In Heaven and on Earth:
Church Treasure in Late Medieval Bohemia

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Table of content

Acknowledgements iv

Plates on CD ROM v

Maps vii
Abbreviations viii

Foreword 1

Part I – Treasures of churches in prospective 3
I. The Medieval Treasure as a Research Subject 3

1. The Treasure in Medieval Culture 3
2. The Treasury, the Church and the Public 7
2.1 Definition and Function of Church Treasury 7

2.2 Content of Church Treasury 10

3. Research in treasures 15
3. 1. Scholarship and selected literature 15

3. 2 Bohemian sources for medieval treasuries 21

II. Administration and Manipulation of Church Treasury in Bohemia 32

1. Keeping, manipulating, and inventoring the treasury 32
2. Theft and Loss of Objects 39
III. The Church Treasury in Bohemian religious practice 45

1. Treasury in Liturgy 45
2. The Eucharist cult and treasuries 49
3. Holy Relics in Treasuries and Devotion 55
Part II – The Historical Narratives of Treasure 62
IV. The Birth of a Tradition: Treasuries under the Přemyslids 62

1. Donations by the Přemyslid princes and kings 62
2. New Intensity, New Media: the Piety of the last Přemyslid queens 67
V. The Politics of Treasure 73

1. The Hidden Treasure: From intellectual concept to the implementation of policy 73
2. Treasures on Heaven and Earth 82
2.1 The "True Treasures": Karlštejn 84

2.2 "Totus honor ecclesiae nostrae…":The Treasury of St. Vitus in Prague 89

2.3. Treasures on Earth 98

2.4 Going public: Relics displays 118

VI. Reformation of the Treasury 133

1. The Cult under Critique 133
1.1 Against "human inventions" 133

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1.2 The “chasuble dispute”: The Hussites’ position on garments 144
2. Treasuries in Confrontation 153
2.1 Treasuries in Hussite iconoclasm 153
2.2 Memory, Politics and the Holy Relics: Catholic Tactics amidst the Hussite Reformation 161
3. Confessionalising the Objects: Church Treasuries around 1500 170
3.1 The Utraquist Treasury 170
3.2 Catholic Treasure amidst the Reformation 184
VII. Conclusions 191
VIII. Appendices 199
Appendix I: Aspects of Medieval Treasuries in Bohemia and Moravia 199
Appendix II: Late Medieval inventories: Their catalogue and editions 206
Appendix III: The treasury of the Bethlehem Chapel in the sixteenth century 255
Appendix IV: Church treasuries in the Visitation Protocol of 1379 - 1380 257
IX. Bibliography 258
Sources 258
Secondary literature 268

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1) St. Vitus inventory of 1355 (APH, KA box 260/1-7, text-fiche inv.no. 5187)

2) St. Wenceslaus' inventory, Olomouc, 1430 (AO, box MCO A III d 2)

3) Inventory of Chrudim, 1465(?) (*Liber contractuum* I of 1439)

4) Christ on a donkey, Victoria and Albert Museum, London

5) Vir Dolorum of Baltimore, before 1350 (The Walters Art Gallery, inv. no. 57.700)

6) Communion of children, Jena codex, ar. 1500 (Library of the National Museum)

7) Rokycana adoring the Host on the altar, and the Utraquist communion, Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini (ed. Mikuláš Konáč of Hodiškov), *Historia bohemica* (MS Strahov, inv. č. DR IV 10)

8) Reliquary head of St. Adalbert in the St. Vitus' treasury donated under the Jagiellonians

9) Relic of Christ's white dress (*tunica alba in quo fuit illusus*) from the St. Vitus' treasury depicted on a votive panel of Jan of Vartemberk, Master of Litomeřice altarpiece, before 1508

10) Consecration of St. Vitus altar, Legend of St. Wenceslaus in Matthias Hutsky, The Life and Martyrdom of St. Wenceslaus, prince of Bohemia

11) St. Wenceslaus accepts the relic of St. Vitus in Matthias Hutsky, The Life and Martyrdom of St. Wenceslaus, prince of Bohemia

12) Pasionale of Abbess Cunigonde, *Arma Christi*, 1313-1321 (NK MS XIV A 17, fol. 10r)

13) (a) reliquary comb of St. Adalbert, St. Vitus treasury, (b) reliquary episcopal ring of St. Adalbert, st. Vitus treasury

14) The bust of St. Ludmila (Collections of Prague Castle, inv. no HS 03342)

15) Elisabeth of Přemysliden (the bust from triforium of St. Vitus)

16) Charles IV (the portrait from votive panel of Jan Očko of Vlašim)

17) A,b - Velislav Bible: *Vita Antichristi*, Antichrist exposes false treasures for his followers (NK, p. 231, f. 132a)

18) Velislav Bible: *Vita Antichristi*, Antichrist distributes false treasures (NK, p. 231, f. 132v)

19) St. Louis showing relic of the Crown of Thorns (Cambridge Corpus Christi College, ms. 16, Paris, 1350, Chronique de Matthieu Paris, f. 141v,)

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20) Christ's relics in Constantinople, Mandeville Travells (British Library, MS 24189)

21) (a) Imperial treasury, (b) Imperial relics as symbols of royal and imperial power, Sir John Mandeville's Travels (British Library, MS 24189), (c) Holy Lance from St. Vitus treasury

22) Initial from *Liber Viaticus* of John of Neumarkt with Man of Sorrows at the beginning of the Office of the Holy Lance feast

23) Bohemian reliquary cross, ar. 1370, originally Karlštejn, today St. Vitus' treasury

24) Adoration of the cross, Karlštejn

25) (a) Scene with Relic –donation of the Thorns from the Holy Crown, (b) relics inserted to the Bohemian royal cross, Karlštejn

26) St. Cross chapel interior

27) Pilgrim badge of Prague, Arts and Crafts Museum, inv. no. 2369, Prague

28) Display of relics, a) showing of imperial treasury in Nürnberg, (b) showing relics in Eisenach, 1523

29) Reliquary cupboard from Halberstadt treasury, before 1520

30) *Capita* - St. Paul from Archbishopric of Prague, inv. no. o15364, after 1400

31) Charles' donations - achat bowl from St. Vitus' treasury, inv.no. K 19

32) (a) Reliquary of Tablecloth from the Last Supper from St. Vitus treasury, Prague, inv. no. HS 003357, after 1350, (b) the relic of Tablecloth, inv. no. HS 3686

33) Cross of Urban V. with relics scenes from St. Vitus treasury, Prague, ar. 1370

34) Reliquiary of the Virgin Veil from St. Vitus treasury, inv. no. 224

35) Last Judgement mosaic from St. Vitus

36) Blooded Veil on the Virgin Mary, Madonna Aracoeli, St. Vitus' treasury, inv. no. K 98

37) Relics in St. Vitus treasury, engraving of 1690

38) Mitre of St. Eligius, National Museum, inv. no. H2 60 701

39) Břevnov St. Margaret plenary, 1408

40) (a) St. Adalbert paten from Břevnov, (b) St. Paul from Arts and Crafts Museum

41) Madonna of Humility of Vyšehrad, 1370, lone to the National gallery, inv. no. VO 791

42) Madonna of Zbraslav, 1350, lone to the National gallery, inv. no. VO 2. 116

43) Wooden reliquary busts, Bohemia 1360, Alšova jihočeská galerie, inv. č. P 18

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44) Wooden relikviary statue of St. Benigna (Dobrotivá), from the Augustinian monastery of Annunciation and St. Benigna in Zaječov, lone to the National Gallery, inv. no.VP 1801), statue with an with opening for a relic

45) Apostolic povertz in arguments against the Roman Catholic clergy (a) St. Martin serving in a poor chasuble, Jena Codex, 28v, (b) St. Apostels in a poor vestment, (c) Roman bishop in a rich garment

46) Altar of Nový Bydžov with Utraquist priests in chasubles

47) Weighting of the Husite chalice and papal tiara, Jena Codex, 25r

48) Pieta from St. George in Prague Castle

49) Pieta from Franciscan monastery of Český Krumlov

50) Master of Tyne Calvary - Virgin Mary from the Tyne church, ar. 1440

51) Sigismund of Luxembourg (portrait by Master Václav, Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum, inv. no. 2630)

52) Master of Tyne Calvary – Calvary in the Tyne church

53) Virgin Mary of St. Stephen, 1470, stil on the altar of the church

54) Interior of the Utraquist church, *Písně chval božských* from St. Michal's church in Prague (title page), KNM, inv. no. I A 15

55) Utraquist chalice with a spout: chalice of Kadaň, ar. 1520

56) Utraquist ciborium of Hradec Králové and spoons, before 1500

57) Utraquist monstrance of St. Bartholomeus's church in Kutná Hora, today St. Jacob's church, ar. 1500

58) Utraquist altars with niche: (a) altar of Libiš, (b) Slavětín

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Maps

1. Plan of the cathedral with the patron saints graves and the places of showing

2. Map of Prague treasuries under Charles IV and Wenceslaus IV

3. Places of Bishop Phillibert's activity in Prague

4. Klaudian's map of Bohemia with the treasuries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries discussed

Abbreviations

AI - *Soudní akta konsistoře pražské / Acta iudiciaria consistorii Pragensis* [Court Records of Prague Consistory], ed. Ferdinand Tadra, 7 vols. Prague: 1893-1901. 1 (1373 – 1379) -1893, vol. 2 (1380 -1387), vol. 3 (1392-3), vol. 4 (1396-8), vol. 5 (1401 – 1404) -1898, 6 (1407 – 1408), 7 (1420 – 1424).

