belongs to those few available sources. The town clerks accompanied these records with lamentations as to how hard it was to understand the candidates and how it was impossible to prevent them from doing so.[65] 24 sisters were actually in the convent in 1605; abbess Catharina Rudisch, *priorin* Anna Eischerin, 19 choir sisters and 3 lay sisters.[66]

Visitors continued coming to the convent. Their messages or nuns' records about visitations provide information about, for example, the form of life behind the cloister walls. By the end of the sixteenth century, there was a new generation of clergy sent from mostly foreign (mainly Italian) convents. These priests were supposed to reconstruct the religious life without being aware of the specific features of Catholic convents surviving in the environment that had converted to the Lutheran faith. Their language (in)capability was not all that conducive for obtaining a better understanding of the situation. The following situation might serve as an illustrative example. Almost on the eve of the seizure of the convent property by town brother Bonaventura of Aquileia ("er […] kein Word Deutsch geredet hat") reproached the Poor Clares for praying according to breviaries that did not contain the last prayer texts approved by the Trident council in 1585. He ordered the nuns to acquire new books for the choir, not knowing about the tremendous diminishes on the part of the income of the convent and being unaware of its future insolvency.[67] It is apparent from later records that the Poor Clares abandoned some elements of Catholic pious practice: these signs were registered in the long record from 1605: "[…] laicae diebus festis non visitant matutinum; […] [sorores] non attendant SS. communionis; […] ad Ave Maria sunt extra chorum, […] non faciunt recollections post horas;" or "[…] Knedlein mit Bier ein oder zwey [ausgegessen und] ausgetrungen [haben], sine licentia." Although many of the violations of Catholic religious life are described in the text by Joseph Zinckh, it is evident that the sisters did not convert to another faith. Only one, Catharina Urnerin, related about herself that "sie wolte recht Lutherische war."[68]

The Second Conversion of the Town and Long-term Maintenance of the The Status Quo in Relation to the Poor Clares Convent

Similarly to the gradual beginning of the Reformation in Cheb, it took a great deal of time for the first appeal to the actual conversion of most of the townsmen. The Prince-elector of Saxony Johann Heinrich succeeded after 1620 with a commissioner sent to Cheb by Emperor Ferdinand who made an appeal to the Emperor to confirm the right of Cheb to keep the current religion for the town. Cheb consequently did not have to pay attention to the imperial patents concerning the expulsion of non-catholic clergy and the conversion of townsmen issued in 1621 and 1624.

[64] SACh, ACh, sign. A-3026, fasc. 490, box 362; sign. A-3032, fasc. 490, box 362, *Extract auß denen Protocollen der Stadt Eger*; Siegl, *Das Salbuch der Egerer Klarissinnen*, 20.

[65] Siegl, *Das Salbuch der Egerer Klarissinnen*, 19–20.

[66] Österreichische Nationalbibliothek [ÖNB], Cod. 13585, f. 27r-42r, *Visitatio sororum Egrensium Ord. S. Clarae*.

[67] NA, APA, Historica, inv. no 3504, sign. C 121/5, cart. 2115, *Abbess Lochner to the Archbishop in Prague, Martin Medek*, August 20, 1585.

[68] ÖNB, Cod. 13585, f. 27r, 27v, 29r, 34r. The question remains why the author used past tense.

The recatholization of the town began relatively late in comparison with the rest of Bohemia. It began with the arrival of the Reformation committee in autumn 1628 with its main task being to relaunch the Catholic service and urging people to convert based on the imperial patents and with the expulsion of the townsmen who declared an unwillingness to convert. The Reformation was slowed down once again by the invasion of the region of Cheb by the Saxon army in 1631. Although most of the town had formally converted to Catholicism by 1636, the recatholisation efforts suffered the intervention of the Swedish army invading the town between 1647–1649. A number of the townsmen who had once emigrated came back each time with both of the armies. The same is true of the predicants. The Peace commission of Nürnberg received a plea in 1649 for religious freedom for non-Catholics which the catholic municipality did not approve, although the Lutheran municipalities did. The recatholization period continued in Cheb after 1652 when the Emperor decided that any town representatives of the Protestant faith had to be replaced by Catholic ones. Under these circumstances not only did the recatholization period take a long time, but the town of Cheb suffered from the Thirty Years' War and the stays of the Saxon, Swedish and imperial armies. All this resulted in major emigration and the impoverishment of the town.[69]

The long-lasting and ongoing recatholization of the town had no particular influence on the position of the Poor Clares convent. This was even the case in the era when the town was predominantly Catholic due to the efforts of the Jesuits (above all between 1628–1631 and again 1636–1647).[70] The town was not about to give up its control over the convent subjects or the economy. In the previous era the town council had helped the convent several times, first by forgiving payments towards the end of the sixteenth century, then by the council deciding to financially support the construction of the church in 1612 and finally by defending the sheer existence of the convent in 1619 against the Czech estates which wanted to sell the convent and donate the obtained finances to cover the rebellion expenses.[71] When the convent began to keep track of the damage by the end of the Thirty Years' War, above all the damage done to the convent husbandry yard and the brewery by the Swedish troops, it still belonged under the jurisdiction and rule of the Cheb town hall.[72]

This does not mean, however, that the Poor Clares, presided over by abbesses Rudisch (until 1636), later Imer (1638–1641) and Maier (1641–1652), did not attempt to gain greater independence. At this time they were forced to react to a number of administrative changes. The order was integrated into the Strasbourg Franciscan province in 1606 and later into the Cologne province. Abbess Rudrisch asked the Emperor, for example, in 1626 for the right to attach a small piece of land to the cloister even before she received permission from the Cologne provincial.[73] Further more significant steps were taken by Abbess Eufrosina Mosern von Öttingen (1652–1671) who

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[69] Cf. Knetlová, "Chebská komenda," 53–59; H. Knetlová, "Regulace překračování hranic v období rekatolizace Chebu v první polovině 17. století," in *Navzdory hranici: migrační procesy na česko-německém pomezí. Příspěvky z odborné konference, Cheb 27.–29. května 2013* [Trotz der Grenze: Migrationsprozesse im tschechisch-deutschen Grenzgebiet: Fachtagungsvorträge, Eger 27.–29. Mai 2013] (Plzeň, 2013), 32–44; H. Knetlová, "Ex commissione reformationis: působení rekatolizační komise v Chebu," *SMKK* 18 (2010): 7–24; O. Kortus, "Počátky saského vpádu do Čech v roce 1631," in *Ve znamení zemí Koruny české: sborník k šedesátým narozeninám prof. PhDr. Lenky Bobkové, CSc.* (Praha: Casablanca, 2006), 155–168; O. Kortus, "Cheb a okolí za saského vpádu v letech 1631 a 1632," *SMKK* 16 (2008): 95–122.

[70] Concerning slow recatholization, see the works above and on the Jesuits also P. Beran, "O řeholních domech v městě Chebu," in *Sborník Krajského muzea Karlovarského kraje* (2006 [pub. 2007]), 31–56; Šamánková, *Cheb*, 106–108, 110–111, 125–126.

[71] Hlawatsch, *Die Geschichte*, 17–20; Prökl, *Eger*, 608–616. The same situation paid for a number of monasteries, cf. K. Benešovská, "Klášter minoritů a klarisek ve Znojmě a jeho středověká podoba," in *Česko-rakouské vztahy ve 13. století* (Praha: Rakouský kulturní institute, 1998), 217–236, here 221; concerning the position on monastic or church property, see Macek, *Víra a zbožnost jagellonského věku*, 200–222.

[72] NLP, Cheb MS.46/261(141), *De ortu et progressu*, 151.

[73] Ibid.; SOkA Cheb, sign. A-2128, fasc. 490, box 362, *the Abbess to Emperor Ferdinand II* January 12, 1629.

aimed at obtaining independence from the patronage. She was the first abbess of noble lineage after quite a long time.[74]

In 1660 she requested the copies of all the records concerning the convent subjects from the year 1560 from the townhall office and became once again a superior head of the convent property eventhough the municipality was well informed about the convent's income.[75] The municipality and the Abbess confirmed the *Akord über Aufhobung des interims Recess undt Besteuerung der stiftischen Unterthanen* in 1664, which did not separate the subjects completely yet.[76] As testified by further evidence, some of the taxation of the subjects remained in force and the convent never fully regained its right of justice over the subjects. Abbess Mosern nevertheless accomplished a number of victories. She was aware of the fact that she was prior to a slowly filling convent and that she could enjoy the patronage of a growing province. In order to support among other things the separation of the convent and the town, she asked her superiors to ceremonially integrate the convent into the Strasbourg province.[77]

Mutual Cooperation between the Convent and the Town

With the installation of Abbess Walther in 1671, the delimitation of the mutual relationships between the town and the convent continued. The convent subjects paying taxes to the municipality were listed and from that moment on they were supposed to pay the taxes to the convent. Although Abbess Mosern worked at transferring the taxes of the subjects back to the convent, many of them continued paying the town throughout the entire period of her presidency and continued to do so until as late as 1671.[78] The convent's original property was even listed during the reign of Johana Pentz, elected 1679, who listed all the homesteads belonging to the convent (98 in total).[79]

The dynamic administration of the three last mentioned abbesses of the Poor Clares convent did not refrain from viewing the town representatives as the convert patrons. The town population began to consider the convent as an appropriate place for their daughters to live as of the second half of the seventeenth century and onward. One of the preserved sermons preached in 1670 at the profession of Brigita Chemnitzerin by the Franciscan Leon Wolf, alluding to both Biblical and classical texts, proves that aside from the part that had been returned to the convent, it also abounded in influential personalities of spiritual life. These people came from the neighbouring Franciscans and it was not long before the economic ties between the convent and the municipality were replaced by family bonds.[80]

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[74] NLP, Cheb MS.46/261(141), *De ortu et progressu*, 157–158; P. Mašek, *Šlechtické rody v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku od Bílé Hory do současnosti*, vol. 1 (Praha: Argo, 2008), 656.

[75] SACh, ACh, sign. A-3032, fasc. 490, box 362, *Extract auß denen Protocollen der Stadt Eger*.

[76] SACh, ACh, sign. A-3032, fasc. 490, cart. 362, Akord von January 1, 1664.

[77] NLP, Cheb MS.46/261(141), *De ortu et progressu*, 151.

[78] SACh, ACh, sign. A-3033, fasc. 490, box 362, *town council to Abbess Walther* October 22, 1671.

[79] SACh, ACh, sign A-3034, fasc. 490, box 362, Stifft S. Clarae Hoff.

[80] NLP, Cheb MS.46/257(137), NVPTIAE AGNI. "Das ist, schuldigiste Lob- vnnd Ehren Predig ÿber die geistliche, geisterfreuende vnd Jungfreuliche Ehrtreuung des him[m]lishen Seelen Freüers Christi Jesu. Mit der Edlen, vill Ehren- und Tugendtreichen Jungfrauen Anna Sabina Margaretta, jetzt aber Brigitta Chemnitzerin Ordens der heiligen Jungfrauen und Mutter Clarae. Gehalten von P. F. Leone Wolff, Sancti Francisci Ordenß der strengeren Observantz, vnd des Convents zu Eger der Zeit Ordinari Prediger. 1670 den 26. Novemb[ris]."
Many of historians refered to the issues of thight bonds between nuns and their families. See for example E. Lehfeldt, "Discipline, Vocation, and Patronage: Spanish Religious Women in a Tridentine Microclimate," *Sixteenth Century Journal* XXX, no 4 (1999): 1009–1030.

