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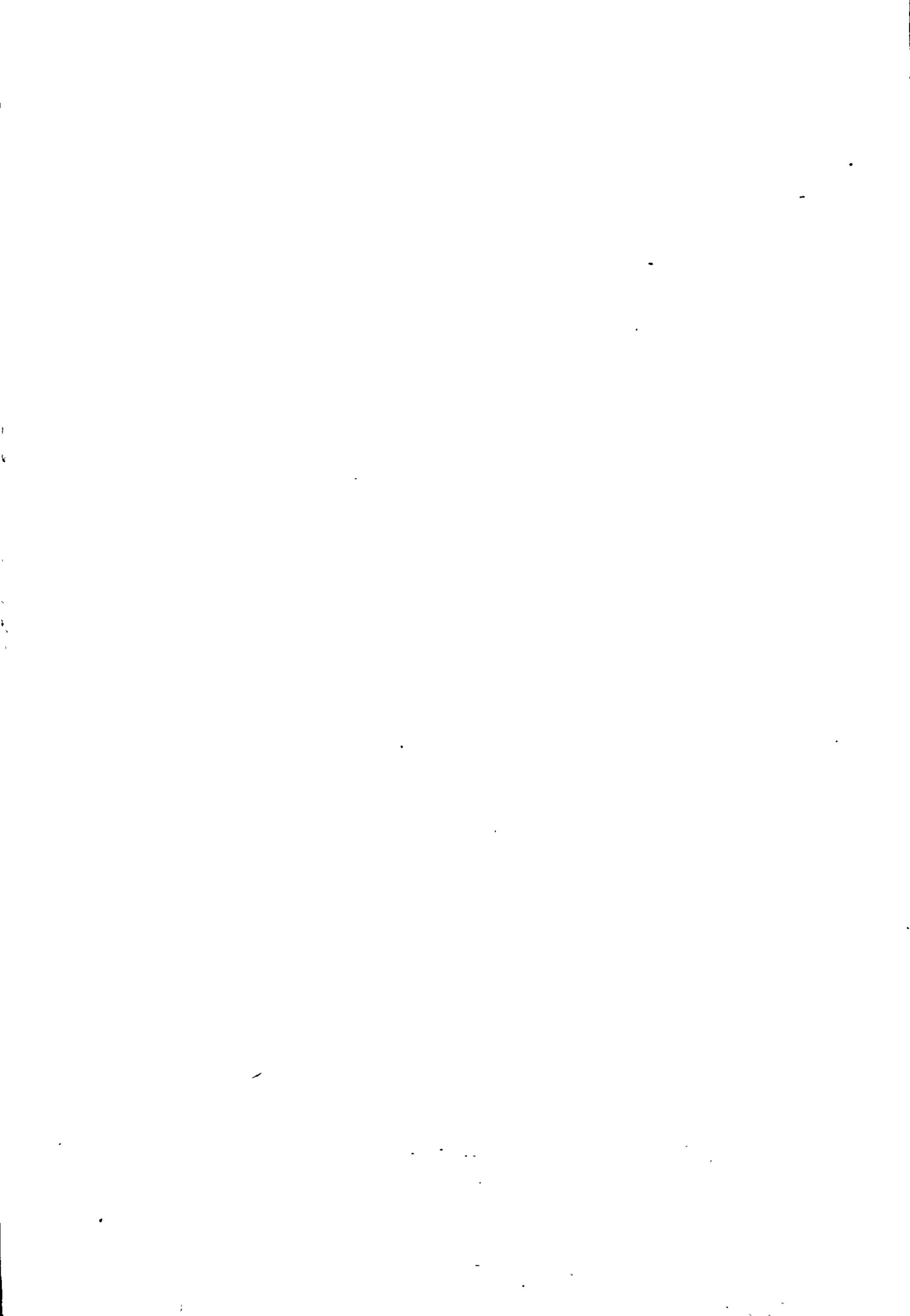
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The Idea of the Nation in Hussite Bohemia*

Study on the ideological and political aspects
of the national question in the Czech Lands
from the end of the 14th cent. to the 1470's

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III

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At the close of the preceding chapter, we reached the conclusion that the Four Articles of Prague, as the core of a compromise programme, agreed to and upheld by the majority of the Hussite factions, was, in its substance and expression alike, universally Christian and all-embracing and not narrowly national. But having stated this, let us not be blind to the possibility of contradictions between the programme proclamation and the actual interests and attitude of the individual wings and groups of the Hussite front.

Seibt's analysis of the terms '*Hussitae*' '*Hussen*' etc. recently showed altogether convincingly that it was a nickname, half derisive, half insulting, which was given to Czech heretics and rebels (regardless of differences of standpoint) by their opponents.¹ And even though in the traditional use of the word '*Hussite*' we subscribe, in a certain sense, to the view attributing to Hussitism outward unity, but by no means inward unity, the newly elucidated genesis of the term does not correct those conceptions of contemporary historiography which take as their starting-point the acceptance of a differentiation of the Hussite groups as an authenticated fact. The corresponding stratification of

* Concluding part of a study, of which the first two chapters were published in *Historica XVI*, 1968, pp. 143—247

¹ F. SEIBT, *Hussitica. Zur Struktur einer Revolution*, München 1965, pp. 10 f.

the revolutionary front is only, from our point of view, of secondary significance, more important being whether it is possible to regard the Hussite revolution as a mere 'politische Schicksalsgemeinschaft',² or as a community with inner dissensions, yet bound together by certain unifying needs, interests and ideas.

Naturally, the circumstance was previously also taken into account that outward danger, along with the defensive character of the movement's revolutionary beginnings, curbed dissension among the Hussite factions and helped to close the gaps between them by the ensuing necessity for common action. On the other hand, however, it cannot be overlooked that the existence of common, even though defensive, action testifies *eo ipso* to the fact of a common antagonist or common antagonists. Quite apart from the subjective ideas of Huss and other ideologists, his and their reformatory theories and practice were objectively diametrically opposed to the interests of the contemporary Church as well as of established secular institutions. And just because both the secular and the ideological motifs of the Czech reformatory movement and of the Hussite revolution itself found expression, for the most part, at a religious-ideological level, so they inevitably came into conflict with the institution which claimed to be, and was recognized as, the sovereign authority in this sphere. The universal character of the pre-revolutionary and revolutionary manifestos is proof that Hussite theoreticians (and also politicians) were fully conscious of this. Only after it became evident, on the one hand, that Hussitism was limited to certain regions of Bohemia and Moravia, and, on the other, that the Church was not able with the aid of the secular arm to liquidate this area of revolt, did a realistic possibility emerge of a certain compromise settlement between the Church and the Hussites, which presumed the recognition of a specific enclave within the framework of the already only fictive unity of the West-European community, designated the 'res publica christiana'. Nor is the truth of this in any way affected by the fact that surprisingly soon (that is, already in the pre-revolutionary years) voices make themselves heard on the Czech side calling for a reconciliatory settlement before it is too late and pointing out that the Church regards any concession on her part as a provisional tactical necessity. Despite Seibt's skilful attempt to explain the Hussite revolution as a revolution in which the various groups fought for changes in the hierarchical structure within a society of feudal estates of an old type,³ he thereby touches upon only one dimension of a phenomenon which, from the very first, had also its external aspect. To what extent this general factor

² SEIBT, *ib.* pp. 7 f.

³ SEIBT, *ib.* p. 10, and elsewhere. On Seibt's theses cf. J. MACEK in ČsČH XV, 1967, pp. 225—231, R. KALIVODA, in *Historica* XIV, 1967, pp. 225—246, J. MEZNÍK - F. ŠMAHEL, in SMM 86, 1968, pp. 231—241 and H. KAMINSKY, in *Speculum*, Oct. 1967, pp. 756—758.

was operative in breaking up the old European order is still a matter under discussion.⁴

A further obstacle to reducing the conception of the Hussite revolution to a revolution against the hierarchy of the estates is the fact that the native anti-revolutionary front comprised social groups which might well have directly benefited from eventual changes in the hierarchy of the social structure and which consequently should have formed a potential reserve and ally in the revolutionary cause. This not being the case, we are obliged to take into account other factors which conditioned and determined the internal differentiation. It is not our task here to deal with the Hussite revolution complexly and still less to probe the possibilities of its most adequate definition, and so we limit ourselves to raising several points directly related to our subject.

Far though we be from wishing to identify the religious terms in which the Hussite programmes were expressed (The Four Articles of Prague included) with their real and widest content, we still cannot overlook the anti-Church platform from which the reformatory and revolutionary movement in the Czech Lands evolved. May the simplification be forgiven which, in the following formulation, we are unable to avoid. Hussitism was, first and foremost, a 'revolt' against the contemporary institutional Church, as the most powerful ideological, political and economic organization which intruded, more or less, into the life of every individual.⁵ This thesis is in no wise invalidated by the fact that, alongside illiterate plebeian heresy, it was especially members of the clergy who demanded reform, thereby only confirming the growing consciousness of the rottenness of the whole body of the Church. If we trace the development in pre-revolutionary Bohemia over a longer period of time, we see how gradually the initial criticism of a number of evils and abuses in the Church acquired ever greater depth and breadth, till finally, in the theory and practice of the new community of Tábor, it was carried to its extreme logical conclusion, namely, an attempt to liquidate the previous social system and to create a new religious society.

In other words, all revolutionary Hussite forces, though in varying measure, assumed an anti-Church character, which also determined in decisive manner

⁴ To these questions was dedicated the international symposium, "The Czech Reformation and the Reformations of the 16th cent." (Liblice, October 1967), the materials of which will be published in the journal, *Historica*.

⁵ The politico-economical and ideological role of the Church in pre-Hussite Czech society has been sufficiently elucidated by J. MACEK, *Tábor v husitském revolučním hnutí* [Tábor in the Hussite Revolutionary Movement] I. Praha 1956, where the relevant literature is cited. From more recent studies, see especially J. ERŠIL, *K zatížení církevními dárkami v Čechách na počátku 15. století* [On the Burden of Church Taxation at the Beginning of the 15th century], *ČsČH* X, 1962, pp. 533—555, and R. NOVÝ *K sociálnímu postavení farského kléru v Čechách v době předhusitské* [On the Social Status of the Parish Clergy in Bohemia, in the pre-Hussite Period], *SH* 9, 1962, pp. 137—192.

the religious form of their revolutionary programme. And just because ideological 'agitation' and propaganda were not merely an accompanying manifestation, but a constitutive phenomenon of the pre-revolutionary climate, the Church was able instantly to set in motion her unrivalled ideological apparatus and work up a counter-campaign throughout the whole threatened or as yet intact territory. We have already noted what significance, for example, attached to the linguistic form of Hussite propagation of its teachings, which was a real obstacle to their penetrating, in fully effective measure, to the German-speaking population in the Border Lands and in the mixed-language areas. Church counter-propaganda, on the other hand, was directed here, too, without delay and unhindered, into this channel. This is, of course, true of the situation in the neighbouring countries, whose attitude determined, to a considerable extent, the course and results of the revolution in the Czech Lands.

The above-mentioned insight, as regards the universal, nationally unrestricted, orientation of The Four Articles of Prague, can be further developed in the sense that not only the Hussites, but also their opponents, placed highest of all in the ideological domain the principle of religious faith and its practical implications. So long as there was only one faith in Bohemia, patriotic, national and other forms of exaltation could only raise it to a higher power. And no matter how relatively strong, especially in the Czech Lands, the national controversies were, it has been shown that they were not of so predominant a character as to determine in themselves the attitude of individuals, groups or classes in matters of faith and the Church. The principle of faith maintained its superiority over the principle of native land or nation. The categories 'country' (= native land, patria) and 'nation' did not undergo change, whereas faith was split up into a many-graded scale. And yet decisive was not the fact of belonging to this or that country or 'nation', but to a certain confessional variant. National and patriotic arguments remained, on the whole, in a subservient position, this time, however, not to a single faith but to several conceptions of faith. This applies not only to the period of revolution proper, but to the whole period under investigation. Was it possible, under these conditions, for Hussitism and revolution to contribute to the further integration of the Czech nation?

To this question it is not possible to give a straightforward and unambiguous reply, for the process of the integration or disintegration of the Czech nation had also its internal and its external aspect. Already in the pre-revolutionary period there was, for the most part, no clear distinction made abroad between Czech Hussite-Wyclifite and Czech orthodox Catholic. If later there was no corresponding distinction made between the different factions of the revolutionary front, it was a simplification of the same kind. In this sense, we can apply Seibt's term 'Schicksalsgemeinschaft', not however with the attribute

'political', but rather 'national'. The territorial and, in substance, also the national boundaries, of the Hussite heresy lent it, as viewed from outside, in spite of its immanent universality, national character. We come across the same fiction, however, among the Hussite leaders. Želivský and also Jakoubek speak of 'Czechs', although the spoken or written content can relate only to their faithful supporters; in Hussite documents, the reference is to 'the honour, well-being and good name' etc. of 'the Czech tongue' and kingdom.⁶ To take these formulations at their face value, to understand their 'nationalism' as the supreme measure of everything else, would be, after all that has been said, more than disputable. We shall soon see how national and patriotic arguments served the most diverse purposes and the most varied groups as useful weapons in their polemical arsenal. All wished to unify the 'nation' through their faith and no other. It was, however, just at this level, which was of the greatest importance for contemporaries, that the 'nation' was deeply disintegrated, and this fact could not but influence the further constitution of the nation, at least so long as this religion in its primary sense was not replaced by a 'new religion', that is, nationalism in the modern sense of the term.

Over a certain period, in fact, from the death of Wenceslas till the recognition of Sigismund (and in a specific sense even later), the 'nation' was also disintegrated as a political State entity. In the 'kingdom without a king' there was, indeed, lacking a generally acknowledged and all-unifying power element. It would not be right to overrate the importance of what was a relatively short episode, nevertheless it cannot be overlooked. Wherever we have met and still meet with the most diverse manifestations of Czech nationalism, which aimed whether subjectively or objectively, whether demagogically or sincerely, at strengthening national unity, it seems to us that the actual situation and trend of development, especially in the first half of the 15th century, led rather in the opposite direction. All the manifestations of nationalism or patriotism which we shall speak of in the further course of this study, were either of partial character (that is, derived from a reduction of the nation to one of its components), or were subordinated to confessional, politico-economical or class considerations.

The general rejection of Sigismund Luxemburg as King of Bohemia, on which all the Hussite parties were agreed,⁷ was officially confirmed in the fifth

⁶ On this, cf. Ch. II of this study, in *Historica XVI*, 1968, where I critically oppose certain views, among them that of J. SLAVÍK, in *Husitská revoluce* [The Hussite Revolution], Praha 1934, pp. 63—64, who, on the basis of the analogy with modern revolutions, is of the opinion that the division into two religious camps had no influence on the deepening of the national consciousness.

⁷ J. KEJŘ, *Boj o státní formu v husitském revolučním hnutí* [Struggle for a State Form in the Hussite Revolutionary Movement], PHS II, Praha 1956, p. 135. The basic literature on this period was already listed in the previous chapter. For sources and referen-

point of the Čáslav Diet resolution of June 1421. Among the reasons given for the passing of the resolution, we read certain phrases which are strongly reminiscent of the above-mentioned document of Hussite propaganda issued the previous year: 'for this king is manifestly a defamer of those oft-written sacred truths (that is, The Four Articles of Prague), clearly described in the Holy Bible, and a murderer of the honour and of persons of the Czech tongue'⁸. Even before then Sigismund had not been recognized *de facto*, so that from the point of view of the Hussite factions the Czech kingdom was without a king. The reactions to the ensuing situation were altogether typical. Whereas the fairly radical (chiliastic) Tábor faction and several ideologists of the relatively conservative Tabor brotherhood did not reckon with royal power as a political factor and occupied a negative standpoint towards it, the other Hussite parties and groups more or less upheld, in theory and in practice, the monarchical principle, even though they were not equally active in seeking to end the interregnum by electing a new sovereign.⁹

Insofar as the need for royal power was accepted, only a limited number of possibilities offered for the choice of an eligible candidate. First of all, no aspirant could be considered who, like Sigismund, was engaged in any way in the anti-Hussite cause. From the point of view of internal politics, a *conditio sine qua non* was that the future king should uphold The Four Articles of Prague. And then, as a consequence of the revival of national antinomies, it was practically inconceivable that the candidate should be a foreigner of non-Slavonic origin. If the author of the work, 'Prorok Koruny české' (Prophet of the Czech Crown), calls upon Czechs to elect as king a man of virtue, 'who has faith in, and love for, the country',¹⁰ he thereby expresses the intense dislike at that time of 'murderers, Hungarians, Germans', and, naturally, also of other foreigners. It seemed that the situation was fully ripe for the Hussites to choose a sovereign from their own ranks, for only such a one could fill all the above requirements. First and foremost Žižka himself comes to mind, whose exceptional position and standing in the movement would seem to predestine him for this function, and whom anti-Hussite ill-informed propaganda more than once spoke of as king.¹¹

In consequence of Žižka's non-aspiration to the throne, there was in fact

ces see also H. KAMINSKY, *A History of the Hussite Revolution*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967.

⁸ AČ III, p. 228.

⁹ Details in the above-cited study by J. KEJŘ, *Boj o státní formu*, passim.

¹⁰ *Husitské skladby budyšínského rukopisu* [Hussite compositions in the Budyšín MS], ed. by J. DAŇHELKA, Praha 1952, p. 74.

¹¹ Cf. J. KEJŘ, *Boj o státní formu*, p. 152, which critically evaluates the earlier literature.

no other native candidate who could count upon acceptance by the majority of the Hussite forces, or who would be able to obtain such acceptance. Not only, however, for this reason was the possibility of electing a foreigner kept in sight from the very beginning of the interregnum. Choice was, as we have already indicated, very much narrowed down, so that, under certain conditions, it was possible to consider alone a successor from Poland. Actually, this candidature was very attractive for a number of sober-minded Hussite politicians, for its realization would mean that Bohemia could count then on the external political aid of the anti-Sigismund bloc of Poland and Lithuania. Such considerations, however, proved to be insecurely founded, for not even the candidature of Sigismund Korybutovič, which itself was a mere torso of the original intentions, went through.¹²

Two circumstances are here, from our point of view, worthy of note. Firstly, lack of trust in an eventual foreigner as sovereign, even should he be of Slav origin. Nor is any secret made of this by either Jakoubek or the Taborite captain, Nicholas of Hus, who in the course of the November negotiations of 1420, in Prague, declared that *'numquam fuisse voluntatis Thaboritarum, ut alium quam regnicolam in regem eligant'*.¹³ Secondly, the ideological arguments with which the supporters of the Polish candidature countered these objections. Already in the previous chapters of our study we have met with a line of argument based on the concept of an existing bond between Slavonic peoples, which had its source in the topical political and other requirements of a certain group. And here again. In the Instruction of the Hussite delegation dispatched to Poland at the end of 1420, we read:

For the defeat of our Czech tongue, as we understand from other causes, would mean the extinction of the Polish, for its natural kinship with our tongue. For the King (Sigismund) assigns places in the Czech Kingdom to German aliens, to the extermination of the Czech tongue, demanding that none

'neb poráženie nášeho jazyka českého, jakož z jiných příčin porozumieváme, polského bylo by vyhlazenie pro přichylnost našemu jazyku přirozenú. Neboť ten král (i. e. Sigismund, F. Š.) miesta v království Českém Němcom cizozemcóm zapisuje na shlazenie jazyka českého ve všech miestech jemu

¹² A thorough study of the candidature of Sigismund Korybut is presented by F. M. BARTOŠ, in *Kníže Zikmund Korybutovič v Čechách* [Prince Sigismund Korybut in Bohemia], SH 6, 1959, pp. 171—221. Further, cf. by the same author, *Husitská revoluce* [The Hussite Revolution] I, II, Praha 1965—1966. A comprehensive account of Czech-Polish contacts in the Hussite Age is contained in, *Češi a Poláci v minulosti* (Czechs and Poles in the Past), I, Praha 1964, Ch. III (by J. MIKULKA).

¹³ On Jakoubek of Stříbro, see *Výklad na Zjevení sv. Jana* [Exegesis on the Revelation of St John], ed. FR. ŠIMEK, I, Praha 1932, pp. 32—33, the standpoint of Nicholas of Hus is known to us from the Chronicle of Laurence of Březová, FRB V, p. 447.

should remain in these places of the Czech Kingdom not well versed in 'German'.

přichylných volaje, aby ižádný v tiech miestech toho královstvie Českého nezustával, ktož by dobře německy neumel'.¹⁴

Nor is there lacking, this time either, a reference to the liberation of God's law, but the main emphasis is on the politico-defensive advantages of a mutual alliance against the 'natural' enemy of all Slavonic tongues. Where the need arose, therefore, individual speakers and publicists did not hesitate to have resort to patriotic, state-political or frankly national argumentation, no matter whether or not it was (in greater or lesser degree) a cloak for their true motives. It must, however, be repeated, that the interest and weal of the 'tongue', country or state, was not a mere phrase, devoid of any emotional substance or sincerity. The frequency with which a widely varied range of such formulations occurs and which we come across in documents quite opposed in their orientation, would be stripped of functional significance — and this we cannot allow.

The Hussite or anti-Hussite ideologists and publicists did not, in any case, invent a national-patriotic atmosphere, nor did they artificially create it. They simply took advantage of the latent, and still instinctive, national consciousness of certain strata and groups of Czech society (to which they themselves not seldom belonged) which, besides, were inflamed by outside interference in internal Czech affairs. Let us not forget that national-patriotic argumentation too, had inherent in it universal, ideal motives, secular in character, but able to 'sanctify' and cover up other intentions and aims. We shall see shortly that we come across variously graded motives of this kind even among persons in whom we should never have thought to find them.

Let us return, however, to the question of royal power in relation to manifestations of Czech nationalism and patriotism. The closeness of the active national core of the years 1408—1412 to king Wenceslas was not of long duration. Wenceslas was not the inspirer of either the movement for reform or of the national movement, and so he could all the more easily withdraw his support whenever his interests required it. An eventual distinction between reformatory and national movements was no longer possible, for 'the linguists', as F. Seibt¹⁵ aptly designates the Czech nationalists of this time, linked '*lingua*' (as the most striking feature of the contemporary Czech community) with '*fides*', in

¹⁴ The Instruction was published by V. NOVOTNÝ; in a supplement to his still valuable study, *K otázce polské kandidatury na český trůn* [On the Question of the Polish Candidature for the Czech Throne], in: *Sborník Žižkův*, Praha 1924, pp. 131—133 (loc. cit. on p. 132).

¹⁵ Cf. F. SEIBT, *Die hussitische Revolution*, in: *Zwischen-Frankfurt und Prag*, München 1963, p. 92.

their own special conception. The king, it is true, opposed this 'fides', but the nationalists did not intrude upon the person of the king or the royal prerogative which he embodied. A radical change took place only after Wenceslas's death, when his brother Sigismund was rejected and attacked upon nationalistic as well as other grounds. Those who rejected both Sigismund and the 'regnum'; as such, were for the most part unaffected by nationalism. On the contrary, those who resorted in greater measure to national and patriotic argumentation, opposed Sigismund as a claimant to the throne, but were not against the royal 'office'. It is certain, however, that the non-existence of a sovereign, or the non-recognition of the aspirant to the throne, brought about a rapid decline in the symbolical prestige of the monarchical institution. And so, with certain reservations, we can agree with E. Lemberg and F. Seibt when they maintain that the crisis in State power gave Hussite nationalism a specific character and that Hussite national propaganda was obliged, almost entirely, to renounce the myth of the royal sacral function.¹⁶ The question which awaits investigation, within a wider chronological framework, is whether this specific quality may be regarded as a first-ranking characteristic of early Czech nationalism in comparison with the development in other countries.

In this connexion, it should be recalled that already in the 14th century certain representatives of Czech nationalism did, in fact, oppose the sovereign's attitude to this or that question of internal policy and that Charles IV's conception of sovereignty can scarcely be described as the Czech state concept.¹⁷ In a State, where a linguistically and ethnically divergent minority had considerable economic, political and cultural influence, the sovereign could not

¹⁶ Cf. E. LEMBERG, *Die Geschichte des Nationalismus in Europa*, Stuttgart 1950, pp. 137f., *Nationalismus*, I, Reinbek bei Hamburg 1964, pp. 104 f. F. SEIBT, *Hussitica*, p. 116 gives to this conception more specific content and precise formulation, but he too regards centralism as a universal feature of every nationally coloured constitutional movement (On this see the study, *Die hussitische Revolution*, p. 89). Thus he holds 'corona' and 'communitas' to be, in both Hussite theory and practice, 'Rivalen des nationalstaatlichen Organisationsprinzips' (*Hussitica*, p. 116). It could be argued, however, that the Hussite modus was actually an alternative to the principle of a national State. But these questions would need to be solved on the basis of a comparative study of the development in various regions. As, however, the existing conceptions are, as regards terminology and in other respects, diametrically opposed, we cannot here finalize any view on it. Cf. for example, divergent views on the situation in France, noted by B. GUENÉE, *L'histoire de l'Etat en France à la fin du moyen âge vue par les historiens français depuis cent ans*, *Revue historique*, Oct. — Déc. 1964, p. 347 et seq.

¹⁷ Here I keep to the standpoint of F. GRAUS, *Die Bildung*, p. 34 et seq., 46 et seq. The tendency still appears to assign to Charles's dynastic state concept, or consciously propagated neutral territorial patriotism, national or Slovanophil elements. See, for example, the study by K. STEJSKAL, *O malířích nástěnných maleb kláštera Na Slovanech* [On the Painters of the Mural Compositions in the Monastery 'Na Slovanech']. *Umění XV*, 1967, p. 1.

properly support any state-political programme biased in favour of either the majority or the minority. While the sovereign swayed between two extremes and tried to blunt the edge of national conflicts, representatives of various strata and groups seized upon national slogans and tried to exploit them for their own purposes. From the sociological point of view, as F. Graus¹⁸ has pointed out recently, already in pre-Hussite times various shades of instinctive and ideologized nationalism were to be found not only among the gentry and clergy, but also among the townsfolk — and this at all levels. In Bohemia, namely, national ideological postulates proceeded, also from the lowest grades of the social pyramid and were, in several cases, the accompanying features of emancipation from the directives originating in the royal prerogative. This phenomenon is operative, too, in the clear trend towards autonomy of the Old Town of Prague.¹⁹

The position of Prague as the metropolis was an exceptional one and so an analogy cannot be drawn between it and other Czech and Moravian towns.²⁰ We have already stressed that only he who held Prague or had her on his side could truly claim to rule the country. And now, in addition, even prior to 1419, under certain circumstances (a weakening of the royal authority), Prague signified more politically than the gentry. In several instances, indeed, in the entitling of documents, Prague is listed first, before the lords.²¹ This last may have been rather the reflection of the distribution of power at the time in question than an intentional breach of the hierarchy of estates, yet, with this reservation, such priority in entitlement may be added to the proofs of the high and, indeed, unique position held by Prague, to which we called attention in the first chapter. If then Prague played an exceptional role in the forming of Hussite ideology, she maintained her importance also throughout the period of the Hussite Wars, though not always unambiguously and convincingly.

Let it be said in advance that to put one's finger on the purely national grounds on which Prague and her citizens justified, at ideological level, their prerogatives and exceptional function, is extremely difficult. The origin of this national consciousness was undoubtedly an instinctive or more or less reflective attitude to the native town or capital (sometimes only to the workplace), but this was not seldom transposed to various levels. Patriotism in the narrower

¹⁸ F. GRAUS, *Die Bildung*, p. 45. Cf. also Ch. I of the present study.

¹⁹ These questions are treated of in detail by J. MEZNIK, *Cesta Prahy k husitské revoluci* [Prague's Path to the Hussite Revolution], the manuscript text of which I was able to read, thanks to the courtesy of the author.

²⁰ E. SCHWARZ rightly warns against such a methodological procedure in *Die Volkstumsgeschichte I - II*, on the basis of a wealth of comparative materials.

²¹ Cf. several instances in the above-cited review of Seibt's book by J. MEZNIK and F. ŠMAHEL, p. 239. Further examples, with comment, are included in MEZNIK's book, in Note 19.

sense (the relation to Prague as the native town) mingled with patriotism in the wider sense (the relation to Prague as the capital, the royal residence or seat of government, the seat of the Archbishop, of the University), while at the same time one or other might, but need not necessarily, have a nationally coloured language core.

Jerome's evocation '*sacrosancta civitas Pragensis*', of 1409, can be taken as the maximum concentration of ideological significance and attributes, for it was formulated at a time when national-political demands merged with demands for Church reform. When, however, in 1419, Želivský called out from the pulpit, '*o utinam nunc tempore isto Praga civitas esset forma omnibus credentibus*',²² he had in mind nothing other than the fulfilment of the ideal of a true Christian life (in his conception), in which Prague would serve as an example to the whole of Christendom. Thence was only a step to the Biblical metaphor of Prague as the Holy Jerusalem. Already in the *Naratio de Milicio*; Matthew of Janov writes that the centre of the new faith founded by Milíč was called 'Jerusalem', in order to indicate 'that the Lord Jesus, through Milíč, at least at the beginning, made of Prague, a city of Babylon, full of shame and uncleanness, a Jerusalem, a city full of light, built upon a hill.'²³ Now, however, not only the 29 houses which formerly constituted Milíč's colony, but the whole of Prague was to be a Jerusalem. As such the Czech metropolis is evoked in the hymn, 'Arise, arise, Great City of Prague',²⁴ Prague — the Jerusalem for Master Příbram and others.²⁵ At the same time Prague is denied this appellation by others, who call it by its Biblical counterpart. The fact that anti-Hussite publicists should contrast the former Prague, which (they claimed) could rightly have been called Jerusalem, with Hussite Prague, is not surprising.²⁶ But more important, for Jakoubek of Stříbro, too, the city in which he lived

²² I cite according to B. AUŠTECKÁ, *Jan Želivský jako politik* [Jan Želivský as Politician], Praha 1925, p. 68, Note 54.

²³ Cf. *Regulae Veteris et Novi testamenti*, ed. V. KYBAL, Vol. 3, Innsbruck 1911, pp. 357—367. On Milíč's adaptation of the Apocalypse (Revs. 18, 2; 21, 2), cf. E. WINTER, *Frühhumanismus*, p. 63.

²⁴ The composition was last published in a scholarly edition in *Výbor z české literatury husitské doby* [A Selection from Czech Literature of the Hussite Age] I, Praha 1963, pp. 322—323. F. M. BARTOŠ, *Jistebnický kancionál a Betlémská kaple* [The Jistebnice Hymnal and the Bethlehem Chapel], JSH XX, 1951, p. 3, Note 8, considers that Jerusalem is undoubtedly used as pseudonym for Prague also in 'Díotky v hromadu se senděmo' (ed. in *Výbor* I, pp. 323—324).

²⁵ On Příbram's parallel, see the art. by J. KROFTA, *O některých spisech M. Jana z Příbramě* [On Several of the Treatises of Master John of Příbram], ČČM 73, 1899, p. 213. F. M. BARTOŠ, *Útok pražského kazatele na Tábor* [Attack of a Prague Preacher on the Taborites], JSH XXII, 1953, p. 30, draws attention to a sermon of about 1425 where Tabor is called Babylon. in contrast to Jerusalem - Prague. On this passage, cf. BARTOŠ's *Husitská revoluce* I, p. 80.

²⁶ Cf. *Litera de civitate Pragensi*, ed. K. HÖFLER, *Geschichtschreiber* II, p. 311.

and preached was 'a great and horrible beast, a harlot and a whore',²⁷ and more than once she is called, by the Taborites, Babylon.²⁸ Here any national or patriotic considerations are completely suppressed and Prague is denied all that she in fact is or that she wishes to be: '*communitas primogenita*' and 'of the Czech Kingdom the Head' ('Českého království hlava').

Very different in tone from the appellations of the theologians and tribunes are the references to the capital in the manifestos and documents emanating from the secular milieu of the Prague Chancellery.²⁹ In the proclamation of The Four Articles of Prague by the city of Prague, of 20. VII. 1420, the capital is called, for instance, '*felix et inclita Pragensis civitas*',³⁰ and in the composition, '*Audite, celi*', dated the same day, she is designated '*primogenita, excellentior, carissima communitas*' and '*zelatrix honoris*' of the Czech Crown.³¹ One wonders where this rhetorical and flowery style, reminiscent of old times, comes from: is it the usage of a stylist to whom changes in ideas and ways of thinking are not strange, but to whom the language of theologians and preachers is foreign? Unfortunately we know very little about the dissemination and reception alike of the Prague manifestos and of the compositions preserved in the so-called Budyšín Manuscript. We must admit it as unlikely, however, that they were mere stylistic exercises, though even as such they would provide interesting evidence.

First of all a few words about the term 'the Czech Crown', which we have come across a number of times. Rudolf Urbánek explains the term '*invictissima Corona*' as being a personification of the State 'and also, in substance,

²⁷ *Výklad na Zjevení sv. Jana*, I, p. 511.

²⁸ Cf. for example, Taborite Heretical Treatises of 1420: Item po tom zpuštění Praha jako veliký Babilón se všemi městy, vesmi i ohradami již má spálena a zkažena býti' (And then, after this destruction, Praha, like mighty Babylon, with her towns, villages and defences, shall be burnt and destroyed), in: '*Ktož jsou boží bojovníci*' ed. J. MACEK, Praha 1951, p. 58. See also Příbram's '*Život kněží tábořských*' (The Life of the Taborite Priests), ib. p. 263.

²⁹ An extensive literature already exists dealing with these documents and especially with the question of their authorship. Here mention should be made especially of the studies by R. URBÁNEK and F. M. BARTOŠ, cited in the previous chapter. The most recent study, *Husitské manifesty jako literární díla* [The Hussite Manifestos as Works of Literature], by J. PEČÍRKOVÁ, AUC — Philosophica et Historica, 1966, No 5, pp. 83—93, does not add a great deal to our knowledge. The special literature on the individual treatises will be cited below, where relevant.

³⁰ Cf. *Manifesty*, p. 282, edited by F. M. BARTOŠ.

³¹ Ed. J. DAŇHELKA, *Husitské skladby*, p. 173. In the Czech version of this composition, which came out a month later, these expressions do not occur. Mutual relations and divergences in the two texts are dealt with by F. SEIBT in his study, *Slyšte nebesa (Audite, celi). Eine hussitische Propagandaschrift*. Bohemia, Jahrbuch des Collegium Carolinum, Bd. 1, 1960, pp. 112—121.

of the Czech nation'.³² This would be something new and important, for previously the category 'nation' had not been stressed in the term in question. And, in fact, we do come across, in addition to the combination, '*invictissima regni Boemie corona*', the expression, '*Boemice gentis corona*'.³³ Here, however, it is well to be cautious and not overrate the significance of formulations of this kind.³⁴ We are dealing with a period in which an adequate expression is still being sought for the concept 'nation', in which the terminology is not yet fixed, and, most important, in which the nation as a social corpus is still in process of formation, so that it is possible to embody it only approximately in an abstract term. For this reason, too, the expressions '*lingua*', '*linguagium*', are closest to the general comprehension of the time.³⁵ In any case, whether the expression used is 'Crown' or 'language', inclusive of their patriotic and national implications, with which we became acquainted in the preceding chapter, voices were to be heard in Prague underlining the purely secular elements of the State entity, patriotism and national Czech consciousness, and this, moreover, at a time when the transcendental conception had reached its zenith.

And not only that. In publicistic works, a political view is expressed in a literary form, which has not so far been theoretically worked up in the Czech Lands. Most remarkable from this point of view is the composition, '*Prorok Koruny české ku pánóm českým o korunování krále uherského*' (The Prophet of the Czech Crown to the Czech Gentry on the Coronation of the Hungarian King). Here a resolute rejection 'of the destroyer, robber, murderer of the Czech Lands, Sigismund, King of Hungary', mingles with sharp reproof of the Czech gentry, who committed an act 'evil and unjust to the Czech Lands'. And not only did they elect Sigismund, who 'robs, burns and murders, and everywhere declares Czechs heretics,' but they elected him illegally, insofar as they had not the consent of Prague and other Czech towns and villages! Know they not then that 'of the Czech Kingdom the head is and is called, rightly, Prague' ('*Českého království hlava jest i slove s právem Praha*')?.³⁶ For, according to the writer, the whole of Bohemia turns to Prague for instruction in matters both secular and spiritual. And so also the Archbishop, the Lord Burgrave, the Royal Castle, the coin ('*groš*'), 'which is of all things the price,' are rightly called 'Prague' and not 'Czech'. In all this is manifest the 'Prague honour', for this it is that is first worthy of the lion and of the crown,

³² R. URBÁNEK, *Český mesianismus*, p. 16. Here other examples are also noted.