AHMP – Archive of the City of Prague

AMK - Archive of the Metropolitan Chapter, today part of the Prague Castle Archives.

APMK – Jaroslav Eršil, and Jiří Pražák. *Archiv Pražské metropolitní kapituly* [Archive of Prague Metropolitan Chapter]. Vol. 1 *Katalog listin a listů z doby předhusitské (-1419)*. Prague: Archivní správa Ministerstva vnitra, 1956.

Autobiography – *Karoli IV imperatoris Romanorum vita ab eo ipso conscripta et Hystoria nova de sancto Wenceslao martyre: Autobiography of Emperor charles IV and his legend of St. Wenceslas*, ed. Balázs Nagy and Frank Schaer, trans. Paul W. Knoll and Frank Schaer. Budapest: CEU Medievalia, 2001.

BRRP - Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice. Series of biennial conferences and their proceedings.

CPSVP – Podlaha Antonín, and Eduard Šittler. *Chrámový poklad u sv. Víta v Praze: jeho dějiny a popis* [The Cathedral treasury of St. Vitus in Prague: history and description]. Prague: Nákladem sv. Prokopa, 1903.

FRB - *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum* [Sources on Bohemian history] ed. Joseph Emler et al. 8 vols. Prague 1873-1932.

KNM – Library of the National Museum, Prague

Laurentius (1954) - Vavřinec (Laurentius) of Březová. *Husitská kronika* [Hussite Chronicle], transl. František Heřmanský, introd. Josef Macek. Prague: SNKLHU, 1954.

Laurentius (1979) - Vavřinec (Laurentius) of Březová. *Husitská kronika. Píseň o vítězství u Domažlic* [Hussite chronicle. The Song on the Victory of Domažlice], transl. František Heřmanský. Prague: Svoboda 1979.

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LE - *Libri erectionum archidioecesis Pragensis saeculo XIV et XV* [Books on altar erections of Archdiecese of Prague in 14th and 15th centuries], ed. Klement Borový, 5 vols. Pragae 1875-1889.

MGH – *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*.

MVB – *Monumenta vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia* [Vatican Sources on Bohemia] Vol. 2 *Acta Innocentii VI. Pont. Rom.*, *1352-62*, ed. Jan Bedřich Novák. Prague: s.n. 1907.

NA – National Archive, Prague

NK – National Library, Prague

Protocolum - *Protocolum visitationis archidiaconatus Pragensis annis 1379-1382 per Paulum de Janowicz archidiaconum Pragensem factae* [Visitation Protocol of archdeaconate of Prague 1379-82 made by Pavel of Janovice], ed. Ivan Hlaváček, and Zdenka Hledíková. Prague 1973.

RBM - *Regesta diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae* [Charters regests], ed. Josef Emler et al. 7 vols. Prague, 1882-. (vol. 3 *Annorum 1311-1333*. Prague 1890, and vol. 4 *annorum 1333-1346*. Prague 1892).

SOA – State Regional Archive

SokA – State District Archive

SÚA AZK- Státní ústřední archiv (today Národní archiv-National Archive), Archiv zrušených klášterů (National Archive, Archive of dissolved monasteries).

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Foreword

My work has focussed on the role of the church treasury in late medieval Bohemia, and the political and cultural conceptions behind its creation and existence, as well as its religious and social functions. The study tackles questions of the treasuries' foundation, growth, function, and place in the medieval culture of Bohemia, and to a lesser extent, with their management and content. It is confined to the geographical and chronological limits of Luxembourg and Jagellonian rule in Bohemia, and Moravia,[1] from roughly 1310 –1526.[2] These particular dates are, of course, political dates with little relevance to any major shifts in the practice of treasuring, but they embrace the flourishing late medieval culture in Bohemia with its excellent – albeit now mostly lost – artistic output. These dates also set limits to a period of great importance in the development and redefinition of ecclesiastical treasuries in terms of their political and cultural roles.

My work, thus, focuses on the intellectual concepts and practical policies involved in the development of treasuries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Bohemia. It oscillates between three main disciplines of history: art, religious, and cultural history.[3] I follow the relation of general concepts, both biblical and literary, to treasures and their subsequent transformation in church treasuries.[4] I view the medieval church treasury in its social context as a result of piety, as well as a media communicating the status of an individual or a community, or – as in the particular case of Bohemia – as a manifestation of specific cultural policies. More closely, I examine the evolving functions of ecclesiastical treasuries in Bohemian late medieval culture. Thus, I study my sources through the lens of cultural history, rather than a particular stylistic point of view. This approach has helped me to untangle the network of manifold social and cultural phenomena inherent to[5] a treasury. In particular, I will examine treasure as an intellectual construct, and its practical implementation in a

[1] I have left out Silesia due to the complicated access to the sources. One should also note that in the late fifteenth-early sixteenth century Moravia was nominally attached to Hungary. This episode did not change our questions.
[2] Year 1526 is not only the date of death of Louis of Jagello at the battle of Mohács bringing the late medieval culture of the Jagellonians to its end, but it is also roughly the time, when the Lutheran confession began to arrive to the Bohemian Lands.
[3] I draw my inspiration from cultural history as found for instance in Alon Confino, "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method," *The American History Review*, 102. 5 (December 1997), 1386-1403.
[4] I would like to draw reader's attention to my terminological distinction between "treasure" and "treasury". I use "treasure" when I am referring to either intellectual concepts of treasure in the sources, treasure as general term or a collection of objects bound by conceptual idea of participating on the History of Salvation (e.g., relics), and "treasury" meaning a collection of objects held in a treasury room. Modern meaning of "treasury" as "art treasures" does not play a role in my consideration.
[5] John R. Maddicott, review of *Treasure in the Medieval West*, by Elisabeth M. Tyler, in *European History Review*, 116.377 (November 1, 2001), 1240-1241. Henceforth Maddicott, review of *Treasure in the Medieval West*.

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medieval church treasury with its own aspects of formation, growth, function and presentation, patronage, administration, differentiation, or destruction. The study is divided in two main parts. First is a general introduction to the study of medieval Bohemian church treasuries. The second part focuses on the historical development of Bohemian treasuries, with the core part in the period from the rule of Charles IV of Luxembourg up to the death of Louis of Jagiello in the battle of Mohacs in 1526. When starting my work, I approached the material with a pool of questions, such as: Which functions can we identify in uses of medieval church treasuries and what fostered their growth in pre-1420 Bohemia? What policies influenced the use and presentation of church treasuries? What is the position of treasury in religious reform-oriented discourse around 1400 in Bohemia? How did the complicated confessional development in Bohemia leave its imprint on church treasuries? And finally, how should the Hussite destruction of treasuries be understood, and what is the afterlife of the medieval church treasury in this confessionally-polarised environment, especially with regard to the Bohemian Utraquist Church? These last questions are specific to the situation in Bohemia, which in the fifteenth century culminated in the Hussite movement and the rise of the Bohemian Reformation, the first nationwide religious reformation attempt in European history. Research on complex entities such as medieval treasuries can be approached from a multitude of directions. I asked these particular questions because they best illuminate the development of Bohemian church treasures in its broad historical perspective as well as the specific context of the confessional divide in Bohemia.

I have attached two appendices offering the reader little known sources on the range of problems in the study of church treasuries in Bohemia (forgery of a document, fragmentory nature of the sources on administration and collecting, motivation behind donations in the confessionalised environment) in a separate part at the end of my study.. The second appendix contains a full list of available church treasury inventories, both published and unpublished, from this period in Bohemia and Moravia. The list reveals promising new discoveries and more substantial results in the future.