It was in all probability Abbess Cecilia Walther who was the first to feel close to a future burgomaster, Johann Adam Walther.[81] The daughter of the burgomaster of Cheb, Bernardina Veterrle von Wilderbrunn, became the abbess of the convent in 1688. Apart from a short period between 1703–1707, she served 31 years in the position. Together with the municipality or the *Obrigkeit*, as the Poor Clares preferred calling it, Bernardina dedicated her presidency to the complete rebuilding of the Medieval church, the convent and other parts of the husbandry yard.[82]

The leading voice in the reconstruction was ascribed to these people: the provincial, the burgomasters, the confessor, the town scrivener and the bailiff. The convent was built in 1693–1697, followed by the new church in 1708–1711 and consequently a new building for the administrative officers. Finally, the granary, sheep pen, bakery and brewery were adapted. The architect of the church, belonging from the architectural point of view to so-called *intersecting buildings*, has been disputed up to the present. Despite the fact that a building of this type would suggest Krystof Dietzenhofer as the architect, there is a severe lack of sources to provide any evidence in support. This architect and artist operated at the fortress of Cheb for three years 1698–1701 and it is not improbable that he could have worked for the Poor Clares on the grounds of an invitation of the town representatives, although he had already started working outside the area of Cheb.[83] Regardless of the possible but uncertain role of the municipality in the choice of the architects and builders, it is beyond doubt that the family bonds of the burgomaster and the abbess did influence the length of reign served by Abbess Bernardina. At that time the superiors usually insisted on a so-called *triennium*, a three year period in the office of abbess. The Abbes initially served for 15 years, after which she was formally replaced by Salomena Mühlwenzelin in 1704–1707, only to continue in the office up until 1723.[84] Apart from ruling over the convent, she could consequently support the tight bonds between the convent and the town that were taken advantage of by the town.

The Double Testimony of the "Town Convent"

It is certainly typical that under the long presidency of Abbess Vetterlin there are no records of the normative rules added to the convent by its superiors, although this era immediately follows the reform that applied throughout the Franciscan order within which the reformates and recollects were defined.[85] The Alveldt comment on the rule of Saint Claire saw a re-edition as late as 1704, although this time it was presented as one of the texts directed not only at the Poor Clares

[81] Cf. Sturm, *Eger*, Bd. 1, 387–392. Cf. also K. Siegl, *Seznam majitelů měšťanských domů v Chebu. Purkmistři města Chebu v letech 1282–1926 a členové městské rady v letech 1384–1777* [Verzeichnis von Besitzern Alt-Egerer Häuser, die Bürgermeister der Stadt Eger von 1282 bis 1926, Ratsherren, Gerichtsherren und Gemeinherren in Alt-Eger von 1384 bis 1777] (Cheb: Chebské museum, 2001).

[82] NLP, Cheb MS.46/261(141), *De ortu et progressu*, 158; and her correspondence with the town council in SACh, ACh, sign. A-3035, fasc. 490, box 362. Concerning the family of Bernardina Veterle cf. E. Tkocz, "Übergänge gestalten: Die Kandidaturphase im Klarissenkloster Bamberg während der Frühen Neuzeit," *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 105, no 1–4 (2012): 221–275, here 224. Bernardina was writing the report about her administration of the convent: Sach, Ach, *Urbary of the cloister of S. Clare in Cheb* 1492–1682, 93–110.

[83] NLP, Cheb MS.46/261(141), *De ortu et progressu*, 152–155; L. Schreiner, ed., *Kunst in Eger. Stadt und Land* (Stuttgart: Langen – Mueller Verlag, 2000), 148–156; Vlček, Sommer, Foltýn, *Encyklopedie*, 244–245; J. Boháč, *Cheb – město* (Domažlice: Nakladatelství Českého lesa, 1999), 61–65.

[84] NLP, Cheb MS.46/261(141), *De ortu et progressu*, 158.

[85] Cf. H. Holzapfel, *History of the Franciscan Order* [translation of *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens, Freiburg*, 1909], 236–241, online: http://archivum.ferencesek.hu/letoltes/irodalom/HolzapfelHistory.pdf, accessed November 8, 2016. On the reform of female Franciscan cloisters at this time, see also: M. Elbel, J. Kašpárková, "Continuity and Reform: The Znojmo Poor Clares and the Bohemian Franciscan Province in the Early Modern Period," *Archivum franciscanum historicum* 105, no 1–4 (2012): 165–195.

of Cheb.[86] New constitutions for the convent of Cheb were only issued in 1729 after the chapter of the province gathered in Augsburg.[87]

The statutes are subdivided into 15 chapters. Based on the book title they are only a newly revised text and at the same time aspire to be a text translated into *deutlicher Teutschen Sprach*. The original convent regulations could have allegedly been written in Latin, passed on to the convent either in the Middle Ages or at the latest in the early seventeenth century when the renovation of the order led order messengers to distribute texts edited by various order chapters across countries and provinces. The texts were not written, however, as comments to each of the article of the rule in question. They were laid down as a set of rules concerning the most important issues of convent life, the admission of novices, the explanation of the three main vows, the issue of a cloister, the communication between the convent and the outside world and the convent administration. Although the texts do not convey the idea of life within an order, they could be described as texts laid down after a visitation. It seems probable that the texts originated after a concrete visit of the nuns. The regulations describe mistakes and ways of avoiding similar situations in the future. The overwhelming majority of the recommendations within the context of the Cheb convent dealt with the relationship between the convent and the outside world. The regulations which were paid enormous attention to were those describing the borderline between the two subjects.

The statutes open with the rules of novice admission and continue with the issue of new nun formation. There is an emphasis on and a detailed description of how it is possible to reject a candidate inappropriate for convent life. Candidates *schwach von Leibs-Kräfften und Verstand* were viewed as inadmissible, as well as candidates who had a person of a different faith in their lineage traceable as far as four generations back. The *Satzungen* described the process of voting for a candidate. The consequences leading to the sin of *simony* were also described. It was possible, in contrast, to admit as nuns those candidates who were dedicated to God in an early age by their parents as so-called *oblates*.[88]

The statutes were also designed to cope with all those customs by which the future candidate was introduced to the convent and which flourished in the environment where the nuns and their relatives were closest to one another. The candidates were forbidden from dancing as well as from devoting themselves to any of the profane *Uppigkeiten* which were allegedly part of their life before oblation. The candidates were recommended or even obliged to spend at least three days in spiritual exercise. During the novice era their contact with the world outside the cloister was abandoned.[89]

Satzungen was proceeded by a description of a proper way of fulfilling monastic vows. Special attention was paid to the rule of poverty which excluded all vanity, ostentatiousness in attire, food, drink or books and above all demonstrating the wealth of the individual families of the town through *Gebrauch von Silber, Gold und Perlein an denen Rosenkräntzen, Büchern und Privat-Altären.* Keeping any present was viewed, for example, as breaking of the rules.[90]

[86] *Regul deren wohlehrwürdigen und geistlichen Closter-Jungfrauen Ordens der heiligen Jungfrauen und Mutter Clarae, welche Pabst Urbanus der IV in dem Jahr Christi 1264 denselben gegeben und zu halten anbefohlen. Sambt einer kurtzen Außlegung der Heil[igen] Regul, der heiligen Mutter Clarae Testament und Segen: Auß einem Uhr-Alten geschriebenen Buch, nach dem Original-Text, in gegenwärtiger Form verfasset durch F.T.D.* Eger, 1704.

[87] *Erneuerte Satzungen Vor unser Hochlöbliches Gottes-Hauß und Jungfräuliches Closter Der Clarisserinen zu Eger. So in dem Jahr 1729. von Neuem übersehen, Und zu Augspurg im Closter der Minderen Brüder Recollecten zum H. Grab genant, in deutlicherer Teutschen Sprach übersetzet, auch allda In dem Provincial-Capitul von dem Hoch-Wohl-Ehrwürdigen Diffinitorio gutgeheissen und bekräfftiget worden*. Augspurg, 1729.

[88] *Erneuerte Satzungen*, 1–19, quotationfrom 3. The warning against different faith reflects the fact that recatholization in the region around Cheb was not absolute.

[89] Ibid., 6–16.

[90] Ibid., 36–56, quotationfrom 44.

The constitutions also attempted to limit the thus far in all probability lively environment at *Thor-Winden*, at the convent door and in the *parlatorio* by issuing rules that required these border places to be closed at 6 in the evening and that they stayed completely closed during church holidays. It was no longer possible at the *Winden* to sing or play musical instruments or enjoy any excessive amusement accompanied by food and drinks. Such groups would meet in the *parlatorio*. It was also forbidden to pass children to the rota master for the sake of the amusement of the nuns even though the abbess or the rota master might allow it. The dispute room would be open as rarely as possible. The regulations drew attention to the fact that the gates should only be opened for the sake of transporting huge loads.[91]

The lists of nuns reveal to what extent these rules were inevitable. It is possible by means of these lists to follow the bonds of the nuns towards the environment of the town of Cheb. Unfortunately, the archives do not make it possible to follow the ties in greater detail. There are primarily two lists of the nuns admitted to the convent, with both of them are rather late in terms of dating. One of the lists was issued by the chapter in 1771 on the occasion of the province chapter meeting which was dedicated to a description of the state of the province as a whole.[92] The other list is only 11 years younger and dates back to the era of the convent abolition.[93] A compilation of the two lists makes it possible to follow the mutual relationship between the Poor Clares and the town of Cheb using the sample set of 34, respectively 38 nuns. The results are represented in the table below. The table clearly demonstrates that the Cheb convent was rarely entered by candidates from cities or towns other than Cheb. It is also apparent that the convents were mostly sought out by the daughters of Cheb middle class families.[94]

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[91] Ibid., 68–80.

[92] NLP, Cheb MS.46/142(75), *LIBELLUS Trium Ordinum S. P. Francisci in Provincia Argentina A Capitulo Provinciali Anno 1771 die 19 Maji celebrato Usque ad futurum Capitulum intermedium*, f. 79v-80r.

[93] NA, APA, inv. no 3504, sign. C 121/5, box 2115, *Verzeichnuß derjenigen Egerishen Exclarisserinen*.

[94] The date about the fathers and their professions are taken from birth registers – Taufbuch E (1684–1707); F (1707–1723); G (1724–1736); H (1737–1748); J (1748–1756) from parish Cheb – St Nicolaus which are deposit in State Regional Archive in Plzeň. These books are digitalized at www.portafontium.eu. The order of sisters and other dates are according to a list from 1771 (NLP, Cheb MS.46/142(75), *LIBELLUS Trium*). The Poor Clares received a new name, with the identification of sisters being made on the base of their surname and year of birth, after entering the convent. This identification does not provide clear results. I note each case involving doubts. The research was only carried out for persons with Cheb as their place of birth.