³³ Again in the composition, '*Audite, celi*'. *Husitské skladby*, p. 167.

³⁴ The Czech version has only, '*České země Koruna*', ib. p. 23. Cf. the interesting hypothesis put forward by K. STEJSKAL, that the figure 'of a woman clothed with the sun', in paintings dating from the Age of Charles, symbolizes 'regnum Bohemiae'.

³⁵ For references and sources see SEIBT, *Hussitica*, pp. 58f. and Ch. I of this study.

³⁶ *Husitské skladby*, p. 67.

'whoso has Prague properly in his power.

And so a king, not having Prague, is truly a king without a head.³⁷

Thus the nobility have placed as king on the throne only a trunk, without a crown, although as every child knows:

Prague from 'práh' — a threshold, gets her name, for whoso in Bohemia will enjoy royal fame

must cross into Praha, just as a good shepherd crosses the threshold to enter into his sheepfold'.

'ktož jest mocen řádně Prahy.

Protož král, nemaje Prahy, král jest věrně ten bezhlavý.

Prahať jméno má ot práhu, neb ktož králevskú chce slávu

mieti v Čechách, máť po Praze vjíti jakožto po práze

dobry pastýř do ovčince.³⁸

Is this the pious wish of a Prague citizen that his city should occupy the highest place in the social hierarchy after the king? No doubt, but here at the same time is reflected, to a considerable extent, the actual situation. Prague became for the time being the centre of the revolution and her internal position was relatively so strong that, in the entitlement of the document, she took precedence of both archbishop and nobility.³⁹ The power and prestige to which Prague, thanks to exceptional circumstances, attained for a time was not, however, of long duration. In this respect, the Čáslav Diet of 1421 marked a turning-point and the end of realistic aspirations in this direction. For though she continued to assert her claim to her former high importance, which received unexpected formal recognition in the Address of the Conciliary Document, it is rather a tribute to past glory than to present power.⁴⁰ Nonetheless, the episode of Prague hegemonic policy represents, in the period of the Hussite Wars, the only systematic exploitation of national and political factors which,

³⁷ Ib.

³⁸ Ib., p. 68. F. SEIBT, *Communitas Primogenita. Zur Prager Hegemonialpolitik in der hussitischen Revolution*, Historisches Jahrbuch, 81. Jahrg., 1962, p. 98, is of the opinion that it is a matter here of a Humanist etymological derivation. In reality a similar play on words with regard to their etymology was part of most of the rhetorical addresses, at the Prague University already in the 14th century and they must be regarded as the practical application of mediaeval rhetorical rules.

³⁹ As regards the order of entitlement, a certain reserve must be observed, for in the pre-Hussite period, too, the order of entitlement was determined in several cases more by the actual priority as regards power than by the usual hierarchy of feudal estates. On this see the review by MEZNIK and ŠMAHEL, p. 240

⁴⁰ I base this view on the conclusions reached by F. SEIBT in Ch. IV of *Hussitica* (cf. especially pp. 167—179).

despite their close interweaving with the programme expressed in religious terms of The Four Articles of Prague and despite their national and political 'Prague' egocentrism, contained the indications of a growing national consciousness, a process strongly influenced by the Hussite-Christian universal conception of Church reform, on the one hand, and Hussite sectarianism, on the other.

It is thus not surprising that the fate of Hussite Prague has often been the subject of Catholic publicistic writings at home and abroad. The initial tone of these was set in the early composition, '*Praga, mater artium*,'⁴¹ even though the invective against 'the ignoble Mother' and 'unclean fornicator, excreting the gall of heresy' was directed mainly against the University. Soon, however, after the Prague events of the second half of 1419, M. Simon of Tišňov apostrophizes Sigismund: 'Your person and your cause are at stake, the defences of your city have fallen!'⁴² And Sigismund is warned that, if he does not take action, it will be the end of peace, out of which arose, among other famous towns, '*amenissima Praga*'.⁴³ Not long after, Master Šimon, incensed at the fate of the Catholic clergy, addresses 'the foolish and ignorant people': 'Were not they (i.e. the Catholic doctors, masters and clergy, F. Š.) your head and your eyes? And what else is now Prague? What, indeed, is now Bohemia! Both are now a trunk without a head, a body without eyes, a wrinkled brow; a gloomy countenance.'⁴⁴ And still greater are the reproaches heaped upon Prague by the author of '*Litera de civitate Pragensi*'.⁴⁵ Prague was formerly '*civitas pietatis et clementiae, consolationis et laetitiae, civitas absque penuria, civitas in qua habundantia victualium copiosa*', and, finally, '*civitas dei gloriosa*'.⁴⁶ Hussite Prague, on the contrary, has besmirched her 'sweet and celebrated fame', allowing the common people to triumph. '*Quatenus domina voceris omnium*.

⁴¹ Cf. the last edition by F. SEIBT *Johannes Hus und der Abzug der deutschen Studenten aus Prag 1409*, AfKg, XXXIX, 1957, pp. 77, Note 66.

⁴² Excerpt from the sermon, 'Rogate, que ad pacem sunt Jerusalem', published by O. ODLOŽILÍK, *Z počátku husitství na Moravě* [The Beginnings of Hussism in Moravia]. ČMM 49, 1925, pp. 127—129 (here cited according to Note 1, on p. 128).

⁴³ *Ib.*, p. 127, Note 3. The expression, '*civitas amenissima*', in connexion with Prague was quite common. It is used, for instance, by Simon of Tišňov also in his *Tractatus sive epistola contra quatuor articulos conclusos* (ed. J. LOSERTH, MVGDB, 25, 1886 to 1887, p. 342.)

⁴⁴ Cf. ODLOŽILÍK, *Z počátku husitství*, p. 145.

⁴⁵ The composition, which is listed in anti-Hussite Collections under the title, '*Placatus super civitatem Pragensem*', has been assigned to Master Andrew of Brod or Master Stephen Páleč. J. PEKAŘ, *Žižka I*, Praha 1927, p. 249, weighs the possible authorship of Simon of Tišňov, but F. M. BARTOŠ, shortly afterwards, in ČČM 102, 1928, pp. 67—69, supported the hypothetical assignation to Andrew. This attribution is most commonly accepted. The composition was published without the requisite scholarly care and with cuts, by K. HÖFLER, *Geschichtschreiber II*, pp. 311—319.

⁴⁶ HÖFLER, *Geschichtschreiber II*, pp. 311—312.

*Sed non est sapientia, non est consilium contra dominum.*⁴⁷ We could go on enumerating the insults and reproaches directed against the capital,⁴⁸ but it is not necessary. Either Prague herself or the various Hussite parties are the targets of attack against the inner and outer decay of the city. For the latter, and here the Catholic author agrees in certain points with the views of Prague sceptics, the Taborites are mainly made responsible:

‘See what you have made of the former fame of Prague, the ornament, defence onetime councillor, honour, of the Czech crown.’

‘Vizte, co jste udělali té někdy slavné Praze, okrase, obraně, někdy radě, cti koruně české.’⁴⁹

This last-cited excerpt is from the extensive work in verse, known since the time of Palacký under the title, ‘Václav, Havel a Tábor čili rozmlouvání o Čechách’ (Wenceslas, Havel and Tabor, or a Discourse on Bohemia), which the Prologue to the poem dates to 1424.⁵⁰ This work, of which the author is a Czech Catholic and so also a convinced anti-Hussite,⁵¹ is modelled upon the pattern of popular mediaeval literary ‘disputes’. It is of great interest to us, as it

⁴⁷ *Ib.*, p. 315.

⁴⁸ Very much akin to them are the later invectives against Prague in the writings of Henry Toke, John Capistrano and Rudolph of Rudesheim. On these, cf. R. URBÁNEK, *Věk poděbradský* [The Poděbrady Age] I, (České dějiny III. 1), Praha 1915, pp. 42—44.

⁴⁹ The question is put by the Catholic Václav, in the dialogue between Wenceslas, Havel and Tabor, ed. F. SVEJKOVSKÝ, *Veršované skladby*, p. 143.

⁵⁰ Doubt as to the date of the composition has been raised alone by E. PRAŽÁK, who, in the article, *Hádání Prahy s Horou a Rozmlouvání o Čechách ve vzájemném vztahu a ve vývoji českého dialogu* [Dispute of Prague with Kutná Hora and Discourse on Bohemia in their Mutual Relations and in the Development of Czech Dialogue], LF 88, 1965, pp. 204—224, seeks to push forward the date to 1467—68. The objective grounds for Pražák’s dating, however, are not convincing, as F. M. BARTOŠ points out in his controversial reply, *O básniku husitských skladeb sborníku budyšínského a Rozmlouvání o vzniku husitské bouře z roku 1424* [On the Poet of the Hussite Compositions in the Budyšín Collection and Discourse on the Origin of the Hussite Rebellion of 1424], *ib.*, 89, 1966, pp. 133—138. Pražák’s formal-stylistic analysis is not, on the other hand, without interest, and so it would be premature to exclude the possibility of new interpretations, especially when the need for revision appears also in the case of other literary monuments of the Hussite Age. After a careful weighing-up of Pražák’s argumentation and study of the text, I keep to the original dating of the composition to 1424.

⁵¹ R. URBÁNEK, *Mařík Rvačka, jako protihusitský satirik* [Maurice Rvačka as an anti-Hussite Satirist], ČSPSČ 63, 1955, p. 73, indicates the possibility of Rvačka being the author, whereas F. M. BARTOŠ, *Z politické literatury doby husitské I.* [From the Political Literature of the Hussite Age 1], SH V, 1957, p. 29, inclines towards the anti-Hussite versifier, Jakub Trch. The editor of the composition, FR. SVEJKOVSKÝ, *Veršované skladby*, p. 31, speaks reservedly only of an unknown poet.

brings into confrontation the standpoints of three parties typical of Czech contemporary opinion: Catholics, Taborites and the doubters.⁵² The author never for a moment leaves us in doubt as to which side he is on and against whom he is waging this dispute on the highest principles. But it is not important whether we agree or not with the tenor of the work.⁵³ Important from our point of view is the way in which the writer, through the mouths of the individual participants in the debate, characterizes from his own point of view the significance and part played by nationalist ideas or emotions in the attitude and argumentation of the typified representatives of the parties in question.

The circumstance is worth noting that these motifs first appear in the last third of the trialogue, only after the dispute about the conception of God's law, the receiving of the Communion in both kinds and the authority of the Catholic Church have been dealt with. Nor is it mere accident that into these highly theological and speculative questions the voice should break of Havel Vrtoch, or Waverer, that is, the representative of those who 'waver between one and another of the two parties,' with a purely worldly fear, embodied in this objection addressed to 'Brother' Tabor:

'Once you destroyed your country and
your tongue despoiled,
to wipe out all Czechs to fight you
are always prepared.

Many a Bohemian village is already
deserted,
then foreign families come and settle
down in it.

When you destroy and exhaust the
Czech land,
then you raise to prosperity the
German band,
and thus easily remove us out of this
world'.

'Jedno ste svú zemi zahubili a kázali
jazyk svuoj,
k zahlazení všech Čechuov vy svuoj
vždy strojíte boj.

Jižt jest opuštěna v Čechách mnohá
dědina,
potom osadí ji cizozemská rodina.

Když zahubíte a zemdlíte zemi českú,
potom zvelebíte v zemi rotu německú,

a tak nás snadně z toho světa shladie.⁵⁴

⁵² Often, in literature, the composition, 'Wenceslas, Havel a Tábor' is regarded as a replica of its kind, as compared with the somewhat older 'Hádání Prahy s Kutnou Horou'. (ed. J. DAŇHELKA, *Husitské skladby*, pp. 80—165). As, however, national motifs are not evident in the work (and this, too, may be considered symptomatic for a Husite author writing at the end of 1420), I make no further mention of it. The same applies to the extensive fragment of the verse composition, 'Rozmlouvání člověka se smrtí (Discourse of a Man with Death), formerly dated to the beginning of the 1420's, but which J. KOLÁŘ now, in *Rozmlouvání člověka se smrtí v české poezii 15. století* (Discourse of a Man with Death in Czech Poetry of the 15th century), ČL 1964, pp. 478—490, shows to be a work from the end of the century.

⁵³ As in J. PEKAŘ *Žižka I*, p. 84 et seq.

⁵⁴ F. SVEJKOVSKÝ, *Veršované skladby*, p. 138.

Curiously enough, it is not Tabor to whom the reproach is addressed who replies, but the Catholic Wenceslas,⁵⁵ and not in order to support Havel, but to attack him:

'You alone stand for peace in the land,
For to lose your life and goods you
are feared,
Waverer, evil is your intent,
If Faith and Goodness you so little
regard.'

'Ty toliko jedno o pokoj zemský
stojíš,
neb se života svého a zboží ztratiti
bojíš.
Vrtochu, zlý ještě svojoj úmysl máš,
když na vieru a na dobrotu málo tbáš.'

You hold with Tabor, Wenceslas continues, in order to be lord of others, that is, of the Church's estates, with me, because you are afraid of the vengeance of orthodox Christians.

'With a third voice you would make
order in the land...
Betrayal is what your third voice has
in mind'.

'Třetím jazykem chceš pokoj v zemi
činiti...'

Zradě se rovná ten tvuoj jazyk třetí..⁵⁶

Here Wenceslas hit the nail on the head, because not a few Czech Waverers thought along these lines. 'The common faith' and not 'physical wellbeing' should be man's first consideration, Wenceslas reminds Havel, without realizing at the time how close he was to Tabor's scale of values. The difference between Tabor and Wenceslas is not in the hierarchy of basic categories, but in their conception. This deep and, at the time in question, irreconcilable divergence had far-reaching social consequences. Not because the Taborites did not place faith higher than all else, but because they acted in the name of a false and untrue faith, was the reason why Wenceslas was their irreconcilable enemy:

'With the Scripture you use to incite
to murder and robbery,
You prepare for yourself and your
brothers a rope for your villainy.
For you being the destroyers of the
Czech and Moravian Land,
God against such princely and royal
power doth send.'

'písmem, kteréž k mordu a k lúpeži
přivodíš,
sám sobě a svým bratróm provaz na
hrdlo strojíš,
neb ponidž jste zhúbce české země
i moravské,
buoh proti takým dal kniežecie moci
i královské.'⁵⁷

⁵⁵ In connexion with what has already been said about the Catholic adaptation of the St Wenceslas cult, it is characteristic that the mouthpiece of the Catholics is called Wenceslas. In one place, too, he makes plaint to his saintly namesake (cf. *Veršované skladby*, p. 144).

⁵⁶ F. SVEJKOVSKÝ, *Veršované skladby*, p. 138.

⁵⁷ *Ib.*, p. 141.

Wenceslas's thought here turns full circle, the Taborite conception of the Scriptures and the Faith is in conflict with the divinely ordained world order, so that Tabor is not only a heretic, but also a 'destroyer' of the Czech Lands.

The speaker for the Taborites, when he had already admonished to the Waverer not to meddle in the debate, was touched to the quick by both accusations and thus addresses the Catholics:

'You are bloody heretics all of you, this each of us can boldly say of you. You put to shame our whole Czech land, Rouse against us the mighty secular hand.'	'Vy jste sami kacieři krvaví toť na vás každý znás směle praví. Hanieš všecku zemi českú, búříš na nás mocnú ruku světskú.' ⁵⁸
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Wenceslas replies with specific accusations, enumerating the acts of violence and abuses perpetrated by the Taborites and, besides, laments over the fate of Prague in the words quoted above. This puts Tabor in a passion and he laughs at his Catholic opponent for having to content himself with shameless slanders of the citizens of Prague, who themselves 'do not see the beam in their own eye'.⁵⁹ Then he continues:

'And then that the Czech Lands is in bad repute, I will quote you the Scripture in excuse. In the Scripture you can read: Blessed are ye when men shall revile you, Rejoice and be glad, for your reward is in heaven. We will yet make the Czech Land to blossom.'	Potom, že jest česká země v zlé pověsti chciť k výmluvě tobě písmo přivéstí. Jest ve čtení psáno: blahoslavení, když vám bude láno, radujte se, veselte se pro odplatu nebeskú. Chcemeť my ještě zvelebiti zemi českú. ⁶⁰
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It would seem as if what both of them had most at heart was the fate of their poor harrassed land. But no, as before Wenceslas, now Tabor stresses what must happen first. 'What we do is the will of God, and so, too, 'we must take and

⁵⁸ *Ib.*, p. 142.

⁵⁹ Although the citizens of Prague are not represented by a speaker in the discourse, the author brings them onto the stage when he demonstrates, on hand of the disagreements between the Taborites and the Praguers, the lack of unity in the Hussite ideology.

⁶⁰ F. SVEJKOVSKÝ, *Veršované skladby*, p. 145.

burn, for thereby we suffocate God's enemies and ours.' The Maccabaeans also freed from the heathen yoke all faithful Jews by dispatching all sinners with the sword. We, too, stoutly uphold this.⁶¹ And here again the closing refrain: 'the Czech Land will be made to flourish' after the wiping out of the enemies of God's law and order.

It is, of course, from beginning to end, a fictive discourse with a strong anti-Hussite bias. This, however, does not mean that it gives us insight only into the world of thought and values of the opponents of the revolution. The author skilfully handles the discourse in order to convince the reader that right is on his side. At the same time, however, he involuntarily reveals what the two protagonists have in common, namely, the religious grasp and conception of contemporary conflicts in preference to the secular, within the framework of which latter the categories — State, country and nation — can first make their appearance. The participants in the discussion are not, however, rank-and-file members of the two parties, but ideologists, controversialists, apologists and theologians in one. But what of the others? The lay element is represented alone by the vacillating Havel Waverer, who also introduces the national element into the debate. Does this mean that only people of his type, that is, believers without impulsive self-surrender to the imperative of faith, were capable of sincere patriotism and national exaltation? Far from it, but it was they who were most susceptible to such sentiments, because, not being inwardly bound to the same extent by other ideals, they were able to act in accordance with their own interests and needs. But, in fact, even the most uncompromising ideologists could also act thus. The real difficulty lies in the fact that, though we can hypothetically decode the true actuating impulses behind this or that view or conviction, we cannot, as a rule, ascertain in what measure individuals were conscious of these stimuli and to what extent they acted as Waverers. Another difficulty — and one we regularly come across in the study of earlier history — is that practically no sources exist such as would enable us to penetrate to the mentality of the ordinary member of certain social groups or strata.

We have already noted, in another connexion, that an enumeration of the acts of violence perpetrated in the course of the revolution has served modern historians as cause for accusing the individual parties of a primitive chauvinism,⁶² nevertheless, evidence of this kind is, in fact, the only source informing us of the effects of a spontaneous or already partly ideologically crystallized nationalism of the common people. Unfortunately, these accounts are mostly unreliable and we should have to subject them, one after another, to a critical

⁶¹ *Ib.*

⁶² Recently, however, we come across a similar approach to the problems only in pseudo-scientific work, and so it is not necessary here to refer to it.

investigation in order to discover the truth of the matter. That, however, lies outside the scope of this study. If, notwithstanding we do touch upon these problems, it is only to indicate that we are aware how uncertain is the ground here on which we tread. As regards the crusading forces and foreign anti-Hussite mercenaries, we are justified in supposing that they were strongly influenced by propaganda which did not differentiate between a Czech and a heretic. The practical consequence was the waging on their side of a war of total extermination, insofar as it was not countered by the military prowess of the other side.⁶³ The Hussites had no reason to differentiate between foreign interventionists, for, in this case, in fighting for their faith they were also fighting for their country and its defence.⁶⁴ The Hussites did not, however, fight in the name of their country or nation, as an abstract concept. We stress this point here, because we must remember that their enemies were also a part of the native population, and that included both Czechs and Germans. Though, on the one hand, we have evidence of Hussite forces burning down and laying waste also entirely Czech places and towns,⁶⁵ on the other hand, we come across a conscious endeavour, in the attitude to native Germans, among both Tabornites and Prague Czechs, to differentiate between supporters (including potential supporters) and evident opponents of 'God's law'. It would be useless, however, to deny that no general instructions in this sense, nor strict internal field regulations, could entirely prevent various excesses and acts of uninhibited violence.

If we know very little about the national mentality of the fighting rank-and-file, we know very little more about that of their commanders. The name Žižka here comes first to mind. To what divergent conclusions it is possible to come in his case is apparent from a confrontation of his foremost biogra-

⁶³ In addition to the examples given in Note 131, Ch. II, there are the acts of violence committed by the Crusaders against the Czech population in Maštov, in 1421, of which the town council in Nuremberg writes to Ulm: 'Item das fussvolk, daz da awszlawft, was niht dewtsch kan oder einem Beheim gleich ist, das werde gefangen, zu tod geschlagen vnd verprant, wan das volk well sich niht maistern lassen, wan das Her sey grosz vnd mechtig.' (F. PALACKÝ, *Urkundliche Beiträge*, pp. 145—146).

⁶⁴ Thus I formulate my standpoint in the discussion between J. Macek and F. Seibt on the role of patriotism and nationalism in the defence of the country against interventionists. Cf. Ch. II, p. 199 f.

⁶⁵ This was the case, too, with Český Brod, of which there can be no doubt that the great majority of the population was Czech. (See E. SCHWARZ, *Volkstumsgeschichte I*, pp. 65—66). Here, however, according to Laurence of Březová (FRB V, p. 478), especially the Germans defended 'vero regis Ungarie ibidem stipendarii', and they, too, after the capture of the church, were burned, along with the priests and parish priest. Brief mention is also made of the fate of individual towns and places in the above-cited work by E. SCHWARZ. It is of interest that, in the correspondence of the German towns in Bohemia, reference is made to the raging of 'Ketzer' and not of Czechs.

phers. According to Josef Pekař, he was not devoid of 'Czech-national consciousness and feeling'; but secular considerations could only acquire significance for him insofar as they were bound up with his obligations to God. The religious tone of Žižka's utterances testify to the thought of the first among the Hussite commanders being imbued with the consciousness of the mission of a chosen warrior as an instrument of the Divine will.⁶⁶ By contrast, F. G. Heymann makes of Žižka's hostility towards Germans the central motive of his whole conduct. Proceeding from the assumption of Žižka's strong nationalism, which he claims took firm root in Žižka's youth, Heymann even suggests that the half-blind commander endeavoured to shift the language frontier back towards the German boundary.⁶⁷ Considering the unfounded character of these hypotheses, we incline towards the standpoint upheld by Pekař. Žižka was most certainly not devoid of an instinctive patriotism and a nationally-coloured language consciousness. We have noted already how he appealed to the fighting glory of the old Czechs, who fought 'not only in God's cause, but also in their own cause'.⁶⁸ Sigismund, in his proclamation, is described as 'a destroyer of the Czech tongue', the people of Tabor are 'truly Czech', elsewhere he promises to give his aid against 'the destroyers of the Czech Land' and against aliens.⁶⁹

Especially interesting is the concluding part of Žižka's Field Regulations:

'And we entreat you, beloved congregations, in all and from all regions, princes, nobles, knights, squires, burgesses, artisans, labourers, peasants and people of all estates, and especially, above all, all faithful Czechs, to give your consent to this good...

'I prosímef Vás, milé obce, ve všech a ze všech krajin, knížat, pánuov, rytířuov, panoší, měšťanuov, řemeslnikuov, robotězuov, sedlákuov, i lidí všech stavuov a zvláště napřed všech věrných Čechův, abyste se k tomu dobrému svolili...'⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Cf. J. PEKAŘ, *Žižka II*, Praha 1928, pp. 185—7.

⁶⁷ Cf. especially, pp. 16—17 of HEYMANN'S book, *John Žižka and the Hussite Revolution*. Princeton University Press 1955.

⁶⁸ Cf. Ch. II, Note 115. The whole passage runs: 'Ale rozpomínajíce se na rozmnožitele víry naší, pána Jezukrista, proti takovým zlostem, které se od těch Němců dějí, statečně se postavili, vezmouc staré Čechy, ješto zatknouce klanici za škorní, netoliko o boží při, ale i o svou bili jsou se' ('But we, calling to mind the Increaser of our Faith, the Lord Jesus Christ, valiantly opposed the evils which are perpetrated by these Germans, taking as their pattern the old Czechs who fought not only in God's cause, but also in their own.') Žižka's 'Výzva do pole' (Call to Battle), last published in *Výbor I*, pp. 449—450.

⁶⁹ For individual citations, see Žižka's Letters, which have been published several times. See, especially, *Staročeské vojenské řády* (Old Czech Military Regulations), ed. F. SVEJKOVSKÝ, Praha 1952, pp. 9—22, or in *Výbor I*, pp. 448—451.

⁷⁰ Cf. F. SVEJKOVSKÝ, *Staročeské vojenské řády*, p. 27, or *Výbor I*, p. 506.

Reference will be made below to the category of 'faithful Czechs', here we have in mind the sociological content of the term. Insofar as we are prepared to accept that it is, in its way, the equivalent of the term '*communitas bohemica*',⁷¹ then here again it embraces the whole population, including the non-privileged, as was the case in the Quodlibet Address of Jerome of Prague, with one exception, however: in it the clergy are not expressly mentioned (unless we allow that they are included indirectly in the phrase 'all estates'). It is undoubtedly a direct reflection of the very strict Hussite conception and a further proof of the anti-Church orientation of the revolution; on the other hand, however, it is clear how carefully the pre-Hussite hierarchy of estates is preserved, a fact particularly evident when we compare it with the above-mentioned tendency of Prague to break through the established structure. Already Pekař, in our view, furnishes convincing proof (and so it is unnecessary to repeat his argumentation) that profane interests and motives were subordinated with Žižka to the commands of the Divine will, in comparison with which 'all the things of this world are temporal and ephemeral'. Still more is this true of Procopius the Great, in connexion with whom the fact is particularly notable that, in the course of the debate at the Council of Basel, he gave intimation of a knowledge of the earliest history of Bohemia.⁷² And, again, not even among the most celebrated Hussite military commanders and captains can we guarantee that, in this or that case, the subconscious national antagonism was not modified by the corrective of higher motives. After the

⁷¹ The term '*communitas Bohemica*' occurs, for instance, also in Peter Payne's address to King Sigismund at the Bratislava Meeting of 1429: '*Liberta veritatem et habebis Pragensem et Boemicam communitatem.*' Payne's speech has been published twice by F. M. BARTOŠ, most recently in the publication, *Petri Payne Anglici Positio, replica et propositio in concilio Basiliensi a. 1433 atque oratio ad Sigismundum regem a. 1429 Bratislaviae pronuntiatae*, Tábor 1949, pp. 81—90. A further instance of the use of this term, namely, in the Prague Manifesto of 1431, is noted by F. SEIBT, *Hussitica*, p. 151.

⁷² When the Czech delegates to Basel were urged to give up novelties and return to the true faith, to which they kept thirty years before, Procopius the Great broke into the debate with these words: 'You might just as well say, a thousand years ago, if the length of time is a reason for truth; only we were still heathen at that time.' Cf. *Deník Petra Žateckého* [Peter Žatecký's Diary], published by F. PALACKÝ in *Monumenta conciliorum generalium saeculi XI*, I, Wien 1857, pp. 289—357. And even though Procopius most probably did not take his degree at Prague University, he was already a priest in the pre-revolutionary period, so that we can presume him to have had higher education. Historism, in any case, marks the whole of Hussite thought. National sentiments or motives in Procopius's activity are not stressed either by his biographer, J. MACEK, *Prokop Veliký* [Procopius the Great], Praha 1953, or by F. M. BARTOŠ, in his study, *Několik záhad v životě Prokopa Velikého* [Several Mysteries in the Life of Procopius the Great], SH 8, 1961, pp. 157—195. It is nevertheless necessary to bear in mind that Procopius was, at least on his mother's side, of German extraction.

capture of the town of Třevo, at the end of August 1433, the Hussite captain, John Čapek, called for the handing over of all the captive Czech mercenaries who had fought in the service of the Order of the Teutonic Knights. Čapek is said to have thereupon berated them for fighting against a king related by language to the Czechs and, as a warning, had the traitors to the Czech tongue burned in the midst of the Hussite camp. This is first related by the chronicler Dlugosz, so that it is not certain whether Čapek did, indeed, motivate his conduct in the alleged manner.⁷³

Thus our intention is not altogether to deny to individual Hussites or Hussite parties instinctive or partially reflective national consciousness. Let us recall, too, that we have already come across evidence of it in Čapek's and other Taborite songs. We find it, moreover, also in the writings of the Taborite bishop and foremost ideologist, Nicholas of Pelhřimov⁷⁴ and, more surprisingly, even in the pronouncements of one of the most original Hussite thinkers, Peter Chelčický. 'Because the gentry', writes Chelčický in *Siet viery* (The Seed of Faith) 'would have as king some foreigner, a rich German, who would grab foreign countries to increase his dominions...'⁷⁵ The great frequency with which national and patriotic motifs occur in Hussite writings and official documents has already been noted above. Here we may add, in illustration, several more formulations. The citizens of Prague, for example, appointed Hynek of Valdštejn, in June 1421, as their captain in Litoměřice, with the words: '*praetextu servitiorum suorum in dilatazione legis divinae nobis ac toti linguagio Boemorum utiliter exhibitorum.*'⁷⁶ Three years later we read in the Old Town Council Decree relating to the perpetual exiling of runaway citizens: '*immemores honoris proprii ac juramentorum per ipsos de tuenda lege dei ac honore linguagii nostri devie infamati.*'⁷⁷ But not only in the documents of the Prague

⁷³ On this episode, cf. J. MACEK, *Husité na Baltu a ve Velkopolsku* [Hussites on the Baltic and in Greater Poland], Praha 1952, p. 67. *Ib.*, p. 60, on the burning of a Czech exile in Strzelce.

⁷⁴ Cf. for example, Nicolai de Pelhrimov *Chronicon Taboritarum* [ed. K. HÖFLER, *Geschichtschreiber II*], where Nicholas speaks well of Jerome of Prague, 'Deo et nationi Bohemicae in spe fidelis' (*ib.*, p. 477); in another place we read that the Pope and Sigismund and others strive 'qualiter hoc bonum inceptum (i.e. causa quator articulorum) et cum bohemicae nationis linguagio condemnent...' (*ib.* p. 481), etc.

⁷⁵ Cf. extract in *Výbor II*, p. 40. This treatise of Chelčický's dates, however, from the early 1440's. Despite the fact that Czech consciousness appears sporadically, too, in other of Chelčický's writings, it is rather the expression of a non-conscious national attitude penetrating involuntarily into the nationally neutral conception of the body of the Church. On this, see R. URBÁNEK, *Věk poděbradský III*, p. 985, Note 2, where there are further examples.

⁷⁶ Cf. F. PALACKÝ, *Urkundliche Beiträge I*, p. 122.

⁷⁷ *Ib.*, p. 361. The same formula occurs earlier in the Decree on Confiscation of 26. VII. 1420 (*ib.*, p. 44). It is not, of course, possible to cite all the examples here which, especially in the documents of the Hussite gentry, were part of the current phraseo-

Chancellery, where it is no longer surprising, but also in several written communications between brotherhoods-in-arms, it is not only a matter of '*causa, laus et honor dei*.' Thus, for instance, in the resolution of the whole Taborite party of 1426, possible measures are passed against all and against everything '*quod esset contra fidem aut contra commune bonum terre regni Boemie*.'⁷⁸

Of exceptional interest are the 'Zdice Agreements' concluded in October 1424.⁷⁹ Already in the Preamble we meet with this remarkable formulation:

'...requesting with all the diligence and considered prudence of our common sense and out of obligation to our natural duty, to transform certain disorders into order, revolts into loyalty, wars into peace, and to cleanse this Czech country from an unjust accusation, and so to promote and multiply God's praise and improve, strengthen and confirm the general weal of this Czech kingdom.'

'...žadajíce vši naši zdravého rozumu pilností a vážnú opatrnosti, a z přirozené naše povinnosti jsúce dlužni, ty jisté neřády v řád, búrě v svornost, války v poklid uvéstí; a tuto zemi Českú z nároku křivého očistiti, a taky chválu boží zvelebiti a rozploditi, obecné dobré téhož královstvie českého napraviti, upevniti i utvrditi.'⁸⁰

logy. See, for instance, the transactions of the St Gall Diet of Nov. 1st, 1423, in AČ III, p. 240 et seq.

⁷⁸ F. PALACKÝ, *Urkundliche Beiträge II*, pp. 509, 511, and the Czech version in AČ III, pp. 257—259.

⁷⁹ The 'Zdické úmluvy' (The Zdice Agreements) are hitherto very diversely interpreted in the relevant literature. The basic work in the study by J. MACEK, *Úmluvy zdické*; in: AUC — Philosophica et Historica II, Praha 1958, pp. 195—212. Unlike a number of older authors, Macek takes his stand on an analysis of the original document, which is, in his view, a mere and, moreover, unfinished rough draft of the actual resolution, which has been preserved only in a German translation. Important is the fact that Macek interprets the Zdice Agreements as a serious attempt to find a common platform for the settlement of internal disagreements and for a united front in the defence of the country, which was attended by all the principal Hussite parties and which had the support and approval of Žižka and his brotherhood. Whereas F. M. BARTOŠ, *Husitská revoluce I*, pp. 198—199, accepts Macek's view, F. SEIBT, *Hussitica*, pp. 156—7, rejects the participation of the field congregations. In his review of Seibt's book in ČsČH XV, 1967, p. 230, MACEK, however, does not consider Seibt's objections to be well founded.

⁸⁰ The Czech draft of the Zdice Agreements was published, not too carefully, by F. PALACKÝ, in AČ III, pp. 248—251. Cf. Macek's juxtaposition of the Preamble to the Zdice Agreements, the Resolution of the St Gall Diet of 1423 and of the Čáslav Diet of 1421, in the above-cited study, p. 198, where conform and borrowed formulations are marked. Whereas in the Zdice Agreements 'all common sense' is demanded, in the preceding texts mention is made only of evils that have arisen '*pro nesvornost vuole a rozumu ku pravdám božským*' ('for disloyalty of the will and mind to divine truths').

It would seem that if nowhere else, then at least there, where an appeal is expressly made to the common sense element in the conduct of affairs, 'fides' and the secular concept 'country' are placed on an equal footing, one beside the other. And yet (at least formally) this is not so: 'And further, when divine matters come to an end, then other secular and temporal matters... should be discussed.'⁸¹ Yet from the whole text of the document it is quite clear that matters secular and temporal were, on the agenda in question, at least of equal importance, as were also those who represented them at these discussions. The supreme principle and imperative had already lost *via facti* much of its strength, but by no means all of it, and this remains true throughout the whole period under investigation. Besides (leaving out of account the fact that the right-wing and compromising elements had already somewhat relaxed their strict adherence to the central programme of The Four Articles of Prague) the force of inertia is operative here as in every ideology that, having passed the zenith of its possibilities and conditions of practical realization, vainly seeks to conceal the ephemeral character of its ideals by a clinging to the letter of its dogma.

In the examples cited above, the manifestations of Hussite patriotism and nationalism were aimed predominantly either at foreign interventionists and native Germans who did not accept the Chalice, or against Czech Catholics allied with the enemies of God's cause and of the Czech tongue. The good name, repute, weal, honour or improvement of the Czech land and Czech tongue represent a kind of common postulate put forward by all the Hussite parties, even though with differing intensity. The Discourse of Wenceslas, Havel and Tabor, however, already indicated in part that the patriotic and national motif had also a place in the internal polemics of the Hussite parties. The composition by a Catholic author is, in this case, only indirect proof, but direct evidence is not lacking. One of the oldest examples is contained in the tractate of John Přebram, 'Contra articulos Picardorum', from the end of 1420 and the beginning of 1421: '*... et ipsam patriam, pro qua ponere corpus et animum promptus sum, ab impiissimo errore salvem et absolvam.*'⁸² Although here, as noted by Seibt,⁸³ the nationally coloured language category ('the Czech

⁸¹ AČ III, p. 249.