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Part I – Treasures of churches in prospective

I. The Medieval Treasure as a Research Subject

1. The Treasure in Medieval Culture

Although church treasuries have attracted attention and admiration for many centuries and scholars have written about their objects, it is only in the last fifteen years that close attention was given to ecclesiastical treasuries as complex independent and meaningful entities formed by communities of faith throughout the Middle Ages. As an alternative to the earlier aesthetic and economic studies of medieval treasury, recent scholarship has looked at a wider array of aspects of the medieval treasury, ranging from the study of treasuries as symbols of feudal power to their role in the identity construction and spiritual memory of a particular place.[6]

In the Middle Ages, church treasury is both a powerful cultural reality and a rich metaphor,[7] built on its historical foundations and carrying a spiritual memory of its origin.[8] Treasury as an ideal concept represents a symbol of the contract between Christ and the Christian Community, and as such, it reveals a structure of connotations and communication. The structured nature of its meanings comes out in the word *thesaurus* that is endowed with both spiritual and material content denoting a variety of aspects, such as the cult of relics, indulgences, liturgy, Christian morality, collection of valuables, donations, symbols of power and status, as well as complex of objects imbued with public and private memory. Linguistic definitions of the word "*thesaurus*"[9] suggest a complex and broad cultural subject, intertwinning aspects ranging from economy[10] to Christian religion and aesthetics, personal to

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[6] Philippe George, "Définition et fonction d'un trésor d'église," *Bulletin du Centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre*, placed on the net 25.10. 2006. URL : http://cem.revues.org/document719.html. Consulted 22.7. 2007, s.p. henceforth George, "Définition et fonction".
[7] S.a., anotation of *Treasure in the Medieval West*, by Elizabeth M. Tyler, ed. in *Boydell and Brewer booksellers (http://www.boydell.co.uk/52973480.HTM)*, consulted 15.4.2007.
[8] George, "Définition et fonction", s.p.
[9] *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi praesertim ad res ecclesiasticas investigandas pertinens*, 1994 ed., s.v. "Thesaurus" (p. 913: treasures as indulgences: *Corpus iuris canonici* (1304)*;* as relics: legends of saints). *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, vol. 6, s.v. "Thesaurus", (*Thesaurarium Christi* in St. Augustin *Ennaratio in Psalmum*: *Numquid perdes in Thesaurario Christi...Inveniunt nummos, et ponunt in Thesaurario*, 579)
[10] This refers to a set of valuable objects or money ("royal treasury"), or royal right to the hoards buried in the earth (*thesaurus inventus*, *Mediae Latinitatis Lexicon minus*, vol. 2, s.v. "Thesaurus" (p. 1339), *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, vol. 6, s.v. "Thesaurus", (p. 580, the practise of pontifical purification and benediction of found treasures).

political, and cult[11] to administrative considerations. It also represents a problem of terminology when a precise definition is needed in a particular context.[12] As J.-P. Caillot puts it nicely: "*Trésors d'églises constituent dans le champ des realia l'un des aspects essentiels de la civilisation du Moyen Âge.*"[13]

It is psychological natural for humans y to gather valuable objects and hold onto them. Thesaurisation plays various social roles in personal and public spheres, representation, contructing continuity and memory. In the material sense, treasury is a collection pertinent to a person or institution composed of objects of value, which, as a whole as well as in its individual pieces, conveys complex meanings related to status, memory and history, economy, and that has ritual and communication functions[14] originating in the sacred content of the treasury. The religious experience stems from the rareness of the objects, their role in liturgy, their contexts of presentation, and the narratives of their origin.

Treasuries as a whole are the repository of their own past, as well as part of the constructed memory of the social group that created them.[15] The key interaction in the process of treasury formation and conversion of objects into a donation is the relationship between the patron and the receptor—a person of status, or a religious institution. The act of donation expresses the donor's attitude towards the objects or the institution, and is materialised in the donation ritual[16] or public presentation. It is often commemorated in a visual or written record of the donation scene or communicated in some other way. A third party—the audience—attests to the donation, confirming

[11] *Thesaurus* (*thesaurarium*), *thesauri ecclesiastici*, *thesauraria* or *vasa sacra* mean church treasures, *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi praesertim ad res ecclesiasticas investigandas pertinens*, s.v. "Thesaurus", 913, and *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi*, vol. 6, S-Z, s.v. "Thesaurus", 579-580 (here banned from being sold or pawn to the Jews, and the occurrence of the term *vasa sacra* in 13-14th centuries). In the Bohemian sources for ecclesiastical treasures: *jocalia*, *ornamenta*, *pretiosa*, *kleinod*, *kirchengerät*.

[12] My defitions cf. footnote 3. Due to comprehensive nature of my work, I needed to define my own terms in a particular context for the purpose of distinguishing between the concepts and their implementation. I use the more general term "treasure" when referring to thoughts and the concepts and the term "treasury" for the actual collections of objects with all the administrative aspects attached to them.

[13] Jean-Pierre Caillet, "Les Trésors de sanctuaires de l'Antiquité à l'époque romane," *Cahiers du centre de Recherches sur Antiquité tardive et le Haut Moyen Âge* VI, ed. J.-P. Caillet (Université de Paris X-Nanterre: 1996), cited in George, "Définition et fonction", 3.

[14] Philippe Buc, "Conversion of Objects," *Viator. Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 28 (1997), 99.

[15] Confino, "Collective Memory," 1391. On the principles of gathering memory of the past in different social contexts, see Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26, *Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory* (Spring 1989), 12. On medieval capacity of "presence of the present", cf. Faith Wallis, "The Ambiguities of Medieval "Memoria"", *Canadian Journal of History / Annales canadiennes d'histoire* 30 (April / Avril 1995), 79.

[16] Anu Mänd, "Liturgical vessels in medieval Livonia," (MA thesis, Central European University Budapest, 1996), 33. On appropriating Gerhard Jaritz, "Seelenheil und Sachkultur: Gedanken zur Beziehung Mensch - Objekt im späten Mittelalter", in *Europäische Sachkultur des Mittelalters: Gedenkschrift aus Anlass des zehnjährigen Bestehens des Instituts für Mittelalterliche Realienkunde Österreichs* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1980), 57-81.

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the act and placing it in the proper social and cultural context; this contextualisation of a treasury or donation today represents one of the key areas of interest in the study of treasures. A game of public performance versus private contemplation and "exclusive" viewing is one of the lines along which runs the communication of the treasury with the outside world.

In Christian medieval culture, the term "treasury" acquired spiritual values. King Solomon in the Book of Proverbs likens the desire for wisdom, prudence and diligence to searching for treasury and silver,[17] but God's wisdom is above gold or silver.[18] In the world of Christian spirituality, God distributes treasures of wisdom through the Holy Spirit.[19] In the New Testament, the Gospel of Matthew elaborates on the contrast of ephemeral (i.e. material), and permanent (spiritual) treasures, the latter being a prerequisite to Salvation.[20] Spiritual and material possessions are in the Bible as oppositions,[21] and this dichotomy was echoed repeatedly in medieval treasury imagery. In Bohemia specifically, the discourse and comparison between the biblical models and the reality of treasuries became an important issue in rhetoric and religious critique.

The Bible differentiates between desirable and non-desirable treasures. The "true" treasury is that one which originates in the gifts of the Holy Spirit; the false treasury, on the other hand, is corrupting, causing the sins of pride, avarice and luxury. Whereas gathering treasures may bring positive effects in the hands of worthy people, it may have a bad impact on Christian morals and limit one's chances at the Last Judgement.

In the Gospels, Jesus bans gold and silver to the followers of Christ. "Provide neither gold, nor silver, nor brass in your purses,"[22] commanded the Apostles. And St. Peter reassures: "Silver and gold have I none".[23] In the New Testament, living in luxury, gathering wealth and money, or displaying wealth ostentatiously, denies the person access to Salvation—for the servants of God, no worldly possession is allowed; they are presumed to live in voluntary poverty. Even public ostentation of charity is sinful. In his sermon in the mount, Jesus warns the faithful against ostentatious alms-giving

[17] Proverbs 2:2-4.
[18] Proverbs 8:19, 20:15, 21:20.
[19] Jean Jacques von Allmen, *Biblický slovník (Dictionary of the Bible)* (Prague: Evangelické nakladatelství 1991), s.v. "Duch svatý", Proverbs 1:13, 1:19, 2:6, 25:11-12,22:1, 20:15. Wisdom above treasures Proverbs 3:14-15.
[20] Mt. 13:44-46, and Mt 6:19-21. Anna Wierzbicka, "The Hidden Treasury and the Pearl of Great Price," chap. in *What Did Jesus Mean? Explaining the Sermon on the Mount and the Parables in simple and Universal Human Concepts* (2001), www.oxfordscholarship.com, consulted 23.7.2007, 266-268. Henceforth Wierzbicka, *What Did Jesus Mean?*
[21] Proverbs 10: 2 (treasury reached in an ungodly way shall not be useful). Proverbs 17: 3, 17: 8.
[22] *Nolite possidere aurum et argentum.* (Mt 10:9). Quoted by John Hus, "O církvi" (On the Church), chap. in Rudolf Kalivoda, and Alexander Kolesnyk, *Das Hussitische Denken im Licht seiner Quellen, Beiträge zur Geschichte des Religiösen und Wissenschaftlichen Denkens*, ed. E. Winter and H. Mohr, vol. 8 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1969), 164.
[23] *Aurum et argentum non est michi* (Acts 3: 6.).

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and piety to display one's wealth.[24] Only those donations are pleasing to God, which are carried out in secret and modestly—this is a sign of the worthiness of the donor.[25]

In the key passage for the understanding of moral notions of "treasury" in the Gospels of Matthew and Lucas, Jesus stresses the difference between earthly and heavenly treasures and warns the faithful saying: "Lay not up for yourselves treasures upon earth, where moth and rust doth corrupt, and where thieves break through and steal. But lay up for yourselves *treasures* in heaven…for where your *treasure* is, there will your heart be also" (Mt 6: 19-21, cf. Lc 12: 33-34).[26] For the prospect of eternal life, only heavenly treasures are desirable—faithful are to choose those treasures, which would bear fruits in long perspective.