Cheb Poor Clares and their Origin at the End of the Eighteenth Century

name	*place of birth*	*date of baptism*	*father's name and profession*	*entering the convent*
Maria Lucia **Zembschin**	Egrana	Sept. 13, 1711	Georg Adam Zempsch, Bürger und Hübschmacher	1731
Kunigundis **Deltschin**	Tirschen-reuthensis	1703		1737
Konstancia **Junckerin***	Egrana	1698		1715
Angela **Hacklin**	Egrana	July 9, 1703	Sebastian Hackl, Knecht	1725
Johana **Birnerin**	Egrana	Jan. 12, 1716	Johann Birner, Bürger und Zimmermann	1733
Agnes **Kahlin**	Egrana	Nov. 28, 1718	Johann Andreas Kahl, Bürger und?	1736
Anna **Dieblerin**	Augsbur-gensis	1736		
Josepha **Loymannin**	Egrana	Jan. 18, 1719	Abraham Loimann, Bürger und Handelsmann	1736
Margaretha **Martinin**	Corona?	1716		1740
Theresia **Ottin**	Egrana	Oct. 12, 1722	Johann Wilhelm Otto, Bürger und Tuchmacher	1743
Theophila **Grosin**	Egrana	June 24, 1721	Johann Gross, Bürger und Wundartz	1743
Angela **Werndlin**	Egrana	Sept. 2, 1727		1745
Benedicta **Moehlerin**	Tirschen-reuthensis	1726		1748
Nepomucena **Scheiberin****	Egrana	1731	?	1750
Margaretha **Dotzlerin**	Neo-Stadiensis	1727		1753
Francisca **Reithin*****	Egrana	1734	?	1756

Conclusion

The convents established in royal towns in the Middle Ages were usually homes to the nobility. This meant there was a mutual distance between the convent population and the population in the convent surroundings. The town representatives lacked the power to change this up to the end of the sixteenth century. The Reformation brought many a certain means which could be used to achieve this goal. I was particularly interested in the possibility of taking advantage of the property accumulated by the convents. The fact that the cloister was abolished is not unusual, but that the order members were expelled and the property confiscated. In the case of convents it was demonstrated that a number of them could exist further as an organic part of the town.

This is also true for the Poor Clares convent of Cheb. Prior to the onset of the Reformation in the town, the Abbess, who was able to predict the inevitable end of the convent, abandoned some of its valuable property and fled the convent. The convent's further destiny, however, amongst other things due to the illegitimate conversion was not fulfilled. The convent properties became an important part of the income of the town and the convent continued to serve its purposes. The convent's integration into the economic and social life of the town continued even after the second conversion of the town. The convent fought a long-term battle to distance itself from the

name	*place of birth*	*date of baptism*	*father's name and profession*	*entering the convent*
Felicitas **Adlerin******	Egrana	June 9 / Oct. 9, 1733	Thomas Adler, Bürger und Weisgerber / Johann Antonius Adler, Bürger und Weisgerber	1756
Barbara **Haberzetin**	Cubitensis	1736		1756
Klara **Bockin*******	Egrana	1742	?	1761
Aloisia **Ernstin**	Egrana	Oct. 7, 1742	Johann Wilhelm Leopold Ernst, Bürger und Deutscher Schul Halter	1761
Cecilia **Zembschin**	Egrana	Aug. 28, 1745	Sigismund Joseph Zembsch, Bürger und Hutmacher	1764
Hortulana **Grasoldin**	Egrana	May 5, 1744	Johann Albert Grassoldt, Bürger und Tuchmacher	1764
Antonia **Goetzin**	Egrana	Feb. 12, 1742	Johann Götz, Bürger und Glasser	1764
Catharina **Schweilerin**	Egrana	May 12, 1750	Herr Johann Martin Joseph Schweiller, Physico	1770
Rosa **Meyerlin**	Egrana	June 8, 1753	Johann Michael Maier, Bürger und Weissbäcker	1770
Bernardina **Mühlwentzlin********	Egrana	1752	?	1770
Hyacinta **Klaugerin**	Egrana	April 18, 1747	Johann Peter Klauger, Burgknecht	1770
Maxentia **Schmidin******	Egrana	Nov. 19, 1750 / Dec. 1, 1750	Christoph Bernard Schmidt, Bürger und Metzger / Johann Caspar Schmidt, Bürger und Zinngiesser	after 1771
Praxedis **Voelckin**	Ottagrun	1752		
LAY SISTERS				
Sabina **Rabin**	Egrana	Sept. 7, 1723	Andreas Rab, Taglöhner	1746
Apolonia **Bayerin**	Einsidlensis	1729		1748
Crescentia **Knötnerrin**	Egrana	Nov. 25, 1731	Johann Josef Knöttner, Bürger und Taschner	1753
Martha **Natterin**	Egrana	Aug. 24, 1730	Johann Gottlieb Natto, Bürger und Tuchmacher	1756
Anastasia **Hirtin**	Ger?	1740		1761
Ursula **Gruberin*********	Egrana	1742	?	1763
Kordula **Wagnerin**	Corona?	1739		1763
Konstantia **Riedlin**	Egrana	March 6, 1751	Georg Christoph Riedl, Bürger und Metzger	after 1771
Tekla **Teschauerin**********	Egrana	1750	?	

* According to the relevant birth register in 1698, any daughter from the Juncker family was not baptism in parish Cheb – St Nicolaus; ** According to the relevant birth register in 1731, any daughter from the Scheiber family was not baptism in parish Cheb – St Nicolaus; *** According to the relevant birth register in 1734, any daughter from the Reith family was not baptism in parish Cheb – St Nicolaus; **** Two possibilities; ***** According to the relevant birth register in 1742, any daughter from the Bock family was not baptism in parish Cheb – St Nicolaus; ****** According to the relevant birth register in 1752, any daughter from the Mühlwentzel family was not baptism in parish Cheb – St Nicolaus; ******* According to the relevant birth register in 1742, any daughter from the Gruber family was not baptism in parish Cheb – St Nicolaus; ******** According to the relevant birth register in 1750, any daughter from the Teschauer family was not baptism in parish Cheb – St Nicolaus.

influence of the town, but never completely succeeded. The convent achieved a different type of bond towards the town when a number of the middle-class daughters became abbesses and the convent was entered by some of the bourgeoisie daughters. The ties among families within both the convent and the town were so strong that even the text of the constitution, normally dedicated to commenting on individual demands of the order regulations, was designed to delimit the borderline between the convent of Cheb and its hometown.

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The Story of the Moravian Jewish Brach Family[1]

Abstract | This study deals with the Moravian Jewish merchant family of the Brachs. Originally cereal traders, they turned to malt production for export in the 1870s and over the course of several decades established themselves as leading maltsters in Austria-Hungary and later Czechoslovakia. The Brachs moved from Přerov to Olomouc at the end of the 1880s where they quickly took an active part in the public and economic life of the town over the following six decades. The Brachs attained the peak of their business activities in the 1920s and 1930s when they ran three malthouses: apart from the original factory in Olomouc (Czech Republic), a second one in Schöna an der Elbe (Germany) and a third one in Paterson (New Jersey, USA). The tranquil life of the family ended violently with the onset of Nazism. The maltsters had to flee Europe in various complicated ways, their property was confiscated and Aryanized. A number of their relatives died in concentration camps. Post-war developments in Europe as well as unsuccessful attempts at restitution of the family property strengthened their self-identification with their new homeland (USA) amongst most of the family members. This study aims at acquainting readers with the fates of the members of this family and provides insight into the obstacles which accompanied the research and writing of this article. I am convinced that many of the outlined problems (whether heuristic or methodological) can be generalized, as can the search for their solutions.

Keywords | Shoah; Jewish History; Family History; Olomouc; Malt Industry

This study, dealing with the Jewish entrepreneurial Brach family, has two objectives: to acquaint the reader with the fates of certain members of this family and provide insight into the obstacles which accompanied the research and writing of this article. I am convinced that a number of the outlined problems (whether heuristic or methodological) can be generalized, as can the search for their solutions.

Many Jewish families from Bohemia and Moravia experienced destinies similar to those of the members of the Brach Family in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As with other Jews in the Habsburg Monarchy, the Brachs were impacted by the Josephinian reforms of the late eighteenth century, which began the slow process of Jewish emancipation. These reforms, which were regarded as positive by most Jews, made possible their gradual assimilation into their surrounding communities and resulted in their social and economic advancement. It was mainly during the 1850s, at a time of increasing economic liberalism, that many Jews –including the Brachs –made use of the more favorable conditions to enhance their business activities. They were undoubtedly aided in this by the fact that their activities were no longer restricted to the Jewish ghettos, which had been abolished in the revolutionary year of 1848. The peak of Jewish emancipation in the Habsburg monarchy is generally regarded as the 1860s when Jews

[1] This study is an outcome of the project FPVČ 2012/24 "The Economic Activities of the Jewish Community of Olomouc over the years 1848–1938" (The scientific research support fund of the Faculty of Arts of Palacky University in Olomouc). The study was published in the Czech language in the journal *Časopis Matice moravské* 2 (2013): 351–367.

were granted civil and political rights equal to those of the other inhabitants of the monarchy. The Brach family lived in Přerov at that time.

Over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century, the Brachs expanded their business and moved to the nearby larger town of Olomouc. There they owned a large-capacity export malthouse (in Olomouc-Bělidla), which was among the largest malthouses in the Habsburg monarchy (Austria-Hungary beginning in 1867) and later in Czechoslovakia. Over the next three generations they took an active part in the religious and social life of "German" Olomouc and contributed notably to the development of its economic growth.

The tranquil life of the family was violently interrupted at the end of the 1930s. Increasing repression by the Nazis forced most of the family members to leave Europe in various complicated ways. Others, however, were not so fortunate and died in concentration camps. The family and business properties were confiscated and Aryanized. After the war, most of the Brach survivors settled in the USA and their descendants can be found there today. While they did not return to live to either Czechoslovakia or Germany, they did travel extensively in Europe and did not erase their previous lives from their memories. They did not dwell on the past, but they also did not erase it. This might be a reason that some descendants of the Olomouc maltsters know relatively little about the lives of their ancestors.

What remains today of the Brach family in Olomouc? A devastated malthouse in Bělidla, the family residence on Žižkovo Square, most of which is currently a kindergarten, and the magnificent tomb of Hermann Brach, founder of the family business, located in the Jewish part of the Olomouc central cemetery in Neředín.

As far as local historiography is concerned, the surname Brach is not entirely unknown. It can be found in specialized historical as well as popular works which deal with the economic activities of the Jewish community in Olomouc. The amount of information about this family, however, is very small. Unless the surname Brach is merely a part of lists of Jewish entrepreneurs in Olomouc, the written record is limited to the information that the Brachs ranked among the Olomouc maltsters and participated in the religious life of the local Jewish community. More detailed information about the Brach family and their activities was previously presented in the published dissertation by the author of this paper.[2] Based on a study of archive materials, the author turned his attention to the scope of the business activities of this family and acquainted readers with some of its members. There remained, however, numerous gaps and inaccuracies (often given by the character of the archive materials studied) which had to be eliminated. The key question was how to do this as the literary sources from domestic archives were more or less exhausted.