⁸² Cf. the part edition by F. PROCHASKA, *Miscellaneen aus der Böhmischen und Mährischen Literatur, seltener Werke und verschiedener Handschriften*, Bd. I, Prag 1784, p. 262, and a fragment from the MS. NUK V. F. 24, fol. 64b-65a in J. PROKEŠ, M. Prokop z Plzně (Master Procopius of Plzeň), Praha 1927, p. 201, Note 150. A survey of the literature dealing with the interpretation and dating of this treatise was last compiled by R. KALIVODA, *Husitská ideologie* [Hussite Ideology], Praha 1961, p. 430 et seq. The assurance that 'he is ready to give body and soul for his country and the Czech nation' is one that we come across in other of Přebram's writings (cf. op. cit. of J. KROFTA, *O některých spisech*, p. 217).

⁸³ F. SEIBT, *Hussitica*, p. 91.

tongue') is replaced by the more neutral 'country' it is nonetheless Czech patriotism and not any super-national conception of the State that is introduced into the armoury of the unyielding polemic with Taborite Picardism. The same is true of the sentiments expressed in the relation, 'O smrti kněze Jana z Želiva' (On the Death of John of Želiv), of which the author, with unconcealed hatred of the murderers of the Prague revolutionary tribune, thanks God 'for glorifying the Czech Land with such a martyr'.⁸⁴

And though the patriotic and national elements in the anti-Taborite proclamations of the theoreticians and publicists of the Hussite right wing were by no means rare — we need here recall only Master Procopius of Plzeň or the Chronicle of the so-called Old Collegiate —,⁸⁵ they had nowhere such prominence as in the writings of John Příbram.⁸⁶ The gradual transformation of a former radical of the Hussite actively reformatory group into a mouthpiece of emasculated Utraquism assumes, in the case of John Příbram, sharper contours than in that of others who followed the same road, but whose development we cannot trace step by step. But even those who, in the first half of the 1420's, disagreed with Příbram on more than one fundamental question, could scarcely have foreseen that this '*honoris Dei veritatis evangelicae aemulus*' would stir up the question of a revision of Hussitism in relation to one of its principal supporting pillars, namely, the teachings of 'the evangelical doctor' Wyclif.⁸⁷ For not only was Příbram not content with rejecting the individual theses of Wyclif's doctrine, which had a firm place in Taborite and also in Jakoubek's dogma (for example, his view of the doctrine of Transubstantia-

⁸⁴ The relation by Želivský's pupil, Priest Vilém, is contained in *Výbor I*, pp. 481 to 486. Cf. the citation on p. 484.

⁸⁵ On patriotic motives in the writings of Procopius of Plzeň, see the above-cited study by J. PROKEŠ, *M. Prokop z Plzně*, pp. 18, 42, passim, according to the index. In the Chronicle of the 'Old Collegiate', of interest is especially the place where the writer complains that among the field warriors was '*maior pars alienigenarum, qui regno non compatiuntur*' (I quote according to the inadequate, but so far only edition, published by K. HÖFLER, *Geschichtschreiber I*, p. 93). For the literature on this source see the study, F. M. BARTOŠ, *Doktor Jan Borotín a Kronika starého kolegiáta* [Doctor John of Borotín and the Chronicle of the Old Collegiate], *JSH XIX*, 1950, pp. 37—43.

⁸⁶ This was already stressed by J. PEKAŘ, *Žižka I*, p. 139 et seq.

⁸⁷ Nicholas of Pelhřimov, who supplemented the above character sketch of Příbram with the addendum, '*et famae regni Boemiae ac salutis propriae immemor*', expressed his own fears and those of others as to whether Příbram's public declaration against Wyclif's authority would not be interpreted as support for the Church's condemnatory attitude to Czech Wyclifism: '*Et ob hanc causam omnes tam saeculares quam spirituales nominati scientes illud regnum ex illo opere non aliquam consequi utilitatem sed importabile detrimentum; intellexerunt enim, quod ex indiscreta maculatione librorum Wicleffilli regno sequerentur multa mala, primo, gentis Bohemicae aestimaretur justa haereticatio, et contra eandem facta crucis erectio.*' (*Chronicon Taboritarum*, ed. K. HÖFLER, *Geschichtschreiber II*, pp. 593—594.)

tion),⁸⁸ but he did not hesitate demagogically to invoke the authority of Hus against the Taborites on the basis of the tendentiously distorted declaration of Hus at Constance:

'And that in Constance, before his death, he said openly before all: Why do you reproach me with Wyclif? What have I to do with him? Surely Wyclif was not a Czech, nor was he my father, but he was an Englishman; and, therefore, if he wrote heresies, let the English answer for them. And from this speech you have it that Master John Hus denied Wyclif as it were. Let us Czechs do the same and let us say: What have we to do with Wyclif? He was not a Czech, nor was he our father!'

"A to je v Konstanci před smrtí zjevně přede všemi řekl: 'Co mě viníte Viklešem? Co mi do něho? Všakť jest Viklef nebyl Čech, aniť jest otec muoj, ale bylť jest Angliš; protoť psal-liť jest bludy, nechť zaň Anglišové odpovídají.' A z té řeči máš, žeť se jest mistr Jan Hus Viklefa jako odřekl. Učiňmež my Čechové též a říekajme: 'Co nám do Viklefa? Všakť je Čech nebyl, ani otec náš!'⁸⁹"

For '*non ego primus incepi errores Wikleph promulgare, sed natio tota Bohemica una cum Magistro Johanne Hus et Jacobelo...*,' writes Příbram in his own defence in another place.⁹⁰ And he must truly defend himself and constantly justify his revisionism, for at the head of his opponents had taken his place the no less skilled and sharp-tongued master of the dialectical art, the former Principal of St Edmund's Hall in Oxford and editor of the corpus of Wyclif's writings, Peter Payne.⁹¹ That Payne is an Englishman, however, suits Příbram's book, for he can point to the fact that 'Nicholas, the erring and heretical Taborite bishop, and other Taborite priests, have Master Peter

⁸⁸ Příbram's tractates dealing with the anti-Hussite controversy are collected and classified by F. M. BARTOŠ, in *Literární činnost M. Jana Rokycana, M. Jana Příbrama, M. Petra Payna* [The Literary Activity of Masters John of Rokycana, John of Příbram and Peter Payne], Praha 1928, pp. 71—81.

⁸⁹ I quote according to extracts from Příbram's tractate, 'Proti usnesením tábořské synody' [Against the Resolutions of the Taborite Synod], in *Výbor II*, p. 78. See also a similar pronouncement in Příbram's 'Apologia' in HÖFLER's *Geschichtschreiber II*, p. 140.

⁹⁰ Cf. HÖFLER, *ib.* pp. 138—139. Příbram here alludes to the condemnation of forty-five of Wyclif's theses by the assembly of the University Natio Bohemorum, in May 1408.

⁹¹ On Payne, see Addresses and Essays in Commemoration of the Life and Works of the English Hussite Peter Payne-Engliš, in: *Universitas Carolina*, Vol. 3, 1957, and the study by S. H. THOMSON, *A Note on Peter Payne and Wyclif*, *Mediaevalia et Humanistica XIV*, 1964, pp. 60—63.

English, a foreigner, as their defender, together with them in their ranks...'⁹². Příbram here shows close affinity with the pre-revolutionary Catholic author of the song, 'Všichni poslúchajte' (Listen, all), which calls upon the Czech patron saints to drive out all Wyclifites from Bohemia to England.⁹³ In one other respect, too, Příbram sounded a common note with Czech Catholic patriots — in his complaints of the destruction of churches and of liturgical objects, of the disregard for the dignity of university masters and the destruction of libraries. The Taborites, so it is affirmed, insofar as they did not actually destroy books, 'the most precious jewel of the Czech land', sold them abroad 'for a crust of bread'.⁹⁴ In this point he was undoubtedly right, as were the other educated people who made the accusation, even though not only the Taborites were to blame. If, however, the Taborites and other Hussite radicals approached, with their rejection of 'human inventions' and the pagan learning of the university master, the very brink of cultural destructivism, Příbram, on the other hand, appears to us as a conservative upholder of privileged Latin-university education of the old type, who was unable to grasp its limited character.⁹⁵ A similar manifestation of 'heretical unbelief' was for him the disbanding and destruction of Latin (grammar) schools, as well as the remarkable step taken by the Taborite schools towards teaching in the native tongue.⁹⁶ Here, too, are particularly evident the gaps in Příbram's patriotism, which, in spite of all its show and flourish, was not capable of facing up to even the needs devolving from the Hussite conception of the 'Czech tongue'. Yet, Příbram, too, makes appeal to it in a declaration (as also in other places), which can serve as an eloquent example of his subordination of patriotic and national appeals to confessional dogma:

⁹² Cf. Příbram's speech against the Resolution of the Taborite Synod of 1429, ed. K. J. ERBEN, in *Výbor* 1858, col. 409—430 (Note the change of title!) loc. cit. on col. 411. A similar argumentation is put forward also by the anonymous author of the song: On the Capture of Sigismund Korybutovič:

Črt nám nahodil Engliše,
tenť chodí po Praze tiše,
vydávaje z Englantu práva,
ještoť v Čechách nejsú zdráva.
(*Výbor* I, p. 331).

The devil made us a present of Engliš,
who goes about Prague on tiptoe,
issuing from England a law
that's not healthy for Bohemia.

⁹³ An allusion to this song, last published in *Výbor* I, pp. 283—289, is made above, in Ch. I, p. 185.

⁹⁴ Complaints and reproaches of this kind are contained, especially, in Příbram's *Život kněží tábořských*, ed. J. MACEK, *Ktož jsou boží bojovníci*, p. 274. See on this below, in connexion with Catholic publicistic writings.

⁹⁵ The question here is a complicated one. I have drawn attention to several of its aspects in the essay, *Husitství — humanismus — renesance* [Hussitism — Humanism — Renaissance], which came out in *Humanistická konference 1966, Praha 1966*, p. 43 seq.

⁹⁶ See *Život kněží tábořských*, ed. J. MACEK, p. 275.

'We priests and preachers and other faithful Czechs, both laymen and clergy, diligent and constant lovers of the Czech tongue, unable to suffer any longer the errors and devilish inventions of these Taborite priests, which from day to day they praise ever more highly and sow abroad in this land envy and abomination of this orphaned Czech Land... we beseech all holy churches and all faithful Czechs fully to consider...'

'My kněžie i kazatelé i jiní Čechové věrní, světští i duchovní, Českého jazyku milovníci snažní a ústavní, nemohúce trpěti více toliko bluduov i dábelných nálezuov od těch kněží Tábořských, kteréž den ote dne huore a huore vynášejí a po zemi rozsévají po hříechu nenabyté záštie i ohavenie této siré země České... žádáme všie cierkve svaté i všech Čechuov věrných za plné rozváženie...'⁹⁷

'Věrní Češi — *fideles Bohemi*,' is an expression that accompanies us almost from the very beginning of our study, and so it is time we looked into the meaning of this verbal combination more closely. Hus already used it very frequently, both in his public utterances and in his private letters.⁹⁸ Hussite research, with the exception of F. Prochaska and F. Seibt,⁹⁹ has not hitherto devoted proper attention to this phrase, considering it to be merely a period cliché. The epithet 'věrný' — 'faithful' did not, however, have the same meaning in Hussite and in Old Czech literary monuments as it has in modern Czech, but was the period equivalent of the Latin '*fidelis*', or faithful in the sense of 'believing'.¹⁰⁰ And it is this semantic explanation of the word that is the key to the understanding of the whole expression. The linguistico-purist formulation of what constituted membership of the pre-Hussite Czech 'nation', which was based in the first place on the native tongue and on the Czech origin of both parents, lost its activating stimulus when that part of Czech society that had been the principal vehicle of national consciousness split internally along the line of their differing attitude to Wyclifite-Hussite doctrine. It was no longer enough to appeal to the 'Czechness' of Czechs, it was necessary now to appeal also to their 'faithfulness'. The expression 'jazyk — *lingua linguagium*', was neutral from this point of view, and so it was supple-

⁹⁷ The passage in question is the beginning of the abovesited protest made by Příbram 'Against the Resolution of the Taborite Synod', Výbor 1868, cols. 409—411.

⁹⁸ Cf. for example, Hus's Czech *Postila*, ed. J. B. JESCHKE, Praha 1952, passim, and the entry: 'Čechové věrní' (Faithful Czechs), in the index to V. NOVOTNÝ's edition of *M. Jana Husi korespondence a dokumenty* [Master John Huss's Correspondence and Documents], Praha 1920.

⁹⁹ Actually it was the attention drawn to this point by F. SEIBT, *Hussitica*, p. 100, Note 27, that was the stimulus for this inquiry.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. F. ŠIMEK, *Slovníček staré češtiny* [A Glossary of old Czech], Praha 1947, p. 201 entry 'věrný adj. — věřící; pravý, pravdivý, spravedlivý (faithful adj. — believing; true, truthful, just).

mented and, in internal discussions, actually replaced, by the semantically more precise 'faithful Czechs'.

The Hussites never had the smallest doubt that their faith was '*precipue legitima Bohemicae gentis fides*',¹⁰¹ so that they called themselves 'faithful' Czechs constantly and at every opportunity.¹⁰² And even though we cannot to this day give the percentual ratio of Calixites to orthodox Catholics in the Czech Lands from the beginning of the Hussite revolution to the end of the reign of George of Poděbrady, we have grounds to believe that the Utraquists, especially in Bohemia, constituted over fifty per cent of the population. This consciousness, strengthened by the conviction that the true faith is God's special gift to the Czech people, led more than once to Czech Catholics being later denied symbolically the right to call themselves Czechs and to their being given the simple and characteristic assignation, 'Romans' (Římané), for they professed not the Czech, but the Roman faith.¹⁰³ At the same time, however, we have already noted that Příbram excludes the Taborites from the body of 'faithful Czechs'¹⁰⁴ and that consequently this pair of words cannot be regarded as a comprehensive designation of all Czech Hussites. Nor can it be for another reason: Catholic publicists also used the term with the contrary aim of shutting out from the Czech language community their 'orthodox' fellow-countrymen. 'Mark well, all you faithful Czechs, they speak ill of you throughout the whole of Christianity...' are the words which the author of the anti-Hussite hymn, 'Slyšte, Čechové' (Hear, oh Czechs!), while another Catholic contemporary rhymes: '*Fidelis Bohemus plangit, omnes Wicelistas tangit*' etc.¹⁰⁵ And a third and last example from a much later time, where the adjective 'faithful' is replaced by a circumlocution ruling out any ambiguity:

¹⁰¹ Cf. gloss in the MS. NUK Praha sign. V. G. 25, fol. 287, reprinted by K. HÖFLER *Geschichtschreiber* II, p. 71.

¹⁰² A number of examples have already been cited passim in the preceding text. From the large number of others, cf. for example 'Píseň o pravém pokoji' (Song about True Peace), ed. Z. NEJEDLÝ, in *Dějiny husitského zpěvu VI*, Praha 1956, pp. 222—224, *Noviny o bitvě u Domažlic* [News of the Battle near Domažlice], *Výbor* I, pp. 475—476; excerpt from the Postila of Priest Michal Polák in F. M. BARTOŠ, *Dvě studie o husitských postilách* [Two Studies on Hussite Postilas], Praha 1955, p. 76.

¹⁰³ Attention is drawn to it already by J. SLAVÍK, *Husitská revoluce*, p. 64. On a differentiation between 'Czech' and 'German' faith, see R. URBÁNEK, *Věk poděbradský IV*, p. 314 et seq.

¹⁰⁴ The above-cited Příbram tractate, *Contra articulos Picardorum*, is, in the MSS, mostly entitled: 'Isti articuli sunt Picardorum et aliorum eos sequencium, dampnati et reprobati per fideles Bohemorum', see F. M. BARTOŠ, *Literární činnost*, p. 64.

¹⁰⁵ For the citation of the song, 'Slyšte, Čechové' (Hear, o Czechs), see *Výbor* 1868, col. 246; the second example is taken from the composition, 'Invectio satyrica in reges et proceseres viam Wicel tenentes', ed. F. PALACKÝ, *Documenta*, p. 687.

'Czechs of the true faith
pity the wrong
that is being done
to the Holy Roman Church.'

'Čechové viery pravé
poželejte bezprávie,
kteréž se děje nyní
svaté církvi římské.'¹⁰⁶

For this reason, Master Simon of Tišnov, addressing the Hussites in 1428 cannot use the form 'faithful Czechs':

'And I still beg you for God's sake, dear Czechs, have mercy on yourselves, for if you die in this (state), you cannot be saved! Have mercy on the orphaned Czech Land where, sad to say, all spiritual and secular order is defeated by your disorder, and where all evil is free.'

'Ještě prosím pro buoh, milí Čechové, smilujte se nad sebou, neb v tom umrúce, nelze Vám spasenu býti! Smilujte se nad tú sirú zemí Českú, v ni ežto pohřechu vešken duchovní i svět-ský řád vašim neřádem jest poražen, a všecko zlé má v ní svobodu.'¹⁰⁷

The image of an orphaned, widowed land or Czech Crown is thus common to both Calixtine and Catholic writers, the blame always being laid at the door of the other side or, as in the case of Přebor, of another wing of their own party.¹⁰⁸ And even though, especially among Czech Catholics who, because of their alliance with outside interventionists and with native German Catholics, were at a disadvantage as compared with the Hussites, the appeal to the patriotic and national feeling of their opponents assumed, as a rule, the character of a general invocation, this was not always the case. Catholics, too, had their specific arguments with which they particularized the general nature of that appeal.

We have, indeed, come across a number of instances of it, for the propagation of the St Wenceslas cult, the lamentations over the decline of Prague and of the University, were just such particularizations. The last-mentioned reproaches were a feature of almost all anti-Hussite publicistic writings, of

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *Píseň o Rokycanovi a jeho sektářích* [Song about Rokycana and His Sectarians], dated to after 1466 and last published in *Výbor* II, p. 85.

¹⁰⁷ AČ VI, p. 419. The extant copy is interesting for the explanation appended, namely, that 'haec litera oblata est capitaneo, magistro civium et consulibus juratis civitatis Piescensis, et est lecta publice in ambone dominica Judica anno XXVIII'. It is one of the few instances where we are informed about the actual distribution of a certain publicistic piece of writing. Simon's epistle was sent, we may be sure, not only to Písek, or else the fact would have been indicated and the reasons given. Discourses of this kind were evidently copied in large numbers and then distributed, as was the case, for instance, with the tractate, 'De origine Hussitarum', which Andrew von Regensburg had copied, when it came into his hands in February 1426, by five copyists, in a single night. Cf. G. Leidinger, *Andreas von Regensburg*, München 1903, p. 268.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. also *Husitské skladby* pp. 23, 43, 61.

which the authors were, for the most part, connected with Prague University, so that if they were not Czechs or inhabitants of the kingdom, they stressed at least their relation to their *'alma mater'*. The same may be said of the complaints against the Hussite iconoclasts, 'burning' churches and burnt-down monasteries.¹⁰⁹ We have also noted that Catholic controversialists commented ironically upon certain elements of Hussite propaganda, including the conception of 'the most Christian kingdom' and the slogan that a 'pure' Czech cannot be a heretic.¹¹⁰ At the same time, moreover, they eulogized, as a positive ideal, the 'Golden Age' of Charles IV, which embodied for them the high-point of Czech development, the exemplary unity of Bohemia with the Christian world and the prestige and well-being of the clergy.

Already in the pre-revolutionary period a number of publicists contrasted Charles with his son, Wenceslas, even though not always for the reasons which guided the pen of the author of the topical song *'Omnes attendite'*. Whereas 'our Emperor' was *'factor mali'*, in the kingdom of his son the faith was despoiled, the clergy oppressed and the Pope made an object of ridicule. The King remained silent, *'nam sibi hoc placet.'*¹¹¹ After Wenceslas's death, the Age of Charles was set up as a pattern, nor was the personal merit of Charles overlooked. *'Audi ergo mirabile et terribile de hoc populo'*, complains the compiler of the Chronicle of Prague University on reaching the year 1419, where he writes: *'qui pre ceteris in mundo erat in sciencia, veritate et cognitione dei illuminatus, in sanctitate et iusticia perfectus et in laude habundanter et in honore exaltatus. Et ecce scientifici et illuminati in errores ceciderunt, ut clerus, qui voluerunt plus sapere quam oportet, et simplices populi utriusque sexus, qui in sanctitate et iusticia stabant, ceciderunt et malefactores facti sunt.'*¹¹² The extensive citation is called for here, as it characteristically links a confrontation with the recent past to the search for the wrongdoers among the various

¹⁰⁹ See, for example, 'Tractatus de origine Hussitarum', ed. K. Höfler, *Gechichtschreiber II*, p. 334 et seq. Accusations of this kind are so common that it is unnecessary for our purpose to note them specially.

¹¹⁰ Cf. above, Ch. I, p. 181, Note 117. The most typical from this point of view is 'Invectiva contra Husitas', of 1432 (ed. K. Höfler, *Gechichtschreiber I*, pp. 621—632), which is based on the confrontation of Hussite postulates with their specific realization. F. M. BARTOŠ, *Z politické literatury doby husitské*, p. 29, attributes this composition to Jakub Třeh.

¹¹¹ Cited according to Z. NEJEDLÝ, *Dějiny husitského zpěvu III*, Praha 1955, p. 336. See also 'Sermones in anniversario Karoli imperatoris' quoted by J. TŘÍŠKA, *Literární činnost předhusitské university* [Literary activity of Charles University in pre-Hussite period], Praha 1967, p. 182 and esp. F. MACHÍLEK, *Ludolf von Sagan*, pp. 137f.

¹¹² FRB V, pp. 581—582. Cf. also the Introduction, pp. XL—XLII, where there are important data on the compilative character of the source. The same place occurs also in *Chronicon breve regni Bohemiae saeculis XV.*, ed S. HOŘDIČKA, MVGDB 37, 1899, p. 465.

social strata. Our writer is here relatively moderate, other publicists, however, could not find strong enough words for the rising of the '*communis populi*'.¹¹³ As perhaps need hardly be stressed, the return to the Age of Charles did not mean for Catholics only a return to orthodoxy, but also a restitution of earlier social conditions. And so, too, '*liga secularium et spiritualium hoc est civilium et rusticorum clientum et militum cum illis magistris presbyteris Wiclefisticis*',¹¹⁴ cannot be for them the uniting of all free and unfree strata of the language-based national community in a single idea (even though, of course, that idea is not a nation), but a '*monstruosa colligatio*' or '*conspiratio*'.¹¹⁵

At almost the same time that Andrew of Brod yearned for past times, when 'the most Christian Father Charles' was on the throne, the author of '*Žaloby Koruny české*' (Plaints of the Czech Crown) considers it necessary to allude at least indirectly to 'the kindest Father of the Land.'¹¹⁶ The complaints of the Čáslav Diet against Sigismund not only recalled the Emperor Charles 'of glorious memory', but also acknowledged with gratitude his services as an enlarger of the territories of the Kingdom.¹¹⁷ Thus not all Hussites wished to finish with the tradition and continuity of the Age of Charles, even though both pieces of evidence cited above are too transparently anti-Sigismund to allow of more general conclusions being drawn. Nevertheless, it can be asserted that Catholics resorted to this line of argumentation more often than their opponents, which is true also of the later period.¹¹⁸ Relatively rare is any allusion

¹¹³ See, for example, '*Litera de civitate Pragensi*', ed HÖFLER, *Geschichtschreiber* II, p. 313, '*Tractatus de origine Hussitarum*', ib. p. 327: '*populus arrogans crudelis ingratus et cupidus*', etc. For an analysis of Hussite and anti-Hussite publicistic writings from this point of view, cf. J. MACEK, *Tábor* I, Ch. VI.

¹¹⁴ *Ib.*, p. 339.

¹¹⁵ This was already noted by J. PEKAŘ, *Žižka* I, p. 219. *Loc. cit.*, in HÖFLER II, p. 349, where the alliance of nobility, gentry squires, with townsfolk and peasants is called '*una diabolica fraternitas*'.

¹¹⁶ DAŇHELKA, *Husitské skladby*, pp. 24, 168.

¹¹⁷ AČ III, p. 231.

¹¹⁸ On the contrast between the Age of Charles and the present time of writing is based the tractate of John Papoušek '*Stížnost o neklidu v Čechách*' (Plaint on the Unrest in Bohemia), published in *Výbor* II, pp. 132—136. Master Paul Židek writes in a similar strain in his '*Spravovna*': '*Najprve (roz. Karel IV) česku zemi vši ctí a bohatstvím velkým zvelebil, že kdež Čech šel, všady ho za svatého měli a svátek sobě činili, řkúc: Podte, vizte člověka svatého z svaté země.*' [First he (i. e. Charles IV) improved the land with all honour and great wealth, so that wherever a Czech went he was regarded as a saint and people made holiday, saying: 'Come, see a holy man from a holy land'.] Ed. Z. TOBOLKA, Praha 1908, p. 177. The difference in the results of the dynastic policies of Charles IV and George of Poděbrady are stressed in several of the texts contained in '*Staré letopisy české*' [Old Czech Annals] (cf. *Výbor* II, p. 282). On the other hand, sharply critical of Charles, who 'thought to settle the Czech Land with the German race,

to the Přemyslid dynasty, which; in the case of Hilarius of Litoměřice, is all the more remarkable as he makes no mention of the Luxemburgs either.¹¹⁹

The great uniformity in the accusations which the Catholics made against the Hussites tends to cover up the differences between their authors in respect of the national group to which they belonged. For example, in the view of Ludolph of Sagan, even the Emperor Sigismund is untrustworthy, because he is a Czech, besides which Germans are thoroughly instructed in the reasons why they are to avoid contacts with all Czechs without exception.¹²⁰ On the other hand, an unknown Prague cleric, who already in about the year 1416 calls the Hussites (among other things) '*patrie illusores, linguarii reciproci*,' gives us at least an inkling that feelings of Czech Catholic patriotism were not strange to him.¹²¹

It can, of course, be objected that all the above-cited pronouncements were more or less intended for publications, so that we cannot count upon their sincerity. Nor do we fail to take this into consideration, even though, on the other hand, evidence is not lacking that would point to a certain amount of patriotic feeling and national consciousness among Czech Catholics not being mere demagogical camouflage. If, for instance, Master Procopius of Kladruby noted in a manuscript that he bought it so that '*ne liber portaretur de Bohemia*', he clearly did not do so with his eye on the public.¹²² And the same holds true of private correspondence between Catholic emigrants. The difficult conditions of living abroad not seldom called up nostalgic memories of the country they had lost, whether under the stress of present difficulties of mak-

of which he himself came, and gradually root out the Czechs from it', was the author of the so-called *Krátké Sebranie* (Short Collection), ed. J. KOLÁR, in the publication by R. URBÁNEK, *O volbě Jiřího z Poděbrad za krále českého* (On the Election of George of Poděbrady as King of Bohemia), Praha 1958, p. 33.

¹¹⁹ George of Poděbrady should, according to Hilarius's recommendation, as 'the first and only man in Bohemia' chosen to found a royal dynasty, follow in matters of faith and obedience to the Holy See in the footsteps of the extinct Přemyslids. See *Hilaria Litoměřického List králi Jiřímu z Poděbrad* [Epistle of Hilarius of Litoměřice to King George of Poděbrady], ed. A. PODLAHA, Praha 1931, pp. 16—17.

¹²⁰ Ludolf's '*Tractatus de longaeva schismate*' was published by J. LOSERTH, in AÖG, Bd. 60, 1880, pp. 343—561. See also J. PEKAŘ, *Žižka I*, pp. 64—70 and MACHILEK, *Ludolf von Sagan*, pp. 159f.

¹²¹ Cf. F. M. BARTOŠ, *Předvečer husitské revoluce v osvětlení pražského duchovního* [On the Eve of the Hussite Revolution in the View of a Prague cleric]. JSH VIII, 1935, p. 47; similarly, we read in Simon of Tišnov, '*O igitur amantissimi Boemi redite ad cor...*' (LOSERTH, MVGDB 25, 1886—7, p. 342).

¹²² See contribution in MS A 88/9, deposited in the Prague Chapter Library. On the export of books from Bohemia in the Hussite period, see F. ŠMAHEL, *Ceny rukopisných knih ve Čechách do roku 1500* [The Prices of Manuscript Books in Bohemia up to 1500 A.D.], SH 14, 1966, pp. 20—22.

ing a living,¹²³ or for reasons of health etc.¹²⁴ We shall see below that not only Petrarch or Dante were affected by an exile's longing for his native land, but that not a few Czech men of education, who were obliged or had chosen to leave their country for a longer time, suffered the same homesickness.

Exiles comforted themselves with the thought that it is necessary '*per hoc aspera transitoria de futurae patriae felici dulcedine cogitare*,'¹²⁵ which can be interpreted both pessimistically and optimistically, for '*futura patria*' can also signify, in the contemporary context, the Paradise of bliss. Elsewhere, a source of strength was to be that '*si divitibus amicicia pro gloria computetur, pauperibus tamen pro censu, nobis autem exulibus pro patria, necnon imbecilibus pro virtute*.'¹²⁶ At the same time exiles were aware that, as runaways from their fellow-believers, they were criticized at home and that it was demanded of them, too, that they should be ready to die for their faith.¹²⁷ An echo of this conflict between the personal relation to the distant homeland and the obligatory sacrifice demanded by their faith is to be heard in the address delivered by Stephen Páleč probably in Poland, in September 1420: '*Et quamquam huiusmodi infamiam regni nativi et depopulationem velud alter Jeremias Jerusalemum excidicem cordialiter in me plango et defleo, verum tamen aliquam consolacionem ex hoc occasionaliter percipio*.'¹²⁸

Towards the end of the 1420's Czech exiles could no longer feel safe even in the neighbouring countries, and especially not in those regions which were the target of the Hussite brotherhoods-in-arms. Whereas hitherto it had been the Hussite Czechs who had borne the main brunt of warring hardships, now the situation was gradually changing. It is, of course, not possible here to analyze all the circumstances which brought about this change, nor even all

¹²³ Master Procopius of Plzeň writes, for example, on September 29 1430, from Leipzig to an unidentified friend, that he has returned to the poverty of his student days, made worse by the fact that the Leipzig book market is worse than was the Prague one. See also J. SEDLÁK, *Po stopách Husových odpůrců* [In Quest of Hus's Opponents], *Studie a texty* I, 2, Olomouc 1914, p. 169.

¹²⁴ Andrew of Brod complains that because of an eye disease he was unable to accept a professorship in the university of Rostock (SEDLÁK, *ib.* p. 164). It is worth noting that M. Procopius of Kladruby advises an unknown addressee to avoid Poland, which has an unhealthy climate, and go rather to Styria, '*ubi sunt multi Slavi*' (*ib.*, p. 169).

¹²⁵ Thus writes Andrew of Brod to a person unknown in an undated letter (SEDLÁK, *ib.*, p. 165).

¹²⁶ Andrew of Brod in another letter, *ib.*, p. 165.

¹²⁷ '*Hlo, chtielibi psotny chlapi, aby wsiczkny dobrzy knyezyo byli spalony*' (See now, these infamous fellows would like all good priests to be burned), is John "Peklo's" reaction to such reproaches in a letter to Procopius of Kladruby (SEDLÁK, *ib.*, p. 153).

¹²⁸ Quoted according to J. PROKEŠ, *Husitika Vatikánské knihovny v Římě* (Hussitica in the Vatican Library in Rome), Praha 1928, pp. 35—36.

the motives that lay behind the individual Hussite expeditions abroad.¹²⁹ But whether it was a matter of retaliatory measures, of ensuring the constant battle-preparedness of the field forces, of provisioning difficulties or of propaganda actions, or all these reasons together, it was necessary to justify these raids into foreign territories to their inhabitants on 'higher' grounds. It must be said that not even among the Hussite ideologists was there unity, as regards their justification *pro domo sua*. In the tractate, 'On the Seven Sins of the Taborites', John Rokycana, for instance, comes to the conclusion '*quod illicitum sit sic Boemos pugnare reddendo malum pro malo, prout soli Boemi ore proprio sepe asseverantes dicunt: Quia Theutonici nostrum regnum invaserunt, et nos vicem rependentes, illorum invadimus regna.*'¹³⁰ Eventually, however, the argumentation prevailed which came first to hand: 'And we truly believe that in other countries, people seeing the insatiable avarice of the priests, withdrew from those whom God sent against them.'¹³¹ Roughly from 1428, in the correspondence carried on by the Hussite captains on foreign soil, the formula appears that their forces wage war for the name and in the name of God.¹³²

¹²⁹ From the more recent literature see, especially, the second volume of *Husitská revoluce* by F. M. BARTOŠ, then the work by J. MACEK, *Husité na Baltu a ve Velkopolsku*, Praha 1952 (Polish edition, Warsaw 1955), and, by the same author, *K ohlasu husitství v Německu* [On the Repercussions of Hussitism in Germany], ČsČH IV, 1956, pp. 187—207, H. KÖPSTEIN, *Zu den Auswirkungen der hussitischen revolutionären Bewegung in Franken*, in: *Aus 500 Jahren deutsch-tschechoslowakischer Geschichte*, Berlin 1958, pp. 11—40, R. HECK, *Śląsk w czasie powstania husyckiego*, in: *Szkice z dziejów Śląska*, Warsaw 1955, E. MALECZYŃSKA, *Ruch husycki w Czechach i w Polsce*, Warsaw 1959, L. HOŠÁK, *Ohlasy husitství v Rakousích* [Echoes of Hussitism in Austria], ČsČH IV, 1956, pp. 481—490, P. P. BERNARD, *Jerome of Prague, Austria and the Hussites*, Church History XXVII, 1958, pp. 3—22, BR. VARSÍK, *Husitské revoluční hnutí a Slovensko* [The Hussite Revolutionary Movement in Slovakia], Bratislava 1965, and the volume, *Mezinárodní ohlas husitství* [The International Repercussions of Hussitism], Praha 1958. Whereas Marxist literature has endeavoured to give prominence to the positive response evoked by the 'noble cavalry' for its part in activating peasant-plebeian centres of discontent abroad, W. DZIEWULSKI shows that the sympathy which the people of Silesia felt for the Hussite idea vanished the moment the country became the goal of devastating raids by Polish forces. (*Spółczesność śląskie a husyci, Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce V*, 1960, pp. 5—46).

¹³⁰ I quote according to J. PROKEŠ, *Táborské manifesty z r. 1430 and 1431*, ČMM 52, 1928, p. 2, Note 3.

¹³¹ The passage is taken from the Postile of Nicholas of Pelhřimov, see F. M. BARTOŠ, *Táborské bratrstvo let 1425—1426 na soudě Mikuláše z Pelhřimova* [The Taborite Brotherhood of 1425—1426, in the View of Nicholas of Pelhřimov], ČSPSČ, 29, 1922, p. 119.

¹³² The first of the series of documents in which this formula occurs, is the letter addressed by the Hussite captains to the Town Council of Münsterberg, of 22. III. 1428 (ed. F. PALACKÝ, *Urkundliche Beiträge I*, pp. 602—603). See on this also R. URBÁNEK, *Lipany a konec polních vojsk* [Lipany and the End of the Field Forces], Praha 1934, pp. 193—194, and F. H. BARTOŠ, *Husitská revoluce II*, pp. 35—36.

Yet once more, however, the invincibility of the Hussite forces was to be put to the test on the native soil. Enemies of 'different tongues', as it says in the account of the battle fought near Domažlice, in August 1431, set themselves the task

'of plundering the Czech tongue and of defaming and quenching the faith. But the Lord God, who never suffers his cause to fail, is, in need, a very present help and faithful ally, as He showed us sinners very clearly to be stronger than all these our enemies, when we are faithful...'

'český jazyk vypleniti a vieru v nich potupiti a zhasiti. Ale pán buoh, kterýžto na své vice nedopúštie... v núzi jest hotový a věrný spomocník, jakžto nám jest hříšným zjevně okázal nad těmi všemi nepřátely, kdy smy věrni...' ¹³³

The successes of the Hussites, both in offence and defence, revived the Messianic fiction of the Czechs being a chosen people and helped to create the illusion of their invincibility. This conviction stands out most strikingly in '*Carmen insignis Corone Bohemie pro tropheo sibi divinitus concessa circa Ryzmberg et Domazlicz*', by Laurence of Březová. Were we to follow the poet step by step, we should come across a number of national-patriotic elements and arguments such as were the common property of Hussite publicistic literature and which, too — insofar as we admit Laurence to be the author of the Prague manifestos and the verse compositions in the Budyšín Manuscript — to a considerable extent are the fruit of his invention. At the same time, however, new motifs appear in Laurence's Song in response to the changed situation.