Spiritual and material qualities of treasures form opposite categories not only in biblical parables, but also in medieval aesthetic thought. The ideal of beauty in the Middle Ages shows the similarly ambivalent nature of metaphysical and material alternatives that are closely interwinned.[27] In the treasury objects, Christian aesthetes praised precious material[28] as the source of beauty, having the metaphysical qualities of a work of God (*opus Dei*). The quality of material mattered more than the quality of craftsmanship (*opus hominis*): medieval imagery linked beauty to the shining and glitter of gold, silver, and precious stones.[29] Beautiful wrapping, however, coverred an even more important content—the relics of the saints.[30] The beauty of treasury objects were intended to stimulate interest in spiritual matters, as well as inspire warnings of the seduction of worldly riches.[31] Medieval writers, such as Bonaventure, and Hugh of St. Victor, finally accepted contemplative and subjective values of beautiful objects, claiming them appropriate for church decoration as *ornamentum Dei*. Suger, the Abbot of St. Denis, goes even further. In his perception, the precious and beautiful helps people to

[24] Mt 6:1-4. "That thine alms may be in secret: and thy Father which seeth in secret himself shall reward thee openly."
[25] Parables of Hidden Treasury, and the Pearl of Great Price (Mt 13: 44-46). Wierzbicka, *What Did Jesus Mean?*, 265.
[26] *Nolite thesaurizare vobis thesauros in terra, ubi aerugo et tinea demolitur, et ubi fures effodiunt et furantur; thesaurizate autem vobis thesauros in caelo, ubi neque aerugo neque tinea demolitur, et ubi fures non effodiunt nec furantur; ubi enim est thesaurus tuus, ibi erit et cor tuum*. (Matt 13;44-46). Sell that ye have, and give alms; provide yourself bags which wax not old, a treasury in the heavens that faileth not, where no thief approacheth, neither moth corrupteth. For where your treasury is, there will your heart be also. Lc 12: 33-34.
[27] Umberto Eco, *Art and Beauty in the Middle Ages* (New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 1986), 35. Henceforth Eco, *Art*.
[28] Jacques le Goff, *Kultura středověké Evropy (Culture of medieval Europe)* (Prague: Vyšehrad, 2005, 434).
[29] Eco, *Art*, 13-14.
[30] Beauty of the martyr's bodies, Eco, *Art*, 9. The specific nature of relics as both spiritual and material (examples from the legends of the 11th century, *Lexicon Lat. Medii Aevi praesertim ad res ecclesiasticas investigandas pertinens*, s.v. "Thesaurus", 913) becomes important to the understanding of medieval ecclesiastical treasury, as seen as a counterpart to wordly treasures.
[31] Eco, *Art*, 5-10.

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contemplate God. Such are the materials befitting to wrap the relics in or decorate *domus Dei*.[32] Suger´s ideas of contemplation, display, and approapriateness justified the existence of church treasuries and splendor theologically. As commented on by Louis Marin on Suger,[33] the medieval display of precious material adorning a sacred object "is first and foremost the vehicle and vector of (its) power.., which, though not yet an image, is destined to exercise that power through vision…" Essentially, the spiritual quality meets the material quality in medieval treasury in a joint venture of ritual, display, representation and memory.

2. The Treasury, the Church and the Public

2.1 Definition and Function of Church Treasury

Treasuries perform a variety of functions in medieval culture. While looking into specific contexts concerning treasuries, the prime function of an ecclesiastical treasury is its role in liturgy and piety, which is closely linked to collective memory. The treasury represents collective sacred patrimony, its objects "move the faithful towards faith, love and desire to reach Salvation and Heaven; they decorate the church and exhort the poor."[34] In the religious context, church treasury is a special form of property—it belongs to the saints and the poor of the community;[35] it cannot be alienated without harming the basic tenants of Christian morality.

Liturgy provides a natural setting for treasury objects. Next to the altar, treasury is the focus of medieval devotion; this link is also often visualised in the architectural structure of the church, where the treasury room and the main altar are often optically connected or lie in proximity to each other. Liturgical context exempts the objects from ordinary life and gives them specific meaning and value.[36] Charged with the symbolism of the Sacrifice, during the mass, liturgical vessels and altar textiles represents each *memoria* of the Passion of Christ: the chalice symbolises the Sepulchre, the patena the Stone where the Body reclined, the corporal for the Host, the Sudarium, veiling the Body of Christ in

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[32] Eco, *Art*, 10, 67-8, 13.
[33] On the principles of display in the liturgical space, Louis Marin, *Des pouvoirs de l´image* (Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1993), 20.
[34] Cod. MS C5 in AMK, fol. 24.
[35] Cod. MS C5 in AMK, fol. 24. *Ergo res ecclesie pauperibus et militibus Christi stipendia debent intelligi.*
[36] Cod. MS C5 in AMK, fol. 2. "On priestly service" links the liturgy with Apocalypse and tradition of Lévi priests—they need consecration to serve.

grave.[37] Their proximity to the sacred and active or passive role in liturgy assigned them a position in the internal hierarchy of the treasury, reflected also in the inventory of the treasury.

The treasuries originated in the practical needs of liturgy. The Sacrifice and the Communion take place in a consecrated space, upon a consecrated altar, and the vessels and garments used need episcopal consecration.[38] Special episcopal blessings must be said over them, and the priest greets them before serving the mass. In return, the vessels play a part in the consecration of a church or altar.[39] Paten, chalice and pyx hold the Body of Christ, reliquaries the relics, censers cense the gifts, or are employed in special ceremonies and blessings. The chalice, paten and corporal frame the moment of transsubstantiation. Since Early Christian times, the vessels were made from rare materials[40] and decorated to show their significance. In the fourteenth century at the latest, both the faithful and Church participants demanded that priests be dressed solemnly at mass. Even in village churches, the priests or vicars had to participate in all processions wearing appropriate garments.[41] The role of liturgy in the development of treasures,[42] as well as church decoration has now been fully recognised.[43] To what extent may the development of treasuries in Bohemia be linked to local cult practices, however, still remains a *desideratum* of the study.

Jacques le Goff has examined the medieval treasury in its representational and economic roles. In the symbolic language of the thirteenth century German *Nibelungenlied*, it represents one of the

[37] Cod. MS C5, AMK, fol. 27.
[38] The Ordo XL of the Romano-Germanic Pontifical for the Dedication of a Church (10th century) includes blessings of vestments and vessels—prayers prescribed for the bishops. The twelfth-century *Ordo missae* from Rhineland has a passage of supplications for liturgical garments standing for purification and preparation for the service. Supplications are said for each piece of service garment separately (eg. for chasubles: *Indute me, Domine, ornamento humilitatis et caritatis et concede michi protectionem contra mortem insidiatorem*…, Andreas Odenthal, "Von der Messfeier zur Messfrömmigkeit. Aspekte Mittelalterlicher Liturgieentwicklung im Spiegel Liturgischer Quellen," in *Kunst und Liturgie in Mittelalter. Akten des Intern. Kongresses der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, ed. Nic Bock (Munich: Hirmer 2000), 16, henceforth *Kunst und Liturgie in Mittelalter*. František Pokorný, *Liturgika* IV. *Liturgické reálie Posvěcení času* (Liturgy IV. *Realia* in the Sanctification of the Time) (Prague: ČKCH 1979), 34f. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries large dioeceses of Central Europe it must have been difficult to always keep tothe prescriptions of the *Ordo* concerning the blessings. The Utraquist consecration of the vessels during the episcopal *sedesvacantium* of Bohemia represents yet another problem. I am thankful to Prof. David Holeton for discussing this with me.
[39] Following the Roman Pontifical ceremonies from the 12th century, the following acts are needed for the consecration of a new church: a festive procession to the church with relics and ornaments , the burning of 12 candlesticks, setting relics on the altar and anointing the altar, and censing, followed by covering of the altar, dressing in the garments and consecrating mass. Andreas Speer, "Luculento Ordine," 19-37, in *Kunst und Liturgie in Mittelalter*, 24, 37.
[40] *Liber pontificalis, The Book of Pontiffs* (trans. by Raymond Davis) (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1989), 10.
[41] *LE* IV (1390-1397), 362, no. 506, year 1391.
[42] George, "Définition et fonction", s.p.
[43] Cf. Madelin H. Caviness, "Stained Glass windows in Gothic chapels and the feast of the saints," in *Kunst und Liturgie*, 135-147.