One possible way was to search for relatives and new contacts and establish an e-mail correspondence with some descendants of the Brach family.[3] Communication with Deborah and Erica Brach and with Hannelore Hahn[4] (USA) gradually elicited some critical information which markedly contributed to the completion and correction of the family's story. Further key

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[2] Michael Viktořík, *Osudy olomouckých sladoven a sladovnických firem v kontextu vývoje sladovnického průmyslu (od 60. let 19. století do roku 1848)* (Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého, 2007).

[3] Contact with Erica Brach (Chicago, Illinois), a daughter of Herbert Brach, was established in 2005 thanks to Mgr. Miroslav Papoušek of the National Institute for the Protection and Conservation of Monuments and Sites, (Regional Office Olomouc), who remembered that one of the Brach sisters visited Olomouc and left him her contact information. Sometime later written contact was established with her sister, Deborah Brach (San Antonio, Texas). Both sisters willingly communicated with me via e-mail, even though, due to their commitments, with considerable delays. This is the reason why certain interesting information is not found in either the prepared dissertation or in its printed version, published in 2007.

[4] Hannelore Hahn published her memoirs in a book (Hannelore Hahn, *On the way to feed the Swans. A Memoir by Hannelore Hahn* [New York: Tenth House Enterprises, 1982]) where she mentions her childhood in Olomouc. For more details see http://www.hannelorehahn.com.

information was obtained directly in the village of Schöna an der Elbe (Saxony, Germany) where the family owned a second malthouse. The local chronicler, Dieter Füssel, provided the author of this study not only with some useful information on the Brach family, but also with a contact with Andreas Hechler, a student at Humboldt University of Berlin, who in his thesis, dealt with German anti-Semitism with a particular focus on the Brach and related Hahn families.[5]

The story of the Brach family, which is now presented to the reader, was finally completed providing a more well-rounded picture of the lives and significance of this Moravian Jewish business family. This was accomplished not only with the use of the above-mentioned sources, but also by personal meetings and interviews with some of the family's descendants. Eric Brach, Professor of American Literature at California Lutheran University and a great, great-grandson of Hermann Brach, visited Olomouc in August 2011. Two years later, in June 2013, Erica and Deborah Brach, great-granddaughters of Hermann Brach visited Olomouc as well.

From Přerov to Olomouc

The first contact on the part of the Brachs with Olomouc can be traced back to the 1870s, more than twenty years after the Jews were permitted once again to settle in this town.[6] At that time the Přerov merchant Hermann Brach (1845–1901),[7] one of the six children of Lazar Brach (1816–1862) and his wife Elsa[8], was already engaged in an extremely progressive and new branch of the food industry – the production of malt for export.[9] Technological changes in the beer industry had induced a global demand for quality malt. Breweries were not able at the time to produce a sufficient amount of the beer brewing ingredient and it was often of poor quality. They consequently began to look for a better product in regions where high-quality barley was cultivated. Among the most important regions of this kind was the Haná region in Central Moravia, where the export malt industry had been established in the 1860s. Many merchants of Jewish descent, who were earlier primarily engaged in the trade of agricultural goods, began to rent old manorial breweries where they gradually put beer brewing out of operations and focused on the production of malt. This business became profitable almost immediately and the production of malt for export experienced a boom up until the 1890s.

[5] Andreas Hechler, "'Unsere Gemeinde ist jetzt vollkommen judenfrei.' Voids in Reinhardtsdorf-Schöna – Effekte des deutschen Antisemitismus." (Master's Thesis, Insitut für Europäische Ethnologie an der Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin, 2008). Andreas Hechler based his work about the Brach and Hahn families on documents which were provided to him by Hannelore Hahn, Scott Ben Hahn and other family members. He also worked with data stored in the Visual History Archive, which is part of the Shoah Foundation.

[6] The Jews were expelled from Olomouc in 1454 by a decree of King Ladislaus the Posthumous. They were not allowed to come back until 1848.

[7] Deborah Brach provided the author of this study with a wide-spreading family tree of the Brachs beginning in the eighteenth century and ending at the present. The eldest ancestor included is Abraham Brach (without any other data). One of his descendants was Joachim Brach who had three children: Herschel (1765–1828), Samuel (?–1835) and Eleasar (1792–1832). Most important to our story is Herschel's oldest descendant – Joachim (1784–1846). One of Joachim's eight children was the Přerov merchant Lazar Brach (1816–1884), who was, in turn, the father of the future Olomouc maltster, Hermann Brach.

[8] The registry entries indicate that the mother of Hermann Brach – Elsa (in some sources also named as Charlotta/ Lotti/ Elise) – was the daughter of a *Familiant* (Jewish man who had permission to marry and have a family according to laws about *Familianten*) from Přerov Joachim Briesse (1777–1849) and of Judith, nee Grün. Joachim Briess was the father of Jakob Briess and therefore the grandfather of the maltster Ignatz Briess sen. (1833–1931), who was a pioneer in the export malting industry in the Habsburg monarchy (for details about the business activities of the Briess family, see Michael Viktořík, "Wilhelm a Ignatz Briessovi – osudy významných moravských podnikatelů na pozadí vývoje sladovnického průmyslu," in *Šlechtic podnikatelem – podnikatel šlechticem. Šlechta a podnikání v českých zemích v 18. –19. století*, eds. Jiří Brňovjak, Aleš Zářický [Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita, 2008], 315–324). The Brach family and the Briess family were connected (i.e., Hermann Brach was a cousin of Ignatz Briess sen.) and there is no doubt that these connections had an influence on the business of both malting industry families.

[9] For more details on the rise and development of the export malt industry, see Viktořík, *Osudy olomouckých sladoven a sladovnických firem*.

Hermann Brach caught this trend and began to produce malt in rented factory buildings in Přerov as early as the early 1870s.[10] Some years later he rented the W. A. Scholten factory which produced syrup, starch, sugar and dextrin at Bělidla, today one of Olomouc's districts. It was most likely in 1879 that Hermann Brach bought this factory from Scholten (in the wake of Scholten's financial problems) for 40,000 gold coins and gradually began to develop it into one of the largest export malthouses in Austria-Hungary.[11] Ten years later (1889), the malthouse at Bělidla was running under the registered name of *Hermann Brach, Hanna-Malzfabrik Olmütz* and was managed by Hermann and his brother Joachim Löbl, recte Leopold (1854–1907).[12]

Family materials indicate that the Brachs moved from Přerov to Olomouc after 1888.[13] This date cannot be verified, however, as the 1880 census lists in Olomouc did not include anybody with the surname Brach while the 1890 census listed the families of both business partners. It is interesting to note that Hermann's eldest son Leonhard (1871–1952) attended the fourth class of the German State Real School in Olomouc in 1885 (other family members attended this school at a later date). Whether or not his parents and siblings were also living in Olomouc at that time remains a question.[14]

After their arrival in Olomouc, Hermann Brach, his wife Ernestine and children Leonhard, Robert, Malvina, Ida and Elsa lived in a flat in Předhradí, an area in the centre of town at no 77 Laudon-Gasse, (today Komenského Street).[15] Also living in the household were the maid Marie Machačová and the female cook Františka Hradilová. Unlike the Jewish German-speaking Brach family, the household servants were Catholics and spoke Czech.

Leopold, his wife Hermine and their son Friedrich also lived in Předhradí, but in another house. The three-member family, served by the housemaid Filoména Vybíralová, lived in their own flat in a house at no 84 Franz-Josefstraße (today Masaryk Street).[16]

Life in Olomouc

The Brachs took an active part in the public life of Olomouc shortly after moving there. Hermann Brach became a member of the building committee of the Jewish synagogue in Olomouc in 1894[17] and was an active member of the Austrian Maltsters Society which was based in Olomouc beginning in 1890.[18] The Brachs were also long-time donors of several scholarships and foundations. These included, for example, the Leopold Brach Foundation for the Poor (1908),

[10] Almost all the family documents make mention of the fact that Hermann Brach, despite objections by the Christian population, ran a malthouse in Přerov as early as 1872.

[11] Regional historiography does not contain any information about this factory. The note that Hermann Brach bought the malthouse from W. A. Scholten in 1879 comes from the introduction to the inventory of the collection of *Hermann Brach, Hanácká sladovna Olomouc* (1912–1948). The collection is stored in the Land Archive Opava, regional office Olomouc.

[12] Land Archive Opava, regional office Olomouc, collection *Krajský soud v Olomouci, business agenda*, A I 15, file no 73.

[13] E.g., Hechler, "'Unsere Gemeinde ist jetzt vollkommen judenfrei.' Voids in Reinhardtsdorf," 65.

[14] State District Archive (SOkA) in Olomouc, collection *Německá státní reálka*. Next to the name of Leonhard's father in the school registration list was written "maltster of Přerov." The Brach family in all probability still lived in Přerov for some years. No additional details about the activities of the Brachs in Přerov could be found, however. The census lists in the State District Archive in Přerov – Henčlov do not contain any information. The register of the Přerov Jewish community does contain, however, the names of Robert, Leopold and Leonhard Brach and some other relatives.

[15] SOkA Olomouc, Olomouc City Archive (AMO), books, sign. 2203. The house owner was Wilhelm Redlich.

[16] Ibid., sign. 2204.

[17] K. Jezdinská, K, "Hospodářská a společenská aktivita židovské komunity v Olomouci v 2. polovině 19. století a na počátku 20. století" (Master's thesis, Palacký University,), 32.

[18] Viktořík, *Osudy olomouckých sladoven a sladovnických firem*, 193. This society with an Austria-wide range of activities united prominent maltsters of the monarchy. The society was established in 1878 and apart from a single decade (1890–1900), when it was based in Olomouc, had its main seat in Vienna.

the Hermann Brach Foundation for Support of the Jewish Female Society in Olomouc (1902) and the Dr. Phil. Emil Groag Foundation which was established by Robert and Leonhard Brach in 1917 in honour of their friend fallen in war.[19] As far as matters of belief and "nationality" are concerned, the Brachs were no different from most other Jewish maltsters in Olomouc. According to the census they claimed allegiance to the German language (and later nationality) and the Jewish religion toward which, however, they had a liberal approach. The social advancement of the family accompanied by their business success soon led to the need to build their own house. For this purpose, Hermann Brach approached the prominent Viennese architect Jakob Gartner. The reason for this particular choice was undoubtedly the fact that Gartner hailed from Přerov (the families of the Brachs and Gartners would have known one another), but also the good reputation of the architect (Gartner was, among other things, the architect for the Olomouc synagogue). The Brach family residence was built according to Gartner's design by the Kabeláč & Wittner Company in 1895–1896. The new family residence was located near the original home at no 37 Franz-Josefstraße (today Žižkovo Square 3).[20]

The memoirs by Hannelore Hahn, a great-granddaughter of Hermann Brach, include a short amusing passage dealing with everyday life in the house.[21] At the time of the first Czechoslovak Republic, the ground floor of the house was inhabited by Hermann's daughter Malvina and her husband Ing. Josef Medák. Hermann's youngest son Robert (1888–1953), among other things a passionate art collector, together with his wife, the concert pianist Stephanie (1888–1962), and children Erich Hermann (1913–1981) and Herbert (1920–1996), inhabited the most luxurious part of the house – the second floor. On the third floor lived a third sibling, Ida (1876–1942), with her husband, a doctor of medicine Josef Loeblowitz.[22] Hannelore Hahn reminisced in her memoirs about the outstanding cooking skills of all her aunts. Malvina was distinguished by strudel with whipped cream, Ida by butter pastry and Stephanie by Linzer tart.