Laurence's 'Boemia', of 1431,¹³⁴ is no longer that 'forsaken and orphaned' widow, full of grief and tribulation, such as figures in the compositions of the 'twenties. In the introduction to the Song, the still allegorical embodiment of Bohemia despairingly entreats God's help, but the closing hymn of thanksgiving strikes a very different note:

'Nunc, gens mea Bohemorum,
summi Regis ante tronum
psalle nunc nova cantica
ornata nota musica...

O Rex, potens in preliis.
Non me ancillam deseras,
sed pius pie protegas.
Assis plebi Boemice,
o Rex regum et celice.'¹³⁵

¹³³ 'Noviny o bitvě u Domažlic' [News of the Battle near Domažlice], *Výbor I*, pp. 475—6. Cf. also *Výbor II*, p. 272.

¹³⁴ As Laurence makes no mention of the preliminary consultations at Chob, in the spring of 1432, his poem arose most probably after the Domažlice battle.

¹³⁵ I quote according to the scholarly edition of B. RYBA, supplemented by J. B. ČAPEK's translation into modern Czech, which was published under the title, '*Píseň o vítězství u Domažlic*' [Song of the Victory near Domažlice], Praha 1951. Loc. cit.

But in the end of what use is it that in the poet's imagination the papal legate Cesarini tells the Pope of the strength of the Czechs and how the German women greet the return of the crusaders with mockery and of the warning the Margrave Frederic of Brandenburg addresses to king Sigismund in the following words:

'Recedamus celeriter
de campo unanimiter,
ne occupemur rusticis,
desperatis scismaticis,
et perdamus populum
cristianum...

Lesi nam vestri populi
timent ut ignem parvuli
fugiuntque Bohemiam
veluti pestem maximam.¹³⁶

The Hussites cannot wage war for ever, nor do the majority (including Laurence) wish to, being rather for a settlement with the Church and with the surrounding world, under mutually acceptable conditions. In order to lend urgency to the peaceful settlement of the 'Czech' Divine cause, the author leaves it to the defeated Margrave to give the reasons in support of it:

'Vel populo Boemorum,
prout optat, date horum
clementem audienciam,
pii effectus gratiam
aliquot articulorum,
qui, ut ferunt, sunt et morum,
...
quos et Christus promulgavit...

Est nam gravis iniuria
negata audiencia
condempnare sic populum
grandem ac manu strenuum,
optantem audienciam,
in qua et evidenciam
Scripturarum ostendere
volunt...¹³⁷

Laurence's Latin poem was undoubtedly designed also for a foreign public, even though its preservation in a single manuscript does not testify to its being particularly widely known and distributed. The main weight of the broadly-based campaign which followed the same aims as the above-cited passage from 'The Song celebrating the Victory at Domažlice', was again concentrated in the well-tested form of manifestos. Here we are well informed

is on p. 130. I do not mention here a similar composition, 'Píseň o bitvě u Ústí [Song of the Battle near Ústí] (cf. Z. NEJEDLÝ's edition, *Dějiny husitského zpěvu VI*, pp. 346—349), for according to the most recent analysis by J. KOLÁR, the song arose, as, the evidence shows, not before the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. Cf. *Píseň o bitvě před Ústím*, ČL 15, 1967, pp. 110—131.

¹³⁶ *Ib.*, pp. 96, 100.

¹³⁷ *Ib.*, p. 126.

not only of the places which it reached, but also of the reception it received.¹³⁸ This naturally varied, but in general the campaign fulfilled its purpose, for it contributed to an ever growing conviction that negotiation with the Hussites was not only desirable, but, indeed, essential. The fact that in this second wave of manifestos (especially those issued by the Taborites) the universal Christian interpretation of The Four Articles of Prague completely overshadowed the patriotic-nationalist aspect followed naturally from their mission.¹³⁹ Only here and there a warning was heard that '*regni nostri indigenas, simili morbo vexatos, de patrie nostre limitibus eiecimus*'.¹⁴⁰

The document known as '*iudex in Egra compactatus*', on which, in May 1432, the representatives of the Council agreed with the Czech delegation, opened up more than promising possibilities for public discussion, at the highest contemporary level, on the Four Articles of Prague and the extent to which they were in harmony with God's law, the precepts of Christ and the Apostles, the early Church and the Councils, as well as with the Fathers who honestly followed their guidance. The Hussite delegation, which set out at the end of this year for Basel, went to cleanse the good name of the 'Czech tongue' in the sense that only with the defence of the orthodoxy of The Four Articles would the taint of heresy be removed which abroad was, for the most part, regarded as 'Czech' and not only as Hussite. Although both in the course of negotiations, as well as outside them, spontaneous national antipathies found expression,¹⁴¹ the main core of discussion rested on ecclesiastico-theological questions. To say that the Czechs in Basel defended themselves against charges of heresy

¹³⁸ In addition to the literature cited in Note 129 and the repeatedly cited studies by Bartoš and Prokeš on the Prague and Taborite Manifestos, mention must be made here of the book by F. M. BARTOŠ, *Husitství a cizina* [Hussitism and Foreign Countries], Praha 1931 (esp. p. 217 et seq.), the compendious work by A. KRAUS, *Husitství v literatuře, zvláště německé* [Hussitism in Literature, especially German Literature], I, Praha 1917, and the pioneering study published by H. HAUPT, *Husitische Propaganda in Deutschland*, in: Rauners Historisches Taschenbuch VI, Folge VII, pp. 233—304. For the geographical distribution of places in respect of which we possess evidence of a knowledge of the Hussite manifestos, see *Atlas československých dějin* [Atlas of Czechoslovak History], Praha 1955, tab. 7f.

¹³⁹ A deficiency in national élan in the manifestos of this period has been noted, among others, by F. SEIBT, *Hussitica*, p. 109.

¹⁴⁰ See the Prague Manifesto of about May 1430, ed. F. M. BARTOŠ, *Manifesty města Prahy*, p. 303.

¹⁴¹ As a rule, however, it is not possible to say when the aversion to heretics and when the motive of national prejudice was uppermost — a sentiment which, among a number of counsellors, dated from the time of the Kutná Hora Decree and of the Constance trials. On the sojourn of the Hussite delegations in Basel and on the negotiations with the Council, see especially F. M. BARTOŠ, *Husitká revoluce II*, p. 120 et seq., where further literature is listed. A considerable part of the sources was published in *Monumenta conciliorum saec. XV*, 1—2, Wien 1857—73.

would be inaccurate for yet another reason — of the four official speakers in the Hussite delegation one was an Englishman (Peter Payne) and one, with fair certainty, a German (Andrew of Znojmo).¹⁴²

The first phase of the Basel negotiations with the Hussites ended without any striking results. But travelling with the Hussite delegation returning to Bohemia was a delegation of the Council whose secret mission was 'to sow among the Czechs the seeds of blessed war and destroy the disastrous peace in which they lived'. But this was no longer even necessary, a little skilful manoeuvring behind the scenes sufficed to bring the deep internal contradictions between the Hussite parties to the surface. What the opponents of Hussitism had been unable to achieve with the sword, cunning diplomacy achieved. No matter though the fratricidal Battle of Lipany (May 1434) gave the enemies of Hussitism — as the course of events was to show — cause for premature rejoicing over the liquidation of Czech heresy, it nevertheless, although not yet definitively, deprived radical Hussitism of its powerful military strength. Contemporary records of the battle are not many and evaluations of its results still fewer.¹⁴³ If we leave out of account the jubilations of the Catholic wing of the victors — for let us not forget, that fighting against the brotherhoods of Taborites and 'Orphans', side by side with the Hussite right wing, were the lines of the Catholic nobility —, there remain, actually, two testimonies, both emanating from the Hussite conservative party, where it is quite clear what their attitude to the defeated was. The Old Collegiate, the mouthpiece of University defeatists, is no less satisfied than the Catholics, even expressing approval of the burning of captives, for '*sic illa coadunatio illorum latronum periit et regnum coepit pacificari*'.¹⁴⁴ On the contrary, an anonymous chronicler cannot help a sigh of regret: 'Dear God, a pity to have lost these Czechs and valiant fighters for Thy law!'¹⁴⁵ If we recall, moreover, Laurence's complaint about the fallen Catholic gentry in the battle up on Vyšehrad, we may rightly suppose that not even at the times most critical for the Hussite idea to which they were loyal were certain members of the '*litterati*' able to suppress spon-

¹⁴² On Andrew of Znojmo's German origin, most recently, F. SEIBT, *Hussitica*, p. 96. Even though Znojmo was predominantly German (cf. E. SCHWARZ, *Volkstums-geschichte der Sudetenländer II*, p. 145 et seq.), it is not possible to deduce from that fact the nationality of an individual citizen.

¹⁴³ For a detailed analysis of contemporary reports of the Battle near Lipany, see R. URBÁNEK's study *Bitva u Lipan ve vývoji poznání historického* [The Battle near Lipany in the Development of Historical Knowledge], *Vojenský historický sborník* 3, 1934, pp. 7—24; more briefly, but with valuable additions, in F. M. BARTOŠ, *Husitská revoluce II*, p. 171 et seq.

¹⁴⁴ *Chronicon veteris Collegiati Pragensis*, ed. HÖFLER, *Geschichtschreiber. I*, p. 94. See also the above-mentioned remark in the same source, namely, that among the field forces '*maior pars fuit alienigenarum*'.

¹⁴⁵ SLČV, p. 67.

taneous feelings of sympathy for those belonging to the same language-based national community.

The defeat at Lipany helped, along with other factors, to smooth the way for reconciliation with the Emperor Sigismund, who had already taken steps to ensure the maximum advantage for his Czech policy from the Basel negotiations. No sooner did he ascertain that the delaying and vacillating tactics of the Council were, in fact, holding up the general recognition of his claims to the Bohemian throne than he seized the initiative and went farther in meeting the demands of the Hussites in religious matters than he was, in fact, entitled to do. He did so in the conviction, which also followed from the secret intentions of the Council, that they were only temporary concessions and that, sooner or later, complete victory over the Hussite heresy would be achieved. The settlement with Sigismund, however, was not confined to the question of the recognition or not of the much modified Prague Articles. And though Sigismund did not hesitate to invoke his Přemyslid origin in support of his inherited right to the Bohemian crown,¹⁴⁶ what in reality decided his recognition was the measure in which he was ready to accept the demands of the election capitulation drawn up by the St Valentine Diet of March 1435. As we have already touched upon the articles relating to the rights and obligations of foreigners and Czech-domiciled Germans in connexion with the demands of the Diet Resolution of August 1419, here it suffices to say that, with minor exceptions, there was nothing contained in the conditions laid down by the gentry that went beyond the claims of the Czech nobility in their struggle with the sovereign power. From the political point of view, new elements conditioned by the actual character of the internal distribution of forces in the revolutionary period appeared partly in the demands of the squirearchy and, especially then, in the 'ohrady', or clauses for the protection of town privileges.¹⁴⁷ After long-drawn-out negotiations with the Emperor and with the Council, a Compact was festively issued in Jihlava, on July 5 1436, in which the Council confirmed to the Czechs the substantially curtailed version of The Four Articles of Prague, and, a fortnight later, Sigismund published a Charter of the Freedoms and Rights of the Kingdom of Bohemia. The St Wenceslas Choral, whose strains were heard in Jihlava, would seem to indicate that the Hussites again formed a single family with all the other inhabitants of the kingdom, with the sovereign and with the whole of Western Christianity. But it was an illusion that was not to last long.

¹⁴⁶ For the circumstances under which this happened, see BARTOŠ, *Husitská revoluce II*, pp. 178—9.

¹⁴⁷ A differentiation and short description of the individual resolutions of the Diet of March 1435 is presented by I. HLAVÁČEK, *Husitské sněmy* (Hussite Diets), SH IV, Praha 1956, pp. 97—101. F. M. BARTOŠ, *Husitská revoluce II*, pp. 185—6, draws upon Hlaváček, but evaluates less soberly the importance of certain claims.

The conclusion we reached at the end of the preceding chapter, namely, that in the central programme of the Hussite revolution national elements were only of secondary importance, is confirmed by the analysis of further documents and of individual motives and attitudes, which influenced the actions and conduct of individuals and of groups. The principle of faith in the minds of both the Hussites and their opponents stood higher than the principle of nation and native land, which does not deny the existence of the second principle, but only indicates the order of priority.

IV

The Czech 'nation' after the revolution (pp. 135) — economic necessity overcomes the ideological barrier (pp. 137) — national argumentation in the pre-election propaganda (pp. 140) — the Czech consciousness in relation to Slavks and Slovaks (pp. 150) — Hussite isolationism or the isolation of Hussite Bohemia? (pp. 168) — George of Poděbrady and the national dualism of Bohemia (pp. 177) — the patriotism of the first Czech humanists (pp. 187)

The idea that with the Hussite revolution was linked a far-reaching and penetrating Czechization of what were formerly German or mixed-language areas in the principal lands of the Czech Crown is to be met with only on the fringe of specialized or popular-instructive publications, eventually in the works of authors who draw upon the older literature. More or less speculative conclusions of this kind, no matter how vigorously expressed and defended, were in reality based mainly on Prague and perhaps on a few other towns where, as the result of hostilities, a rapid decline in the size of the German population took place. No sooner, however, was a more systematic investigation started of the provinces of Bohemia and Moravia, from the point of view of ethnical development over a longer period, than it became increasingly clear that Hussitism in places accelerated or completed the preceding trend, but that in itself it did not effect any basic change.¹

The recent comprehensive work of E. Schwarz not only confirmed this presumption, but in many respects furnished additional and more precise evidence of its correctness.² Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that the extant sources, not even where carefully worked-out methods are employed, do not enable

¹ Of the studies which mark a new approach to this complex of problems, special mention must be made of the work by J. KLIK, *Národnostní poměry v Čechách od válek husitských do bitvy bělohorské* [National Conditions in Bohemia from the Hussite Wars to the Battle of the White Mountain], reprint from ČČH XXVII—XXVIII, Praha 1922.

² Cf. a résumé of SCHWARZ'S researches in *Volkstumsgeschichte* II, p. 460 et seq., or still better in *Die Volkstumsverhältnisse*, pp. 109—110.

us to draw more than approximate conclusions, whose validity may justly be questioned from more than one angle. This is true, for example, of one of Schwarz's most important deductions, namely, that of 99 investigated Czech and Moravian towns and townships, 39 had lost their German majority already previous to the Hussite Wars.³ Even apart from the fact that the author inquires, first and foremost, into the settlement and population of German and not that of Czech origin which, despite the objectivity not only claimed, but also observed, by Schwarz, may easily distort the picture to a certain extent, it must be taken into account that the majority referred to is, in more cases than one, a majority in the town council. Yet objections such as this cannot basically alter Schwarz's conclusions, insofar as we accept the legitimacy of the methods and procedures adopted.⁴

The language frontiers of 1420 were, according to Schwarz, so firmly established that they remained valid (despite certain fluctuations) throughout the war years and in the succeeding period.⁵ In the case of towns and villages in the Czech interior, the process of Czechization was, at this time, practically completed. In the case of Moravia, where both Hussitism and military operations were at a lower level of intensity, this process was more gradual and again affected only certain regions. An important factor everywhere was the ethnical character of the surrounding countryside, for where the village populations were of German nationality, the settlement of a formerly German town by Czechs, in a measure ensuring them a majority, came up against considerable difficulties. Specific cases are alike Německý Brod and Chomutov, which maintained their German character despite the fact that both towns were captured in the years of revolution by Hussite forces.⁶ In this connexion it must be recalled that the Czechization of certain towns and places in the course of the Hussite revolution was not accompanied by a sudden explosion of population. Factual data on the growth or decrease of the population in the individual regions and localities will, in all probability, never be known, but even so we may venture the hypothesis that the total population, especially in Bohemia, declined at this time and that the Czech element in towns with a German majority occupied by Hussite forces was represented at most by the military occupying force. In the Border regions or in the larger German-speaking enclaves, the Czech ethnical element could maintain its position only where there was immigration of Czechs from more distant places. Except in the case of the language enclave, Kolín — Kutná Hora — Čáslav, we have no evidence

³ SCHWARZ, *Die Volkstumsverhältnisse*, p. 107. Cf. further the instructive map in *Volkstumsgeschichte* II, p. 456.

⁴ More on this in the above-quoted review by J. DOLEŽAL und F. ŠMAHEL, in *ČsČH* XV, 1967, pp. 598—599.

⁵ SCHWARZ, *Volkstumsgeschichte* II, p. 461 et passim.

⁶ *Ib.*, I, p. 168 and II, p. 209.

of any such migration. Not seldom, therefore, of greater significance than the sudden and mostly enforced exchange of population of a certain locality or town in the war years was the process of the gradual and natural growth of the Czech population which, in certain regions, continued uninterrupted throughout the whole of the 15th century, as we can conclude from several more specific indications.⁷

The settlement of half deserted towns and townships by Czech country people did not always necessarily lead to an immediate regeneration of the town organism founded upon handicraft production and trading. On the presumption that the new immigrants were not able at once to replace the artisans and producers, the older German historiography based its hypothesis that the enforced expulsion of the German population was followed by a stagnation of artisan production and trade.⁸ In the case of Kutná Hora mining this was undoubtedly so, as we have the testimony for it in a resolution of the Town Council of 1433 sanctioning the recall into the community 'of former Germans, runaway miners'.⁹ Otherwise, however, if we base our conclusions upon the studies of Winter and Janáček,¹⁰ the post-revolutionary period (1437—1490) was a time of general growth of artisan production, which eventually reached such an intensity that the local market was saturated and certain products from the Czech Lands were able to compete successfully in more distant markets. The not very numerous sources suitable for statistical analysis do not enable us to compare, in this period, the level of production in predominantly Czech towns with that in towns predominantly German.¹¹ Taking as a specific example Hussite Tabor, which surprisingly quickly changed from a military fortress into a busy and prosperous centre of trades and trading, it is clear that the

⁷ Instructive from this point of view are the extant Land Register Books of the Ždár Monastery for the years 1407, 1462 and 1483, for an analysis based on linguistic considerations of the nationality of the registered serfs see SCHWARZ, *Volkstumsge-schichte* II, p. 88.

⁸ Strictly speaking, there were not many towns thus affected, but even so it would be necessary to investigate them one by one, for any generalization in this direction comes up against an insufficiency of evidence based on sources.

⁹ Cf. J. KEJŘ, *Právní život* p. 152.

¹⁰ Cf. mainly the study by J. JANÁČEK, *Řemeslná výroba v českých městech v 16. století* [Artisan Production in Czech Towns in the 16th century], Praha 1961, Conclusions to Ch. III, p. 63, and an evaluation of the comprehensive factographical works of Z. WINTER, on p. 9 et seq.

¹¹ Attention is paid to the national aspect, especially by Z. WINTER, in connexion with guild organization (cf., for example, *Dějiny řemesel a obchodu v Čechách v XIV. a XV. století* [History of Trades and Trading in Bohemia of the 14th and 15th centuries], Praha 1906) and, in conjunction with analyses of the individual localities, also E. SCHWARZ. On the other hand, J. JANÁČEK, in his op. cit., leaves completely out of account differences between Catholic and non-Catholic areas, and between towns predominantly Czech or German.

transition to the normalization of the economic function of urban settlements was not such a serious problem when general conditions throughout the country became more stabilized.

At the same time it cannot be overlooked that, especially in the period of the actual revolution and in the years immediately following, very considerable economic difficulties were encountered which derived, among other causes, from the reduction of trading contacts to the absolute minimum. The Hussites could manage for a time without a number of imported products, but not without salt, spices and other essential goods of everyday consumption.¹² Hand in hand with anti-Hussite propaganda and with crusading expeditions went the prohibition of any kind of contacts, not excluding trading contacts, with the Czech heretics.¹³ The importance attributed to the economic blockade is indirectly apparent also in the tractate literature where it is stressed that, were the Czechs and Moravians obedient to the apostolic see, there would be a return of '*plures mercatores et mechanici etc.*'¹⁴ To tell the truth, trade with the heretical regions never altogether ceased, despite prohibitions and threats, even in the years of most severe struggle.¹⁵ But in order to ensure at least the minimum provisioning with essential foreign goods, the Hussites were obliged not seldom to resort to compromises which were in conflict both with the military situation at that juncture and with the categorical postulates of their ideological spokesmen.¹⁶

Not only in the revolutionary period, but also later, the basic economic requirements were thus the most effective factor leading to a normalization of the various functions of the social organism and to a modification of *a priori* ideologically motivated and intolerant tendencies and prejudices between the Calixtines and Catholics on the one hand, and, eventually, between Czechs and foreigners, on the other. Although the return of runaways or the influx of new

¹² For list of the goods which were not to be imported into Bohemia, see, for example, the letter of Cardinal Brand to the Bishop of Regensburg, of May 16th, 1424 (ed. F. PALACKÝ, *Urkundliche Beiträge* I, p. 337).

¹³ Cf. also a number of letters of warning addressed to various recipients, published by F. PALACKÝ in the above-cited edition, Vol. I, pp. 189—190, 265—266, et passim.

¹⁴ Cf., for example, the tractate entitled, '*Qualiter persuadendi sint layci Boemie et abolendam communionem sub utraque specie, secuntur motiva vulgaria*', pointed out by J. PROKEŠ, *Husitika Vatikánské knihovny v Římě*, p. 40.

¹⁵ For a more detailed account, see J. JANÁČEK: *Der böhmische Aussenhandel in der Hälfte des 15. Jahrhunderts*, *Historica* IV, 1962, pp. 39—58, and A. WAGNER: *Beiträge zu einer Geschichte des Salzhandels von Linz nach Böhmen* (II), *Jahrbuch der Stadt Linz* 1962, pp. 85—104, (III), *ib.* 1963, pp. 11—42.

¹⁶ Criticism of merchant enterprise and trade, such as we come across in the sermons of John Rokycana, was however already common among pre-Hussite moralists. Rokycana's views on trade and commerce are summarized in F. ŠIMEK: *Učení M. Jana Rokycany* [The Doctrines of Magister John Rokycana], Praha 1938, p. 196 et seq.

foreigners was, in a certain measure, an advantage for normal economic and trading relations, these trends were not always viewed by the Calixtines from this point of view alone. If the consolidation of economic conditions was to be accompanied by the obvious endeavour to restore the pre-Hussite *status quo*, it was inevitable that fears would again arise that the return of Germans, implying for the most part the return of Catholics, was one of the signs of a gradual liquidation of Czech heresy as a result of internal weakening and dilution. Typical in this connexion is a letter of the Town Council of Tabor, dated January 22 1443, addressed to Ulrich of Rožmberk, where several unnamed members of the Czech nobility are reproached for endeavouring 'to further the weal of the German tongue and weaken the Czech voices, by bringing Germans into the country'...¹⁷

The Calixtines watched with particular vigilance the growing number of runaway citizens returning to Prague and the influx of foreigners. And even though their numbers could not have been very great, alone the fact that at the Prague Faculty which, in the 1440's, gradually gained in importance, foreigners again played a more important role, this fact was a thorn in the flesh of not a few nationally-minded Utraquists. And so the taking of Prague by George of Poděbrady, in September of 1448, was also warmly welcomed by such persons, for 'Germans and opponents (i.e. of the Chalice) have left the college and many citizens have fled from the Old Town and from the New.'¹⁸ Soon thereafter, however, all three Prague towns passed a resolution according to which merchants 'of no matter what tongue' could come to Prague and freely carry on their trade here on condition that they observe the valid regulations and refrain from scoffing at or offending the Faith.¹⁹ Presumably other Czech and Moravian towns with a Calixtine majority proceeded in a similar way, though we do come across instances of certain guilds which closed their doors to non-Czechs. A case in point, for example, is the charter of the Chrudim butchers of 1455, where it is laid down that 'no German can be accepted into our Guild... except those who are already members' ('Němec žádný v řemeslo naše... kromě těch, kteříž sú přijati již').²⁰ On the basis of similar data, which testify to the spontaneous or desired return of German artisans and settlers, the view is sometimes expressed that a new wave of 'Germanization' of the Czech Lands does not date first from the Lutheran Reformation, but was in

¹⁷ AČ I, p. 380.

¹⁸ SLČV, p. 112. On the sojourn of foreign students in Prague, in the 1440's, cf. the study by F. ŠMAHEL: *Počátky humanismu na pražské universitě v době poděbradské* [The Beginnings of Humanism in Prague University in the Poděbrady Period], AUC-HUCPr I, 1960, p. 57 et seq.

¹⁹ Cf. R. URBÁNEK, *Věk poděbradský II*, p. 326.

²⁰ Cf. the edition published by A. RYBIČKA in ČČM XXXVII, 1863, pp. 212 and 214, and also the above-cited work by Z. WINTER, *Dějiny řemesel*, pp. 686, 405 and 407.

process already in the 15th century.²¹ Such a view is not, to say the least, sufficiently authenticated, even if, as we shall see, fears arose now and again among the Czech public that the accession of a foreigner as ruler might easily have consequences of this kind.

Certain it is that the consolidation of the economico-trading mechanism was obstructed up to the end of the Poděbrady era by not a few internal and external political factors, which was reflected also in the relatively rare documents in which these questions are touched upon. It is interesting that both the authors whom we have here especially in mind advised King George not to hesitate in opening the country to foreign merchants and artisans. The Catholic encyclopaedist, Pavel Židek, saw the main obstacle in the fact that the Calixtine priests 'do not allow perfect artisans to settle or carry on their trade or merchants to settle or foreigners to reside, unless they have settled with them matters touching upon the faith hateful to all the world.'²² Whereas Židek linked up the return to Catholicism with the vision of cloves, ginger and saffron, of which there was not in the whole of Prague, according to him, as much as would fill a single sack, the King's French adviser, Antonio Marini of Grenoble, put forward purely economic considerations. Confessional or other ideological considerations have no place in his 'Rada králi Jiřímu o zlepšení kupectví v Čechách' (Advice to King George on the Improvement of Trade in Bohemia).²³ Not without reason is attention drawn, in connexion with Marini's 'Rada', to certain affinities in the thought with the doctrine of Mercantilism. This apart, it must be said that Marini's treatise came into George of Poděbrady's hands when, owing to the inner and outer threat to Utraquism, he could no longer reckon with the realization of those suggestions which, alongside superficial illusions, contained a realistic core.

The royal power in the post-revolutionary lands of the Czech crown was seriously undermined, its maintenance being linked with considerable internal and external difficulties, yet candidates for the vacant Czech throne, from the death of Sigismund (1437) to the election of George of Poděbrady (1458), were not lacking. The question of succession, more exactly, the election of one of the candidates was of quite exceptional significance not only for eventual

²¹ Mention is made of the beginnings of a new Germanization of Bohemia already in the 15th century in J. KLIK: *Národnostní poměry*, p. 28.

²² M. Pavel Židek: *Spravovna*, ed. Z. TOBOLKA, pp. 16—17. In the confused medley of Židek's advice, there are not a few shrewd observations and, above all, critical reservations, for Židek in his vanity considered himself to be an authority above all authorities. And so he sometimes blurts out what others would take care to avoid. If Czechs are 'stupid at many trades, especially what has to do with ores and mining', it would be unwise, in his view, for the king not to call foreigners into the country (ib., p. 20). In another place, however, he does not fail to stress that a condition is that they should learn Czech.

²³ Marini's Counsel to King George is given in full only in *Výbor* 1868, cols. 777—792.

aspirants to the Czech crown, but also for the individual Lands and then also for the widely varied political power groups and the nationally and also confessionally differentiated strata of the population. The electing of a king was altogether a matter of high politics, represented especially by the fully authorized members of the Czech Provincial Diet, nevertheless, the egoistic despotism of those in power and of the decisive votes was held in check by a number of direct and indirect pressures exercised by influential or numerically important social strata. And so also, in the pre-election campaign, not only the usual methods of corruption, promises and diplomatic intrigues played their rôle, but also election propaganda addressed to the broad masses. Yet we should not overrate the response and effectiveness of these actions. As, however, no small care was devoted to them by the various electioneering parties, they are worthy at least of some attention, all the more so as the tenor of most of the propaganda pamphlets was an appeal based on the national and confessional consequences deriving from the choice of this or that candidate.

The Emperor Sigismund who, at the time of his *de facto* recognition in Bohemia, was already advanced in years, made every effort to ensure, already during his lifetime, the succession of his son-in-law, Albert of Habsburg.²⁴ Although Albert had the support only of the Catholic nobility and the moderate Utraquists, he succeeded, with the help of a number of concessions to the vacillating group of the centre, in putting through his election already several weeks after Sigismund's death. The obligation to recognize the Compacts was, of course, an essential condition, as was also the exclusion of foreigners from Czech administrative and other offices, as contained in the Election Capitulation.²⁵ For the Council and Catholic countries, with the exception of Poland, Albert's success was more than a promise that this 'Hammer of the Heretics', as he was also nicknamed,²⁶ would soon bring about the 'pacification' and re-Catholization of heretical areas. The opposition to Albert on the part of the Taborite federation of towns and of the east Bohemian nobility was not able, it is true, to make itself effectively felt during the rushed pre-election negotiations, but all the greater was the danger it represented in the period immediately following. The eventual candidature of the Polish Prince Casimir, in whom the anti-Albert opposition placed their hopes, was not an eventuality whose realization could be ruled out, but a serious threat underlined by the politico-diplomatic agility of the Cracow Court. In this situation,

²⁴ For details, cf. R. URBÁNEK: *Věk poděbradský I*, p. 227 et seq., and then the special monograph by R. HECK, *Tabor a kandydatura Jagiellońska w Czechach (1438—1444)* Wrocław 1964.

²⁵ The demands of the Czech Estates, along with Albert's reply, are published in AČ III, pp. 459—461.

²⁶ Cf. URBÁNEK, op. cit., p. 231, where a number of contemporary descriptions are assembled.

Albert had to expend much greater effort in retaining his seat on the Czech throne than he had done in gaining it.

The political propaganda of the two contending Courts was extremely flexible and carefully chose its arguments according to the audience it was appealing to: Unlike the Polish propaganda, that of the Habsburg faction devoted exceptional attention to the territories of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, both through the offices of the diplomatic legations as well as by means of tendentious publicistic writings.²⁷ Albert was presented to the public outside Bohemia as the most reliable pillar of ecclesiastical unity, which is threatened by the danger of a possible Czecho-Polish alliance.²⁸ In addition to Albert's many years of service in the struggle against Hussite heresy, emphasis was laid on the eventuality of Bohemia breaking away from the Empire on the grounds that the Poles not only would not permit the Czech crown to go to a non-Slavonic monarch, but that they would also oppress and differentiate against the Germans in their sovereign territories.²⁹ On the other hand, propaganda aimed at strengthening Albert's position in the Czech Lands stressed especially the promises given by the King in his Election Capitulation. As, however, Bohemia was the apple of discord and the target of the most intensive electioneering propaganda, official declarations were accompanied by a publicistic controversy aimed at heading off Polish aspirations. In the compositions of Albert's clerk, Nicholas Petschacher, for instance, the German origin of the Luxemburg dynasty is recalled as proof that what is important is not the nationality of the sovereign, but his piety and justness. Albert will prove, so it was affirmed, for the Czechs a second Charles, for Czechs and Germans alike are his brothers. And so he alone can raise Bohemia from the dust, ensure her internal peace, fill Czech moneybags and renew the fame of the Prague university.³⁰ The writer's dislike is naturally directed particularly against the Poles, for whom the greatest insults and abuse are not enough.³¹ The same spirit animates, too, the German allegorical com-

²⁷ The reasons are explained by R. HECK, in *Tabor*, pp. 114—115. The following text is based especially on Ch. 6 of this monograph, which was published earlier in a more comprehensive version under the title, *Walka ideologiczno-propagandowa o kandydaturę jagiellońską w Czechach w r. 1438*, in the journal, *Sobótka*, XVIII, 1963, pp. 95—119.

²⁸ Cf., for example, the Instruction for Konrad Weinsberg in *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*, ed. G. BECKMANN, t. XIII, Göttingen 1957, p. 482.

²⁹ In the Instruction for Albert's delegation to the Order of Teutonic Knights, for example, we read: '...sie wollen die cron nimmer under die Dutschen gehoren lassen zu ewigen zeiten, sunder alle Deutsche lande zu drucken, wo si mogen...' *Ib.* p. 488. See also HECK; *Tabor*, pp. 106—107.

³⁰ Petschacher's compositions were published by J. HUEMER, *Historische Gedichte aus dem XV Jahrhundert*, MIOG XVI, 1895. For their analysis, see R. HECK: *Tabor*, p. 108 et seq.

³¹ Specially prominent are the anti-Polish sentiments in Petschacher's composition,

position of an otherwise unknown versifier, Radeler by name, which was intended mainly for the public unable to read Latin.³²

The official propaganda issuing from the Polish royal court was also differentiated according to the audience for which it was designed. Slavophil argumentation, however, was rarely lacking in any of these publications, even though in diplomatic documents the stylization was more moderate. The same may be said, too, of the accentuation of the national aspect, especially of course of its anti-German form. The latter was, naturally, played down in documents and publicistic writings intended for an international forum, where stress was placed, first and foremost, on the close relationship between Poles and Czechs and then, besides, on the unselfish and Christian endeavour of the Polish court to restore the ruined and formerly 'holy' kingdom to its former estate.³³ As regards propaganda and political campaigning in Bohemia itself, it is possible to deduce from the extant sources that in them predominated anti-Habsburg and anti-German motifs. This is true especially of literary works or of references to them which, however, is in itself onesided evidence, for Albert undoubtedly had supporters also in Bohemia and not only, as has been indicated above, among Catholics. This is aptly documented in the divergent standpoints of two contemporary Czech chroniclers. Whereas for one Albrecht is 'bonus, licet Theutonicus,'³⁴ the other inclines towards his opponents who

'would not like to be subjected to German power, which might lead to grave harm, both in the present and in the future, and to all the Slavonic tongue, as is always to be seen and can be found in all old chronicles, that the Germans have always been and will not cease to be the chief enemy of the Czech and Polish tongues and of all that is Slavonic which would be to great harm and shame'.

'v německú moc poddánu býti se nezdálo, ješto by to mohlo jíti k velikému zlému nynějšímu i budoucímu, ale i všemu jazyku slovanskému, jakož jest to vždycky shledáváno i ve všech kronikách starých muož býti nalezeno, že sú Němci úhlavní nepřítelé jazyka českého, polského i všeho slovanského vždycky byli i býti nepřestávají, ješto by to bylo k škodě i k hanbě veliké.'³⁵

Qualis debeat esse electio regis, ed. HUEMER, p. 645. On other anti-Polish pronouncements, see R. URBÁNEK, *op. cit.*, pp. 331—332.

³² Radeler's composition, edited by LILIENCRON, is included in *Die historischen Volkslieder der Deutschen von 13. bis 16. Jahrhundert*, Leipzig 1865, pp. 364—366.

³³ Cf. HECK, *Tabor*, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

³⁴ *Kronika Bartoška z Drahonice* (The Chronicle of Bartoš of Drahonice), FRB V, p. 623.

³⁵ SLČV, pp. 79—80.

From the title of Petschacher's composition, '*Contra Ruckenzanum, qui composuit canciones contra dominum Albertum*', it might be supposed that Rokycana, as the foremost representative of the Utraquists, expressed his opposition to the Habsburg rulers not only in sermons, but also in popular ditties. And even though this evidence is not otherwise supported,³⁶ other Calixtine leaders most certainly did not disdain such forms of literary agitation.

'Czechs should diligently eschew and make every effort to avoid falling under the power of an alien language and especially not under the German', is the opening sentence of the so-called '*Krátké sebranie z kronik českých k výstraze věrných Čechov*' (Short Selection from Czech Chronicles for the Admonition of Faithful Czechs), which most researchers link up with the Polish candidature of the years 1437 and 1438.³⁷ This dating is not incontestable, for several of the places in the work, especially the allusion to 'the most powerful Czech' (najmohutnějším Čechu) may belong to the context of the electioneering campaign for George of Poděbrady some twenty years later.³⁸ From our point of view it is not necessary to investigate the correctness of the one date or the other, for what interests us is, first and foremost, the writer's attitude to the question of the ruler's nationality. The opening passage indicates quite unambiguously that we have before us an attitude which, in its chauvinist anti-German character, has only a parallel in the Dalimil Chronicle. This also inspired the anonymous author to the extent that roughly half of the small work is a montage of tendentiously selected places from Dalimil, with linking texts. A characteristic detail of tendentiousness carried the length of orthographic absurdity — the adjectives 'český' ('Czech') and 'slovenský' ('Slavonic') are written consistently throughout the text with capitals, whereas the words 'německý' (German, adj.) and 'Němec' (German, noun) are equally consistently written with a small letter.³⁹

The importance attached to lessons from the past was, as we already know, a striking feature of contemporary thought and also of controversial writing. In *Krátké Sebranie*, however, the endeavour comes out more strongly than elsewhere to explain the expansive dynamism of the 'German language', to which the Slavonic element either yielded or was unable effectively to repulse.