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ruler's status symbols and its loss means humiliation.[44] In the case of an important church treasury, it served to promote the patron and community, representing both status and social position. The ritual of status is performed during important visits when the treasury was exhibited.[45] In contrast, during times of war, a strategy of defamation resulting in the loss of a leader's treasury represented a public symbol of their diminished status. The treasury also bears witness to its own origins from the historical, material, as well as as symbolic points of view. Spiritual substance was materialised in the treasury's relics and joined with the physical memory of its founders in a perpetual re-invention of a community´s identity. Treasury, thus, emerged as a powerful means of identity and history construction.[46] Next to the cult and its social functions, its non-religious aspects included potential violations such as pillage, theft,[47] or sacrilege, and destruction of public memory.

A church treasury also served as a handy economic resource.[48] Objects could be pawned, sold or melted down in time of need.[49] This, together with changes in fashion, is why so little has survived of medieval treasuries. A common practice in the Middle Ages, the treasury's monetary value was behind many sacrilegeous thefts, though other motivations coul also be involved.[50] Although sacrilege ranked among the worst sins, theft of ecclesiastical treasures was popular and bans and punishments were often insufficient means to protect chalices, garments, and books from being alienated. Le Goff quotes a Florentine manuscipt from the 13th century, where "Sacrilege" belonged to the nine daughters of the Devil, and was married to a farmer. Another Devil's daughter, "Theft", was married to a knight.[51] In Bohemia, where the records of the Consistory courts are preserved,[52] theft of liturgical objects committed by clerics seems to have been quite common; another specific of Bohemia were iconoclastic attacks on the ecclesiastical treasuries by the Hussites.

Julius von Schlosser anticipated in the church treasury, the social and cultural functions of a modern collection,[53] merging the profane and sacred world as a mirror of the Universe. Although this

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[44] Le Goff, *Kultura*, 646.
[45] George, "Définition et fonction," 6-7.
[46] George, "Définition et fonction," 3-5.
[47] Cf. Patrick Geary, *Furta sacra: Theft of relics in the central Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990).
[48] Appendix no. 14.
[49] Le Goff, *Kultura*, 632.
[50] Geary, *Furta sacra*, 8, 57, 87, 130.
[51] Le Goff, *Kultura*, 349.
[52] *Soudní akta konsistoře pražské / Acta iudiciaria consistorii Pragensis* (Records of the Consistory Court) ed. Ferdinand Tadra, 7 vols. (Prague 1893-1901). Vol. 1 (1373 – 1379) -1893, vol. 2 (1380 -1387), vol. 3 (1392-3), vol. 4 (1396-8), vol. 5 (1401 – 1404) -1898, 6 (1407 – 1408), 7 (1420 – 1424). Henceforth AI.
[53] Julius von Schlosser, *Kunst- und Wunderkammern der Spätrenaissance* (Braunschweig: Klinkhardt and Biermann 1978), 14-15.

notion may seem convincing at first, the role of medieval treasury in the development of collecting—to my mind—should not be overestimated. Medieval treasury is not only a memorial collection or a cosmological construct—the primary function of a medieval treasury lies in its devotional dimension.

Miloslav Vlk in his study on the inventories of the Tyne church defines the ecclesiastical treasury as a cultural-historical structure composed of varied cultural layers reflecting various roles the treasury plays in historical discourse.[54] He sees a treasury as a "living" structure, constantly changing and adding new objects, as opposed to an inventory, which is "dead" imprint of a momentary state at a particular point of time.[55] Vlk's cultural historical concept of treasury as a multilayered cultural entity inside a network of relations turns out to be the most helpful model in illuminating the complex contexts of a treasury's historical reality.

2.2 Content of Church Treasury

The medieval term "*thesaurus*" comprises yet another special meaning: the devotional objects in the church.[56] With dual substance and a capacity for procurring Salvation and miracle-making, holy relics, whose presence on the earth was guaranteed to do work in heaven, were praised as "treasures" in medieval hagiography and charters.[57] Relics gained their fame through double nature of their existence: the bodies of the martyrs and saints were left on the earth, whereas their soul already resided in heaven.[58] Their power lay in their physical tangibility and presence[59] among the faithful, evocating their ancient sacred history in the present.[60]

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[54] Miloslav Vlk, "Umělecké řemeslo Týnského kostela (Art crafts of the Tyne church)," (MA thesis, Charles University Prague, 1973), 15. Henceforth Vlk, "Umělecké řemeslo".

[55] In spite of proposing a broad approach to cultural history in the introduction, Vlk follows his art historyicalinterest in Baroque crafts and the relationship of donor and craftsman, Vlk, "Umělecké řemeslo".

[56] Medieval devotional objects include relics—and towards the late fourteen century images as well. Although some of the images and reliquaries may have not been kept in the treasury room and were exhibited round-the-year in the interior of the church, they—through their very nature—belonged to the church treasury, as they represent the church 'treasure' (a source of indulgences and intercession) in a more general sense.

[57] *Venit* (emperor Charles IV) *in Agaunum causa devotionis visitandi limina sanctorum martirum Thebeorum, ubi tunc temporis requiescebat* ***preciossissimus thesaurus****, videlicet corpus sancti Zigismundi, regis Burgundie, quod impetravit sibi dari et attulit secum Pragam*. Beneš of Weitmil, *FRB*, 4, 533. David Mengel, "Remembering Bohemia's Forgotten patron Saint," *BRRP* (forthcoming), 21, ft. 28.

[58] Arnold Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien. Die Geschichte ihres Kultes vom frühen Christentum bis zur Gegenwart*, 2d ed. (Munich: C.H.Beck, 1997), 103-106. Henceforth Angenendt, *Heilige*.

[59] Angenendt, *Helige*, 135. Maria Starnawska, *Swietych zycie po zyciu. Relikwie e kulturze religijnej na zemiach polskich w sredniowieczu* (The Afterlife of the Saints. Relics in religious culture in medieval Poland) (Warsaw: DiG, 2008),578-9, 581. Henceforth Starnawska, *Swietych zycie po zyciu*.

[60] Jaś Elsner, "Replicating Palestine and Reversing the Reformation," *Journal of the History of Collection* 9.1 (1997), 126.

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The collection of relics forms the core of medieval church treasury, and as such, they were wrapped in silver and gold reliquaries to mark their excellence. [61] The relics were a source of prestige and power for the community, and their "practical" benefits ranged from healing the sick, helping in daily needs, through supporting local patriotism and a sense of unity, staging important decision-making, and oath-taking, to protection, and intercession for individuals and the community.[62] In the sphere of politics[63] they were manipulated, shown, given as gifts, carried in processions,[64] with armies,[65] and taken as booty.

The role of relics in the organisation of church space has already been recognised.[66] In the church, they were the centre of liturgy on the feastdays, legendary traditions, as well as its iconography, communicating the importance of the saints' contribution to the Salvation.[67] Faithful were exhorted to visit relics in the churches by the promise of intercession on their behalf, and indulgences freeing them from sins.[68] From the beginning of the fourteenth century, the idea of relics as heavenly treasures located on earth was popularised by growing numbers of papal or episcopal indulgences ("treasury of merits"), which themselves were presented in homilies and writings as *treasures* given by Christ to the community of the Church to ease the burden of their sins; [69] their effect was, however, correlated by the pope and bishops when they issued the indulgences for a certain

[61] George, "Définition et fonction", 11.
[62] Starnawska, *Swietych zycie po zyciu*, 561-563, 603-4. *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi preasertim ad res ecclesiasticas investigandas pertinens*, s.v. "thesaurus", 913.
[63] Edina Bozóky, *La Politique des Reliques de Constantin à Saint Louis. Protection collective et légitimation du pouvoir* (Paris: Beauchesne, 2007), 119-20, 139-140.
[64] Starnawska, „Procesje z relikwiami", 59-77, (on the procession with relics on Palm Sunday in Prague diocese 62, 71, also *Rogationes* and St. Marcus processions 72). Procesion with relics on *Rogationes*, Jana Maříková-Kubková, and David Eben, "Organizace liturgického prostoru v bazilice sv. Víta," (Organisation of liturgical space in the basilica of St. Vitus) *Castrum Pragense* 2 (1999), 230. Petr Sommer, "Procession in early medieval Bohemia," in *Wallfahrten in europäischen Kultur/ Pilgrimages in European Culture*, Daniel Doležal, and Hartmut Kühne, eds., Europäische Wallfahrtsstudien 1 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006), 174-6. Henceforth Sommer, "Procession".
[65] E.g., loss of treasury from the Cistercian monastery in Zbraslav on military expedition of Wenceslas III to Poland.
[66] Carolyn Walker Bynum, and Paula Gerson, "Body-Part Reliquaries and Body Parts in the Middle Ages," *Gesta* 36.1 (1997), 4. Paul Crossley, "Bohemia Sacra" and "Polonia Sacra": liturgy and history in in Prague and Cracow cathedrals" *Folia Historiae Artium* 7 (2002), 49-69.
[67] From vast recent literature Angenendt, *Heilige und Reliquien,* Nicole Herrmann-Mascard, *Les reliques des saints: formation coutumière d'un droit (Relics of the Saints)* **(**Paris: Klincksieck, 1975)**,** Anton Legner, *Reliquien in Kunst und Kult zwischen Antike und Aufklärung (Relics in Art and Cult)* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995)**,** Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: its rise and function in Latin Christianity* **(**Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982). Petra Janke, *Ein Heilbringender Schatz. Reliquienverehrung am Halberstädter Dom im Mittelalter* (Munich-Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2006). Starnawska, *Swietych zycie po zyciu.* Bynum, and Gerson, "Body-Part Reliquaries," 3-7.
[68] Angenendt, *Heilige*, 106-8.
[69] Indulgences as treasures - Clemens VI (*Corpus iuris canonici* 2, 1304), *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi praesertim ad res ecclesiasticas investigandas pertinens*, s.v. "thesaurus", s.v. "thesaurus", 913.