Leopold's family also moved in the early twentieth century. According to police records, Leopold, his wife Hermine (1863–probably 1942)[23] and children Friedrich (1890–?), Rudolf (1892–?) and Franziska (1903–probably 1942) lived, as of 1901, in a Wenzel Wittner owned house at Fürstenbergstraße 10 (today no 109 třída Jiřího z Poděbrad).[24] After the death of Leopold Brach in 1907, Hermine and her children moved to Vienna. During the first Czechoslovak Republic, Franziska Brach returned to Olomouc where she worked up until 1938 as a private French teacher.[25]

[19] SOkA Olomouc, AMO, reg. 1874–1920, inv. no 217, file no 416.

[20] *Mährisches Tagblatt*, February 5, 1895, 5. According to Prof. Pavel Zatloukal, the Brach family house ranked among the best designs by Gartner in Olomouc. The house is very well preserved: the initials HB can still be seen above the entrance gate.

[21] Hahn, *On the Way to Feed the Swans*, 15–16.

[22] During this time and mentioned in the memoirs by Hannelore Hahn, three of the six siblings were no longer living in the house: Hermine (died in 1901), Leonhard and Elsa (married Loewin).

[23] Hermine Brach was deported from Brno to Theresienstadt (Transport Ad, no 413; March 23, 1942) and from Theresienstadt to the Treblinka extermination camp where she died (Transport Bv, no 536; October 15, 1942).

[24] SOkA Olomouc, *Policejní přihlášky*, Leopold Brach; Hermína Brachová, 1901.

[25] Ibid., Franziska Brachová; Hermína Brachová. Franziska lived in Olomouc on Denisova Street, until 1938 when she moved to Brno. Rudolf Brach died in 1925 in Vienna. Friedrich Brach lived in Prague until 1918. Nothing is further known about the lives of Friedrich. The fate of Franziska Brach may be, at least partially, reconstructed through transport records. She was initially transported from Brno to Theresienstadt (Transport Ad, no 412; March 23, 1942). Her second transport was to Lublin (Transport Al, no 514; April 23, 1942). Only 1 person out of 1,000 transported survived, Franziska was among the dead people.

Family Business

Hermann Brach was the sole owner of the company up until 1893. His brother Leopold consequently became his business partner and the firm *Hermann Brach, Hanna-Malzfabrik Olmütz* became a public company. The family business lost both of its owners in the first decade of the twentieth century. Hermann died in 1901. Leopold left the company in 1906 and died one year later. The family business was then continued by Hermann's sons Leonhard and Robert.[26]

The Brach's malting enterprise ranked among the companies with the most capital and property within the monarchy in the beginning of the twentieth century. In addition to their own malthouse in Olomouc (in Bělidla),[27] the Brachs produced malt in rented facilities in Šternberk, Zábřeh na Moravě and Holice.[28] The Pilsen-, Bavaria- and Munich-type malts which were produced in these facilities were exported under the brand name "Aurora" all over the world. The Brachs were pioneers in the overseas malt trade with Brazil, to which they exported their goods as early as 1892.[29] The company regularly took part in international exhibitions where it achieved high praise. A gold medal was among the awards received at the 1900 World Expo in Paris.

The expansion of the family business continued. The Brachs worked at penetrating deeper into the German market which was very lucrative due to the dynamic development of the brewing industry. In order to get around the unfavorable customs and tariffs policy between the neighboring countries, they decided to rent a malthouse in Germany in 1904. Thanks to a malthouse leased in Schöna an der Elbe the Brachs avoided superfluous charges. The price of their goods equalled that of their rivals and they also gained a foothold directly on the Elbe. Leonhard Brach bought the Saxon malthouse seven years later.[30]

The malthouse in Schöna ("Elbschloss Malzfabrik") was originally intended as a branch plant of the malthouse in Bělidla. The factory in Schöna was supplied with quality barley from Haná which had been transported on the Elbe and the produced malt was then distributed via railway to various German breweries. It became clear after only a few years that buying a malthouse in Saxony had been an extraordinarily successful business manoeuvre. The enterprise flourished to such an extent that it was no longer possible to manage it operatively from Olomouc. For this reason Leonhard Brach, his wife Louise (*1876, b. Pollack),[31] and their three children moved to Dresden in 1922. He managed the nearby plant in Schöna from there and Robert Brach oversaw the malthouse and the family residence in Olomouc.[32]

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[26] Land Archive Opava, regional office Olomouc, collection *Krajský soud v Olomouci, business agenda*, sign. A I 15, file no 73. Leonhard Brach entered the family business in 1901, Robert in 1912. The public company was run from 1905–1911 by Leonhard Brach and the attorney Sigmund Zerner (husband of Hermine Brach, the eldest daughter of Hermann Brach). Leonhard owned a 2/3 share and Robert a 1/3 share of the company after 1911.
Also: Correspondence with Deborah Brach, April 26, 2010. After the death of Hermann Brach, Leonhard Brach assumed care of his sisters and his young brother, Robert. Robert entered the family business after concluding his studies in Vienna. During World War I, Robert served in the Austro-Hungarian armed forces and was badly wounded. Also: Hechler, "'Unsere Gemeinde ist jetzt vollkommen judenfrei.' Voids in Reinhardtsdorf," 123. Leonhard also served in the Austro-Hungarian army during World War I, as did his wife Louise, who was a Red Cross volunteer.

[27] Viktořík, *Osudy olomouckých sladoven a sladovnických firem*, 195. The factory, with a capacity of about 900 trucks of produced malt, had four malt kilns, extensive American malting floors, a privately owned railroad spur and a large complex of granaries.

[28] Land Archive Opava, regional office Olomouc, collection *Obchodní a živnostenská komora v Olomouci*, inv. no 7271, file o 843.

[29] The information obtained from Andreas Hechler is based on his interview with Scott Ben Hahn.

[30] Land Archive Opava, regional office Olomouc, collection *Krajský soud v Olomouci, business agenda*, sign. A I 15, file no 73. Also: Hechler, "'Unsere Gemeinde ist jetzt vollkommen judenfrei.' Voids in Reinhardtsdorf," 66. Andreas Hechler mentions in his paper that the malthouse in Schona had been bought in 1908. It should be noted that the malthouse was located at the German-Czech frontier, on the German bank of the Elbe near Hřensko.

[31] Louise was the daughter of Sami (Salomon) Pollacek and Katti, nee Reif.

[32] Hechler, "'Unsere Gemeinde ist jetzt vollkommen judenfrei.' Voids in Reinhardtsdorf," 66.

Leonhard's son, Alfred Brach (1900–1973), joined the company *Hermann Brach, Hanna-Malzfabrik Olmütz* in 1923. This representative of the third generation of the maltster family lived in Dresden and worked as the director of the malthouse in Schöna.[33] Arthur Hahn (1899–1973) also joined the "Dresden branch of the company" in 1926. The ambitious young man with a legal education replied to an advertisement by Leonhard Brach, who was searching for a suitable partner for his daughter Helene, and at the same time for a competent manager for the malting enterprise. Arthur Hahn came from a German Orthodox Jewish family and was an outstanding merchant. Not surprisingly he soon became the corporate attorney and in 1930 a public partner in the company. His wide-reaching contacts soon helped many family members escape from Nazi Germany and from the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia.[34]

Out of the descendants of Robert Brach only his elder son Erich worked for the company.[35] After graduating from the German Gymnasium (secondary school) in Olomouc, his younger son, Herbert, went to Boston, Massachusetts, where he began his studies at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He later worked for an American multi-national corporation in Mexico which was engaged in the plastics industry.[36]

The Brachs were respected and influential tradesmen who set trends within the malting industry. Both Leonhard and Robert were members of key industry bodies and were able to secure sufficient amounts of barley for their malthouses even in times of shortage.[37]

In the first half of the 1930s, during the worldwide economic crisis, Leonhard decided to expand his business activities overseas and built a malthouse in the USA. The malthouse in Paterson (New Jersey) was there thanks to the diligent work of Robert and Alfred Brach, who regularly visited the USA in the 1930s. The third malthouse of the Brach family was put into operations in 1939.[38]

Escape from Europe

Very little is known about the destinies of individual members of the Brach and Hahn families in the late 1930s and during World War II from domestic archive materials. The only exception is the documented circumstances of the Aryanisation of the Olomouc malthouse.[39]

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[33] Alfred Brach was born 1900 in Olomouc. He married the daughter of the director of the Dresdner Bank, Paula Bensky (*1903), in the Dresden synagogue in 1927. They had a daughter named Ellen (*1927). After a divorce, he married Ellen Meinardus (*1908). With his second wife he had two sons Allan F. Brack (*1944) and Ronald S. Brack (*1948).

[34] Hechler, "'Unsere Gemeinde ist jetzt vollkommen judenfrei.' Voids in Reinhardtsdorf," 70.

[35] Correspondence with Deborah Brach, April 26, 2010. Erich Hermann was educated to be successful in the family business. Apart from his business studies, he studied finance in Switzerland and Belgium and English in Great Britain. His younger brother was also educated in languages: Herbert spoke English, French, Italian, and Czech and German of course.

[36] Hechler, "'Unsere Gemeinde ist jetzt vollkommen judenfrei.' Voids in Reinhardtsdorf," 76. Also: Correspondence with Deborah Brach, October 5, 2013. Herbert Brach was employed by an American multinational corporation for approximately eight years. He then established his own business in the plastics industry and ran it up until his retirement in 1982.

[37] Viktořík, *Osudy olomouckých sladoven a sladovnických firem*, 196. In the early 1920s, Leonhard Brach was a member of the supervisory board of the Czechoslovak Malting Joint-Stock Company in Brno. Ten years later Robert held influential posts in the malting trust. That the Brachs did not only think of themselves is testified to by the fact that Robert Brach provided the other Olomouc maltsters with secret information on prepared governmental measures, export times, financial policy, etc.

[38] Hechler, "'Unsere Gemeinde ist jetzt vollkommen judenfrei.' Voids in Reinhardtsdorf," 76.

[39] Land Archive Opava, regional office Olomouc, collection *Oberlandrát Olomouc*, file no 10.

Reconstruction of the family story would not have been possible without the memories of Erica and Deborah Brach[40] and without a Master's thesis by Andreas Hechler, which was based on the memories of other family members and on the study of documents from the family archive.[41]

The rise of Nazism first affected that part of the family which lived in Dresden. German authorities and law-enforcement agencies exerted pressure on the business partners and their families as of the mid-1930s. This pressure took various forms: official bullying, penalties, controls, reduction of their business activities and their gradual elimination from various spheres of public life. The malthouse in Schöna was Aryanised in November 1938. It was sold by force to the Dresden malting company Kwasny & Damm.[42] By then, however, all the co-partners of the company *Hermann Brach, Hanna-Malzfabrik Olmütz* had left Nazi Germany.