³⁶ Whereas R. HECK, *Tabor*, p. 98, admits the possibility of Rokycana having composed songs anti-Albert in sentiment, R. URBÁNEK, p. 329, Note 1, emends 'canciones' to the more likely 'contiones', that is, sermons.

³⁷ '*Krátké sebranie*' was last published by J. KOLÁR, in a publication edited by R. URBÁNEK: *O volbě Jiřího z Poděbrad za krále českého* (On the Election of George of Poděbrady as Czech King), Praha 1958, pp. 32—41. On the dating, cf. Urbánek's commentary, pp. 29—32, and R. HECK, *Tabor*, p. 98, Note 4.

³⁸ The dating to the years 1457—1458 is upheld especially by R. URBÁNEK, but inclined to accept it are also the editors of *Výbor II*, p. 136.

³⁹ This is the case in the manuscript, not in the above-cited Kolár edition, which adopts present-day usage in the writing of capitals.

The tendentiously selected facts are here linked with *loci communes* in the older chronicles and in contemporary publicistic literature. There is very little that is original in the work, yet, as a whole, the compilation gives a striking picture of the age-old clash between Germanic and Slavonic peoples in central Europe. Imputed to the German 'tongue' is, above all, a natural love of violence, deceit, cunning and treachery, victims to which were the Elbe Slavs and the former Slavonic inhabitants of Silesia. Thanks to these qualities, and by deceiving the Popes and bribing the Emperors, the Germans extended their territories and power at the expense of the godfearing and peace-loving Slavs, whom they 'served', as well as other 'tongues', at the time of the division of languages at the raising of the Tower of Babel and still under Alexander the Great.⁴⁰ The Slavs and, specifically, the Czechs, were not, however, without blame as regards their fate, which the author indirectly indicates by citing places from Dalimil where are pilloried the lack of unity, the selfishness and, especially, the tolerant attitude, of Czech rulers or those in power towards the Germans.

Not even Charles IV found favour in the eyes of the writer, which is surprising because the Hussites and Calixtines, insofar as they did not acclaim him, never disparaged him. In *Krátké Sebranie* Charles is blamed 'for thinking to settle the Czech Land with the German race, of which he himself came, and gradually to drive the Czechs out of it.'⁴¹ The whole of Czech history, according to the author, is a warning that Czechs should not choose a German as king, for 'it is proper to seek a ruler of the Slavonic tongue and not give consent to a German'.⁴² Besides, Czechs

'if they wish to have good order in their land, should seek out a king who loves God's Good, then the Czech people and their weal. But there can be no prosperity in the land, without God's Good, that is, the receiving of the body and blood of Christ and of other truths of God's law, for which in these years there has been strife and war in this land and many friends and goods lost.'

'chtie-li v své zemi řád dobrý mieti, mají takového krále hleděti, ješto by napřed božské dobré miloval, potom lid český a upokojenje jeho. Ale upokojenje země nikolinemož býti, leč božské dobré, to jest přijímanie těla a krve božie a jiných pravd zákona božieho, o něž jest rozbroj a války tato léta byly v této zemi a mnozí přátely i zbožie ztratili.'⁴³

⁴⁰ On the forged Letter of Alexander the Great to the Slavs, to which *Krátké sebranie* alludes, see below.

⁴¹ *O volbě*, p. 33.

⁴² *Ib.*, p. 41.

⁴³ *Ib.*, p. 40.

After what was said above we cannot let ourselves be misled by the fact that 'God's Good' is again given first place. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the question of the true faith and its possible suppression was no empty argument. But just as the original programme core of The Four Articles was reduced to the Chalice confirmed by the Compacts, so also from the consciousness of the stratum of society to which the author of *Krátké Sebranie* belonged had disappeared that element of the universal (and so super-national) kinship of all believers obedient to God's law, such as we meet with, for instance, in Laurence of Březová. The aim and purpose of this little work must, however, be kept in mind and also the far-reaching social changes which influenced the mentality of the various classes and groups of society. The author, we would point out, is the mouthpiece of those Calixtines who, after surrendering for a short time to the explosive wave whose revolutionary dynamism raised the level of religious feeling, no longer had only God in their thoughts, but also the everyday world and their own goods, the safety of which a wrong choice might easily endanger.⁴⁴

After the short reign of Albert of Habsburg (d. 1439) the Czech Lands remained for almost twenty years without a ruling crowned head. It is true that the actual interregnum lasted only till the acceptance of Albert's son, Ladislav Posthumus, during whose minority George of Poděbrady acted as regent and consolidated his position as the most powerful magnate in the land. The sudden death of Ladislav shortly before he himself was to take over the reins of government again rendered vacant the royal throne, turning it into a target for the ambitions of almost all the surrounding sovereigns. Nor were these aspirants to the Czech crown under any delusion that to gain it would be either easy or without risk. Several unsuccessful candidatures in the preceding period⁴⁵ were a warning against exaggerated illusions, not to speak of the numerous competitors outvying each other in promises and intrigues. The most serious rival facing all foreign aspirants was, as it soon became apparent, the native candidate in the person of the country's regent.

Not even in this case is it easy to list in order of importance the factors which weighted the balance in favour of the election of George of Poděbrady:

⁴⁴ *Krátké sebranie* characteristically concludes with the words: 'A Němce jsa králem, netoliko by chtěl do domuov choditi, ale viceo by chtěl Čechy věrné z domuov vyhoniti a jejich statky bezděky bráti' [And a German being king, he would not only wish to go uninvited into their homes, but would wish in addition to drive out faithful Czechs from their homes and seize their goods against their will']. *Ib.* p. 41. We must not forget that the secularized estates of the Church could eventually be returned by a Catholic monarch to their original owners, even though it is clear from the further development that not even Catholic sovereigns could dare to take this step.

⁴⁵ Cf., for example, the unsuccessful candidature of Albert of Bavaria, in 1440, of which a detailed account is given by R. URBÁNEK, in *Věk poděbradský* I, pp. 502 f.

The most concise conclusion which we can draw from the compendious literature on the subject⁴⁶ would be in the sense that decisive points in his favour were his powerful position, his confessional identification with the majority of the Czech population and his services as a statesman in the preceding period, especially his mastery of the art of compromise at the right time and in the right measure. It is equally certain, however, that especially the Calixtine electors, or those who could exercise on the members of the Electoral Diet any kind of influence, were exposed to what was for the time a relatively strong propaganda bombardment of all kinds. To a certain extent it is possible to speak of spontaneous pro-Poděbrady sympathies among the broader Calixtine masses, for George was not only a Czech, but also a Utraquist. The Poděbrady centre did not, however, rely on these factors alone, but threw into the election-catering campaign the strongest weapon in their propaganda arsenal — the Calixtine pulpit.

The linking of the interests of the Utraquist clergy with George of Poděbrady's monarchial aspirations followed from the natural requirements of both parties and was not limited by any means to this critical period. And so we are also entitled to admit the veracity of the Silesian pamphleteer and chronicler, Nicholas Tempelfeld, who, in his invective against Archbishop Rokycana, laid to his charge the sending out of his chaplains and priests not only into all manner of towns, castles, strongholds and townships, but also into the houses of burgesses, artisans, tradesmen and guild officials, where their mission was to campaign for the election of Poděbrady.⁴⁷ An enumeration of the places and social groups to which the propaganda was addressed is also proof that the initiators of the campaign did not underrate the influence of public opinion. Tempelfeld's testimony would not in itself be so convincing were it not supported by the accounts of foreign observers. In a report of February 1458, the writer of which was probably the moneychanger, Hanuš Monhoup, we have, for example, confirmation of how quickly reports on the situation in Bohemia penetrated to neighbouring countries, where they were further circulated in the form of 'news', that is, of mention of topical events added to private letters. According to Monhoup, 'it is general talk how the Czechs are shouting and proclaiming that no German is to be accepted as King,

⁴⁶ Cf., especially, R. URBÁNEK, *Volba Jiřího z Poděbrad za krále českého* [The Election of George of Poděbrady as Czech King] Sborník příspěvků k dějinám hlav. města Prahy V, Praha 1932, *Věk poděbradský* III, p. 223 et seq., and from among the most recent works, the book by F. G. HEYMANN, *George of Bohemia, King of Heretics*, Princeton 1965, p. 147 et seq., and O. ODLOŽILÍK, *The Hussite King: Bohemia in European Affairs 1440—1471*, New Brunswick — New Jersey 1965, pp. 89 f.

⁴⁷ Cf. J. LOSERTH's edition, *Die Denkschrift des Breslauer Domherrn Nicolaus Tempelfeld*, AÖG, LXI/1, 1889, pp. 166—169.

but someone of their Czech tongue'.⁴⁸ Dr Henry Leubing, one of the Saxon envoys, writes again of a confidential message from the Prague Town Council to all the important households, instructing all who shall be present at the election not to cast their vote for any other than 'Georgie'.⁴⁹ Also the welcome given by the people of Prague to the newly-elected king was exceptionally hearty, even though it must be admitted that Albert of Habsburg had received equally hearty ovations some years before. It is also worth remarking that George of Poděbrady was led in procession to his residence to the strains of the St Wenceslas chorale, and that at his coronation, so far as it was possible, ceremonial procedure followed the Coronation Order issued by Charles IV.⁵⁰

Tempelfeld's comment that George was elected 'by the pressure and outcry of the common people', only reflects his hate of the sovereign whom Silesian Breslau never would nor did recognize. It is not necessary to point out that in the overprolific controversial output of central Europe which, at the end of the 1450's and throughout the whole 1460's, occupied itself more with Czech than with Turkish affairs, unvarnished expressions of national hate and intolerance came into their own, spiced, moreover, by crusading zeal, to which the infringement of the Compacts by Pius II, in 1462, gave free course.⁵¹ Similar attitudes were not lacking, however, even in the widely varied productions on the Czech side, of which we shall hear more below. They appeared, of course, already in the pro-George electioneering campaigns, which foreign commentators did not fail to exploit to their own advantage. The election of a foreigner would be linked with all kinds of ensuing pressure upon, and oppression of, the Czech inhabitants, beginning with the loss of offices or property and ending with enslavement or even the physical liquidation of the

⁴⁸ See F. PALACKÝ, *Urkundliche Beiträge zur Geschichte Böhmens und seiner Nachbarländer im Zeitalter Georgs von Podiebrad*, FRA, II, 20, Wien 1860, p. 126.

⁴⁹ Cf. R. URBÁNEK, *O volbě*, p. 57.

⁵⁰ On the welcome given to Albert Habsburg in Prague, see ŠLŮV, p. 81. *Ib.*, p. 123, on how the Praguers wept for joy after the election of George of Poděbrady. Similar mass manifestations were, however, not seldom stimulated by the distribution of money, public feasts, and so on, so that we must not overestimate their significance. On the coronation rite and George's endeavour to link up with the traditions of the 'pre-Hussite' dynasties, see in greater detail R. URBÁNEK, *Věk poděbradský* III, p. 280 et seq.

⁵¹ I cannot deal here with the extensive foreign propaganda campaign in which, among others, the above-mentioned Nicolas Tempelfeld, Peter Eschenloer and Rudolf of Rüdeshoim, intensively participated. Great attention is paid to it in the studies of R. URBÁNEK and, along with him, in all authors treating of the Poděbrady period. For the relevant bibliography and sources, see HEYMANN's *op. cit.* (pp. 621—655). The most important centre of anti-George propaganda and activities was naturally Breslau, whose relation to the Hussite king has most recently been analysed by A. STRNAD, *Die Breslauer Bürgerschaft und das Königtum Georg Poděbrads*, *Zeitschrift f. Ostforschung* XLV, 1965, pp. 401—435, 601—640.

Czech 'tongue'. If we recollect the sentiments of *Krátké Sebranie*, we have no call altogether to reject such testimony as expressly untruthful. One of the electioneering pamphlets that has been preserved from the pen of a Calixtine spokesman is, in this connexion, more than significant, for its author is held by R. Urbánek to be none other than Martin Lupáč, after Rokycana the most outstanding personality in the Utraquist Church.⁵²

In the first place, Lupáč stresses the matter 'of our holy faith', which in a theologian is not surprising. The holy faith cannot, of course, be for him any other than the Czech faith. For that faith Czechs shed their blood, in it they remained firm and, as the author proudly stresses, with its aid they also gained 'a glorious reputation surpassing the heroes of the whole of Germany and the most valiant warriors throughout the world.' Interest in the faith is further closely interwoven with the interests of the Czech 'tongue', as is evident to common sense. None of the foreign princes or potentates will care for the holy faith, for all their endeavour will be devoted to the accumulation of revenues, the confiscation of treasures, the infringement of rights, oppression and the enforcing of dues. From such a king nothing else would proceed than 'the defaming of our tongue, the weakening of our forces, the cause of poverty and the decline of our whole glory and splendid power, as well as the irreparable oppression of our faith, in which we live, err and exist, and, for us all together, irremediable destruction.' The only defender of the faith and of the State, the pledge of our future and of the recovery of our goods seized by the Crown, can alone be George of Poděbrady, who must also be by unanimous will loyally elected.⁵³

From all that has been said above, it clearly follows that it is an error to attribute to the revolutionary Hussite period in particular, an excess of Czech chauvinist sentiment, such as (so some would affirm) had no parallel either in the preceding or succeeding period. Insofar as such a comparison of different periods of time is, on the basis of the extant sources, at all possible, we might rather presume that, after the decline of the revolutionary wave, when at least the leading Hussite ideologists somewhat held in check national antagonisms with their stress on loyalty and obedience to God's law, nationally tendentious propaganda began to operate more intensively. Nor was it rejected, as we shall see, by the Utraquist spokesmen, for whom the defence of the Chalice was directly dependent upon the confessional and national qualification of the ruler. In fact, only a Czech upon the throne could be a guarantee of the further

⁵² Here I incline more to the view of R. URBÁNEK, (most recently argued in *op. cit.*, *O volbě*, pp. 42—43) than to the objections of F. M. BARTOŠ, who holds the author to be Simon of Slanó: *M. Lupáč a jeho dílo spisovatelské* [*M. Lupáč and His Literary Works*] *Reformační sborník VII*, 1939, p. 140.

⁵³ A fragment of Lupáč's pamphlet is preserved by Tempelfeld in his Latin tractate (cf. J. LOSERTH's above-cited edition, pp. 169—171).

legal existence of what survived of the Hussite idea, for a Czech alone, of the aspirants to the Crown, could be a Calixtine. Whereas in the time of Sigismund the Hussite nationalists and patriots were in opposition to the royal power, in the time of George of Poděbrady the situation underwent a radical change. Support of the royal power in the person of a Utraquist merged with the vital interests of all sincere and faithful believers. The Utraquist nationalists could also come to the aid of George as the representative of their faith, their 'tongue' and their country. Before we take note of what attitude the Catholics adopted towards the 'Hussite' king, we must direct our attention to the role and influence of 'Slovanophil' tendencies, which we have already come across in various contexts and, especially, in the preceding passage.

The consciousness of Slavonic reciprocity and kinship in Bohemian literature and also in Czech political thought is traced in the relevant literature far back into the pre-Hussite period.⁵⁴ More appropriately than of some kind of mediaeval analogy of Slavism, it is possible to speak here of political Polonophil tendencies, for the Czech Lands, in respect of their geographical position did, in fact, have common frontiers only with Poland.⁵⁵ The political contacts and relations between the two countries were not, however, always those of friends or allies, a fact which did not fail to affect the attitude of Czech chroniclers and publicists, who in times of Czecho-Polish conflicts, regardless of affinities of language and culture, expressed a similar antipathy towards Poles as they did towards other foreigners.⁵⁶ The Hussite Age is, nevertheless, regarded by

⁵⁴ From the extensive literature, cf., for example, the volume, *Slovanství v českém národním životě* [Slavdom in Czech National Life], Brno 1947 and esp. *Slovanství v národním životě Čechů a Slováků* [Slavdom in Czech and Slovak National Life], Praha 1968.

⁵⁵ That is, of course, if we leave out of consideration, in the early period of Czech history, the Elbe Valley Slavs and then Slovakia, to which reference is made below. Czech-Polish and Polish-Czech relations, from the earliest times up to the 1770's, are dealt with in detail in a collective work, under the supervising editorship of J. MACŮREK, *Češi a Poláci v minulosti* [Czechs and Poles in the Past] I, Praha 1964. Here, too, on pp. 383/424, is an exhaustive bibliography. Czech relations with Eastern Slavs is traced in no less detail by A. V. FLOROVSKIJ, *Čechy i vostočné slavyane. Očerki po istorii češko-russkich otnošenii*, I, Praha 1935. In the domain of relations to the Southern Slavs, attention is devoted especially to echoes of Hussitism. Cf. résumé in the article by J. SIDAK, *Kacířské hnutí a ohlas husitství na slovanském jihu* [The Heretical Movement and the Repercussions of Hussitism in the Slavonic South], in: *Mezinárodní ohlas husitství* [The International Repercussions of Hussitism], Praha 1958, pp. 163—183. For the literature and partial data on the studies of students from Slavonic countries at Prague University, see F. ŠMAHEL, *Pražské universitní studentstvo v předrevolučním období 1399—1419*, [Prague University Students in the pro-Revolutionary Period of 1399—1419] Praha 1967, Chaps. II and IV.

⁵⁶ On this in general, see J. MACŮREK, *Slovanská myšlenka v českém životě politickém* [The Slavonic Concept in Czech Political Life], in: *Slovanství* 1947, p. 22, F. GRAUS, *Die Bildung eines Nationalbewusstseins*, pp. 21—22, 42, and, with specific data, J. MIKULKA, *Letopisná literatura v Čechách a v Polsku o vzájemném poměru obou národností*

the great majority of researchers, and to a great extent rightly, as a phase in which Slavonic consciousness (again predominantly in Polonophil form) was present in Czech public life in unprecedented measure.

In seeking for the roots of this phenomenon, we can practically leave out of account the spontaneous unreflecting Slavophilism surviving from the past, for we can neither furnish proof of its existence nor can we admit it as an immanent element in Czech consciousness. More complicated is the question of the role and operativeness of those ideological aspects which were linked up with Charles IV's conception of sovereignty, with the founding of the monastery, Na Slovanech, and eventually, too, with the educated Court circle. As regards Charles's political concepts, they were no more nationally Czech than they were 'Slovanic'. In this connexion, the oft-cited letter of Charles to the Serbian Stephen Dušan, appealing to '*eiusdem nobilis slavici idiomatis participatio*,' was a purely diplomatico-political formula, to which special importance cannot be attributed. On the other hand, however, it cannot be overlooked that Charles, whose counsellors and chroniclers did not hesitate functionally to integrate those ideological elements which, at least outwardly, could help to stress the fact that the sovereign, on his mother's side, came of a Slavonic dynasty. And whether it was a matter of the deductions of chroniclers as to the origin of the Slavs, or whether of the Slavonic divine service in the Emmaus Monastery, or the interest of Early Humanistic circles in the presumed greatest Slav St Jerome,⁵⁷ none of these motifs but were carried over into the following period.

These impulses were nevertheless of only secondary importance, for their adaptation was determined by the character and intensity of the political, economic and cultural relations between the Czech and the Polish kingdoms. The rise in the power potential of the Czech State under Charles IV did, it is true, upset the balance of power between them, but it did not suffice for the realization of the Luxemburg plan for a dynastic union of the Czech and Polish crowns. The shifting of Polish interests eastwards helped, moreover, to bring about a stabilization of their common frontiers and a settlement of Luxemburg — Piastov dynastic disputes. Both these factors exerted a favourable influence on the development of economic and cultural contacts, which led not only to an exchange of goods, but also to the infiltration of Prague scholarly reformism

[Annalistic Literature in Bohemia and in Poland on the Mutual Relations of the Two Nationalities], *Slavia* XXXII, 1963, p. 482 et seq.

⁵⁷ See, for example, J. HRABÁK, *Slovanské prvky v starší české literatuře* (Slavonic Elements in Early Czech Literature), in: *Slovanství* 1947, pp. 64—65, M. PAULOVÁ, *L'idée cyrillométhodienne dans la politique de Charles IV et la fondation du monastère slave de Prague*. *Byzantinoslavica* 11, 1950, pp. 174—186, and E. WINTER, *Früh-humanismus*, pp. 60—61.

into Cracow and other Polish localities.⁵⁸ A more fundamental change in the orientation of Luxemburg foreign policy first took place under Wenceslas IV, towards the end of the 14th century, when the Prague Court, in the dispute between Poland and the Crusaders, took its place on the Polish side. Despite the fact that this alliance had its origin in dissensions within the House of Luxemburg and was not unliable to sudden veerings, it certainly contributed towards strengthening mutual contacts and so paved the way for a measure of politico-military collaboration in the period of the Hussite Wars and later. A certain section of the nationally awakened Czech public looked with sympathy upon the struggle waged by Poland against the Teutonic Order and rejoiced, especially, at the Grunwald victory, in which Czech fighting men also took part.⁵⁹

In the view of a number of scholars, the Hussite divine service in the national tongue and the actual symbol of the movement, that is, the administration to the lay congregation of the Sacrament in both kinds, are linked directly or indirectly with a heightened interest in the Slavonic world and a desire to make closer acquaintance with its cultural-ideological traditions and orthodoxy. Certain circumstances do actually testify to this being the case, among others, especially the journey of M. Jerome of Prague to Lithuania and the Ukraine, which is usually brought into connexion with the dispensing of the eucharist wine to the lay congregation, a rite which several radical Hussite leaders adopted soon after Jerome's return. Considerable reserve is, however, called for here.⁶⁰ Although Jerome, according to the evidence of the Constance indictment, bowed to Greek Orthodox ikons and, as a layman, received the Eucharist cup, and although in the case of other Hussite ideologists we have proof of a sporadic interest in the Eastern Church, these rare and not always reliable reports do not afford a sufficient basis for the hypotheses which are sometimes derived from them. The same is true in still greater measure of the eventual influence of the Slavonic monks of the Emmaus Monastery on the

⁵⁸ On the development of economic and cultural contacts, cf. *Češi a Poláci v minulosti* I, p. 104. To the literature listed on p. 399 et seq., add the study by J. KRZYŻANIAKOWA, *Związki Uniwersytetu Praskiego z Uniwersytetem Krakowskim w drugiej połowie XIV wieku*, AUC-HUCP, V, 1964, pp. 53—134, and J. GARBACIK - A. STRZELECKA, *Uniwersytet Jagielloński wobec problemów husyckich w XV w.*, ib. pp. 7—52.

⁵⁹ The warning that too much significance must not be attributed to such expressions of sympathy is expressed by J. MIKULKA in his study, *Mistr Jan Hus a Polsko* (Master John Huss and Poland), *Slovanské historické studie* II, 1957, p. 121 et seq. Cf. also p. 114 et seq., where the author traces the consciousness of belonging to the Slavonic race in Huss. On the participation of Czechs on the Polish side in the struggle against the Order of Teutonic Knights, briefly in *Češi a Poláci v minulosti* I, p. 124 et seq.

⁶⁰ See my study, *Leben und Werk des Magisters Hieronymus von Prag*, *Historica* XIII, 1966, pp. 90—91, and, especially, the study by D. GIRGENSOHN, *Peter von Pulkau und die Wiedereinführung des Laienkelchs*, Göttingen 1964, pp. 147—148.

Hussite liturgy, for here we have nothing more solid to go upon than pure speculation. The fact alone that, in this Monastery, the Sacrament was not administered to the people in both kinds before October 1419, warns us against the overhasty forming of conclusions, so long as more convincing proof is not forthcoming.⁶¹ Nevertheless, certain indications from a later time would seem to point to the eventuality being reckoned with, from time to time, of contacts being made with the Eastern Church. And, more than that, in 1452 a Calixtine delegation did actually set out for Istambul.⁶² The representative of native militant Catholic propaganda, Hilarius of Litoměřice, considered it necessary publicly to oppose the view that the Calixtine Church could find support in Byzance or Greece against Rome. Catholics who refuse to be reconverted to Catholicism will be, according to Hilarius, isolated, for Greece is already ruled by the Turks and 'in Russia or elsewhere the rite is so different that they would not come to an agreement with regard to it'.⁶³ Among the Hussites and Calixtines, however, opposite views were not lacking. An anonymous Hussite preacher, most probably a follower of Jakoubek of Stříbro, included among the heretics, besides the Taborites, Greeks, Ukrainians, Wallachians, Bulgarians and Bosnians.⁶⁴

In the formulation of letters of protest against the burning at the stake of Hus and Jerome, as well as in a number of Hussite manifestos, documents and literary works, we have already come across numerous instances of the interchangeability or parallel use of the 'Czech' and the 'Slavonic language'.⁶⁵ If we take from the first group of documents, for example, the formula — 'všeckna koruna Česká i jazyk slovanský jest pohaněn'⁶⁶ (the whole Czech crown and the Slavonic language are dishonoured), we can still take into account the residue of the older confusion of meaning between 'Slavonic' and 'Czech'.⁶⁷ Another of the letters of protest has, however, obviously in mind

⁶¹ See especially the hypothesis put forward by K. STEJSKAL, *Kláster na Slovanech a mistr Jeroným Pražský* [The Monastery 'Na Slovanech' and Master Jerome of Prague], *Dějiny a současnost IX*, 1967, No 2, pp. 15—17, No 3, pp. 10—13.

⁶² More on this in the studies of A. SALAČ, *Constantinople et Prague en 1452* RČSAV Praha, 1958, and M. PAULOVÁ, *L'empire Byzantin et les Tchèques avant la chute de Constantinople*, *Byzantinoslavica XIV*, 1953, pp. 158—225, and *Die tschechisch-byzantinischen Beziehungen und ihr Einfluß*, *ib. XIX*, 1958, pp. 196—205.

⁶³ Cf. A. PODLAHA, *Hilaria Litoměřického List králi Jiřímu z Poděbrad* [The Letter of Hilarius of Litoměřice to King George of Poděbrady], Praha 1931, p. 16.

⁶⁴ More on this collection of sermons in F. M. BARTOŠ, *Dvě studie o husitských postilách*, p. 53.

⁶⁵ Cf., for example, Ch. I, pp. 189.

⁶⁶ Protest of the Moravian Nobility addressed to Sigismund, of 8. V. 1415, ed. V. NOVORNÝ, *Hus v Kostnici a česká šlechta* [Huss in Constance and the Czech Nobility], Praha 1915, p. 50.

⁶⁷ Examples in the above-cited study, J. HRABÁK, *Slovanské prvky*, pp. 59—60. Between the two expressions there was not, however, complete synonymity, as B.

not only the shame '*genti nostrae Bohemicae et Moravicae*', but also '*totius linguae Slavonicae*.'⁶⁸ The endeavour to appeal to the Poles on the ground that violence committed against Huss and the action of the Council and of Sigismund against the Czech Hussites is an offence and a threat to all other Slavs as well, comes out still more clearly in the later sources and very typically in the Prague Manifesto of April 1420.⁶⁹ The tendentiously defensive character of these appeals and proclamations is evident, less clear is to what extent it was a matter of wishful thinking and in what measure the possibility of real help on the part of the nearest Slavonic neighbour played its part.

Certain steps taken by the members of the Polish delegation in Constance in support of Hus, as well as the sharp clash of Polish envoys with members of the Council, may have given the not fully informed Hussite ideologists and politicians the impression that Polish interests — in this case an anti-German policy — would have priority over the obligation of contending against Czech heretics. This expectation was only partially fulfilled. Among the Poles there were not lacking, it is true, politically noteworthy personalities who were not afraid to conclude an alliance with the Hussites, but the official standpoint of the Polish Court vacillated very considerably according to the general trend of developments in Poland and abroad. Even so, however, Polish 'wait and see' neutrality, which might be the most apt description of Cracow's attitude, was very favourable to Hussite Bohemia, for it gave scope for all kinds of part actions of possible benefit to both sides. The aid of Hussite forces in the struggle against the Teutonic Order, in their way, too, the Hussite expeditions and the participation of the Poles in the Hussite field brotherhoods, helped to strengthen the view that, in the Poles, the Hussites had allies with whose support they could reckon.⁷⁰ The two successive candidatures of Sigismund Korybutovič show up very clearly the weaknesses in this 'alliance' and the obstacles placed in its way by both partners.⁷¹

Despite the considerable number of supporters which Hussitism gained in various regions of Poland and despite a number of local centres of revolutionary activity stimulated by the Hussite idea and example, the greater part of the

HAVRÁNEK has shown in *K názvům lingua slavonica*, [On the Designations of 'Lingua slavonica']. LF 52, 1925, p. 115. The term *Sclavi* had a wider significance and so it was used also for the designation of other Slavs than Czechs.

⁶⁸ Briccius of Buda, Rector of the Charles University, in a letter to Lucek of Kravaře, dated 8. VIII. 1415. Ed. F. PALACKÝ, *Documenta*, pp. 561—562.

⁶⁹ Cf. Ch. II, p. 219.

⁷⁰ A concise survey of Polish-Czech contacts in the Hussite Age is given by J. MRKULKA, in *Češi a Poláci v minulosti*, pp. 124 f. and in the study *Slovanství a česká společnost v době husitské* [Slavdom and the Czech Society in Hussite Period], in *Slovanství* 1968, pp. 38—49.

⁷¹ The most recent literature on Sigismund Korybutovič is listed in the previous chapter, p. 99 Note 12.

Polish clergy remained loyal to Rome, and, of course, the upper hierarchy and the University intelligenzia. Not only the Polish Court, but also Polish public opinion, was, namely, strongly influenced by anti-Hussite propaganda, which it was difficult effectively to counter. Why the Polish university intelligenzia, of whom many studied for a longer or shorter period at Prague University, should have remained on the whole unaffected by Wyclife-Hussite doctrine, is at present being investigated in detail by Polish researchers especially.⁷² The results of this phenomenon are, however, already known in part. The representatives of Polish university scholarship, from among whom most of the authors of chronicles and of literary-publicistic works were recruited, in no way shared Bohemophil tendencies and, unlike Czech scholars, did not particularly stress the Slavonic kinship of the Czech and Polish 'tongues', in the sense of a contributory reason for eventual political contacts.⁷³ Official diplomatic correspondence of the Polish or Lithuanian Court did not renounce the argumentation based on the mutual interests devolving from the affinity of 'language'. We can scarcely, however, attribute greater weight to such evidence, when we recall that phraseology of this kind is to be found already in the political correspondence of the pre-Hussite period.

The internal unsettled conditions in Bohemia and in Poland, in the 1440's, did not bring about a complete breaking-off of relations, even though, after the death of Albert, there was a rapid decline in the numbers of Czech supporters of the Polish candidature. A sign of closer politico-dynastic contacts was the contracting of a marriage between the Polish Casimir and Elisabeth, the sister of Ladislav Posthumous, in 1454, from which the Polish Court derived its claim to the Bohemian crown three years later. The character of these relations varied from case to case. In Poland's war with the Teutonic Order, Czech mercenaries fought on both sides, and the Cracow Court, though it did not rule out negotiations on an alliance with Bohemia's Regent, George of Poděbrady, at the same time gave protection and support to the preaching-missionary activities of the fanatical John Capistrano, and so on. The failure of Casimir's candidature for the Czech throne effected a marked cooling-off in the relations of the two neighbours, which was reflected (among other ways)

⁷² I report on the most recent Polish studies of a doctrinal-philosophical character in relation to the Prague University circle in a survey entitled, *Některé podněty polské mediévistiky*, [Several Suggestions of Polish Medieval Studies] ČsČH XV, 1967, pp. 705—716.

⁷³ The disproportion between epistolary documents and chronicles of the Hussite Age, insofar as formulations stressing Czech-Polish and Polish-Czech relations are concerned, is drawn attention to in the above-cited work by J. MIKULKA, *Letopisná literatura*, pp. 494—495. The same author investigates in detail the conception of the Czech question in the most important contemporary Polish chronicle of J. Długosz: *Annales Jana Długosza a Czechy*, *Odrodzenie a reformacja w Polsce*, 8, 1963, pp. 18—38.

in heightened political activity between Cracow and Breslau and in the postponement of the official recognition of the election as king of George of Poděbrady on the part of the Poles. The lack of tact shown by the Roman Curia towards Poland, however, helped to restore closer relations between the two States, a trend which, after an interim period of feverish diplomatic negotiations, culminated in the Czech-Polish pact of friendship, concluded in Glogow, in 1462.⁷⁴

The conclusion of this treaty, just at the time when the Compacts were nullified and the possibility of further crusading expeditions threatened, was undoubtedly one of the notable successes of the foreign policy of the Czech King, who could thus continue to point to his alliance with a Catholic sovereign. In the following two or three years signs were not lacking that the Glogow bilateral treaty might form the nucleus of a much more extensive peace pact embracing several European Courts. The Polish sovereign did, to a certain extent, guarantee the negotiations conducted by the Czech Court in this sense, but not without the exercise of considerable caution and circumspection. The further development of Czech-Polish relations then showed that the preceding phase of closer contacts originated more in the necessities of the moment than in any truly fundamental conception. No sooner did the Roman Curia place George under the ban of excommunication and start preparations for an anti-Czech crusade, than the Polish sovereign was designated defender of the interests of Silesian Breslau and named as the future successor to the Czech throne.

Under the peace treaty concluded in Torun, Polish military forces hitherto locked up on the territory of the Teutonic Order were to be released and, in return for this concession, the Polish ruler was to come out into the open in the Czech question. The Cracow Court did not a priori reject such offers, though at the same time its envoys in Prague were instructed to give emphatic assurances as to the inviolability of the earlier concluded agreements.

The remaining years of George of Poděbrady's reign introduced into Czech-Polish relations a truly curious anomaly, and one which exposes very clearly the superficiality and adaptability of the flowery phrases relating to Slavonic reciprocity that occur in political documents and in literary-publicistic works and which also explains why we have traced in greater detail the development of Czecho-Polish relations than would perhaps otherwise have been necessary.

In the course of the year 1467 George of Poděbrady tried several times to gain an official Polish assurance of non-intervention in Czech affairs. It was

⁷⁴ More on the development of Czech-Polish political relations in *Češi a Poláci v minulosti*, I, p. 150 et seq. In the relevant bibliography, it is necessary to add the studies mentioned in Note 46 and the study by R. HECK, *Polen und das Friedensprojekt Georgs von Podiebrad*, in *Cultus Pacis*, Praha 1966, pp. 97—107.

very necessary, for both the Breslau party as well as the representatives of the already consolidated native Catholic opposition, were exerting growing pressure, in the intentions of Papal diplomacy, on the still vacillating Casimir. At the convocation in Jihlava, the Catholic Unity of the nobility tried to corner Casimir by offering him (or one of his sons) the Czech Crown. The Cracow politicians did not want to risk anything in this complicated situation, counting on being able to achieve the same aim with fewer complications. In a certain sense, this proceeding proved to have been rightly judged, even though only in the long run. What Casimir was unwilling to do forthwith, George's former son-in-law, Matthias Hunyadi, energetically undertook to do on his own initiative, and gradually the Czech Catholic opposition reorientated their hopes on him. But up to the time of George's death the balance of power was maintained. What could turn the balance was Poland's eventual help to one or other of the warring parties. This, however, neither Poděbrady nor his opponents were to receive in anything like the expected measure.

In almost no document asking for Polish support is the argument omitted of the Slavonic affinity of the two 'languages'. The representatives of the Catholic Unity, which in May of 1467 offered the Czech Crown to the Polish dynasty, besought Casimir, among other things, to have pity on the fate of the kingdom whose inhabitants a kinship of language links with the Poles and not to permit 'heretics' to continue to rule.⁷⁵ The same Unity, nevertheless, shortly afterwards, joined with the Hungarian Matthias and helped him to become self-appointed Czech king. Similarly, in the documents issued by the Prague Royal Chancellery, constant stress is laid on the 'brotherliness' and nobility of the Polish sovereign, who will not allow 'the destruction of our Slavonic language'.⁷⁶ Similar Slavophil appeals did not, however, prevent George from taking up in his negotiations with Albert of Brandenburg an anti-Polish standpoint and attitude.⁷⁷

We must bear in mind these facts, if we do not wish to attribute to these relatively numerous proofs of the consciousness of Slavonic reciprocity (especial-

⁷⁵ Cf. *Češi a Poláci v minulosti* I, p. 152, or R. URBÁNEK, *Věk poděbradský* IV, pp. 304—305, Note 248.