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church, relic, image or cult object, and for a particular period of time. Then, the "*Trésor de grâces*" was available if its source (relics or an image) was properly approached and venerated.[70]

The *mysterium* of relics was underlined by the rituals framing their location, manipulation and presentation. As the key part of medieval church treasury, cult objects were held in treasury rooms in specially-made reliquaries, which—through their form—referred back to their sacred content.[71] They also enjoyed a special regime of preservation, identification, viewing and protection, and were inventoried first as the valued contentents of a treasury. In the Utraquist treasury (the late fifteenth century), however, the relics lost their preeminent position reflecting a weakening of their importance, and the first position in the inventories was given to Corpus Christi monstrances. The origin of relics was authorised and they were tagged as authentic because of a common fear of false relics (*falsa*).[72]

Relics were a sought-after commodity which found their way to treasuries through donations or theft.[73]Public and private devotional practices met in their veneration: they could be approached privately or shown publicly in *ostensio*.[74] In Bohemia, after the imperial treasury was brought here in 1350, an annual display of the most important imperial, royal and the metropolitan relics took place in the centre of the New Town of Prague and in St. Vitus cathedral. It was these displays that elevated Prague to among the most important imperial pilgrimage sites where public devotion of relics reached one of its late medieval peaks.

In a narrow sense, ecclesiastical treasury contains a set of objects for church services, kept in the church on the altar, in a chest or cupboard or in a secluded chamber called an aumbry. It includes consecrated and non-consecrated liturgical vessels and textiles, images and objects related to the cult, as well as occasionally some items of miraculous, mythical or legendary origin. In the Bohemian inventories, the compilers used general Latin and vernacular terms in their description of church treasuries such as *ornamenta ecclesiae*, *sacraria (imperii), res ecclesiae* (*věci kostela* in Czech) and

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[70] Phillippe Cordez, „Les usage du trésor des graces. L'économie idéelle et materielle des indulgences au Moyen Âge, in: *Le trésor du Moyen Âge. Questions et perspectives de recherché* (Neuchâtel: 2005), 55-88.
[71] Bynum, and Gerson, "Body-Part Reliquaries," 4-5.
[72] Cf. Emler, *Regesta* III, 672-4, no.1722, where the labels are stressed not only as a means of identification but as proof of authenticity as well.
[73] Geary, *Furta sacra*. The topography of relics was recorded in itineraries boosting pilgrimages to the important centres. Treasures of important pilgrim centres were reproduced on wood-cuts (*Heiltumbücher*), medieval guides to personal Salvation, and on pilgrims' memorial pamphlets.
[74] Cf. Hartmut Kühne, *Ostensio reliquiarum. Untersuchung über Entstehung, Ausbreitung, Gestalt und Funktion der Heiltumsweisungen im römisch-deutschen Regnum* (Berlin, and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2000). Henceforth Kühne, *Ostensio reliquiarum.*

cleinodia. Other names for treasuries found in Bohemian and Moravian sources are *klenod*, *bona mobilia, res mobilia, res ecclesiastica, iocalia, cimelia, paramenta, supellectilia, supellex, stuck*.[75]

A large group of objects in church treasury are the altar vessels divided conventionally into *vasa sacra* and *vasa non sacra.* These are the vessels used in Christian services. The narrow definition of *vasa sacra* comprises the vessels for celebrating the Eucharist (chalices, patens, ciboria or pyxes, and—in the Utraquist church—spoons). Other—*vasa non sacra*—served for preparing the elements or for other liturgical practices, such as the distribution of the Sacraments (ewers, the censer set, oil and chrism containers, spoons, wine-strainers, boxes for non-consecrated wafers, the aspergillum set, the set for ablution; pax, bells and the altar cross would also fall into this category).[76] Special elaborated late medieval vessels for the Eucharist—*monstrances*, a form of ciboria— also belonged to the group of consecrated liturgical vessels.[77]

Religious textiles—*paramenta*—accompany sacred vessels in liturgy.[78] The main group of textiles were priestly vestments—festive or ordinary sets for the Mass or for the Hours, and altarcloths with accessories. Specific textiles are mentioned in the inventories serving in theophoric processions or burials: pillows, carpets, tapestries or hangings, canopies, banners of nobles or brotherhoods, theophoric banners, covers for the *ciboria*, or ribbons for the monstrances. Textiles were an important part of interior decoration of the church, covering altars, walls, pulpits, seats, and pillars, providing for a rhythmical visual construction of liturgical time through their temporal presence.[79] Today, it is sometimes difficult to imagine the richness and colourfulness of medieval church interiors because there are so few extant medieval textiles, which are no longer found in their original places. In order to

[75] E.g., in the Latin inventories of St. Vitus: *cleinodiorum universarumque rerum* (CPSVP, III), in the Holy Spirit in Hradec Králové, and in the cathedral in Olomouc: *clenodia, ornamenta Ecclesiae* (Appendix II), in the St. Gallus in Prague: *res, ornamenta et jocalia Ecclesiae* (*Libri Erectionum* IV, 485), *sacra supellex and paramenta et ornatus* in the St. Thomas of the Augustinian monastery (*Codex Thommaeus*, 186, p. 372. 175, p. 357), *suppellectilia* in the church of Vodňany (inventory in Czech, Apendix II), *Stuckch und klainat* in the Cistercian monastery in Vyšší Brod (inventory in German, Anton Mörath, "Ein Kleinodienverzeichnis des Zisterzienserstiftes Hohenfurth und der Rosenberger vom Jahre 1439," Kleine Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deustchen im südlichen Böhmen und insbesondere Krummau 7, *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* 44 (1906), 337), *poczet kostelnie* (=inventory) in Bavorov (inventory in Czech, Appendix II), *klenoty* in the St. Nicolas in the Old Town of Prague (inventory in Czech, Apendix II). Other, as *Kyrchengerat* and *sacramenta*, I have not found in the inventories.

[76] Definitions of liturgical vessels and objects vary, see Mänd, *Liturgical vessels in medieval Livonia*, 2-3.

[77] The term *monstrance* is used in Bohemia for either reliquary or the container for the Eucharist, or even both together (Jaroslav Kadlec, ed., *Codex Thomaeus. Das Augustinerkloster Sankt Thomas in Prag.* (Würzburg: Augustiner Verlag, 1985), pag. 189, p. 377, henceforth Kadlec, *Codex Thomaeus*).

[78] Pope Stephen I had already banned the use of consecrated vestments outside church services or for everyday purposes, *Liber pontificalis, The Book of Pontiffs*, 10.

[79] Cf. hangings (*tapecia*), Kadlec, *Codex Thomaeus*, pag. 182, p. 370.

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evaluate the scale of use of textiles in churches we must only look them up in the inventories of treasures where countless pieces of the colour textiles of various kinds have been recorded.[80]

Next to the textiles, which served practical and decorative functions in the church, part of church treasury objects also served practical uses in the church including candlesticks together with their candles, forms, or the pair of scissors for dividing the Eucharist bread. Figures or sculptures, which were carried in religious spectacles were sometimes also stored in the aumbry. In additon to liturgical utensils, church treasures contained many other items, often of special interest: precious stones, stone vessels,[81] natural curiosities,[82] archaeological and paleontological finds, unusual goldsmiths' works,[83] curtains with non-religious themes, objects gained as war booty,[84] pilgrim tokens, free coins, cut gems as well asscrap metal, souvenirs and memorable items[85] from libraries and archives. Some objects of profane origin were adapted for liturgical use or were venerated as relics.[86] What has to be mentioned here is the fact that the number of liturgical objects in large treasures exceeded the amount of necessary liturgical equipment, reflecting the economic power of the patrons and community.