The family of Arthur Hahn escaped from Dresden to Teplice in November 1937. The Hahns stayed there until as late as March 1938, when Austria was annexed by Nazi Germany. At that time Arthur Hahn definitively decided to leave Europe. He contacted his relatives in the USA and asked them for support in obtaining the necessary permits.[43] Arthur with his wife Helene, daughter Hannelore, and three-month-old son, Thomas, lived in Prague until May 1938 when the family obtained exit visas. The Hahns flew to Switzerland where they met other family members – Leonhard and Louise Brach, Alfred Brach with his daughter, and even Robert and Stephanie Brach from Olomouc. This would be the last such family gathering for many years.

The Hahns were the first to go overseas. From Switzerland they travelled to Genoa, from where they departed on an Italian luxury ship for New York in September 1938. Leonhard and Louise Brach waited in Locarno, Switzerland until as late as April 1939 when they obtained the appropriate visas. They set off for New York from the French port of Cherbourgh in early May 1939. Alfred Brach and his wife Ellen departed from Europe for Cuba, from where they traveled to New York in February 1939.[44] Robert and Stefanie's journey was more difficult and complicated. Both of them had to return from Switzerland to the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia where they had to stand by and observe the bargaining and backstage manoeuvres around the sale of the malthouse in Bělidla. Their travel out of Europe was conditional on Robert's signature on a future purchase agreement. An appropriate purchaser was found relatively quickly, which only testifies to how lucrative the factory at Bělidla was. Even though the Dresden company Kwasny & Damm was extremely interested in the malthouse, it was Aryanised in the end by the Hamburg shipping company H. C. Horn in February 1940. The undervalued sum of 1.5 mil crowns, which the Brachs should have obtained, was never paid to them.

After having signed the manipulated purchase agreement, the Brachs escaped from the Protectorate on a train bound for Moscow. They travelled through the Soviet Union by Trans-Siberian Railway to Vladivostok, from where they took a ship to Japan. On their journey to the east they "only survived thanks to the good will of foreign people."[45] They spent close to two years in Tokyo waiting for asylum in the USA, or any other country that would take them. After obtaining emigrant documents, they traveled to Cuba on a Japanese freighter and arrived in Havana sometime just before December 1941. The Brachs did not arrive in the USA until after

[40] Erica and Deborah Brach were interviewed in Olomouc and Přerov on June 28, 2013.

[41] Hechler, "'Unsere Gemeinde ist jetzt vollkommen judenfrei.' Voids in Reinhardtsdorf," 71–76.

[42] Land Archive Opava, regional office Olomouc, collection *Oberlandrát Olomouc*, file no 10. Max Kwasny was a prominent NSDAP official.

[43] Hechler, "'Unsere Gemeinde ist jetzt vollkommen judenfrei.' Voids in Reinhardtsdorf," 74. These were the so-called "Affidavits of support," i.e., written assurance by relatives or close friends living in the USA who were willing to pay all incurred costs of the immigrants.

[44] Alfred's first wife Paula with daughter Ellen survived the war in Italy. Alfred's sister Ernestine (1902–1974) also went overseas. From the available documents, however, we learn nothing about her journey.

[45] Eric Brach, "The Legacy," *Chajejnu. List Židovské obce*, 11 (3) (November 2011): 13.

the end of the war.[46] As we already know, Herbert Brach had lived in the USA since the autumn of 1938. His elder brother Erich arrived there through England and Honduras two years later.[47]

From the wide-spreading Brach family it appears that those who survived had something to do with the family business. It is apparent that all the information, finances and contacts of Leonhard and Robert Brach and Arthur Hahn were used and appropriate measures were taken to save the lives of members of their immediate families. Up until the present day, none of the family members knows why the sisters of Leonhard and Robert, namely Malvina, Ida, and Elsa, and some other members of the family were not saved. Hannelore Hahn believes that the family members who had no connection to the family business essentially existed outside the family circle and had to care for themselves,[48] while other family members dispute this contention.

New Beginnings

The Brachs were far-sighted and in the first half of the 1930s had already begun to send their money to bank accounts abroad (mainly in Switzerland). Before their bank accounts in Germany and in the Protectorate were sequestered, they had been able to save sufficient money abroad. Their situation after arrival in the USA was quite solid compared to that of other immigrant families. Aside from their financial resources, the family also owned the malthouse in Paterson which was flourishing. 90% of the malt produced at this plant was exported to markets in Latin and South America.[49] The Brachs had long known foreign languages which helped them integrate into the surrounding society very quickly.

The horrors of the Shoah and the loss of relatives, on the other hand, deeply impacted and emotionally affected the family. The general disappointment with the developments in Europe and the post-war unsuccessful attempts for the restitution of family and business property in Czechoslovakia and Germany[50] only strengthened the self-identification of family members with their new homeland. Most of them were quickly granted American citizenship.[51] They were not interested in returning to Europe and many of them drew a bold line under their previous life. The places where it all began are now only visited by their grandchildren and great-grandchildren.

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[46] Ibid., 11–13; interview with Deborah and Erica Brach, June 28, 2013; Hechler, "'Unsere Gemeinde ist jetzt vollkommen judenfrei.' Voids in Reinhardtsdorf," 75.

[47] Correspondence with Deborah Brach, October 18, 2012.

[48] Hechler, "'Unsere Gemeinde ist jetzt vollkommen judenfrei.' Voids in Reinhardtsdorf," 102.

[49] National Malting Company in Paterson was sold by the Brachs in 1982.

[50] Ibid., 138–139. The descendants of Robert and Stephanie Brach obtained nothing within the restitution proceedings, not even after their restitution claim was made again in the 1990s. It was a different situation for the descendants of Leonhard Brach, where some settlement was made in the end.
The malthouse in Schöna was nationalized in 1952. A small exhibition about the factory is installed in the museum in Schöna an der Elbe (visited in July 2008). We learn there that the malthouse was put out of operations in 1990 and the building was demolished seven years later.
The malthouse in Bělidla was nationalized in 1948 and incorporated into the national malting enterprise *Obchodní sladovny, n.p. Olomouc*. The production of malt ended here in the late 1990s. The desolate factory is currently in the hands of a private owner. Viktořík, *Osudy olomouckých sladoven a sladovnických firem*, 198–199.

[51] Hechler, "'Unsere Gemeinde ist jetzt vollkommen judenfrei.' Voids in Reinhardtsdorf," 131. Herbert and Alfred Brach were granted American citizenship in 1943, Leonhard and Louise Brach and Arthur Hahn in 1944. Erich (Eric) Hermann Brach became an American citizen in 1946 and Stephanie Brach in 1953. Robert Brach did not live long enough to obtain citizenship, dying, shortly before it would have been granted, in 1953.

Instead of Conclusions

As was stated at the beginning of this paper, a number of parallels can be found in the fates of the three generations of the Brach family with the fates of other Jewish business families in the period under review. At the conclusion of this paper, I consequently attempt to anchor this case study on a deeper base and compare the story of the Brachs with a selected sample of other Jewish business families. The author of this study has long studied a specific group of so-called "Malzfabrikanten," that is Jewish businessmen engaged in the export malt industry.[52] During his several years of research he has related the "stories" of more than 20 maltster families, mostly from Central Moravia. This research has gathered a sufficient amount of comparative material to allow the drawing of general conclusions and compare the obtained knowledge to the published characteristics of Jewish commerce in Central Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century.

Almost all of the "Malzfabrikanten" began their businesses in the same way. All of them were merchants (trading mainly in agricultural products), who quickly recognized the potential of malt production for export. Over a very short time they became wealthy business owners, registered their companies, and invested their acquired capital into their own malthouses.

In the same way as Hermann Brach, additional Jewish "Malzfabrikanten" moved to larger towns due to their business activities and prestige (reputation). As far as the sample in question is concerned, that city was Olomouc, which soon became the epicenter of the Austrian malting industry and remained so during the first Czechoslovak Republic. The first generation of maltsters in Olomouc, some of whose members had experienced life in the ghettos, began to take an active part in two spheres of public life, namely the economic and the religious. Maltsters, who were quickly integrated into the society of local burghers, considered themselves liberals and Germans. Many of them were members of bodies of the Olomouc commercial and trade chamber and of various economic-oriented societies, not only at the regional level, but beyond (Vienna, Prague). The first generation of maltsters had a strong sense of belonging to the Jewish community, this being reflected in activities performed within the Jewish Religious Association and later the Jewish Religious Community. Faith was actively practised (with various degrees of intensity) in the families of these businessmen. "Malzfabrikanten" of the first generation only married women of the Jewish faith, unlike some members of maltster families in the second and third generations. Unfortunately, family inter-relationships were found for only a few Jewish business families due to the absence of preserved archive materials. However, even though incomplete, this sample allows us to obtain insight into the capital ties of maltster families with other influential Jewish families, built especially through marriages. This can be seen in the example of the Brach and Hahn families.

The public activities of members of the second and third generation of maltsters (born in the last third of the nineteenth century) exhibit traits different from those of the first generation. Unlike their fathers, the "Malzfabrikanten"-to-be were born into wealthy and established families living in some of the most luxurious villas and family residences in Olomouc. A strong emphasis was placed on their education (above all in foreign languages) and practical experience gathered abroad. Their futures were in their family businesses. The research clearly demonstrates

[52] Partial results of this research were published for example in the following papers: MichaelViktořík, "Public Involvement of Olomouc Maltsters," in *The Involvement of Businessman in Local and Regional Public Life in Central Europe 1800–1914*, ed. Aleš Zářický (Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita, 2009), 93–100. A modified version of the above study was published in the Czech language in *Historica Olomucensia* 37 (2010): 69–76 under the title: "Veřejné angažmá sladovníků (Malzfabrikantů) na půdě Olomouce." Also Michael Viktořík, "Wilhelm a Ignatz Briessovi – osudy významných moravských podnikatelů na pozadí vývoje sladovnického průmyslu," in *Šlechtic podnikatelem, podnikatel šlechticem. Šlechta a podnikání v českých zemích v 18.–19. století*, eds. Jiří Brňovják, Aleš Zářický (Ostrava: Ostravská univerzita, 2008), 315–324.

that the second and third generations loosened their ties with the local religious communities and regional public institutions. In other words, the public activities of maltsters at the local level decreased considerably in the first decades of the twentieth century. Economic activities, on the other hand, became much more intensive, not only within their own businesses, but also in trans-regional specialised organizations. This was due to a long-lasting crisis in the malting industry and by the competition, which constantly ruled the business. Representatives of the family businesses endeavoured to strengthen their positions in domestic and foreign markets. As has already been discussed, the Brachs reacted to the bleak conditions by enhancing their business activities in Germany and the USA.