⁷⁶ Cf., for example, AČ IV, pp. 155 and 161, or, still more typical, George's letter to Casimir, of 20. IV. 1468, in which he writes that the Czech Catholic nobility 'omne malum per extraneos et alienigenas inducere conantur, nos, regnum nostrum et linguam nostram slavonicam per omne nefas et excogitatas malitias destruere machinantur.' Cited according to J. PERWOLF, *Příspěvky k českým dějinám XV-XVI. století* [Contributions to Czech History of the XVth-XVIth centuries], ČČM LIV, 1880, p. 415.

⁷⁷ George's political manoeuvring and intrigues, as the accompanying feature of all contemporary politics, need not have been mentioned here, if the older literature, inclined towards the idea of Slavonic reciprocity, had not overlooked it. This does not apply, however, to R. URBÁNEK, according to whom George of Poděbrady had resort to Slavophil argumentation out of political necessity. (*Věk poděbradský* IV, p. 305).

ly in sources of Czech provenance) greater significance than they in reality had or could have. Nonetheless, we can confirm to a considerable extent the view expressed in the relevant literature stressing that, in the 15th century, the relatively most friendly relations of the Czech Lands were with Poland. This fact had, in the given circumstances, greater political significance for the Czechs than for the Poles, which is also reflected in the differing response of public opinion in the two countries. A substantial part of the Polish clergy and intelligenzia never ceased to bear in mind that neighbouring Bohemia was a hotbed of heretical infection and this consciousness took priority, as a rule, over any eventual reflections on common Slav origins. On the other hand, in Czech sources of this period, we rarely come across any jibes or invectives against the Poles.⁷⁸ Here a participating factor was no doubt the fact that a number of Polish Calixtines had become naturalized in Bohemia and that the Polish priests were a welcome reinforcement of the not too numerous Calixtine clergy.⁷⁹ For these reasons, pro-Polish or generally Slavophil propaganda could count on a favourable response in the Czech Lands. Polish motifs appear in verse compositions based on historical themes,⁸⁰ and a Latin prayer from the end of the 1460's asking for the protection of the Czech and Polish patron saints and aid for Casimir, etc.⁸¹

The appeals to Slavonic reciprocity and brotherhood were evoked among Czech literati and publicists by the difficult and often hopeless situation of Hussite and Calixtine Bohemia in the grip of Catholic encirclement. Stress on the common origin and common interest of the Slavonic 'tongue' was aimed to create a favourable atmosphere for eventual actions undertaken by Polish-orientated groups or rather to promote aversion to their 'natural' enemies —

⁷⁸ As a rule, it is here a matter of the ironical stressing of the Poles' alleged indulgence in drink, etc. On the preceding, see R. URBÁNEK, *op. cit.*, pp. 304—5, Note 248, where there are numerous examples cited of Polish views on alliance with the Czechs and on the Czech question. The contradiction between the attitude to Czech heresy and national-political interests in the case of a number of Polish personalities is well grasped by the Breslau chronicler, Peter Eschenloer: 'Puto Polonos non odiro Bohemos, quia unius lingua unus alterius destruccioni non consenciet, neque heresis neque offensa qualiscunque dei differenciam faciet inter Polonos et Bohemos.' (*Historia Wratislaviensis*, ed H. MARKGRAF, *Scriptores Rerum Silesiacarum*, VII, Breslau 1872, p. 148.)

⁷⁹ On this, see, for example, J. MIEULKA, *Polští kněží-husité v Čechách* [Polish Priest-Hussites in Bohemia], *Slezský sborník* 57, 1959, pp. 473—475, more comprehensively then in the study. *Polacy w Czechach i ich rola w rozwoju husytyzmu, Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, XI, 1966, pp. 5—27, F. M. BARTOŠ, *Dvě studie*, p. 68 et seq.

⁸⁰ The best known of these compositions is *Píseň o králi Vladislavu Varnenčikovi*, [Song on the King Wladyslaw Jagiello] last published in *Výbor II*, pp. 92—95.

⁸¹ Cf. PERWOLF, *Příspěvky k českým dějinám*, pp. 416—417, where the following lines are cited along with others: 'Mitte nobis auxilium, da nobis adjutorium, Kazimirum nunc regem. Is nunc se interposuit, tuo nutu disposuit, ut paciferet gregem. Nostro gravi disturbio turbatum in linguagio praeinclito Sclavorum' etc.

especially the Germans and their Bohemian countrymen. This is the spirit animating the above-cited passage on the lesson to be learned from the fate of the Elbe Slavs, in the Prague Manifesto of 1420, or a similar passage in *Krátké Sebranie*,⁸² and no different in its general tenor is the fragment of an apology of George of Poděbrady by the Utraquist humanist, Simon of Slaný.⁸³ Besides this defensive Slavism, however, we occasionally come across expressions of Slavonic superiority which, unlike Czech Messianism, was not derived from the present, but from fictive conceptions of Slavonic pre-history.⁸⁴

In respect of the origin of the Slavs, Czech and Polish chroniclers of the 15th century have not much new to say. In an obvious desire to place the earliest history of the Slav peoples in a favourable light, they refute the conjecture that the Slavs are descended from Ham and try to prove or defend their genealogical descent from the Japhethites, as a matter of prestige.⁸⁵ An altogether anti-German aspect is given to these ideas in *Krátké Sebranie*, where to the Germans is attributed original subservience and subordination to the Slavonic 'tongue'. As the author invokes, in this connexion, the authority of a fictive epistle addressed by Alexander the Great to the Slavs (the oldest version of which is preserved, along with *Krátké Sebranie*, in a certain manuscript⁸⁶;

⁸² Cf. Ch. II, p. 222 and above, in this chapter, p. 145.

⁸³ The following citation from Simon's Address to King George has survived in the work of the 17th-century author, Pavel Stránský of Zapská Stránka, *Český stát — Okřík* (The Czech State), ed. B. RYBA, Praha 1953, p. 372: 'Idioma (inquit) Slavorum, apprimo auctum, nunc per Teutones quantum sit oppressum, luce meridiana clarius patet; regiones namque occidentales, utpote Brandenburgica, Saxonia, Misnia, Serbia, Foitlandia, olim Slavis abundabant. Jam nostro simile est Slavum his in regionibus, specialiter tamen in civitatibus, ostentari. Negligentia certe principum id efficit.'

⁸⁴ The significance of these genealogical deductions has been studied by BR. KÜRBI-SÓWNA, *Kształtowanie się pojęć geograficznych o Słowiańczyźnie w polskich kronikach przedługoszowych*, in *Slavia Antiqua*, Poznań-Wrocław 1953, IV, pp. 268, 272, et passim, by K. PIERADZKA, *Genealogia biblijna i rodowód Słowian w pierwszej księdze Annales Jana Długosza*, in *Nasza Przeszłość*, VIII, 1958, pp. 83—116 and by Z. KALISTA, „*De Janan, alia lingua italico... descenderunt primi Boemi*” (*Na okraj kroniky Giovannino de Marignolli*), in *Orbis scriptus — Festschrift f. D. Tschizewskij zum 70. Geburtstag*, München 1966, pp. 421—430. For the general phenomenon of deriving the origin from the Tower of Babel see A. BORST, *Der Turmbau von Babel*, Band III/1, Stuttgart 1960.

⁸⁵ In *Historia rerum Frederici III imperatoris*, ed. A. F. KOLLAR, *Analecta*, Bd. II., Wien 1762, pp. 15—18, for example, Aeneas Silvius reproaches Czech chroniclers with deriving the origin of the Czechs from the Tower of Babel, whereas the Germans content themselves with Roman origin, the Romans, French and English with Trojan origin. We come across a similar reprimand in the writings of Johannes Butzbach, cf. H. PREISS, *Böhmen wie es Johannes Butzbach von 1488—1494 erlebte*, München 1958, p. 30.

⁸⁶ The Latin version of the letter which, in the oldest extant Czech version bears the title, 'Zápis Alexandra Velikého slovenskému jazyku a českému na budúcie časy' (Epistle of Alexander the Great to the Slavonic Language and the Czech for Future Times), was published by A. POLÁK, in *VKČSN* 1904, pp. 30—31, and again by F. M.

we must seek in it the source of this thesis, for we do not come across it anywhere else. And even though a number of historians date the apocryphal letter in question to the post-revolutionary period, it is not impossible that it arose already in the 14th century.⁸⁷ 'To the enlightened Slavonic race and their tongue' is herewith granted in eternity, for loyalty and alliance in arms 'the whole region of country from the midnight to the midday Italian frontiers, so that none shall dare to remain, settle or seek a place there except your people. And if anyone be found biding there, he shall be your servant and his descendants shall be servants of your descendants.'⁸⁸

The hypothesis of the Greek origin of the Slavs, which was proclaimed, according to the Constance official records indictment, by M. Jerome of Prague, could derive from the above-mentioned Japhethite genealogy, for descent from the fourth son of Japheth was claimed for both the Greeks and the Slavs.⁸⁹ The true reason why Jerome linked his countrymen with the Greeks remains, however, unclear. Seibt's theory that Jerome wanted to indicate, by means of an argumentation close to humanist thought, the cultural superiority of his own nation over the Germans, seems to be so premature in the contemporary thought context that it is difficult to accept its validity.⁹⁰ On the other hand, the idea of Czech cultural advance over other Slavonic 'languages' can well be presumed as existing among a small number of Czech scholars. This assumption was justified to a considerable extent, insofar as we have in mind the maturity of Czech as the written language currently in use in Poland and in still more distant regions,⁹¹ or the number of works and the

BARTOŠ, *Zápis Alexandra Velikého Slovanům a jeho původce* [Letter of Alexander the Great to the Slavs and Its Author], ČČM 115, 1946, pp. 45—49. Most recently, F. PFISTER, *Das Privilegium Slavicum Alexanders des Grossen*, Zeitschrift für Slawistik, 6, 1961, pp. 323—345, which is fully commented, but does not proceed from the earliest manuscript text.

⁸⁷ F. M. BARTOŠ, in the above-cited article, attributes authorship to Laurence of Březová.

⁸⁸ Cf. the edition of F. M. BARTOŠ, p. 48.

⁸⁹ Cf. K. PIERADZKA, *Genealogia biblijna*, p. 103.

⁹⁰ Cf. Ch. I of the present study, p. 188.

⁹¹ On this question there exists an extensive literature, so I cite here only the most recent studies by J. MACŮREK: *K otázce české listiny a české kanceláře na dvoře uherském v 2. pol. 15. stol. v letech 1486—1498* [On the Question of Czech Documents at the Hungarian Court in the 2nd half of the 15th cent., in the years 1486—1498], HČ SAV VI, 1958, pp. 560—569; *Po stopách spisovné češtiny v jihozápadní Ukrajině koncem 14. a v první polovině 15. století* [On the Track of Literary Czech in the South-West Ukraine, at the end of the 14th and the First Half of the 15th century], in: F. WOLLMANOVÍK 70. narozeninám, Praha 1958, pp. 42—63; *K otázce vztahů listiny české, ukrajinské a moldavské v druhé polovině 15. století* [On the Question of the Relations of Czech, Ukraine and Moldavian Documents in the Second Half of the 15th cent.], SPFFBU, D 9, 1960, pp. 151—159; *K otázce spisovné češtiny v Polsku v 15. a poč. 16. století* [On the Question of Literary Czech in Poland in the 15th and at the beg. of the 16th

general level of literature in the Czech tongue. Operative here, too, was undoubtedly the legacy of the cultural flowering of the second half of the 14th century, which gave Bohemia the first university in central Europe and a large number of monumental works of art. In the various declarations affirming Czech cultural superiority, it is, however, difficult to tell whether the writer in question had any possibility of comparing conditions in Bohemia with those elsewhere, or whether he was under the influence of the ethnocentrism which was part of the mental climate of the time. If we recall, for instance, the above-mentioned gloss in a Czech manuscript, according to which '*lingua bohémica plura continet linguagia, Polonorum, Moravorum, Slavorum*',⁹² it is immediately obvious that confused ideas were often the basis of such statements. Elsewhere, it is purely a matter of speculation which was closer to the author: a general Slavonic consciousness or a more narrowly Czech consciousness, as is the case, for instance, in a polemical reply to one of the tractates of Hilarius of Lito-měřice.⁹³ We can rest assured, however, that neither the unsatisfactory state of the schools nor the general cultural conditions acted as a curb to an exaggerated sense of superiority. A specific example, though of somewhat later date, to what absurd lengths this conviction could be carried: a manuscript, with Czech text by Gottfried Petzbuch, of 1497, in a preface vehemently inveighing against all that is German, praises among other things Czech skill and experience in cultivating fruit trees as being much superior to German, although he takes over the passage, word for word, from a German source.⁹⁴

There now remains, in connexion with the group of problems relating to Czech mediaeval 'Slavism', the still debatable question of the place in Czech

cent.], SHS IV, 1961, pp. 163—262 (in collaboration with M. REJNUŠ). For Slovakia, cf. also B. VARSŤK, *Slovenské listy a listiny z XV. a XVI. stor.* (Slovak Letters and Documents of the 15th and 16th cents.), Bratislava 1956. An exaggerated, but certainly not untrue, testimony to the widespread use of Czech is the complaint of the anti-Hussite orientated missionary to the eastern countries, the monk Jerome of Prague, that the Hussites with their heresies are undermining '*latissimas provincias et ducatus Russie albo et rubee, provincias Valachie et Slavonie, provincias Serbie et Albanie, Dalmacie et Charvacie provincias, quia omnes ille provincie communicant Bohemorum lingua*'. Cf. J. BIDLO, *Čeští emigranti v Polsku* [Czech Emigrants in Poland], p. 441; Note 1.

⁹² Ch. I, p. 196. The idea that Czech was the first Slavonic language, from which the others were derived, was apparently fairly widespread in Bohemia, for mention is made of it also by Johannes Butzbach. Cf. H. PREISS, *Böhmen wie es Johannes Butzbach von 1488—1494 erlebte*, p. 30. See also older 'Sermones ad Bohemos': '*Vos scientia inflati, in superbiam elati, non putastis habere in orbe vobis pares*' (HÖFLER, *Geschichtschreiber I*, p. 549).

⁹³ Cf. F. M. BARTOŠ, *Martin Lupáč a jeho spisovatelské dílo*, p. 135, Note 28.

⁹⁴ Cf. V. ŠMELHAUS, *K počátkům zemědělské literatury* [On the Beginnings of an Agricultural Literature], *Vědecké práce Československého zemědělského muzea* 5, Praha 1965, p. 169.

consciousness of the Slovaks and of the attitude of the Czechs to the Slovaks. It is in its way a paradox that of the nation that is, today, in respect of language and culture, nearest to the Czechs, we do not find throughout the centuries any mention at all in Czech sources. One of the main reasons for this truly astounding fact must be sought far back in the past, in connexion with the fall of the Great Moravian Empire at the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century. Within the framework of this State, of which the extent, character and internal organization are matters still under discussion, the Slavonic tribes living in the present-day territories of Bohemia, Moravia and Slovakia were only loosely incorporated parts of a single territorial unit, but in the following period the situation was substantially different. In the western part of the Great Moravian Empire, the Czechs formed the gradually consolidating nucleus of a new State, whereas the Slovaks came under the supremacy of raiding Magyar tribes and for a whole millennium (till 1918) were part of the Lands of the Crown of St Stephen.

This fact would in itself, however, not explain in full the above-noted phenomenon. It must be recalled, at least briefly, that, unlike the Czech Lands, the Slovak population settled in early Mediaeval Slovakia did not become an autonomous State-political factor, for they did not succeed in freeing themselves from Magyar domination. Besides, a strong influx of German colonists gradually acquired economic and political predominance in the important trading and productive centres, so that the native Slovak inhabitants eked out their existence in the country districts as an underprivileged and exploited part of the population. As the emancipatory political and economic endeavours of the Slovak nobility and other social strata did not achieve the necessary intensity and continuity,⁹⁵ the internal consolidation of a mediaeval Slovak national consciousness proceeded very slowly. Here a specially negative factor was the circumstance that the Slovak element lacked an adequate ethnically homogeneous urban background, in which, to judge from the analogous development in a number of European countries, practically all the manifestations of a laicization of education and culture, in the wider sense of the term, have their rise.⁹⁶ The literature so far does not enable us to estimate objectively the proportion of persons of Slovak nationality among the clergy and the higher and lower nobility, but it would seem that they were only a relatively small minority.

Still in the period between the two World Wars the very existence of a Slovak nation as a separate ethnical entity was called in question, on the Czech

⁹⁵ On this, in greater detail, see *Dějiny Slovenska* (The History of Slovakia) I, Bratislava 1961.

⁹⁶ This was the case, for example, in Bohemia. So far, however, it is not possible to say, with any certainty, whether the gentry assumed this role in the Slovak context, as they did, in part, in Poland.

side, it being held by ideologists of so-called 'Czechoslovakism' to be an integral part of a homogeneous Czechoslovak nation. But even those historians and philologists who did not share this standpoint considered the forming of a Slovak nation to be a more or less artificial process, initiated by a small group of nationally conscious Slovaks roughly about the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries. It need scarcely be stressed that these conceptions were unacceptable both to Slovak historians and to the Slovak people. Discussion on this theme, which in recent years has been carried on mainly within the framework of Slovak historiography, has led to a strengthening of the view that the genesis of a mediaeval Slovak nationality must be assigned to as far back as the 9th to 11th centuries.⁹⁷ From that time, according to several historians, date the beginnings of that process of a growing Slovak national consciousness, limiting itself at first to the awareness of a difference of language from the Magyar ethnical group. This perhaps suffices to help bring out more clearly the debatable core of all those interpretations which had and have to come to terms with the fact that, at least up to the middle of the 14th century; the sources record no specific mention of a Slavonic ethnical group living in the territories of present-day Slovakia.

In sources of Magyar provenance, the predecessors of the present-day Slovaks are designated 'Slavi', or the Magyar equivalent 'tót', it being necessary at the same time to remember that settled in the territories of the Magyar kingdom were also Slovenes and Croatians, who are similarly designated 'Slavi' in the sources.⁹⁸ The same holds good of the Czech sources, so that it is possible only where there are further relevant data (birthplace, dwelling-place) to determine the actual or possible ethnical unit to which the persons or groups in question belong. The Czech sources are, in a certain sense, more illuminating than any others, for it is in them that there appears for the first time the term 'Slověnin', as the equivalent for the Latin 'Slavus', which is considered by Slovak historians and philologists to be the first specific designation of persons of mediaeval Slovak nationality.⁹⁹ In this connexion, interest centres especially on the following place in the lexicon in verse, 'Mg. Clareti de Solentia Glossarius':

⁹⁷ Cf. P. RATKOŠ, *Postavenie slovenskej národnosti v stredovekom Uhorsku* [The Status of the Slovak Nationality in Mediaeval Hungary], in: *Slováci a ich národný vývin* [Slovaks and Their National Development], Bratislava 1966, p. 8 et seq., Here, too, listed the most recent literature on the ethnogenesis of the Slovaks.

⁹⁸ Cf. *ib.*, p. 18 et seq., where further examples and the relevant literature are to be found. I do not devote any more attention to this question, as it is outside the scope of this study.

⁹⁹ Old Czech had, namely, as an equivalent of the Latin terms, 'Slavi, Sclavi', the fairly frequently occurring term, 'Slovanó', and the adjective derived from it, 'slovan-ský'. See on this, Note 67.

*'Sperno wzhrzyem Sclavos sslovyeny ny zkrziwene pravos;
Isti ty variant promyenygi rzecz kazie cassant;*¹⁰⁰

According to the majority of Slovak expositors,¹⁰¹ here we have an instance of a Czech-Slovak relation and not of a Czech-Slavonic relation, which is based, among other grounds, on the fact that, in Chapter VI of the same Glossary, a number of members of other Slavonic nationalities are mentioned.¹⁰² As regards the transformation of the form 'Slověnín' into the modern designation 'Slovák', this took place, according to P. Ratkoš, 'in the Prague cultural milieu of the second half of the 14th century and at the beginning of the 15th century, when Old Czech, through the medium of Prague University, assumed the rôle of the diplomatic and literary language of the western Slavs.'¹⁰³

Czech historiography, on the other hand, most frequently accepts the explanation of V. Flajšhans, that by 'Slověňiny', who spoil the language, are most probably meant the Slavonic monks of the Emmaus Monastery.¹⁰⁴ Objectively it must be admitted that both interpretations have their weak points and that an unambiguous clarification of the term 'Slověnín' in Czech sources will, in all likelihood, never be possible. And just as it is not possible to draw more

¹⁰⁰ See V. FLAJŠHANS'S edition of *'Klaret a jeho družina'* (Claret and His Circle), Vol. 1, Praha 1926, p. 104, vv. 17—18. Slovak historians and philologists, however, frequently refer to the earlier edition, brought out by F. MENČÍK in 1892, which is based on the manuscript in the Bratislava Chapter Library. Hence its commonly used title, 'Vocabularium Latino-Bohemicum Posoniensis'.

¹⁰¹ Cf., for example, J. STANISLAV, *Dejiny slovenského jazyka* [History of the Slovak Language], 1, Bratislava 1956, pp. 103—104, E. PAULINY, *Klaretov Glosár a Bohemár na Slovensku* [Claret's Glossary and Latin-Czech Dictionary in Slovakia], *Jazykovedný časopis* 9, 1958, p. 59 et seq. P. RATKOŠ, *Postavenie slovenskej národnosti* [The Status of the Slovak Nationality], p. 20, etc. The Czech philologist, A. PRAŽÁK, from whose work, *Dějiny spisovné slovenštiny po dobu Štúrovu* (*History of Literary Slovak after the Štúr Period*) Praha 1922, most of the examples of the original terms used for Slovaks and Slovakia are drawn, suggests on p. 10 that perhaps the term 'Slowyenyn' is already used for both Slovak and Slav, as nouns.

¹⁰² Cf. the above-cited V. FLAJŠHANS edition, pp. 140—141, especially v. 941: 'Est Slovyeny n Selavus, chitra scriba, Moravec Moravus'. It is true, as RATKOŠ points out, op. cit., p. 20, that the text gives the name for the members of most Slovak national entities (as also, however, the names of inhabitants of towns, such as Hradczan-Gradiensis, Plzak-Plznensis, and so on), from which it does not follow that 'Slověnín' stands here for Slovák (Slovak). As, alongside Němec — Theutunicus, the dictionary also has Sass-Saxo, Ssvab-Svevus, Missnyeny n-Misnensis, etc., it is equally possible that here 'Slověnín' stands for Slovan (Slav).

¹⁰³ P. RATKOŠ, *Postavenie slovenskej národnosti*, p. 20.

¹⁰⁴ Cf. V. FLAJŠHANS, *Klaret a jeho družina*, 1, p. 104, footnote. J. TRÍŠKA, in *'Nová literatura' doby Karlovy a Václavovy* [New Literature of the time of Charles and Václav], SH 10, Praha 1962, p. 41, expressly upholds, in his controversy with Pauliny, Flajšhans's exposition. I have consulted Prof. B. Ryba, an acknowledged authority, on this question, and he, too, rejects the interpretation of 'Slověnín' as meaning Slovák (a Slovak).

certain conclusions from the vowel variants 'slovanský — slovenský' (Slavonic — Slovak),¹⁰⁵ so also the term 'Slověnín' cannot be reliably accepted as the original designation for a person of Slovak nationality as opposed to the term of wider significance — 'Slovan' (Slav). Evidence of the type 'Slowyenyn jsem a Vojtěch mně dějí' (I am a Slav and Vojtěch is my name)¹⁰⁶ is a warning against insufficiently grounded generalizations, which is not to say that the same term, considering the far from stabilized language usage, could not designate at the same time also a 'Slovak'.^{106a}

To exclude the latter possibility would seem to be untenable above all for the reason that, from the middle of the 14th century, if not earlier, it would be absurd to deny the knowledge among the lettered Czech classes of the existence of a Slavonic population in the so-called 'Upper Land' of the Hungarian kingdom. Apart from mutual political and trading contacts between the Czech and the Hungarian kingdoms, we have written evidence in the sources of Slovaks living in the Czech Lands and then, especially, of students from Slovakia at the pre-Hussite university in Prague.¹⁰⁷ The similarity of the language of Czechs and Slovaks was particularly for a German writer so striking that he sometimes did not differentiate between the two nationalities and called

¹⁰⁵ Cf., among others, J. HRABÁK, *Slovanské prvky*, p. 74, Note 36, and especially then the example, cited on p. 61, from the Legend of St Procopius: 'Svatý Prokop jest slovenského roda, nedaleko ot Českého Broda': [St Procopius comes of a 'slovenský' family, not far from Český Brod].'

¹⁰⁶ Cf. HRABÁK, *ib.* It must be noted that here Vojtěch stands for the Czech patron Saint Vojtěch (Adalbert), of the house of the Slavníkovci.

^{106a} It is almost indubitably so in *Popravčí kniha Pánů z Rosenberka* [The Book of Executions of the Lords of Rožmberk], ed. F. MAREŠ, Praha 1878, p. 48, where the Slovak Hussite priest Lukáš of Nové Město nad Váhom is, in an entry at 1424, designated a 'Slověnín'.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. B. VARSÍK, *Slováci na pražskej univerzite do konce stredoveku* [Slovaks at the Prague University up to the End of the Middle Ages], Bratislava 1926, Sborník FFUK in Bratislava IV, No 45/7.) Data on the number of students from Slovakia studying at the Charles University must be seen in relation to the large number of students enrolled at the Vienna and Cracow Universities. On this, see the article by I. HLAVÁČEK - L. HLAVÁČKOVÁ, *Studenti z českých zemí a Slovenska na vídeňské universitě* [Students from the Czech Lands and from Slovakia at the Vienna University] I, AUC — HUCPr 1961, II, 1, pp. 107—114, M. KUČERA, *Študenti zo Slovenska na viedenskej univerzite do r. 1530* [Students from Slovakia at the Vienna University to 1530], in *Humanizmus a renesancia na Slovensku*, Bratislava 1967, pp. 173—188 and P. HORVÁTH, *Študenti zo Slovenska na krakovskej univerzite v 15. a v prvej polovici 16. storočia* [Students from Slovakia at the Cracow University in 15th and The First Half of the 16th Century], *ibid.*, pp. 162—172. A comparison, namely, shows that in the last decade before the Hussite Revolution students from Slovakia preferred Vienna to Prague. In general, on the relations between Czechs and Slovaks on the eve of the Revolution, B. VARSÍK, *Husitské revolučné hnutie a Slovensko*, [The Hussite Revolutionary Movement and Slovakia]. Bratislava 1965, p. 161 et seq.

the Slovaks, too, 'Bohemi, beheimisch'.¹⁰⁸ Typical, and also significant, is the fact that we do not come across this identification in Czech sources. In them a Slovak is not regarded as a Czech, but as a 'Slovan' or 'Slověnin', regardless of the wider or narrower meaning of these terms.

Confirmation of what has been said above is perhaps the fact that it is in Czech sources that the forms of the personal (proper) names, 'Slovák', and 'Slováček', which, although they are not yet a collective designation for all persons of Slovak nationality, do document the need for a more exact specification of persons of Slavonic origin coming from Slovakia. Considering that in the juridical records of the Prague Consistory of the 7th and 8th decades of the 14th century, there occur the proper (masculine!) names: 'Slawaska', 'Slowaczka' and also 'Slawaczki',¹⁰⁹ it must be admitted that diminutive forms of the type, 'Slovák' (Slovak m.), 'Slovenka' (Slovak f.), were known and in use, in earlier times. Throughout the 15th century the frequency of these forms increases in Czech sources,¹¹⁰ which must be attributed to the presence of Slovak adherents to the Calixtine faith and, mainly, to the Hussite expeditions to Slovakia and to the stationing there of Czech armed garrisons.¹¹¹ Thanks to these numerous contacts between the two nationalities, which in the period after the Hussite Wars multiplied still further,¹¹² the Slovak national group

¹⁰⁸ Cf., for example, B. VARSÍK, *Sozial und Nationalitätenkämpfe in den Städten der Slowakei im Mittelalter*, Sborník FFUK, XV., Historica, Bratislava 1965, p. 170: 'Unter dem Begriff 'Bohemus' war sicherlich vor allem die slawische, also slowakische Bevölkerung... zu verstehen,' or P. RATKOŠ, op. cit., p. 29, 32.

¹⁰⁹ *Soudní akta konsistoře pražské* [Court Judgements of the Prague Consistory], I, ed. F. TADRA, Praha 1893, pp. 122, 158, 160.

¹¹⁰ A number of examples are cited by A. PRAŽÁK, *Dějiny spisovné slovenštiny* [A History of Literary Slovak], p. 10, P. RATKOŠ, op. cit., p. 21, B. VARSÍK, *Husiti a reformácia na Slovensku do žilinskej synody* [The Hussites and the Reformation in Slovakia up to the Žilina Synod], Bratislava 1932, p. 118. Further examples (for instance, on the basis of the excerpted materials for the old Czech Dictionary in the Institute for the Czech Language of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences) need not be noted here.

¹¹¹ For a detailed exposition, see op. cit., by B. VARSÍK, *Husitské revolučné hnutie a Slovensko*, where a comprehensive bibliography is listed on pp. 344—350. It should be noted, however, that the struggle of the Slovak strata with the German patrician class for national emancipation had already begun prior to the Hussite Wars. For more on this, see B. VARSÍK, *K sociálnym a národnostným bojom v mestách na Slovensku v stredoveku* [On the Social and National Struggles in Slovakia in Mediaeval Times] in: *Slováci a ich národný vývin* [Slovaks and Their National Development], where, especially on p. 71, there is an evaluation of the important Charter of Freedoms 'pro Slavis', of 1381, which gave the Slovaks equal representation in the Žilina Town Council.

¹¹² From the extensive literature, cf. especially R. URBÁNEK, *K historii doby Jiskrovy na Slovensku a ve východní Moravě* [On the History of the Time of Jiskra in Slovakia and in Eastern Moravia], VKČSN II, 1939, pp. 1—113, where there are important

grew very much stronger and Czech became the first written language of the Slovaks.¹¹³ Very soon, too, the forms 'Slovák, Slovačka, Slováci', were taken over into the Slovak milieu, where we have proof of their use from the year 1444.¹¹⁴ In a collection of court judgements, known as The Žilina Book, the expressions 'od slowenského přirození' (of Slovak descent), 'neuměla slowensky' (she did not know Slovak) and 'žalovati slowensky' (to sue in Slovak), are used almost certainly in the sense of 'Slovak'.¹¹⁵

Although the name 'Slovák' is first recorded in the Czech Lands, where it also most probably arose, there is no evidence of its being used, in the time under investigation, as anything else than a personal name. Whereas the Hussite and Calixtine publicists recalled, in their Slavophil-orientated appeals, the fate of the Elbe Slavs, not a word did they say about the fate of the equally near Slovaks, although one would suppose that this example would naturally spring to mind.¹¹⁶ Similarly, we do not come across Slovaks in the various enumerations of nationalities in chronicles and other records of Hussite battles.¹¹⁷

additions and emendations to the valuable edition by V. CHALOUPECKÝ of *Středověké listy ze Slovenska* [Mediaeval Documents from Slovakia], Praha-Bratislava 1937, then M. VACH, *Jan Jiskra z Brandýsa a politický zápas Habsburků s Jagellovci o Uhry v letech 1440—1442* [Jan Jiskra of Brandýs and the Political Struggle of the Habsburgs with the Jagellons for Hungary in the years 1440—1442], *Historické štúdie* III, 1957, pp. 172—227, and the relevant passage in op. cit., *Dějiny Slovenska I*.

¹¹³ For the most recent summary of this nexus of problems, see the article, B. VARSÍK, *K otázce udomácnění češtiny na Slovensku v XV. a XVI. století* [On the Question of the Domestication of Czech in Slovakia in the 15th and 16th cents.], *HČ SAV*, IV, 1956, pp. 170—221, in the above-cited by the same author, *Slovenské listy a listiny z XV. a XVI. stor.*, or in the study by E. PAULINY, *Začiatky kulturného jazyka slovenskej národnosti* [The Beginnings of a Cultural Language of the Slovak National Stratum], *Jazykovedné štúdie* VI., 1961, p. 39. On the other hand, in several Czech literary works there are obvious Slovakisms. More on this in J. STANISLAV, *Dejiny slovenského jazyka* [A History of the Slovak Language] III, Bratislava 1957, p. 220 et seq.

¹¹⁴ I cite according to P. RATKOŠ, *Postavenie slov. národnosti*, p. 21.

¹¹⁵ Cf. F. RYŠÁNEK, *Slovník k Žilinské knize* [Glossary on the Žilina Book], Bratislava 1954.

¹¹⁶ Cf. also the view upheld by L. VON GOGOLÁK, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des slowakischen Volkes I*, München 1963, pp. 10—11: 'In den Dokumenten dieser Zeit (the ref. is to the Hussite Age) findet sich auf tschechischer Seite keinerlei Hinweis darauf, daß man eine tschechisch-mährisch-slowakische Einheit oder eine tschechische oder slowakische Sonderstellung Nordungarns angestrebt habe'. I must add, however, that it is not possible to rule out a wider consciousness of Slovaks and Slovakia than is apparent in the extant literary works and the contemporary documents of political character.

¹¹⁷ Cf., for example, *Kronika Vavřince z Březové* in FRB V, p. 384, the so-called *Kronika university pražské*, ib. p. 588, or the composition, 'Tuto sú popsány krajiny, vlasti a země...', (Here are described the regions, countries and lands...), ed. J. DAŇHELKA, *Husitské skladby Budyšinského rukopisu*, pp. 41—42. Outside of these, however, references to Slovakia in Czech literary works are very rare. The oldest Czech epic

Here, of no small significance is the fact that Slovakia, though grasped as a geographical and historical whole, did not derive its commonly used designations (Hungaria superior, superiores regni Hungariae partes and their Czech equivalents, comitatus regni superioris, etc.) from the name, 'Slovák'. When the expressions 'Slovensko', 'slovenská krajina, zem' (Slovakia, the Slovak country, land) began to come into use has not yet been reliably ascertained, but it would seem not to have been before the end of the 15th century.¹¹⁸ It was at that time, too, that among certain scholars (and not by chance were these notable representatives of humanistic literature in the native tongue) the consciousness began to spread and clarify of the existence of a linguistically related and yet separate Slovak national entity.¹¹⁹

Elements of Slavo-Polonophilism in political documents and literary-publicistic works indicate that a difference in faith was not always in itself an insurmountable obstacle for contacts between Hussite or Calixtine Bohemia and the rest of the world. Hussite isolationism or, on the other hand, the isolation of heretical Bohemia, is namely, owing to a lack of knowledge, sometimes exaggerated. The original core of Hussite ideology, as has been shown above, counted potentially with a community of all those faithful to God's law, regardless of national and, to a certain extent, even of class differences. Moreover, Hussite ideologists also refuted the assertion that the Hussites had seceded from the Roman Church, and from certain declarations it is apparent that they did not renounce membership of this Church.¹²⁰ Otherwise, however, the difference between the Roman Church and the Universal Church, of which Christ is the head, was one of the fundamental theses of Hussite and Utraquist doctrine.¹²¹

song on a Slovak theme dates from no earlier than the 16th cent. On this, cf. S. SOUČEK, *Nejstarší dochovaná česká historická píseň týkající se Slovenska a její původce* [The Oldest Extant Czech Epic Song relating to Slovakia and Its Author], *Časopis učené společnosti Šafaříkovy*, I, 1927, pp. 401—411. A report by the somewhat unreliable Czech chronicler of the 16th cent., Wenceslas Hájek of Libočany, that Laurence of Březová was the author of the tractate, 'O slávě Čechův, Boemuov a Slovákův' [On the Fame of Czechs, Bohemians and Slovaks], is extremely doubtful. Here I share the sceptical view of J. V. ŠIMÁK, in *Prameny a pomůcky Hájkovy* [Hájek's Sources and Works of Reference], *Sborník prací k 60. narozeninám J. Golla*, Praha 1906, p. 220. On the other hand, B. HORÁK, *Vavřince z Březové traktát 'O slávě Čechův, Boemuov a Slovákův'*, *ČMM* 47, 1923, p. 195, admits the possibility that this work may have existed.