In the European West, ecclesiastical treasuries grew in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in particular as a result of the crusades, which brought relics, precious objects, gems, and fabrics from the Byzantium and the Arabs. The booty following the fourth crusade of 1204 especially flooded Western cathedral treasures with relics and produced the interest in expensive materials, such as ivory or enamel.[87] The thirteenth century thefts and sales of relics established the riches of large Western churches in France, Italy and Germany transforming the sacred topography of Europe.[88] The East, mainly Constantinople, always was a main source of relics and their containers, but with the establishment of the Latin kingdom, the exploitation of this source intensified finally channelling all

[80] See the Appendix II, no. 1 and 2.
[81] Beryll cups in Břevnov, cristal jar in the St. Vitus treasury.
[82] Often adapted for religious use for their rareness (ostrich eggs from the Olomouc cathedral treasury in the function of reliquaries, Vincenc Bradl, "Inventář náčiní, rouch a skvostů velechrámu Olomouckého, sepsaný 24.,25., a 27. března 1413" (Inventory of the treasury of Olomouc cathedral church) *Method* 15 (1889), 127.
[83] Panel with crystal roses from Vyšší Brod.
[84] The examples are from cathedral treasuries (candlestick from Milan in the St. Vitus treasury and the booty from Gniezno cathedral), however weapons and banners as trophies were also given to the treasuries.
[85] The vestments of Master John Hus in Bethlehem Chapel (Appendix II, no. 37). Textile canopy with an eagle in memory of Emperor Charles' IV coronation in Rome (Kadlec, *Codex Thomaeus*, page. 182, p. 370)
[86] Comb of St. Adalbert in the St. Vitus treasury.
[87] Herrmann-Mascard, *Les Reliques*, 281-2.
[88] The East provided most of the relics and riches, see thefts in Geary, *Furta sacra*, 87, and Herrmann-Mascard, *Les Reliques*, 369-372.

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the most important relics to the West.[89] Records of the reception of Eastern relics can be found in contemporary accounts in Italy, France and Germany[90] throughout the Early and High Middle Ages.

3. Research in treasures

3. 1. Scholarship and selected literature

In Western scholarship interest in medieval treasures has had a long tradition.[91] French literature focused, until recently, on royal, Burgundian and Anjou ducal treasuries and libraries.[92] The results of extensive heuristic work were published in the *Dictionnaire d´Archéologie Chrétien et Liturgie*. In Germany, the nineteenth-century positivist tradition and interest in cultural history resulted in large systematic work of Joseph Braun, and the publication of museum collections of the medieval minor arts.[93] In Italy, older studies on the papal treasury, and on the treasury of St. Marco remained basic art history accounts for ecclesiastical riches;[94] another inspiration came recently from Richard Golthwaite's publication on the art market in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[95]

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[89] Bernard Flusin, "Les Reliques de la Sainte-Chapelle et leur passé impérial à Constantinople" in *Le Trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle* ed. Jannic Durand, Marie-Pierre Laffitte, and Dorota Giovannoni (Paris: Musée du Louvre - Réunion des Musées Nationaux, 2001), 38.

[90] Herrmann-Mascard, *Les Reliques*, 371. Jannic Durand, "Le Grand Trésor gotique XIVe et XVe siècles" in *Le Trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle*, 174-6.

[91] 19th century: Charles Rohault de Fleury (*Archéologie chrétienne: les saints de la messe et leur monuments*, 10 vol. (Paris: s.p. 1893-1900)), Victor Gay (*Glossaire archéologique du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance*, 2 vols. (Nendeln, Liechtenstein: Kraus reprint, 1971-74)), Jacques-Albin-Simon Collin de Plancy (series *Les archives ecclésiastique*, vol. 1 (Paris 1865)).

[92] Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaires de Jean Duc de Berry [1401 – 1416]*, vols. 1-2 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1894). Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaire général du mobilier de la couronne sous Louis XIV (1663-1755)* (Paris: Rouam, 1885-6). Germain Bapst, *Testament du roi Jean le Bon et inventaire de ses joyaux à Londres* (Paris: A. Lahure 1881). Alexandre Vidier, *Le Trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle. Inventaire et documents* (Paris: Mémoires de la Société de l'histoire de Paris et de l'Ile-de-France, 1911). Paul Henwood, "Le Trésor Royal sous le Régne de Charles VI (1380 - 1422). Études sur les inventaires, les Orfévres et les principaux artistes du roi" in *École Nationale de Chartres: position des théses* 136 (1978), 91-8. Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, *L'inventaire du trésor du dauphin Charles, futur Charles V, 1363* (Nogent-le-Roi: Laget, 1996).

[93] Joseph Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät* (Munich: Hueber, 1932). Idem, *Die liturgische Gewandung in Occident und Orient* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1907). Idem, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtliche Entwickung*, vols. 1-2, Munich: Alte Meister Guenther Koch & Co., 1924. Idem, *Die Reliquiare des christlichen Kultes und ihre Entwicklung*, Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder, 1940. Fritz Witte, *Die liturgischen Geräte und andere Werke der Metallkunst in der Sammlung Schnütgen Köln* (Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1913). Idem, *Die liturgischen Paramente in Gegenwart und Vergangenheit* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1924). Idem, *Die Pontificalen Gewänder des Abendlandes nach ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*. Stimmen aus Maria-Laach [Ergänzungsband] 19 (Freiburg am Breisgau 1897). Idem, *Die Priestlichen Gewänder des Abendlandes nach ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung*. Stimmen aus Maria-Laach [Ergänzungsband] 18 (Freiburg am Breisgau 1897).

[94] San Marco treasury within the series edited by H. R. Hahnloser, ed. *Il Tesoro di San Marco* (Florence: Sansoni, 1965-1971).

[95] Richard A. Goldwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy, 1300-1600* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University

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Lately, large thematic exhibitions in France and Germany have focussed theattention of Western scholars on the period of the 12th-13th centuries marked by the growth of medieval treasures.[96] A few works also contain studies of the minor arts in the Late Middle Ages.[97] New interest in medieval treasures arose in the 1990s when the Badford inventories in England were edited by the Society of Antiquarians of London[98] and the Journal of the History of Collecting appeared. It was also at this time that French scholars started to publish extensively on the relationship between the relics and treasures. At that time, large compendia were published in Germany together with works on the medieval decoration of churches[99] and its terminology;[100] these, however, do not include Bohemian treasuries.

As a result of this interest, the first general book on medieval treasures was edited by Elisabeth M. Tyler and published by York University.[101] These articles bring together a variety of approaches such as gender, patronage, inheritance, piety, and display of treasures; no wonder that it inspired criticism for the disparate nature of contributions and failure to bring together a more coherent view.[102] The book, unfortunately, leaves the specific features of ecclesiastical treasuries almost completely out of its focus, thus, it is only partially relevant to my study. An internet article by Phillipe George,[103] the

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Press, 1993).

[96] Bernhard Bischoff, and Florentine Mütherich, *Mittelalterliche Schatzverzeichnisse*, vol. 1, *Von der Zeit Karls des Grossen bis zur Mitte des 13. Jhdts* (Munich: Prestel, 1967). Catalogues Anton Legner, ed. *Ornamenta Ecclesiae: Kunst und Künstler der Romanik*, vols. 1-3 (Cologne: Schnütgen Museum, 1985). Blaise de Montesquieu-Fezenzac, and Daniele Gaborit-Chopin, *Le Trésor de Saint-Denis*, 3 vols. (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1973-1977). *Eucharistic vessels of the Middle Ages. Catalogue of an exhibition held at Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University* (Busch-Reisinger Museum of Germanic culture: Garland Publishing, 1975), Ernst G. Grimme, *Der Aachener Domschatz* (Düsseldorf: Schwann, 1972). Since 1990s, there is a new wave of exhibitions and publications of church treasures in France (St. Denis, Ste Chapelle, Bourges), Jannic Durand et Marie-Pierre Laffite, and Dorota Giovanoni, ed. *Le Trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle*, Danielle Gaborit-Chopin, E. Taburet-Delahaye, and M.-C. Bardoz, *Le Trésor de Conques* (exposition Paris Musée du Louvre)(Paris: Monum, Éd. Du Patrimoine, 2001), M.-Madeleine Gauthier, "L'or et l'Église au Moyen Âge"*, Revue de l'Art* 26 (1974), 64-77, and in Germany: eg. Udo Grote, *Der Schatz von St. Viktor. Mittelalterliche Kostbarkeiten aus dem Xantener Dom* (Regensburg: Schnell und Steiner, 1998), and recently Matthias Puhle, and Claus-Peter Hasse, ed. *Heiliges Römisches Reich deutscher Nation 962-1806*. vol. 1: *Von Otto dem Großen bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Dresden: Sandstein, 2006), Harald Meller, and Boje Schmuhl, ed., *Der Heilige Schatz in Dom zu Halberstadt* (Regensburg: Verlag Schnell und Steiner, 2008).

[97] Johann Michael Fritz, *Golschmiedekunst der Gotik in Mitteleuropa* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1982), and a number of German works focusing on regions (summary in Mänd, "Liturgical vessels in medieval Livonia,"), Gérald Taylor, *Silver through the Ages* (Harmondsworth: Peguin Books, 1956).

[98] Jenny Stratford, *The Badford Inventories. The wordly goods of John, duke of Badford, regent of France, 1389-1435* (London: Society of Antiquarians, 1993).

[99] Adolf Reinle, *Austattung deutscher Kirchen in Mittelalter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgeselschaft, 1988). Nick Bock, ed. *Kunst und Liturgie in Mittelalter*.

[100] Rudolf Huber, and Renate Rieth, eds., *Glossarium Artis*, vol. 2. *Kirchengeräte* (Munich: C.H.Beck, 1982).