In the censuses, members of the second and third generation of "Malzfabrikanten," for formal reasons, claimed allegiance to the German language (later nationality) and Jewish religion. It is clear from several preserved memoirs that the questions of nationality and faith were not as important to the succeeding generations. In families, faith was practised only on a limited scale or not at all. Only sporadically can one find descendants of maltsters who were inclined toward the Zionist movement. Many of the maltsters did not regard themselves as Germans but rather as Moravians, Czechoslovaks or Olomouc townspeople. The use of the German language, however, was important to them because it served to define the social circle of people (i.e., intellectual and wealthy families), with whom these businessmen and their families associated. The families of "Malzfabrikanten" were wealthy and influential, based on world-wide known and traditional family companies. Members of these families were well-educated and well-travelled people enjoying life. As opposed to the first generation of maltsters, there are enough preserved reports concerning the second and third generation to inform us about their leisure and artistic activities.

The period of Nazi occupation and the Second World War strongly affected the fates of all the Jewish maltster families. The dramatic stories of the individual families must be considered separately with regard to their individual circumstances. Thanks to international contacts many maltsters were conscious of the approaching danger, yet decided to stay at home and wait. This decision had fatal consequences for them and their relatives. Very few members of maltster families who were deported survived the horrors of the concentration camps. A number of "Malzfabrikanten" gave up all their possessions and literally bought themselves out of the transport, while others tried to escape from the Protectorate in various complicated and dangerous ways. The Brachs, for the most part, succeeded. There were also, among the Olomouc maltsters, those who evaded the Shoah by leaving (escaping from) Europe at the right time. Among these were the maltsters who were on business trips abroad in the late 1930s and, in light of the emerging situation, did not return to Europe. Over the following period they played an important role in securing the necessary documents (mainly visas) for the remaining family members or in negotiating (bargaining) with Nazi organisations for the release of their relatives. The majority of these maltsters and their families escaped from Europe and settled, for the most part, in various countries of North and South America.

Occupational and Protectorate authorities took clear steps against the Jewish population with the aim of eliminating the Jews from public life. This included the Aryanisation of Jewish property. Malthouses or rich malting enterprises with trade contacts all over the world were a strong lure for the Nazis. It is not surprising that the confiscation of Jewish property was a priority. Essentially all Olomouc malthouses, or malthouses belonging to the Olomouc malting companies, were Aryanised in 1940–1941. Due to the needs of the war economy, however, malt production ceased in 1942.

The approach of the Brach family to post-war developments in Europe can indeed be considered a model example which is also applicable to most of the other maltster families. Disappointment, unsuccessful restitutions and new possibilities, all enhanced the self-identification

with their new homelands, mostly the USA. A characteristic feature of most of the families under review, whose offspring live abroad at present, is that for understandable reasons, only very few written and pictorial materials were preserved for their descendants. Apart from a few exceptions, the Brachs being a notable one, the descendants of the original Olomouc maltsters have little awareness of the past of their ancestors. The past was not often discussed in the families.

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Fig. 1: Family house of the Brachs in today's Žižkovo Square.
Erica and Deborah Brach standing at the entrance gate (photo by author June 2013).

Fig. 2: The malthouse in Olomouc – Bělidla (n. d., private archive of Deborah Brach).

Fig. 3: The malthouse in Olomouc-Bělidla (present condition, photo by author June 2013).

Fig. 4: Tomb of the Brach family in the Jewish part of Central Cemetery in Olomouc-Neředín (photo by author August 2011).

Fig. 5: The malthouse in Schöna an der Elbe (1930s; private archive of the author).

Fig. 6: February 12, 1937 – the 25th wedding anniversary of Robert and Steffi. In the picture, from left to right: Herbert Brach (age almost 17), Steffi Brach, seated is Robert Brach, and in the back, Erich (age 24).
Private archive of Deborah Brach.

Fig. 7: A 1926 family photo. Sitting in the first row, from left: Leonhard Brach, Louise Brach, Helene Brach and Arthur Hahn. The man standing leftmost in the second row is Robert Brach (taken from the book Hahn, *On the Way to feed the Swans*).

reviews

Almut Suerbaum, George Southcombe, Benjamin Thompson (eds.). *Polemic: Language as Violence in Medieval and Early Modern Discourse.* Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2015. 292 pp. ISBN 978-1-4724-2506-5.

Reviewed by: Jan Červenka

The polemic is one of the most important sources for intellectual history and it is consequently not surprising that genres (or perhaps more precisely "the mode of speech" as editors and authors remind us) have received the attention of various scholars across many historical disciplines. This volume is a follow-up to previous collection from editors from 2010 which was focused on Medieval polemics. Both volumes are the outcomes of long-term interdisciplinary collaboration at Sommerville College in Oxford. The editors are focused this time on the move from the Medieval to the Early Modern period, which can be considered the "Golden Age" of polemics due to the invention of the printing press and the spread of the Reformation. In contrast to the Medieval period, when polemics are contained in complicated literary devices, Early Modern polemics have shifted to the instrumentality and a focus on the social effect of the polemics. Editors are in a fashion going against this assumption by trying to demonstrate continuities between Medieval and Early Modern polemics. As is usually the case, the entire image is much more complicated and it is impossible to clearly distinguish between both periods and their modes of speech. According to the authors of the book, it is more appropriate to talk about a shift in the emphasis in favour of instrumentality, rather than strictly dividing the Medieval and Early Modern polemical mode of speech.

The book is logically divided into three thematic chapters. The first surveys textual strategies, the second social practice with the last one concerned with concrete historical narratives. Each chapter spans the early Middle Ages up to the seventeenth century and from the west of Europe to the "exotic" east – Muscovy. In terms of the sheer number of topics and genres tackled and the vast geographical and chronological framework of the volume, one question unavoidably arises. Does the quest for greater interdisciplinarity unfortunately lead to greater incoherence? This way of criticism has some partial merit here, although the authors were at least able to hold to the underlying theoretical framework established by the editors (or the editors were able to find a common theory underlying all the articles, which is usually the case). The weakness of this wide range is is terms of the usefulness of the book for the average historian concerned with a specific time and place. It can, however, significantly broaden the horizons of scholars concerned with polemics as a genre or mode of speech.

The editors point out that "The common assumption that 'polemic' and 'polemical' can be used without further examination of their meaning is in itself a significant indicator of medievalist opinion" (p. 3). Although polemic is commonly used in the works of scholars, these works rarely attempt to clearly define what exactly polemic is and how it has been used and composed. This observation is taken from the study of Anglo-Saxon scholarly literature but **also** corresponds with the situation amongst Czech scholars. Even works such as *Polemika o kalich: Mezi teologií a politikou 1414–1431*[1] (Coufal 2012), which has polemic as its primary concern, lacks throughout an examination of polemic as a genre. It is a commendable effort on the part of the editors to fill this gap with this volume.

Although I am not attempting to diminish the value of the individual articles, the most interesting part of the book is its introduction which tackles a number of the most painful issues

[1] Dušan Coufal, *Polemika o kalich: Mezi teologií a politikou 1414–1431* (Praha: Kalich, 2012).

of intellectual history, in particular the question of the connection and influence between texts and social reality. The book attempts to overcome this issue with influential theory derived from the philosophy of language – the theory of performative language acts. Indeed, polemic can be seen as a valuable historical source if one realizes that every author has a certain intention and that their intention was mediated to the practice through the textual device. Polemic could also have various effects on reality, sometimes in accordance with the intention of the author and sometimes going astray. A fine example of the study of the polemic as the performative act can be seen in Suerbaum's article *Language of Violence: Language as Violence in Vernacular Sermons* on polemic in preaching against Jews and heretics in thirteenth century Germany. It provides an interesting comparison, particularly for a Czech reader, with the mission of John Capistrano in the Czech Lands in the fifteenth century.

Suerbaum's article is a good reminder of another remark from the introduction of the volume – polemic, although formally addressed to the author's opponent or group of opponents, was usually intended as the influence of some third party. They can be called viewers (since they are viewing the polemic between the author and his opponent). This resulted in an effort to slander and offend the opponent or depict him as incompetent or evil person. This should serve to discredit the opponent in the eyes of the viewers, but can hardly be imagined as a way to persuade the opponent to accept the author's arguments. Another valuable aspect of the volume is that it employs a wide range of literary genres which contain polemic, even such exotic ones as musical motets (Curran) or finding polemics in a text where it was not expected, such as a text emphasizing moderation not conflict between opponents (Southcombe).

The last but not the least important aspect which editors promulgate as a specific aspect of this volume, is their concern with the use of the language of violence. A number of articles have demonstrated how language and violence interact in several different ways throughout history, both in discourse and social practice. There is also, of course, a long and excellent discussion about the role of polemics as a factor in inciting violence. The authors of this volume discuss this topic by primarily emphasizing how not every time the language of violence was used it has been meant for inciting violence and presents us with several alternative attitudes. At times language aggression serves as part of ludic exchange. In other instances, polemic may serve entirely different purposes despite the fact that it uses strong and very intense depiction of violence. Indeed, polemic can be seen as an alternative of physical violence in the intellectual sphere. Monica Otter suggests, for example, in *Dissing the Teacher: Classroom Polemics in the Early and High Middle Ages* that lingual violent attack might serve as a kind of initiation ritual for students, who have proven that they were able to adopt the language of their school masters by "attacking" them in the flyting game.

By focusing on the language of violence, however, a number of the authors (Otter, Suerbaum) neglect the main topic of the book. It is important to maintain a distinction between polemic and language violence, because not every polemic had to contain aggressive speech and vice versa. This unfortunately also negatively influenced the coherence of the book. The authors provide a wide range of topics and attitudes which can inspire scholars to seek out different attitudes to polemics. It is also its greatest weakness, however, limiting the usefulness of the concrete findings of the individual studies.

The volume reminds us that historical research can have some interesting connections to our times, since polemics have became increasingly present in the public space and media. It is important to keep in mind that a number of the aspects of these polemics repeat over and over again throughout history. The erosion of the image of the polemic as phenomena connected primarily with the Reformation and the printing press (by emphasizing Medieval polemics and connecting polemics with modern times) is one of the most successful goals of the editors.

Kamila Mádrová. *Pedagogové ve službách trůnu: privátní učitelé následníků trůnu Rakousko-Uherska* [Educators in the Service of the Throne. Private Teachers of the Austrian-Hungarian Imperial Heirs]. Praha: NLN, 2015. 239 pp. ISBN 978-80-7422-308-2.

Reviewed by: Ivan Puš

The issue of school systems and education is one of the most important fields in the studies of the development of nineteenth century society. Of particular interest is therein the theme of education of the highest society members which enables to look into the milieu and ways of thinking which influenced the future statesmen. The author of the reviewed book, Kamila Mádrová, is currently an archivist at the Archive of the Czech Technical University in Prague (Archiv ČVUT) and has studied the cream of Austrian society of the nineteenth century over a long period of time. She decided to deal in her research with the personalities of teachers who participated in the education of descendants of the reigning Habsburg house. The book is an outcome of an internal grant project of Charles University.

The book is clearly divided into three parts in which the author focuses on the lives and careers of particular teachers of the nobility from various parts of the monarchy. Readers are able to observe how these teachers had the possibility to participate in the personality development of Imperial heirs, and how the further career and lives of these teachers and their families were alternatively influenced by this notable function. The social origin of the studied teachers can be found in very different milieus.