¹¹⁸ Cf. on this, A. PRAŽÁK, *Češi a Slováci, Literárně dějepisné poznámky k československému poměru* (Czechs and Slovaks, Literary-Historical Notes on the Czechoslovak Relationship), Praha 1929, p. 13 et seq., P. RATKOŠ, *Postavenie slovenskej národnosti*, p. 16 et seq.

¹¹⁹ Individual examples have been collected by A. PRAŽÁK, *Dějiny spisovné slovenštiny*, p. 11, and after him, by P. RATKOŠ, op. cit., p. 32 et seq.

¹²⁰ Cf. R. URBÁNEK, *Věk poděbradský III*, pp. 689—690.

¹²¹ Cf., for example, Rokycana's views on the Church in F. ŠIMEK, *Učení M. Jana Rokycany*, p. 35 et seq., otherwise, URBÁNEK ib., p. 690 et seq.

Dogmatic and liturgical differences were not, indeed, particularly marked (in the process of time they actually diminished in the practice of the Calixtine Church), but on the other hand, they were not from the point of view of the two sides entirely negligible. The constant pressure of the Council and, later, of the Popes, directed against the Czech anomaly helped rather to widen the gap between the Calixtines and the Roman Church, not in the dogmatic or liturgical sense, but in the sense of strengthening Utraquist separatism and so paving the way for the setting up of an independent Church.¹²² But not even the appointment of John Rokycana as Prague Archbishop, nor the founding of a Czech Consistory, completely closed the door to an eventual return to Rome. The Calixtine areas in the Czech Lands, despite the relative economic and military strength of the Poděbrady State, remained an island in a sea which, sooner or later, would engulf it.

George of Poděbrady was well aware of this danger, as is clearly testified to by his whole foreign policy, orientated on the incorporation of the Czech kingdom in narrower or wider coalitions of the disintegrating *respublica christiana*. His secret plans for the reform of the Holy Roman Empire or for a peaceful confederation union of Christian rulers were not devoid of Utopian or unrealistic elements and so met with failure. They were not, on the other hand, and this point must be stressed, alone the projection of George's voluntarism. Typical is the fact that the author of these plans was not the King himself, but his foreign advisers (Mair, Marini, Heimbürg), who saw in George of Poděbrady the most suitable person for the realization of projects which were not directed by any means exclusively towards the advantage of the Czech State. Proof of George's farsighted statesmanship and diplomatic skill is rather his grasp of the value of these proposals for the strengthening of his own position internationally. And though the planned leagues and coalitions were not realized in their original extent or at all, still this feverish activity emanating from the Prague Court was able effectively to block the intention of the Papal See to isolate politically, ideologically and militarily the State whose crowned head was, in its view, a heretic.¹²³

¹²² Unlike certain Czech works, which regard post-revolutionary Utraquism and, to a large extent, also the activities of Rokycana, with some embarrassment, the accent is placed on their positive features by F. G. HEYMANN in his studies, *John Rokycana — Church Reformer between Hus and Luther*, Church History 28, 1959, pp. 240—280, and *The Hussite-Utraquist Church in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte 52, 1961, pp. 1—16.

¹²³ In addition to the most recent syntheses by R. URBÁNEK, F. G. HEYMANN and O. ODLOŽILÍK, see the excellent summary of George's foreign policy in the article by J. MACEK, *K zahraniční politice krále Jiřího* (On the Foreign Policy of King George), ČsČH XIII, 1965, pp. 19—49. Increased attention has been paid lately to George's project of a Peace Union of European Princes. On individual interpretations, which not seldom uncritically overrate the importance of this proposal, I define my point

Not only, however, in the context of world politics, but also in the sphere affecting the Church as a super-national organization, the Czech king warded off the danger by taking active defensive measures. Its basis was the idea of conciliarism which, in post-Lipany Bohemia, and especially then in the reign of the Hussite King, acquired unprecedented popularity and topicality. Unprecedented, because the negative attitude of Hussite ideologists to the Constance and, to a considerable extent, also to the Basel Council is well known. The latter, however, was a Council which confirmed the Czech Compacts and so it was also in the true interest of the Utraquists to stress the authority and superiority of the general congregation of Christianity when the consolidating papal power felt itself strong enough to deny the principle of the Council as the highest authority of the Church on earth, but also its specific decrees, in this case, the Compacts. The conciliar theory was for a longer time only one of a number of eventualities which George's tactics and strategy had in reserve; at the end of his reign, however, it became almost the central pivot round which his foreign policy turned.¹²⁴ Thus so far as the sphere of political contacts of the Czech State with the outside world is concerned, it is not possible to speak of Utraquist isolationism. Rather is the contrary true, for Bohemia at this time was one of the liveliest centres of European diplomacy, which is testified to by the large number of secular and Church legations that met and deliberated in Prague.¹²⁵

We must, however, avoid the other extreme. If we recall what was said above about the difficulties with which the process of economic stabilization met in war-devastated Bohemia, we shall not be in danger of underestimating any of the further accompanying features of an extraordinary situation, which oppressively weighed down on the everyday life of the various strata of Czech society. Rokycana and other Calixtine preachers felt more than once the need to combat in their sermons the declining piety, the disillusionment and also the actual opportunism observable in the ranks of Utraquist believers. Rokycana, for in-

of view in the study, *Problèmes rattachés aux recherches sur le projet pacifique du roi Georges*, in *Cultus Pacis*, pp. 155—165. The Latin text of the project, with English translation, has been published under the title, *The Universal Peace Organization of King George of Bohemia*, Praha 1964.

¹²⁴ This question is thoroughly dealt with by J. MACEK, in *Le mouvement conciliaire Louis XI et Georges de Poděbrady*, *Historica XV*, 1967, pp. 5—63.

¹²⁵ Among these Papal Legates were a number of diplomats, scholars and theologians of wide reputation. None, however, showed such a lively interest in the Czech question as Aeneas Silvius, whose writings, especially, his *Czech Chronicle*, was for long the authoritative source on Czech history. On Aeneas's stay in Tabor, see H. KAMINSKY, *Pius Aeneas among the Taborites*, *Church History* 28, 1959, pp. 281—289, on Aeneas's Contacts with Czech Humanists, see F. ŠMAHEL, *Humanismus v době poděbradské*, [Humanism in the Poděbrady Era]. RČSAV Praha 1963, pp. 20—22, where further literature is listed.

stance, does not hesitate to paraphrase these manifestations in his sermons and so demonstrate their dangerous character. No sooner was the administration of the Sacrament in both kinds ensured than some (so he says) complain that 'thus we cannot have any trade, our enterprise is unsuccessful and we cannot find a market, everything is going downhill and disappearing. And before this came about we were better off.'¹²⁶ If it was necessary to censure such talk publicly, it was evidently not uncommon. Also the Utraquist clergy, who tried by every means to maintain the influence they wielded in the revolutionary period on public life and its institutions, met with ever growing opposition and criticism on the part of their lay believers.¹²⁷ 'Where is our courage? Where is our spiritual strength?' exclaims the orthodox Calixtine, Martin Lupáč, in one of his epistles. 'Alas, it is clearly to be seen that we, the victors, forsaken and deprived of the spirit of bravery, are overcome by the defeated.'¹²⁸ Not all, however, succumbed to depression and passive disillusionment. The relatively small group of disciples and followers of Petr Chelčický, whom Rokycana at first regarded as the élite band of his Church, in a short time crystallized into a hard centrifugal core, which laid the foundations of the Unity of Brethren. This sect, unlike the Utraquist Church, made a clean break with Rome and so became the heir of the Czech reformatory idea. As the specific contribution made by the Czech Brethren to the national culture and state of education belongs to a later period, this general information is perhaps sufficient.¹²⁹

Unbroken contact with the influential Catholic minority, whose members in a number of aspects of public life did not come up against hindrances deriving from Hussite ideology and tradition, awakened doubts among those Hussite waverers who sought above all to further their own personal and group interests. Those affected were, first and foremost, ambitious Calixtine clerics and

¹²⁶ See URBÁNEK, *Věk poděbradský*, III, p. 677, Note 1, where further sources are listed.

¹²⁷ The limit was reached in this direction by the King's Under-Chamberlain, Vaněk Valešovský of Kněžmost, whose tractate is analysed by R. URBÁNEK, *Věk poděbradský* III, p. 72 et seq. Often cited is the remark addressed by George of Poděbrady to Rokycana: 'Mistře, dostis' mistroval, nechť my již také mistrujem!' ['Master, you have mastered enough, let us now also do some mastering!'], (SLČV, p. 145)

¹²⁸ Lupáč's letter to the priest, Zacheus, is preserved in *Manuálník M. Václava Korandy* (The Little Manual of M. Václav Koranda), published under this title by J. TRUHLÁK, Praha 1888, pp. 149—151.

¹²⁹ Basic information on the Unity of Brethren is given by R. ŘÍČAN, *Die Böhmisches Brüder*, Berlin 1961, and in PETER BROCK's *The Political and Social Doctrines of the Unity of Czech Brethren*, The Hague, 1957. On the cultural and educative influence of the Unity, see R. URBÁNEK, *Jednota bratrská a vyšší vzdělání až do doby Blahoslavovy* [The Unity of Brethren and Higher Education up to the Time of Blahoslav], Brno 1923, and A. Molnár, *Česko-bratrská výchova před Komenským* [The Education of the Czech Brethren prior to Comenius], Praha 1956.

university scholars. The prospects of a Calixtine priest certainly promised neither a certain nor a well-secured existence. In this respect, the Utraquist clergy had reason to envy their Catholic colleagues and, in more cases than one, the vision of a prosperous Catholic personage was the true motive of their apostasy.¹³⁰ In its way, Bohemia of this time was the scene of a paradoxical phenomenon. Whereas a part of the Calixtine clergy went over to the Roman Church, poor Polish priests were content to take over their deserted livings.¹³¹ Not only that, but for many Calixtine candidates for the priesthood it was very difficult to become ordained, as it was necessary, as a rule, to bribe or hoodwink some bishop in the neighbouring lands or in far-off Italy. To deny being an adherent of the Chalice or even of the Czech 'language', which in public opinion abroad was still tainted with the shame of heresy, was also not seldom the only way of attaining one's end or of getting out of a dangerous situation.¹³²

A serious problem was also the state of Czech schools, which had greatly deteriorated as result of wars and unfavourable conditions. A certain revival of university teaching in the 1440's was not of long duration, besides having been promoted in the main by masters and students from abroad. For the further existence of the University it was important that Hussitism did not fundamentally affect its mediaeval organization and system of instruction, so that the premisses existed for its re-integration into the international university network. New prestige was to be imparted to the native centre of learning, especially by those Czech students who, not seldom with the express support of Rokycana, went to study abroad. But it was just those in whom the greatest hope was placed who disappointed most, for with all the zeal of converts they sought, on the contrary, to turn the University into a centre of militant Catholicism. They, too, however, miscalculated, for neither Rokycana nor George could tolerate such activity. Thus by intervention from above; for the second time within the short period of fifty years, the character and further course of development of the Prague University was laid down. By the Kutná Hora Decree, it lost its attractiveness for masters and students from abroad, and by the resolution prescribing fidelity to The Four Articles of Prague and to the Chalice, it closed its doors to other confessions and nationalities. From this time the Charles University also became for a longer period

¹³⁰ I deal with the problem of conversion in the Poděbrady Era, in the article, *Poděbradští konvertité* (Poděbrady Converts), *Dějiny a současnost*, IX, 1967, pp. 8—10.

¹³¹ On Polish priests in Bohemia, see, besides the articles of J. MIKULKA, cited in Note 79, R. URBÁNEK, *Věk poděbradský III*, pp. 840—843.

¹³² Characteristic here is the case of Wenceslas of Chrudim, who had to make the journey to Italy twice in order to achieve ordination. On the way already, he learned that the Italians hate the Czechs even more than the Turks, because they bribe their bishops in order to be ordained as priests. At one juncture Wenceslas and his companions had to pass themselves off as Poles to save their skins. Cf. ŠMAHEL, *Humanismus v době poděbradské*, pp. 17—18.

an exclusively national institution, whose provincial character was stressed by the fact that Catholic students, to whom it was closed, as well as many Calixtine students, dissatisfied with the level of teaching, went abroad to study.¹³³

Neither the revolutionary nor the post-revolutionary period was favourable to the Muses. Building activity declined; painting and sculpture lacked, for ideological and other reasons, sufficient commissions; in literature, outstanding creative personalities were wanting. The sober view taken of culture and art in the Hussite Age¹³⁴ helped people to see things, phenomena, works and tendencies in their proper proportions, rather than the contrary. For the majority of the country population this period did not bring either a narrowing or widening of an imaginary cultural horizon. The same, *mutatis mutandis*, is true of the inhabitants of Czech and Moravian towns, for communication with 'higher' culture (and not only in Bohemia) was limited to a not very numerous stratum of educated persons in the full sense of the word. This stratum was able, in this period, too, to saturate its cultural requirements, though not always without considerable difficulty. Certainly, for example, it cannot be said that the desire of a Czech to see other countries could not be fulfilled. The number of Czech diplomats, merchants, students, fighting men or pilgrims recorded to have been abroad is truly surprising.¹³⁵ Nor did it seem that there was any great decline in the knowledge of languages, especially not among the lettered class, for even previously it was rare among the nobility.¹³⁶

On their travels abroad, Czech Catholics were relatively at an advantage, for they could make use of the dense network of hospices and hostelries of various kinds for pilgrims, Church institutions, etc. Nor is it mere accident that, at this time, too, the endeavour was made to restore the Czech hospice in Rome, one of the grounds put forward being national considerations.¹³⁷

¹³³ Cf. *Stručné dějiny University Karlovy* [Short History of the Charles University], Praha 1964, p. 78 et seq., in greater detail, R. URBÁNEK, *Věk poděbradský IV*, p. 236 et seq. For data on the number of foreign students in Prague, cf. the table on p. 20, in F. ŠMAHEL - M. TRUC, *Studie k dějinám University Karlovy v letech 1433—1622* (Study on the History of the Charles University in 1433—1622), AUC-HUCPr, IV/2, 1963.

¹³⁴ On the views to date of the cultural level of the Poděbrady Era, see briefly, F. ŠMAHEL, *Humanismus*, pp. 6—7. I endeavour to clarify certain features of the development of Czech culture from the Age of Charles to the end of the 15th cent.; in a wider context, in my contribution, *Humanismus - Husitství - Renesance*, in: *Humanistická konference 1966*, pp. 43—66.

¹³⁵ A partial survey of Czech contacts with foreign countries, especially with Italy, in op. cit., F. ŠMAHEL, *Humanismus*, p. 11, et seq.

¹³⁶ Instances are noted by R. URBÁNEK, esp., *Věk poděbradský IV*, pp. 311—312.

¹³⁷ Cf. F. MAREŠ, *Český hospic v Římě. Příspěvek k dějinám jeho* [The Czech Hospice in Rome. Contribution to Its History], ČČM LXIV, 1890, pp. 65—100. Hynek Krušina of Švamberk recommends to Ulrich of Rožmberk the appointment of Priest Lukáš

However, not even for the Calixtines did popular places of pilgrimage abroad lose their attraction, although Rokycana, out of fear of infiltration of worldly vain or positively harmful influences, sharply condemned the visiting of places of pilgrimage at home and abroad.¹³⁸ By no means all Czech travellers felt the need to commit to writing an account of their experiences abroad, and so only a few travel accounts and diaries testify to the mentality of the Czech writer who, for the most diverse reasons, found himself in a strange milieu.

Chronologically the first of these relations, that is, the report of a delegation of the Bohemian Provincial Diet to Rome in 1447, limits itself to an objective description of the course of negotiations. However, it is not without interest, because it illustrates the atmosphere with which the envoys from 'heretical' Bohemia were more than once confronted. The Cologne Inquisitor, Henry Kalteisen, welcomed them in these words: 'There is much that is crooked in the Czech Lands; it would need an Italian or some wise man of another language to put it straight.'¹³⁹ Kalteisen's warning that 'Almania and Germania, that is, the German Lands, hold you to be heretical and always seek to correct the heresy in you,' was repeated in different words by Cardinal Carvajal.¹⁴⁰ No less strictly factual is the relation of Wenceslas Koranda respecting the Czech delegation to Rome in 1462. All that is not relevant to its business is omitted, including traveller's impressions and experiences.¹⁴¹ From Koranda's later recollections of this journey, it is apparent, however, that what remained most vividly in his memory were transgressions of the rules of the Christian life, which he had opportunity enough to observe in Italy and even at the Papal Court itself.¹⁴² One of the most cultivated Utraquist ideologists still looks at life abroad through the spectrum of religious and moralizing Hussite austerity, which not only strengthens his self-confidence as a Calixtine and as a Czech, but provides him with a number of arguments for the promoting of anti-Roman tendencies.

The same interest in religious practice and, in part, the same critical attitude, animate the authors of two authentic travel diaries which have come

as administrator of the Rožmberk hospice, his concluding words being: 'I believe, my lord, that you will so do, so that in Rome, too, the Czech language may have the reputation it formerly enjoyed.' (*Listář a listinář Oldřicha z Rožmberka*, III, ed. B. RYNEŠOVÁ, Praha 1937, p. 273.)

¹³⁸ For Rokycana's views on pilgrimages, see F. ŠIMEK, *Učení M. Jana Rokycany* (as indexed).

¹³⁹ The passage is incorporated in *Staré letopisy české* (MSS G and M). I cite according to an extract in *Výbor II*, p. 241.

¹⁴⁰ *Ib.*, p. 242.

¹⁴¹ Koranda's relation is published under the title, *Poselství krále Jiřího do Říma k papeži r. 1462* [King George's Delegation to the Pope in Rome of 1462], ED. A. PATERA, in *AČ VIII*, Praha 1888, pp. 321—364. Excerpt in *Výbor II*, pp. 243—250.

¹⁴² Cf., for example, *Manuálník M. Václava Korandy*, pp. 80, 106 et passim.

down to us from Poděbrady times. Neither Squire Jaroslav who, in bare entries in his diary, records the journey of the delegation of Albert Kostka of Postupice to Louis XI, nor Wenceslas Šašek of Bírkov who, in a somewhat more cultivated style, gives an account of the travels through central and western Europe of the nobleman, Lev of Rožmitál, in the years 1465—1467, try to cover up the fact that worldly pleasures and freedom of manners were not too convincingly censured by certain members of both delegations.¹⁴³ Nor, indeed, was this the only evidence of the irrepressible urge to return to the troubles and joys of this world which, after the wave of elevated religious emotion began to subside and despite all the warnings of the preachers, again filled the minds of the greater part of Czech Calixtines and also of Catholics.¹⁴⁴ The sectarian has always difficulty in making contact with people of another belief, of other manners, his receptivity is sealed off by the consciousness of his own exclusiveness. This, however, is not true of either the one or the other of the two diarists.

Each of them, in accordance with his individual interests and predilections, is accessible to impressions of things never seen or dreamed of, each of them, in equally naïve words, expresses his admiration, appreciation and condemnation. The Czech yardstick and Czech experience are only seldom the determining factor in the forming of individual judgements. This is the case, as a rule, in the judging of distance and size, but only exceptionally in other connexions.¹⁴⁵ The complexes of Czech superiority or inferiority rarely appear, even though neither fails to mention the recognition accorded to Czech valour, choice behaviour or their impressions of places associated with Czech history.¹⁴⁶ In read-

¹⁴³ Squire Jaroslav's diary has been published several times, most recently in R. URBÁNEK, *Ve službách Jiříka krále* (In the Service of King George), Praha 1940, pp. 3—30. In the same publication, see also the translation of The Diary of Wenceslas Šašek of Bírkov (pp. 34—184), with a compendious introduction and commentary by the editor. Šašek's travel journal was written in Czech, but only the Latin translation by Stanislav Pavlovský, which came out for the first time in 1577, in Olomouc, is extant. This Latin version was again published, ed. K. HRDINA, under the title, *Commentarius brevis et iucundus itineris atque peregrinationis pietatis et religionis causa susceptae...*, Praha 1951. Available, too, is an English translation published by M. LETTS, in *The Travels of Lev of Rožmitál*, Hakluyt Series, II, 108, Cambridge 1957.

¹⁴⁴ More on this in R. URBÁNEK, *Věk poděbradský III*, Book V (in numerous places), and in F. ŠMAHEL, *Humanismus*, Ch. V.

¹⁴⁵ In connexion with a comment on the tolerant attitude to illegitimate children in Burgundy, Šašek could not refrain from the remark that 'in those parts, namely, people do not vilify and censure so much as in our country' (*Ve službách Jiříka krále*, p. 54).

¹⁴⁶ Individual entries from Wenceslas Šašek's travel diary and the light that they throw on his interpretation of events and experiences, etc., can usually be confronted with the journal of another member of Rožmitál's delegation, the Nuremberg burgess,

ing the greater part of the two texts, we feel as if we were in quite a different age, an age in which the noble members of such expeditions had no other thought than the fulfilment of a desire for adventures of chivalry and new sights and scenes. And yet both delegations had important political missions, part of the difficulties attending which derived from the deep-rooted idea that *'non est fides apud Bohemos'*. Czech envoys came up against this not only among the prelates at the Court of Louis XI, but here and there among the common folk and also the nobility of the land with whom they came into contact.¹⁴⁷ Typical was the surprise shown by the native inhabitants that Czechs, perhaps with the exception of wearing their hair long, did not differ in dress or manners from the native nobility. It is only a pity that from the entries it is not clear whether the writers felt themselves thereby flattered or the opposite. In neither of the diaries is there almost any indication of homesickness. Perhaps the constant change of scene and ever new experiences deadened nostalgic feelings more than in the case of Czech scholars at foreign universities. Longing for this distant native land guided, for instance, the hand of John of Rabštejn, when he drew a picture of Castle Sychrov, his native seat, on a page of the manuscript lying open before him, and Wenceslas Křižanovský again, in an explanatory note on a work which he rewrote in Italy, sighed: "Ó Ytália, co je v tobě mnoho psoty, což paciencia propter futurum bonum" (Oh, Italy, what great misery is in you, which paciencia propter futurum

Gabriel Tetzl. His diary has been published by J. E. SCHMELLER, *Des böhmischen Herren Leo v. Rožmitál Reise durch die Abendland*, Siebente Publication des lit. Vereins in Stuttgart, Stuttgart 1844. Glosses such as Šašek's allusion to Czech bravery on the field of Milan, in 1158, are, however, not to be found in Tetzl's diary. Cf., also, what Squire Jaroslav writes of his sojourn in Constance, 'kdežto sú Němci zúfalí svatého mistra Jana Husi upálili' [where Germans burned Master John Hus at the stake]. *Ve službách Jiříka krále*, p. 28.

¹⁴⁷ Sometimes, however, the aversion to Czechs was rooted in some specific experience. This was so, for instance, in Bavarian Wunsiedel ('here the Germans gave us sullen looks', writes Jaroslav, p. 3), which had been besieged by Czech forces two years previously. Cf. further how the citizens of Abbeville 'were very surprised how nicely and decently the Czechs ate their food (ib., p. 12), or how the innkeeper's wife in Potttau, 'a very ill-disposed woman, cursed us and all Czechs as heretics'. A similar reception was accorded now and again to the delegation of the Catholic Lord Lev of Rožmitál, though both Šašek of Bírkov and Tetzl are at one in emphasizing that, for the most part, they were welcomed hospitably and with proper ceremony. Tetzl, nevertheless, does not fail to stress where he was well received as a German and where 'Germans were liked'. Neither in Jaroslav nor in Wenceslas Šašek do we come across expressly nationalist bias. Insofar as they express themselves about persons of other nationality or the inhabitants of a certain place less flatteringly, it is due to the subjective generalization of an experience they have made in contact with them. Cf., for example, what Šašek has to say about Englishmen (*Ve službách...*, p. 71), or of the inhabitants of Spanish Olmedo (ib., p. 101).

bonum"), and Hilarius of Litoměřice, too, expressed his depression in similar terms.¹⁴⁸

Testimony as to the travels of Czechs abroad, as also the records of individual experiences and feelings of Czechs living in a foreign milieu, cannot, however, be relevant for the judging of the native climate. Whenever George of Poděbrady, with the help of his shrewd and flexible foreign policy advisers endeavoured to ward off the growing danger of political isolation, uncertainty increased, along with the fears of the Calixtines, in the measure that the hopes of the Catholics rose. In the tissue of diverse factors, the confessional element began again to acquire greater prominence, as the centrifugal force not only among the individual lands of the Czech Crown, but also among the inhabitants of Bohemia and Moravia. The reminder addressed by the King's Catholic diplomat, Prokop of Rabštejn, to Pope Pius, that 'there are two peoples in Bohemia' ('dvój jest lid v Čechách')¹⁴⁹ expresses only one of the dividing traits of socially, nationally and otherwise complexly differentiated Czech society, never is it just that aspect in which were reflected (in varying intensity) all the others and which, in the 1460's, once more came into the forefront of interest.

In actual fact, however, as has already been indicated, liturgical and dogmatic deviations between the two legally recognized confessions in the Czech Lands were not over-many. Besides the administration of the sacrament in both kinds, it was above all the liturgical use of the native tongue, because of which Rokycana's priests had not seldom to suffer ridicule, it being affirmed that they kept to Czech owing to their ignorance of Latin,¹⁵⁰ and then several minor differences on which, for the most part, only the ideologists of both parties laid stress. It was they, too, who wished at all costs to avoid a general decline in lay piety such as would lead to excessive tolerance. To attempt any comparison of the strength and effectiveness of religious feeling between the adherents of the two confessions would be a doubtful undertaking. If we admit, on the one hand, that among the Calixtines there was apparent in greater measure the legacy of religious austerity and moralizing zeal from the preceding period, we cannot, on the other hand, deny the influence of the preach-

¹⁴⁸ Cf. F. ŠMAHEL, *Humanismus*, p. 75.

¹⁴⁹ Rabštejn's remark, on which see below, is recorded in V. Koranda's relation cited in Note 141. Loc. cit. in *Výbor II*, p. 245.

¹⁵⁰ Cf. *Píseň o Rokycanovi a jeho sektářích*, where the verse occurs: 'Českyť na mši zpívají, snad latině neumějí' [They sing Czech at Mass, perhaps they don't know Latin] *Výbor II*, p. 89. For further examples, see R. URBÁNEK, *Věk poděbradský III*, p. 757 et seq. It is noteworthy, too, how the publicists on both sides refer, among other things, to the liturgical practice of the Church in pre-Hussite Bohemia. On this, cf., for instance, the tractate of Václav of Krumlov, *De signis hereticorum*, from which there is a translated excerpt in *Výbor II*, p. 79.

ing fanaticism of Capistrano and the stepping up of the anti-Calixtine campaign. And so also the individual differences in the rites and practice of the two confessions may well have seemed more fundamental and less superficial to contemporaries than to us. Certain features were expressly directed against the other side. The provocative adoration of the new 'saints' — Hus and Jerome — was as little conducive to mutual understanding as the no less ostentatious religious festivals commemorating the victories over the Hussites in Plzeň, Most and other predominantly Catholic towns.¹⁵¹

The varied palette of insults, nicknames and invective¹⁵² was evidently not confined to the publicists and pamphleteers on either side, but also extended to the general public, so increasing mutual animosity. The forcing of Utraquism into the defensive and the direct threat to its existence obliged the Calixtine ideologists to have recourse once more to the argument of Czechs being a chosen people, a notion which had never, in any case, completely disappeared from the Czech consciousness.¹⁵³ For Koranda, as also for the Polish Calixtine priest, the revelation of the Chalice remained 'a divine gift' and 'a special illumination of the Holy Ghost',¹⁵⁴ elsewhere, however, the manifestation of divine grace is extended to include the 'Czech' faith and the whole Czech people.¹⁵⁵

A document of especial interest in this connexion is the Manifesto to the Townspeople of Hradec and Pardubice and to the Horebites, expressing the hope that, after the difficult time of trials, the year 1469 will mark a change for the better. The author, generally thought to be Martin of Krčín (one of the founders of the Unity of Brethren), sees in a far-reaching reform of manners among all estates the most urgent need in the continuing struggle 'with God's enemies'. These he identifies especially with Germans, whom he attacks with Dalilmilesque invective: 'Out of Bohemia, evil German spirit', he cries, in the words of the Czech chronicler, as many did before him and after him. Faith, country and language are threatened, he has no call to differentiate between

¹⁵¹ On new Hussite feast days, see R. URBÁNEK, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 722—3, on local Catholic feast days, in memory of the victory over the Hussites, *ib.*, pp. 743—4.

¹⁵² See examples in numerous places in URBÁNEK'S 4-volume work, *Věk poděbradský*. I do not cite examples, as most of them are untranslatable, except for nicknames such as 'wiclofista' (Wycliffist), 'machometista' (Machometist), etc.

¹⁵³ Besides the later testimony of Butzbach, on which see above, p. 161, Note 92 *cf.* various observations by Aeneas Silvius on 'gens elevata nimis', on 'the old Czech pride', etc., which R. URBÁNEK already notes in *Věk poděbradský* I, p. 43, *Český mesianismus ve své době hrdinské*, p. 24, *et passim*.

¹⁵⁴ On Koranda and his Calixtine Messianism, see Urbánek, *op. cit.* in preceding Note, for Michal Polák's comment, F. M. BARTOŠ, *Dvě studie o husitských postilách*, p. 74.

¹⁵⁵ As opposed to 'the Czech faith', Catholicism was sometimes designated 'the German faith.' On this, URBÁNEK, *Věk poděbradský*, p. 314 *et seq.*

them, and so he mingles in his challenge whatever occurs to him. 'And thou, Capernaum, Czech Land, art seated in a high place and God has favoured thee above others; she must be humbled, so that she descend not into Hell', he warns immediately after declaring categorically: 'But our God is in heaven, not in Rome.' Faith calls in help from above, through the intercession of SS Wenceslas and Adalbert, the patron saints of Bohemia, which does not mean, however, that it is not necessary to fortify the towns, furnish them with garrisons and send out spies. Be valiant like the Czech warriors of old, and like Žižka, and yours will be the victory: thus we could sum up the essence of the Message, in which old traditions mingle with new, Hussite Messianism with reverence for Catholic patron saints, and the postulates of general social criticism with chauvinist intolerance.¹⁵⁶ No doubt the situation was truly critical, nevertheless we cannot but be surprised to note how irrevocably have disappeared from Hussitism the elements of tolerance towards eventual adherents to the 'true faith' of other than Czech nationality, which we found in the sources, in the much more critical period at the beginning of the revolution.

The example of 'Brother Žižka of glorious memory', who, at the head of a small number of 'faithful' Czechs succeeded in defeating an army many times greater than his own, is invoked in 'List starých Čechů, pravých milovníkův a obhájcův pravdy Kristovy, též jazyka českého' (Proclamation of Old Czechs, true lovers and defenders of Christ's Truth and also of the Czech language), issued by a congregation of about three thousand representatives of Czech and Moravian Utraquists, at the beginning of January 1469.¹⁵⁷ Unlike the preceding 'Appeal', which was addressed mainly to the broad masses, this proclamation was designed for 'all faithful Czechs and Moravians'. Here, however, stress is laid upon the adjective 'faithful' — and that in the sense of Utraquist orthodoxy. 'Awake from your dreams', the manifesto begins,

<p>'already the time is at hand and our salvation is nearer than we had hoped. Guard and defend it and preserve what the Almighty God has</p>	<p>'již jest hodina a bližší jest spasení naše, než kdy sme nadáli. Braňte toho a hajte toho a zachovejte to, což Vám Pán všemohoucí ráčil</p>
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¹⁵⁶ Hradec Manifesto to the Townspeople of Hradec and Pardubice and to the Horebites was last published in *Výbor II*, pp. 149—154. The sharply anti-German tone of the document is partially to be explained by the hostile activities of the Crusading forces in Bohemia; the attitude of the Czech people to the various misdeeds of the Crusaders is clearly apparent in the narrative contained in an old chronicle in *SLČV*, pp. 143—4. As regards the authorship and dating of this document, I adhere to the view of F. M. BARTOŠ, who last argued his standpoint in the article, *O posláni Martina zv. z Krčína* (On the Message of Martin 'of Krčín'), *ČČM* XCVIII, 1924, pp. 72—75.

¹⁵⁷ Published by F. DVORSKÝ, *Tři vášnivé projevy z války za krále Jiřího* (Three Passionate War Speeches from the time of King George), *AČ* XX, 1902, pp. 557—563.

given us of his mercy above other peoples and tongues. Oh, excellent Czech people, oh people valiant, oh, people warlike, do not waste so vainly, so thoughtlessly and so carelessly, such great gifts of God, but, rising with us, help us faithfully to guard and defend Christ's truth.'

dáti z své milosti nad jiné národy a jazyky. Ó lide český výborný, ó lide udatný, ó lide bojovný, neztracujte tak marně, tak lehce a tak nedbanlivě tak velikých darův božích, ale, povstanouce s námi, pomozte nám věrně hájiti a brániti pravdy Kristovy.¹⁵⁸

In the end, then, not all Czechs and Moravians, regardless of differences of faith, but only adherents of the Chalice are endowed with God's special mercy, as was the case also in the Messianic proclamations of the whole Hussite Age. The confessional principle thus again eliminates from the national language community 'unfaithful' Czechs and Moravians. Faith still predominates over language, even though 'the Czech language and the general weal of the Czech Land and the Moravian' here seem to be presented as an inseparable and equal component 'of the Holy Chalice and of all other Truths embodied in His law'.

It is no wonder then that not only foreign observers and persons acquainted with Czech conditions,¹⁵⁹ but also native Catholic publicists commented ironically on such expressions of Calixtine Messianism. According to Paul Žídek, King George should not allow 'his good sense' to be misused by anyone 'who must not go any farther with his faith than Žatec or Borek', and the somewhat later satirical List Luciperův (Luciper's Proclamation) maliciously and aptly exposes its reverse:

'And the people in the Czech kingdom, very obnoxious to us, is mature and skilled above all human nations in the law of Christ, for we have blinded other peoples and nations, so that the Word of Jesus might not enlighten them, but we are unable to blind the Czech people...'

'A lid v království českém, nám velmi odporném, v zákoně Ježíšově jest nade všechny národy lidské dospělý a umělý, neb jsme jiné lidi a národy oslepili, aby jim nesvítilo čtení Ježíšovo, ale lidu českého oslepiti nemůžem...'¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁸ *Ib.*, p. 562.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Note 153 above.

¹⁶⁰ M. Pavel Žídek's *Spravovna*, p. 61. Both of the localities named are not far from Prague. Ulrich Kalenice z Kalenic's satirical pamphlet, *Luciperův list ko Lvovi z Rožmitálu*, of 1478, ed. Z. NEJEDLÝ, VKČSN 1903, loc. cit., p. 17.

At the same time, however, as we have already pointed out, Czech Catholics, too, considered themselves 'faithful' or 'true' Czechs,¹⁶¹ on whose side was God's mercy. 'But may the dear Lord God', writes Hilarius of Litoměřice in a tractate to John of Rožmberk, 'not suffer him (i.e. George of Poděbrady) longer, for God grant the time has come for the salvation of the Czech Land.'¹⁶²

An invaluable aid to Czech Catholicism was its integration in the institutional Roman Church and all the consequences deriving therefrom. Whereas the Hussite and Utraquist ideologists linked the welfare of the 'tongue', the native land and the kingdom with faithfulness to the Chalice, Catholic believers saw their salvation in unity with the Catholic world. 'If this kingdom enters not into the unity of the universal Holy and Roman Church, that is, the fear that the word may not be fulfilled that says that every kingdom that is divided against itself shall perish (Matth. 12,25)', writes Jošt of Rožmberk to Queen Johanna. 'And this would, alas, be fulfilled, if we allowed ourselves to be divided not into two, but into several parts, we Czechs thus destroying and exterminating ourselves; at this foreigners would laugh and gladly finish us off and tear the country apart.'¹⁶³ It would seem that Czech Catholics anticipated the idea of the Czech nation, in the sense of later nationalism, more fully than the Calixtines, for they placed its unity in the foreground. However, their conception, too, of the unity of the nation was dependent on the condition of unity of faith. If we leave out of account the occasional manifestations of early Czech humanists, to which we shall refer below, what we have here is a tendency which runs like a scarlet thread through the whole Hussite century: the principle of 'the language' is subordinated to the principle of faith.

The argument of a unity of faith was not anything new in Catholic controversial literature of the time of George of Poděbrady, for already in 1428 Simon of Tišňov appealed to 'beloved Czechs' to take pity on themselves and come to an understanding 'with other faithful Christians throughout the world as regards the faith and in all Christian order'.¹⁶⁴ No less traditional was the eulogizing of the Golden Age of Charles IV¹⁶⁵ and the warning with regard to the defaming of the Czech 'language' and kingdom abroad.¹⁶⁶ Perhaps the

¹⁶¹ Cf. Ch. III, p. 123.

¹⁶² *Hilarius z Litoměřic Traktát panu Janovi z Rozenberka*, ed. Z. TOBOLKA, Praha 1898, p. 25.

¹⁶³ *Výbor II*, p. 173. The document dates from April 1465.

¹⁶⁴ AČ VI, p. 419.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. Ch. III, p. 126, Note 118, where Paul Židek's comment is cited.

¹⁶⁶ Cf., for example, John Papoušek of Soběslav's 'Stížnost o neklidu v Čechách' (Complaint of Unrest in Bohemia): 'Item the reputation of this Kingdom and her honour was everywhere above all other kingdoms, so that Czechs had a respected name wherever they went. But now they vilify them, call them heretics and curse them' (Item pověst království tohoto a čest všudy nad jiná království byla, tak že Čechové v poctivosti jmieni byli, kamž se koli obrátili. Ale již je hanějí, kaceřují, poklínají),

confessional narrowmindedness of the nationalistic and patriotic appeals of the Catholic publicists is best illustrated by a letter addressed to King George by Hilarius of Litoměřice. As head of the Catholic Consistory, he cannot (so he affirms) conceal from the monarch what he has at heart, on the one hand, out of duty to the office entrusted to him and, on the other, out of 'natural concern for his country'.¹⁶⁷ 'The eternal Lord of Heaven has endowed this glorious land with many and great gifts of all kinds, and naturally also with good fortune', are the opening words of Hilarius's apology of the Czech Land, to which nothing is denied, beginning with an abundance of bread, wine and water, and ending with wealth in all kinds of metals. 'You can bear me witness that our nobility can almost compare with the surrounding princes, our squires with the gentry of other nations... The learned Virgil described in beautiful language the deeds of Rome. O, if only someone had led him into our lands, he could not satisfy his pen with writing and deeds... If unity and harmony were to prevail in our lands, he would have seen a legion of learned and choice doctors and masters from all over the world, illuminating not only Prague, but the whole world. O grief and misfortune that this flower, blighted by such a frost, could not blossom into eternal fruit!'¹⁶⁸ And the tendency of this rare praise of Bohemia? Here it is in all its transparent naivety: 'But you know, oh, King, that you have the greater part of your people without work who are obedient to the Holy Roman Church and who will always be ready to stand by you with advice and aid. You can easily induce the others to unity, if you so will.'¹⁶⁹ Thus the monarch's conversion will suffice to bring the erring sheep back to the Roman flock and to make Bohemia once again worthy of a Virgil's pen.

To be just, however, not all Catholics were so simpleminded as the 'half-educated' convert, Hilarius. Besides, many of them shared with the Calixtines an equally spontaneous or subjectively motivated dislike of foreigners and native Germans. Typical, for example, is the fact that both Hilarius, as well as the second administrator of the Conciliary, Hanuš of Kolovrat, wrote letters of advice to predominantly German towns, such as Most or Kadaň, in Czech, and that, moreover, they asked for an answer in the same language.¹⁷⁰ Nor had even the above-mentioned Jošt of Rožmberk any great liking for the Germans,

Výbor II, p. 133. Similarly Paul Židek in *Spravovna*, p. 64: 'Yes, wherever a Czech goes abroad, everywhere they assail him, they will not administer mass before them, nor receive them into their houses, nor supply them with merchandise.' ('Ano, kde Čech vyjede, naň všude kváčí, slúžiti (mše) před nimi nechtie, do domuov přijímati, nechtí kúpí dodávati'.)

¹⁶⁷ *Hilaria z Litoměřic List králi Jiřimu z Poděbrad*, ed. A. PODLAHA p. 9.

¹⁶⁸ *Ib.*, pp. 9—10.

¹⁶⁹ *Ib.*, p. 16.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. R. URBÁNEK, *Věk poděbradský IV*, p. 312.

for as bishop in the German-speaking town of Bréslau he met with expressions of antipathy to his person, one of the reasons for which was undoubtedly his inability to speak German fluently.¹⁷¹ From time to time, too, displeasure was roused by the refusal to accept Czechs or the difficulties placed in the way of accepting them into certain monasteries such as, for example, the South Bohemian Golden Crown.¹⁷² An anti-German note appears, too, in the verse compositions of Catholic authors, most of them being, however, transposed into the distant past:

'You see how the Germans wish
the Czechs well,
when evil befalls them they
laugh till they cry.'

'Zřič, jakž Němci Čechuom přejí,
jich zlému se s pláčem smějí'.¹⁷³

As many before him, also the New Town Clerk, Prokop, selects in the fragments of his New Chronicle always the same episodes of clashes between Czechs and Germans, in order to speak to his contemporaries. And the same applies to the anonymous composition, King Přemysl Otakar and Závěš, which again makes the King the target of his criticism, affirming that at first he was kind to the Czechs,

'but no sooner did he begin to have
Germans in his council,
than forthwith he began to neglect
the Czech people.'

'ale jakž poče v své radě
Němce mievati,
tak ihned poče na Čechy
netbati.'

and, finally, 'did not wish any Czech to be heard on the Prague Bridge.'¹⁷⁴ At the same time it must be said that the composition was commissioned by the Catholic magnate, Ulrich of Rožmberk, to raise the prestige of his house.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷¹ According to Peter Eschenloer, *Geschichten der Stadt Breslau, 1440—1479*, ed. J. G. KUNISCH, Breslau 1827, p. 54, Jošt was 'ein wolsprechender Man zu latein, behmisch und wenig deutsch'.

¹⁷² Cf. account of quarrels of 1469, publ. in FRA 37, p. 494 et seq.

¹⁷³ Fragment bearing the title, 'Toto z Prokopovy Nové kroniky písaře novoměstského' (This from Prokop's New Chronicle of the New Town Clerk), publ. in *Výbor II*, the verses cited are on p. 105.

¹⁷⁴ For the composition, *Král Přemysl Otakar a Závěš*, see again *Výbor II*. The verses cited are on p. 107 and p. 109. It is typical that the line about the Prague Bridge is taken over almost word for word from Dalimil's Chronicle. For more on the panegyric literature of this period, see F. ŠMAHEL, *Humanismus*, p. 42 et seq.

¹⁷⁵ Although the Rožmberk court spoke Czech, for which reason sons of German families were sent there to learn Czech, the Rožmberks sought to raise their prestige by proclaiming their kinship with the roman Ursinas (cf. ŠMAHEL, *ib.*, pp. 63—64). On the use of the Czech language at noblemen's residences, see more in R. URBÁNEK, *Věk poděbradský IV*, p. 311 et seq.

Differing somewhat from the unanimous chorus of antipathy towards Germans is the view of Paul Židek, according to whom 'a single language does not make a kingdom cultivated, but a variety of languages.'¹⁷⁶ He, too, however, demands that 'the noble Czech language' should not be crushed by 'a foreign language' and that those 'who wish to inhabit Bohemia should make their children keep to the Czech language'.¹⁷⁷

An anciently rooted distrust of foreigners and, particularly, of Germans, was one of the few features common to the publicists of both sides. A very obvious advantage of propaganda along these lines was the ideological response it was able to evoke among all nationally and patriotically minded groups and individuals. And though the ideological effect it produced was not in itself sufficient to overcome confessional and other antagonisms inherent in the dispute relating to the Chalice, it could be of service in supporting aims and actions of a limited kind and in justifying them. Could a sovereign, however, act in a similar manner who had to come to terms not only with religious, but also with national dualism?

As regards the short-lived Ladislav Posthumus, a few words suffice. '*Nihil est, quod suo principi favorem populi magis conciliet, quam gratia sermonis*', was the advice that Aeneas Silvius¹⁷⁸ gave the very young Ladislav, and the advice was taken. For this thanks are due, above all, to the child-king's regent, George of Poděbrady, who saw to it that the future ruler learned Czech and moved in a Czech milieu. For the duration of his stay in Bohemia this was actually the case, though the Czechization of the Court was not extended to the King's Council.¹⁷⁹ To analyse the political conception of the Habsburg sovereign in a multi-national State is irrelevant, for at least in Bohemia Ladislav was ruler only in name. The true wielder of power was able meantime to take advantage of the situation and act as representative of both Czech interests and Calixtine interests. Thus was his conquest of Prague and his path to power grasped and welcomed by the chroniclers and publicists of the time. At this time George made use of the Czech-German antinomy for his own benefit and by his resolute actions against 'the old-time destroyer and enemy' weakened native opposition both politically and ideologically.¹⁸⁰

As king, George was faced with difficulties which previously had been con-

¹⁷⁶ *Spravovna*, p. 42. In another place, Židek stands up for 'sick Germans', who in his opinion should not be expelled from their native land (ib. p. 60).

¹⁷⁷ *Spravovna*, p. 42, and then the definition of 'foreigner' on p. 56. In Židek's view, insofar as a foreigner did not wish to learn Czech, he should not be allowed to make purchases in Bohemia.

¹⁷⁸ *De liberorum educatione*, ed. R. WOLKAN, FRA 67, p. 121.

¹⁷⁹ More again in URBÁNEK, *Věk poděbradský II*, p. 757 et seq.

¹⁸⁰ An excellent example of his tactics is the war with the 'Strakonice' Unit, in 1450, on which URBÁNEK ib., p. 422 et seq.

siderably held in check by the fact that Catholics and Germans linked their future with Ladislav who even in his minority was regarded as a counterweight to the voluntarism of the country's regent. Now, however, he was sole ruler of the kingdom which had long been multi-national and was now divided by religious dissensions. George had to accept this fact and, if he was to maintain his position, he had no alternative but to play the game of compromise, a game at which he had shown his skill from the very beginning of his career. It is illuminating to observe how the chroniclers near to the King reacted to this change of attitude. In order to see this shift of position more clearly, let us choose two points of time spanning his reign. The first will be March 1458. Then, according to an old Czech chronicle, many 'faithful' Czechs 'wept for joy that the dear Lord God had freed them from the power of German kings, who thought to act evilly towards the Czech people and especially towards those who observe the Holy Scriptures.'¹⁸¹ And now to pass over to near the end of George's reign when, despite all the King's endeavours, Bohemia again became the goal of crusading raids.' Thus, dear King George,' runs the chronicler's reproach,¹⁸²

'your cousins the Germans, with whom you have become related, are turned into friends! Had you recalled the first Czech princes and kings how they treated the Germans, seeking for cause to cut off their noses and ears and drove them out of the country into all their own regions, so that they might not one day have them as their kin, you would not, dear King, have given your daughters to Germans!'

'tvoji švagrové Němci, s nimiž si se spříznil, činiliť sú přátelsky! By byl na prvnie kniežata a krále české se rozpomínal, jak sú oni a kterak s Němci zacházeli, k nim příčiny hledající, nosy a uši jim řezali, ven z země je do jejich krajin vyháněli, aby jedno s nimi v přezni nebyli, by to byl, milý králi učinil, dcery své Němci nedával.'¹⁸³

If the King had at least listened to the counsel of Rokycana and Lupáč and had not given his daughters to opponents of the Chalice, the chronicler continues to lament, and reckons how little profit derived from it.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ SLČV, p. 145.

¹⁸² Insofar as F. M. BARTOŠ's view in the introduction to SLČV, p. X, is correct, according to which the entries for the years 1448—1470 are by the same annalist.

¹⁸³ SLČV, p. 123.

¹⁸⁴ On King George's sons and daughters, URBÁNEK, *Věk poděbradský*, passim. Cf., especially, Vol. IV, p. 308, Note 263, where there is reference to the language character of their correspondence and upbringing.

'Thus this same King George, having taken little through these his daughters, but many castles, towns, belonging to the Czech crown, which the Emperor Charles and King of Bohemia of glorious memory, bought, some with ready money and others by way of exchange... a great number of these King Geogre returned to Meissen through his daughter.'

'Takž ten král Jiří po těch svých dcérách málo vzav, ale mnoho zámkuov, měst příslušejících k koruně české, kteréž jest slavné paměti ciesař Karel a král český k této české koruně druhé hotovými summami skupoval a jiné směňoval... těch množství král Jiří po své dceři Míšenskému je vrátil.'¹⁸⁵

The most cruel words fall here upon the head of the King, who made no secret of his adherence to the Chalice and his oneness with the Czech people and who, under conditions of the greatest difficulty, succeeded in strengthening the royal power and renewing its prestige. The internal economic and political consolidation of the Czech Lands in the 1450's was, to a great extent, due to him and, had it not been for intervention from outside, it could well have continued to the end of his reign, as is testified to by a number of remarkable measures and plans which, for reasons outside his person, could not be realized. But at this time, too, he achieved a number of inner-political successes, of which one deserving special mention is the placing of Moravia on an equal footing with Bohemia.¹⁸⁶ For the first time since the Age of Charles (and here must be taken into account the exceptional linking of royal and imperial power) and for the last time in Czech history the Czech State represented by George was a powerful political factor in central Europe and the instrument of an independent and, in some respects, objectively positive foreign policy.

But just because George was not a mere figure-head, but a statesman in the best sense of the word, the conception was chosen of a compromise between the nationally and confessionally non-unified regions and power groups, along with a flexible foreign and dynastic policy, the most realistic of all possible conceptions having the *status quo* as their premiss. 'Our King is lord over both people', was the apt description of George's position as formulated by one of his closest councillors, 'he must bear with both; for if he were to hold to the one side and further them, it must be feared that the other would oppose him.'¹⁸⁷ These thoughts regarding the religious division of the kingdom applied equally to national divisions. In this case, too, George tried to stand aside, in order

¹⁸⁵ SLČV, p. 145.

¹⁸⁶ On the significance of this Act of State in detail, see URBÁNEK, *Věk poděbradský* IV, pp. 720—727.

¹⁸⁷ Prokop of Rabštejn in a conversation with Pope Pius II, in 1462 (AČ VIII, p. 324).

not to come into conflict with one or other of the parties.¹⁸⁸ And yet he did not earn the gratitude of either the Czech or German tribunes of nationalism, which in spite of its primitivism was already so imbued with blind intolerance that a moderate attitude got no hearing even when it was most needed. Similar voices, whether of Czech or Breslau or other chroniclers, as well as the nationalist policy of George of Poděbrady, must be seen, however, in their real context, for, after all that has been said, they must be relegated to where they properly belong, that is, to the secondary rank of power-political and ideological conflicts of the time.

It is, to say the least of it, interesting that among those who actively supported the king's home and foreign policy, there were not wanting the foremost pioneers of early Czech humanism. It was neither a numerous nor, with the exception of two or three individuals, a particularly prominent group, so that their influence on public opinion was limited, but it was through them that there entered a new element into the Czech intellectual climate — a distant echo of Italian philologico-rhetorical humanism. The King himself was neither a patron of learning and the arts nor was he a man of culture in the accepted sense of the word, so that the humanist scholars did not seek access to him as supposing that he would heap favours upon them for being an ornament to his Court. And yet Gregor Heimburg, German and Catholic, offered him his services even at a time when others were abandoning the sinking ship. This shrewd lawyer, irreconcilable opponent of popery, master of repartee and one of the founders of German humanism, rendered George yeoman's service, whether as legal adviser, as the planner of leagues of alliance or as the stylist of manifestos and apologies.¹⁸⁹ It would be unnecessary to recall Heimburg's personality if his presence at George's side had not signaled two things: on the one hand, the sovereign's endeavour to follow a realistic policy in a nationally and confessionally mixed State, and, on the other, the no less sober and moderate attitude to religious and national problems on the part of Heimburg.¹⁹⁰

This latter was also the attitude of several Czech humanists, regardless of whether they were Catholics or Calixtines. Above all, however, in comparison

¹⁸⁸ I agree here with the point of view of R. URBÁNEK, *Idea českého státu za Jiřího z Poděbrad* [The Idea of the Czech State in the Time of George of Poděbrady], in: *Z husitského věku*, p. 231. Otherwise, cf. more in detail, *Věk poděbradský IV*, p. 308 et seq.

¹⁸⁹ On Heimburg, see the older, but still very valuable, book by P. JOACHIMSOHN, *Gregor Heimburg*, Bamberg 1891.

¹⁹⁰ It must be added that Heimburg, as one of the first trans-Alpine humanists, reached the conviction that it was possible to express a thought in 'barbarous' German as elegantly as in Cicero's tongue (Joachimsohn, *ib.* p. 102). On his Latin manifestos and apologies, which were composed in George's service, cf. R. URBÁNEK, '*Kancelář krále Jiřího* [King George's 'Chancellery']', in *Z husitského věku*, pp. 216—229.

with the majority of implacable spokesmen and publicists of the antagonistic parties, for here and there among them, too, appeared a residuum of old and also of more recent aversions. This was undoubtedly caused by the pressure of rapidly developing events leading irrevocably to a solution of the situation by the use of force and so to civil war. Under these conditions, neutrality became an illusion and the siding with one or other of the warring camps almost a necessity. And so the confessional or political conversion of a number of humanists towards the end of George's reign cannot in itself justify a relativization of their preceding attitudes and standpoints.

Deserving of attention from our point of view are, especially, two representatives of early Czech Humanism. The Utraquist, Simon of Slaný, as one of the few of his faith who did not look upon the new trend from the point of view of a mistrustful and culturally sterile ideologist and, after the example of Leonard Bruni, regarded theology as a branch of learning in which objective knowledge and powers of literary expression went hand in hand.¹⁹¹ Although he was the King's personal physician and, perhaps, also Court historiographer, he had much higher ambitions and looked with displeasure upon the fact that George, in several respects, paid greater heed to the advice of foreign counselors and men of trust. 'For where is some doctor, where some clerk, where an ambassador?', he complains in a letter to a friend. 'For embassies to foreign countries we hire others at a great price, and others seize our honour, and whoever considers himself of some importance finds, in the end, that he is of no worth.'¹⁹² Patriotic considerations, without subjective motivization, however, are reflected fairly often in his literary remains. We have already noted how he cites the example of the Elbe Slavs as a warning against indifference to German infiltration, and now we may add that he strengthened his national feeling by reading old chronicles and legends about Czech patron saints. In a new, that is, already in its humanistic form, there appears the old '*amor patriae*', as an emotional relation to one's native town and, in extension, to one's native land. And even though, in fact, the humanistic *laudatio urbis* first becomes a favourite genre in the following century, in Simon of Slaný one of its chords already vibrates, namely, Italian particularism as mirrored in the humanistic-patriotic apologies of individual towns and city-states.¹⁹³

¹⁹¹ On Simon of Slaný, most recently, F. ŠMAHEL, *Humanismus*, p. 59, et passim.

¹⁹² Simon in a letter to his countryman, M. Eliáš of Slané, ed. R. URBÁNEK, *První utrakvistický humanista Šimon ze Slaného* [The First Utraquist Humanist — Simon of Slaný], LF 65, 1938, p. 339.

¹⁹³ Simon, in the same letter: 'Accipe hec benigne scripta a fido et constanti amico, qui fuerim olim, dum in nativa communique utriusque urbe et patria, pro qua quis bonus dubitet mortem oppetere...' (URBÁNEK, *ib.*). Occasional humanistic praise of Czech and Moravian towns from a later period are noted in *Rukověť k humanistickému básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě* (Handbook of Humanistic Poetry in Bohemia and

John of Rabštejn was, unlike the preceding personality, a Catholic prelate of noble birth and high rank, who divided his time between humanistic studies and diplomatic missions in the service of the King. Together with his brother Prokop, he rendered no small service in urging a conciliatory solution to the Czech problem and in giving influential persons abroad objective information about the true character of the growing conflict. His *Dialogus*, written in Latin and dedicated to his Pavian teacher of law, Giovanni Grass, was designed to call attention to the profit-seeking intentions and illegal procedures of the anti-George opposition, on the one hand, and, on the other, to defend the standpoint of the author who, at the end of 1468, was attacked for his sympathy with the excommunicated king-heretic. *Dialogus* can be regarded as a humanistic analogy to Wenceslas, Havel and Tabor, for in it, too, participants in the conversation debate on the core of the quarrel and on the prospects of the two sides. Rabštejn, however, brings onto the stage only representatives of variously profiled groups of Czech Catholics.

Having returned to his native land in order to devote himself peacefully to his studies, Rabštejn explains why he has taken up his pen, being moved to do so by finding his friends involved in differences and quarrels reminiscent of the strife between the Guelphs and the Ghibellines. And so he was glad to be able in the chance company of cultivated men to inform them of the true state of affairs. The stylization in the first person, in the role of an uninformed and unbiassed observer, enables him to pose fact-seeking questions and express doubts of a character which, with the exception of the pamphlet, he could not have permitted himself in any other genre. 'Do you suppose maybe', he says, addressing himself to a representative of the egoistic and warmongering potentates, 'that you will overcome all George's admirable castles and fortified towns in the course of a single year? Not even in several years, everyone would tell you who knows the courage and strength of the Czechs'.¹⁹⁴ 'For the rooting out of heresy', he writes in another place, 'they should seek other means, and not fire and bloodshed, so that this glorious kingdom and our noble Czech nation may not be so mercilessly exterminated'.¹⁹⁵ Rabštejn, however, makes use of other arguments when, in the course of the debate, he allows himself to be reproached with opportunism and with disobedience to the Papal See, and openly admits: 'Whatever I have said, it was spoken out of eternal friendship and out of love of country; but it was not my intention to oppose the apostolic commands.' Unfortunately there are, according to Rabštejn, many who do not

Moravia), of which so far three volumes have come out, covering the alphabetical index A - M, Praha 1966—1969.

¹⁹⁴ *Jana z Rabštejna Dialogus*, ed. B. RYBA, Praha 1946, p. 60. In detail on Rabštejn, see F. ŠMAHEL, *Humanismus*, Ch. VI.

¹⁹⁵ *Dialogus*, pp. 86—88.

grasp that *'gentis nostre patrieque amor summus est'*, which was known already to the ancient Romans.¹⁹⁶ Who would look without grief when the country which has reared us is so shamefully and cruelly torn asunder? Only men blinded by their own selfishness and ignorant persons who have never tasted the delightful love of country can remain indifferent. 'It is certainly a grievous thing that a treasury of so much nobility, the Czech kingdom, one of the most elevated limbs of the Holy Empire, the most powerful of countries and, except for a not very large number, the most Christian of peoples... We read among many writers numerous descriptions of human catastrophes, but of none more cruel than the Czech... As many as the Kingdom has neighbours, so many are its enemies, for everywhere ignorant people are hostile to the overpowered Czech nation. But Bohemia, fortified with the valour and strength of her people, like a mistress, excels over other nations.'¹⁹⁷

We would almost expect Rabštejn to confess openly and unequivocally to the principle underlying his Dialogue, namely, that the interest of a country and nation has priority over confessional dissensions, whose real background he in part unmasks. This step, however, he does not take, for the author is well aware that not even he could uphold this principle. The Pope insists on taking action with fire and sword. 'We know that it signifies our destruction, but let the will of the Holy See be done, let us perish, yet nevertheless we shall live.'¹⁹⁸ The last sentences breathe only resignation: 'We shall go home and we shall lament over evil times.'¹⁹⁹ Truly, what else remains for individuals holding Rabštejn's views? To his honour be it said, however, that even in these critical years he did not hesitate to proclaim a rational attitude to the reality of the time, tolerance and, if one may so express it, civic co-existence in peace and quiet. Despite the rhetorical quality which humanistic diction required, his words of love of country and nation sound sincere. In comparison with other proclamations of Czech nationalism, his Dialogue is verbally more moderate in speaking of members of neighbouring nationalities. In several places, it is true, he succumbs to the usual invectives against foreigners,²⁰⁰ expressly touching ironically (and only once) upon the national self-assurance of the Hungarians.²⁰¹ A pattern of all virtues, especially of civic virtues, are the an-

¹⁹⁶ *Ib.*, p. 84.

¹⁹⁷ *Ib.*, pp. 94—96.

¹⁹⁸ *Ib.*, p. 102.

¹⁹⁹ *Ib.*, p. 105.

²⁰⁰ Rabštejn, for instance, writes that near neighbours do not care about the state of the country, but rather strive to throw it down into the depths, whereas foreigners from more distant countries, who hold some kind of position in Bohemia, consider their country to be where they like the cooking. (*Ib.*, pp. 84—86.) The last allusion may be to the King's foreign advisers.

²⁰¹ 'Hunorum autem que virtus, que constancia, que fides, que presertim contra Bohemum victoria semper extiterit, vos ipsi iudicate!' (*Ib.*, pp. 58—60.) Similarly

cient Romans, whose example he cites more than once. One of these places helps us also to understand why Rabštejn, unlike so many of his Czech contemporaries, does not stir up feeling against 'the murderers and natural enemies' — the Germans: '*Quod Romani in uno Marco Regulo mirabantur, hac virtute totum genus Bohemorum magnaue pars aliorum Germanorum prepollet.*'²⁰² The origin of the Czechs is no longer derived from the Tower of Babel or from the ancient Greeks, but from the original inhabitants of Germany! The humanist authority of Aeneas Silvius has pushed into the background the old and, for the national consciousness of the Czechs, more acceptable tradition and substituted for it a new fiction, which a number of Czech humanists of a later period accepted without objection and sometimes even with pride.²⁰³

Rabštejn's work, which has no parallel in the Czech literature of the Poděbrady period, rightly has its place here at the end of our study, for it concludes one phase of Czech cultural development and, at the same time, opens another, in which the hitherto unified stream of Latinizing humanism splits for a time into a national and a cosmopolitan Latin trend. It would not be without interest to trace how the Czech national consciousness and the idea of a Czech nation continued to develop and how they are reflected in the thought and works of the humanists. If we say that the national branch of Czech humanism, which was directed in its programme towards a literature in the national tongue, made a positive endeavour to combine the positive legacy of Hussite nationalism with the impulses generated by various trends of European humanism we thereby indicate the complex of problems that still await thorough investigation.²⁰⁴

other Poděbrady humanists, M. Wenceslas of Chrudim, in the apology of George's son, Viktorin: '*Fides Hungarorum est, non servare fidem, pietas, pietate carere, hoc solo verax, quod semper falsa probatur.*' (*Monumenta Historica Universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandae Pragensis*, Tom. I, 2, Praha 1832, p. 105. Both invectives allude to the change in the attitude of the Hungarian King Matthias Hunyadi to his son-in-law, George of Poděbrady.

²⁰² *Dialogus*, p. 82.

²⁰³ Some citations in illustration of this in R. URBÁNEK, *Věk poděbradský I*, p. 49, Note 1.

²⁰⁴ For the older interpretation of this question, see J. TRUHLÁŘ, *Humanismus a humanisté v Čechách za krále Vladislava II* [Humanism and Humanists in Bohemia under Vladislav II], Praha 1894. A new approach to the problem is indicated in the studies, E. PRAŽÁK, *Český humanismus a husitská tradice* [Czech Humanism and Hussite Tradition] in: *Studia z dawnej literatury czeskiej, slowackiej i polskiej*, Warszawa-Praha 1963, pp. 50—59, *Místo Řehoře Hrubého ve vývoji českého humanismu* [The Place of Gregory Hrubý in the Development of Czech Humanism], ČL 9, 1961, pp. 29—48, and *Tři všehrdovské příspěvky* (Three Contributions to Viktorin Kornel of Všehrdy), PHS 8, 1962, pp. 213—225.

Conclusion

The national question (and, of course, also the idea of a nation, insofar as it is possible to use the term) did not play in the troubled and, in many respects, exceptional atmosphere of Hussite and Calixtine Bohemia a leading role, for it served the idea and postulate of reformatory and revolutionary changes in the Church and in the Christian life, where were concentrated the most various social, power-political and, to a certain extent, also national tendencies. In revolutionary and counter-revolutionary programmes, manifestos and literary-controversial publications, a religious grasp and conception of contemporary conflicts clearly predominated over the secular, within which framework the categories state, native country and nation could first begin to form. The principle of faith thus ranked higher both in Hussite and in anti-Hussite ideology and propaganda than the principle of nation and native country, which does not imply a denial of the latter's existence, but only indicates its place in the hierarchy of generally recognized and accepted values. What degree of interiorization these values achieved and what the order of their priority among the individual groups of population cannot be reliably assessed. Considering the sharp rise in supernaturalism and in religious sentiment, it is possible, however, to presume that, especially in critical situations, there was no great difference between the ideologies and propaganda emanating from the individual centres of activation and the spontaneous reactions of the ideologized strata and groups. At the same time it must be borne in mind that just as it was possible to use and abuse the most sacred Christian ideals in the interests of certain classes, strata and individuals, it was equally possible to exploit for similar ends latent national antinomies and antagonisms.

Unlike the spontaneous, unreflecting nationalism already existing, as we may suppose, among the relatively broad strata of population, the ideological concept of the nation was confined to the far from numerous group of educated persons — *cives litterati* — and did not by any means include them all. At the beginning of the 15th century this ideologized nationalism was centred in a narrow group of Czech university masters, who were behind the Kutná Hora Decree. From this time date the two most significant theoretical ideas in which Hussitism anticipated modern nationalism. Master Jerome of Prague stripped the category 'nation' of its earlier class (Estates) exclusiveness and incorporated in it all individuals belonging to the Czech language community, and his friend, John Jesenic, then postulated for this, in language and origin strictly defined collective, special prerogatives deriving from natural rights. In the period of a developing revolutionary situation and of a differentiated reformatory movement, nationalist and patriotic argumentation retained its place only in the programmes and pronouncements of the Hussite right wing then forming, whereas the peasant-plebeian trend proceeded ever more towards a universal super-

national ideology embracing all the poor and oppressed, which in a form somewhat modified by class considerations substantially influenced the core of the Hussite programme summed up in the Four Articles of Prague of the early 1420's.

Almost all the manifestations of nationally orientated propaganda operated with the older term 'tongue' or 'language', which, as the designation for a Czech ethnical community, was closest to the period mentality and most specific in its content. Behind the obligatory formulation, 'the weal, good name or honour of the Czech language', was concealed, however, especially the older power-political interests of the nobility, which were employed, as circumstances dictated, to second in greater or less degree, the politico-economic requirements of the Czech burgess class. An exceptional and, in the Czech milieu, a new factor was the exploiting of a specifically Prague nationalism in support of the power-political aspirations of the capital of the Czech kingdom. From the very beginning of a solution by force of Hussite heresy and, indeed, in a certain sense from the time of the Council of Constance, there made itself felt, and very strongly, in addition to the internal aspect also an external aspect which led, on the one hand to an undifferentiated identification of Czechs with heretics and, on the other, to the subjective fiction of Czechs being God's chosen people. In reality, however, especially after the decline of the revolutionary wave, the publicists and mouthpieces of the various Hussite (Utraquist) and Catholic factions, frequently had resort to nationalistic and patriotic appeals, as auxiliary means in support of their mutual ideological rivalry. In the post-Lipany struggles for the empty Czech throne, as also in the new threat to the Chalice towards the end of the 1460's, national and patriotic argumentation gained a wider field of application, which was fully turned to account. It follows from what has been said above that the nationalism of the Hussite Age, although still far removed from modern nationalism and still maintaining a predominantly spontaneous character, had already acquired in part the function of an ideology capable of influencing the views and conduct of groups and individuals.

So much in respect of the questions posed in the introduction. Further deductions make a smaller claim to being objectively demonstrable, for the problem of the national question in Hussite Bohemia has a number of other important aspects to which due attention could not be paid within the limits of this study. The assertion that the national factor played a much smaller role than almost all the older historiography attributed to it, is not in the context of the results and insights of intensive post-War Hussite studies, at all surprising. In all probability, however, it will be necessary to abandon the idea that the Hussite revolution was the most important impulse in the Czechization of towns and regions in Bohemia and Moravia with a formerly German or mixed Czech and German population, and that it was this event that carried the formation of a Czech nation to its conclusion. As for the first part of the thesis, it was already seriously undermined by the most recent studies of E. Schwarz and by several partial studies published by Czech historians. The problem of the constituting of a modern Czech nation is, however, in the present state of research, one attended with great difficulties. It would seem, at least, that the slogan, 'the nation matures through crises', is not valid for the Hussite revolution, for just in this phase of its history the Czech 'nation' was deeply disintegrated in the religious sphere, which in the contemporary mental climate, was of exceptional importance.

The many meanings of the term 'faithful Czechs', which was one of the most widely used ideologico-propagandistic slogans of the time, itself is sufficient warning not to overestimate so-called Czech Messianism, as one of the motive forces of widely-

based social movement. And though it would not be right to make light of these Messianistic tendencies, it is nevertheless necessary to see their sectarian essence, which ruled out that everyone belonging to the Czech 'tongue' should be numbered *ipso facto* among God's elect. The same is true of the idea ascribed to Hussite nationalism as one of its specific features that it developed alongside and in opposition to the State represented by the sovereign. In the pre-revolutionary period it was, on the contrary, the close link with the sovereign's person and his court that helped the University and the Prague nationalists to achieve their greatest successes. In the years of revolution, however, Hussite propaganda was obliged to abandon the myth of the king's divine function, which nevertheless did not substantially weaken the monarchistic principle as such. If then the Hussite nationalists in the reign of Sigismund sharply opposed the royal power, then under George of Poděbrady support of this power merged with the vital interests of all sincerely believing Calixtines.

Hussism had, however, its other facet which, in not a few respects, made its mark upon the further history of the Czech nation up to recent times. Here I have in mind especially the direct and indirect results of the revolution for Czech society, the Czech state concept and Czech culture which make themselves felt deep into the 16th century. It is certainly not mere chance (if we may cite at least one of the possible concrete formulations of what has been said) that J. A. Comenius, in his remarkably advanced definition of a nation, completely overlooked the link with the State,*) which from the death of the 'Hussite' King, had always been represented by an alien. And then, in the second place, it is a question of the continual return to this unique phase of Czech history, of returns in which often contrary tendencies crystallized and formed the national consciousness, culture and art. These are, however, only questions *ad informandum*, which far overstep the scope of this study and which cannot be solved without, among other things, a comparative study of nationalism on a European scale.

Translated by R. F. Samsour

* 'Gens seu natio', according to Comenius's definition, 'est hominum eadem stirpe prognatorum, eodem mundi loco (veluti communi domi, quam patriam vocant) habitantium, eodem linguae idiomata utentium eoque iisdem communis amoris, concordiae et pro publico bono studii vinculis colligatorum multitudo'. On this, see also F. KUTNAR, *Pojem národa v Komenského Gentis felicitas*. (The Idea of a Nation in Comenius's *Gentis felicitas*), Sborník Vysoké školy pedagogické v Olomouci, Historie I, 1954, and *Komenského pojetí národa a jeho poměr k současným a pozdějším výměrům* (Comenius's Idea of a Nation and His Attitude to Contemporary and Later Definitions), Zápisky katedry československých dějin a archivního studia, II-1957, pp. 63—70.

List of Abbreviations

a) periodicals and serial editions

AČ	Archiv český
AfKg	Archiv für Kulturgeschichte
AÖG	Archiv für österreichische Geschichte
AUC	Acta Universitatis Carolinae
ČČH	Český časopis historický
ČČM	Časopis Českého Musea
ČKD	Časopis katolického duchovenstva
ČL	Česká literatura
ČMM	Časopis Matice moravské
ČsČH	Československý časopis historický
ČSPSČ	Časopis Společnosti přátel starožitností českých
FRA	Fontes rerum Austriacarum
FRB	Fontes rerum Bohemicarum
HČSAV	Historický časopis Slovenskej akademie ved
HUCPr	Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift
JSH	Jihočeský sborník historický
LF	Listy filologické
MIÖG	Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung
MVGDB	Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen
PHS	Právněhistorické studie
RČSAV	Rozpravy Československé akademie věd, řada společenských věd
SAP	Sborník archivních prací
SFFUK	Sborník filozofické fakulty univerzity Komenského, Historica
SH	Sborník historický
SHS	Slovanské historické studie
SMM	Sborník Matice moravské
SPFFBU	Sborník prací filosofické fakulty brněnské university
SPDMP	Sborník prací k dějinám hlavního města Prahy
VČA	Věstník České akademie
VKČSN	Věstník Královské české společnosti nauk
ZfG	Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft
ZfO	Zeitschrift für Ostforschung

b) more frequently cited works and serial editions (with abbreviated title)

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