Kamila Mádrová used a wide range of archival sources for her research from Austrian and Czech archives, print sources and newspapers. The education of the Crown Prince Rudolf, Franz Ferdinand d'Este and Karl Franz Joseph or more precisely the future Emperor Karl I, are discussed in the book. The most space was given to Crown Prince Rudolf thanks to plentiful sources concerning Rudolf's education.

The descendants to the throne were extremely interested in geography. In order to discover their motivation, there is in all probability a need to look into their frequent travels, the travels of their parents and other family members. In connection with their statesman role, which they were prepared for from a tender age, they were aware of their future status and duties. They consequently found geography, history, law, statesmanship and foreign languages extremely important.

There is an interesting reference to the role of the Czech language, which played its part with the reigning Habsburg family, in the text. This knowledge was held for decades within the family. The teaching of the Czech pedagogue Antonín Gindely, who taught history to Crown Prince Rudolf, was influenced by Czech national intentions involving efforts at achieving equality (pp. 29–34). Hermenegild Jireček as a teacher of Czech language as well as Ferdinand Čenský as a teacher of Czech language to Franz Ferdinand d'Este were perhaps more focused on the subject itself.

As of the time of Francis Joseph I, military education was viewed as essential for the possible successor and was therefore a fixed part of education with major importance. Particular interesting is the information concerning teachers' right to punish noble pupils with various non-corporal punishments (p. 109). A description of Franz Ferdinand's clothing, photos of Crown Prince Rudolf, Karl Ludwig, brother of Francis Joseph I and photos of the teachers themselves, are included in the book and all this contributes, apart from the main text, to the high-quality

picture of the personalities of the teachers under study and of the potential rulers of this time as well. The theme of the reviewed book is handled extremely well. Kamila Mádrová comments on the available literature, archive and print sources and carefully summarizes the results of her research.

Tomáš Jiránek. *Šéf štábu Obrany národa. Neklidný život divizního generála Čeňka Kudláčka* [Head of the National Defence Quarters. The Restless Life of Divisional General Čeněk Kudláček]. Praha: Academia, 2015. 417 pp. ISBN 978-80-200-2354-4.

Reviewed by: Pavel Kreisinger

Head of the National Defence Quarters. The Restless Life of Divisional General Čeněk Kudláček is the English title of a recently published book by the Head of the Department of History of the Faculty of Arts, Pardubice University. Tomáš Jiránek's multiple research interests include the economic history of the Czech Lands in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as well as the military history of the era.[1] It should be mentioned that the author's focus on this particular officer and later General of the First Czechoslovak Republic has been long-term. He has published a number of studies on Kudláček's activities during the various years of the twentieth century in peer-reviewed journals, in Czech as well as in other languages.[2] The present extensive publication is therefore a result of systematic interest in this personage and spans many years of archive research.

The entire life of Čeněk Kudláček (1896–1967) was strongly influenced by the Great War. Even prior to his final exams at secondary school in České Budějovice, he was recruited in March 1915 as a one-year volunteer. This initiated his notable military career, which ended after three decades with the coup of February 1948. The future officer and military diplomat Kudláček first attended a military school for reserve officers in Bazin near Bratislava (today Slovakia) and was consequently sent to the Russian battlefront. He was captured and later joined the newly formed Czechoslovak army in June 1916. His group of Czechoslovak Legionaries then moved with the second transport from Russia to France. He was sent, along with other officers, to Italy to participate in the training of military troops of former Czechoslovak captives on 11 November 1918. Kudláček managed to return to his homeland at last in May 1919.

As was the case with many other legionaries who returned from the war with an officer's rank, Kudláček also decided for the career of a professional officer. Having completed the training course for General Staff and the Military School in Prague in 1923 with the rank of captain of the General Staff, he remained at the school as an assistant teacher and later "services professor." Kudláček worked in the field of military education up until 1930 when he was briefly assigned to the Main Staff.

A turning point in Kudláček's career in the era of the First Republic came about in 1934. He was formally retired and as a civilian (his passport stated "civil servant"), together with four other Czechoslovak military consultants, dispatched to Bolivia. The country had been in war with neighbouring Paraguay since 1932 over the contested territory of Northern Chaco (Chaco Boreal) due to newly discovered oil fields. The author rightly states that the Czechoslovak Republic found itself in a schizophrenic situation. On the one hand, its Minister of Foreign Affairs Edvard Beneš (1884–1948) "engaged in diplomatic activity in the framework of the League of

[1] From studies published in languages other than Czech, see especially: Tomáš Jiránek, "Las Actividades del Embajador Checoslovaco Dr. Vlastimil Kybal en México de 1935 a 1938," *Iberoamericana Pragensia* XXVII (1993): 51–61; Tomáš Jiránek, "Das Tschechoslowakische Exportinstitut (1934–1944)," *Prager wirtschafts- und sozialhistorische Mitteilungen. Prague Economic and Social History Papers. Zum 80. Geburtstag von Prof. PhDr. Arnošt Klíma, DrSc. gewidmet* (1995): 139–151; Tomáš Jiránek, M. Lenderová, "La mission militaire française en Tchécoslovaquie vue par le public et la presse du pays (1919–1926)," *Revue historique des Armées* 4 (1997): 47–60.

[2] Tomáš Jiránek, "La Participación Checoslovaca en la Guerra del Chaco Boreal," *Iberoamericana Pragensia* XXVI (1992): 107–23.

Nations aimed at ending the war," but on the other hand, Czechoslovakia supplied Bolivia with infantry weapons and subsequently, "supposedly via France, tried to negotiate the participation of Czechoslovak military experts."[3]

Kudláček spent an entire year in Bolivia. The unofficial Czechoslovak military mission, led by Brigadier General Vilém Plaček, set sail from Bremen in May 1934 and returned from Brazil in September 1935. The author devotes an extensive chapter, the longest one in the book (pp. 82–193), to Kudláček's Bolivian odyssey. Having outlined the situation in both warring states at the beginning of the conflict in the introductory part, the chapter is suitably organised into four sub-chapters (*Cesta do Jižní Ameriky* "Travelling to South America," *V hlavním městě Bolívie* "In the Capital of Bolivia," *Cesty do Chaka* "The Journeys to Chaco," *Zkušenosti* "Experiences"). Paraguay, with the support of Argentine military consultants, but also individual former members of the White Movement, was only initially able to deploy 20,000 soldiers, while the Bolivian troops amounted to 43,000. The latter were led by German officers and the German general Hans Kundt (1869–1939), who later withdrew after a series of failures in 1933. The chapter focuses on Kudláček's own activities in Bolivia. Having decided not to limit himself to merely retelling the events, the author comments on excerpts from Kudláček's unique travel memoirs with the help of other collected materials. The general's papers, deposited in the Prague military archives, contain 10 letters from the journey to Bolivia and 59 others written during Kudláček's stay in the country, sent to his wife and stating his wish that she store them carefully for future use, as Kudláček did not keep a regular journal. The author should be commended for this methodological approach, as the letters are very readable indeed, resembling more of an adventurous travelogue with humorous passages. They can serve as a useful resource for Ibero-Americanists as well, as the Czechoslovak officers witnessed a number of historical events in Bolivia, such as the deposition of President Daniel Salamanca Urey (1869–1935) by Bolivian military officers in November 1934. Kudláček's role in Bolivia was not, however, only that of a witness. He also participated in a dangerous reconnaissance flight, during which his plane became the target of anti-aircraft machine guns. The author summarises Kudláček's Bolivian operation with his own evaluation (the sub-chapter *Zkušenosti* "Experiences," pp. 187–193), citing a two-page long description of Kudláček's activities by the head of the mission, the Czechoslovak General Vilém Plaček.

Lieutenant Colonel of the General Staff Čeněk Kudláček returned to the Main Staff with a number of high Bolivian state awards. His excellent organisational experience became useful when the Republic was under threat, which led to his being entrusted with the leadership of the Office of Military Education under the 3rd (Operative) Department. During the Munich crisis (1938), Kudláček held the function of the Chief of Staff of the First Army Corps and remained in a similar position even after 15 March 1939 when he became Chief of Staff of National Defense, a major illegal military organisation. Soon after the organisation began to be broken up by the Gestapo, Kudláček escaped arrest in November 1939 via the Balkans to France, immediately followed by his wife.

Kudláček's six-year long war odyssey forms a central part of the monograph (pp. 203–337) and is divided into five chapters. It is worth noting that after the fall of France, Kudláček did not go to Great Britain like most other Czechoslovak officers, but was dispatched overseas as a military diplomat, first to Canada (1941–1943) and later to Brazil (1943–1945). The reason was that both countries contained numerous expat communities and Kudláček's task was, inter alia, to organise a recruitment campaign for the Czechoslovak army in Great Britain. There were approximately 35,000 Czechoslovaks living in Canada, 1,000 in Brazil and 50,000 expats in neighbouring Argentina. Both chapters refer extensively to new findings regarding the relationship

[3] Tomáš Jiránek, *Šéf štábu Obrany národa. Neklidný život divizního generála Čeňka Kudláčka* (Praha: Academia, 2015), 85.

between Czechoslovakia and Latin America,[4] as well as to research by Zlatica Zudová-Lešková in the field of Czechoslovak military diplomacy during WWII.[5]

Kudláček returned to Czechoslovakia with the rank of colonel in June 1945. For his involvement in the defense, he was promoted to the rank of general and subsequently transferred to the Main Staff, where he became head of the Sixth (Material) Department. Senior to him was General Bohumil Boček (1894–1952), one of his former students at the Military School and later a brother-in-arms in the domestic as well as foreign defense. After the coup in February 1948, Boček tried to convince Kudláček to join the Communists, offering him entrance into the party. A transcript of their dialogue, stored in the Security Services Archive in Prague, confirms Kudláček's democratic orientation: "Here it is, buddy. […] Well, take it back again! […] Do you know what you are refusing and what the consequences will be? […] Yes, I know and I'm ready to accept them!"[6] As was the case in 1939, Kudláček and his wife Milada went into exile once again. Their journey led first to France and then to the U.S. They settled in the city of Syracuse, NY and Kudláček began working at the local university as a lecturer of the Czech language. He died childless in 1967.

The book concludes with a three-page summary in English (pp. 394–396) and contains a list of the primary and secondary sources used along with detailed name and subject indices. The publication is accompanied by sixteen pages of images, printed on coated paper.[7]

Translated by Háta Kreisinger Komňacká

[4] Vladimír Nálevka, *Československo a Latinská America v letech druhé světové války* (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 1972).

[5] Zlatica Zudová-Lešková, *Zapomenutá elita: českoslovenští vojenští diplomaté v letech 1938–1945* (Praha: Mladá fronta, 2011).

[6] Jiránek, *Šéf štábu Obrany národa,* 349.

[7] More details on the reviewed book to be found in: Pavel Kreisinger, "Vojenský poradce v Bolívii, šéf štábu Obrany národa a účastník tří odbojů. Generál Čeněk Kudláček a jeho neklidný život v „krátkém" dvacátém století," *Soudobé dějiny* 23 (2016): in print.

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