[101] Elizabeth M. Tyler, ed. *Treasure in the Medieval West* (York: York Medieval Press, 2000).

[102] Maddicott, review of *Treasure in the Medieval West*, 1240-1241.

[103] Philippe George, "Définition et fonction d'un trésor d'église", *Bulletin du Centre d'études médiévales d'Auxerre*, placed on the net 25.10. 2006. URL : http://cem.revues.org/document719.html. Consulted 22.7. 2007.

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book of Tyler and the new collection of articles edited by Elisabeth Vavra, Kornelia Holzner-Tobisch, and Thomas Kühtreiber[104] so far remain the only comprehensive works on various aspects of medieval treasuries, including methodological considerations among the large pool of individual case studies. They are joined by Phillipe Buc who focused on the motivations and contextualisation of donations.[105] In spite of these efforts, current medieval scholars still find it somewhat difficult to tackle the multifaceted nature of the medieval treasury.

As for the Czech literature, relevant information on various Bohemian church treasuries is dispersed in a large number of articles in the secondary literature, but literature contextualising the position of treasures in medieval culture is still missing. The numerous short studies and catalogue entries on preserved objects cannot be named here. Nor can be all recent catalogues of medieval art exhibitions in Czech Republic that include entries on minor arts or textiles.[106]

Some of the most important scholars in the field include the broad interests of Emanuel Poche[107] in medieval applied arts, and numerous studies by Dana Stehlíková, a specialist in medieval and Baroque goldsmithing crafts.[108] In her contribution to the catalogue of *Gotika v západních Čechách* she pointed out the problem of style conservativism and adherence to traditional forms in late medieval goldsmith works in Bohemia; Jiří Fajt, on the other hand, tried to explain this conservatism through the existence of a "bourgeois" style that developed around 1400 and the rise of urban

[104] Elisabeth Vavra, Kornelia Holzner-Tobisch, and Thomas Kühtreiber, eds. *Vom Umgang mit Schätzen: internationaler Kongress Krems an der Donau 28. bis 30. October 2004*, Sitzungsberichte der ÖAW philosophisch-historische Klasse 771, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Realienkunde des Mittelalters und der Frühen Neuzeit 20 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2007).

[105] Buc, "Conversion of Objects," 99-143.

[106] Jiří Fajt, ed., *Magister Theodoricus, dvorní malíř císaře Karla IV. (Magister Theodoricus, court painter of the emperor Charles IV)* (Prague: National Gallery, 1997). Jiří Fajt, ed., *Gotika v západních Čechách (1230-1530) (Gotique in the Western Bohemia)*, vol. 1-3 (Prague: National Gallery, 1995). Jiří Fajt, ed., *Karel IV., císař z Boží milosti (Charles IV. The Emperor in God's Grace)* (Prague: Academia, 2006) (the English (somewhat shortened) version of the catalogue Barbara Drake-Boehm, and Jiří Fajt, eds. *Prague: The Crown of Bohemia* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2005). Kaliopi Chamonikola, ed., *Od Gotiky k Renesanci. Výtvarná kultura Moravy a Slezska 1400 - 1500 (From Gotique to the Renaissance. Visual arts of Moravia and Silesia 1400 - 1500)*, vol. 1-4 (Brno, and Olomouc: Moravská Galerie v Brně, Muzeum umění Olomouc, 1999). Ivo Hlobil, and Ladislav Daniel, ed, *The Last Flowers of the Middle Ages: from Gothic to the Renaissance in Moravia and Silesia* (Olomouc: Muzeum umění, 2000). From the exhibition catalogues outside Czech republic, one has to mention the catalogue Anton Legner, ed., *Die Parler und der Schöne Stil 1350 – 1400. Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgern (1350 – 1400)*, vols. 1-4 (Cologne: Geven and Bechtold, 1978).

[107] Emanuel Poche, "Pražské umělecké řemeslo za Karla IV" (Prague art crafts during Charles IV reign), *Staletá Praha* 9, 1978, 126-46.

[108] Dana Stehlíková, "K českému zlatnictví doby husitské a pohusitské,"(On the Czech goldsmith works of the Hussite and post-Hussite periods) *Umění* 40.4-5 (1992), 301-311. Eadem, „Pražští zlatníci v letech 1400 až 1471" (Prague goldsmiths 1400—1471), *Staletá Praha* 14 (1984), 171—187. Eadem, "Umělecká řemesla" (Arts and Crafts), in: *Od Gotiky k Renesanci. Výtvarná kultura Moravy a Slezska 1400 - 1500*, 539-606.

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culture.[109] Jiří Kuthan and Jan Müller focused mainly on Cistercian treasures.[110] Other scholars have tried to demonstrate the richness of Bohemian pre-Hussite and fifteenth century culture.[111] General cultural history works form substantial foundations for the study of church ornaments in the Middle Ages, although they remain within the limits of overviews of material culture. The leading work of Zikmund Winter, a late-nineteenth-century historian, so far remains unsurpassed. His records and extracts from sources are—in spite of their shortness and almost complete lack of context—a valuable resource because of their notable reliability and first-hand knowledge of resources which today are lost to scholars.[112] Methodological inspiration can be drawn from Karel Chytil's and Joseph Neuwirth's approaches to visual culture and its sources.[113] Josef Petráň presents a detailed and erudite compilation of information from Bohemian medieval sources depicting everyday life.[114] Josef Šimek used a cultural historical approach in his work. Lately, Michal Dragoun applied cultural historical methods on parallel material from Pilsen.[115]

The most important work on the St. Vitus' metropolitan treasury is Podlaha's edition of the inventories published in 1903[116] together with the treasury's history referring to a wide range of other

[109] Dana Stehlíková, "Umělecké řemeslo" (Arts and Crafts), in: Jiří Fajt, ed. *Gotika v západních Čechách (1230-1530). K 700. výročí založení města Plzně (Gothic in Western Bohemia. To 700. years anniversary of founding of Pilsen)*, vol. 2 (Prague: Národní galerie v Praze, 1995-6), 423.

[110] Jiří Kuthan, "Poklady cisterciáckých klášterů v Čechách a na Moravě,"(Treasures of the Cistercian monasteries in Bohemia and Moravia) *Umění* 36 (1988), 127-141. Jan Müller, "K charakteru výtvarné kultury Českého Krumlova v letech 1420-1470" (To art production of Český Krumlov 1420-1470), *Umění* 33 (1985): 520-545.

[111] Hana Soukupová, "Relikviáře z kláštera blahoslavené Anežky v Praze na Františku,"(Reliquaries from the St. Agnes monastery) *Památky a příroda* 7 (1988), 395-400. Jakub Vítovský, "Zlatníci na dvoře Václava II," (Goldsmiths in the court of Wenceslas II) in *Umění 13. století v českých zemích*, ed. Josef Krása, (Prague: ČSAV Ústav teorie a dějin umění, 1983), 475-76.

[112] Zikmund Winter, *Kulturní obraz českých měst: Život veřejný v XV. a XVI. věku* (Cultural image of Bohemian towns in the 15th -16th centuries) vols. 1-2 (Prague: Matice česká, 1890), esp. book 3 on the church equipment, p. 444. Zikmund Winter, *Život církevní v Čechách* (Ecclesiastical life in Bohemia), vols. 1-2 (Prague: Nákladem České akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1895 and 1896).

[113] Karel Chytil, *Malířstvo pražské XV. a XVI. věku a jeho cechovní kniha staroměstská z let 1490-1582* (Prague painting of the 15th and 16th century and its guild book of Old Town of Prague) (Prague: Nákladem České Akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1906). Josef Neuwirth, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Klöster und der Kunstübung Böhmens im Mittelalter" *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* 34 (1896), 92-123, 225-248. Josef Neuwirth, *Geschichte der Bildenden Kunst* (1898).

[114] Josef Petráň et alii, *Dějiny hmotné kultury* (History of material culture), vol. 1.2 (Prague: Státní pedagogické nakladatelství, 1985).

[115] Josef Šimek, *Kutná Hora v 15. a 16. století. Řada obrazů, pojednání a črt z kulturních a politických dějin kutnohorských* (Kutná Hora in the 15th and 16th century. Images and sketeches from the cultural and political history of Kutná Hora) (Kutná Hora: Josef Šolc, 1907), 54-5. For a number of works with cultural history interests on local churches (E. Leminger, A. Neumann, B. Bretholz, K. Navrátil, C. von Bienenberg, and others) see the bibliography. See also Michal Dragoun, "Vybavení kostela sv. Bartoloměje v Plzni" (Equipment of the church of St. Bartoloměj in Pilsen), *Kuděj* 1(1999), 3-13.

[116] Antonín Podlaha, and Eduard Šittler, *Chrámový poklad u sv. Víta v Praze. Jeho dějiny a popis (Cathedral treasure of St. Vitus in Prague, its history and description* (Prague: Nákladem Dědictví sv. Prokopa, 1903), text 3-111. (hereafter

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sources. The work comprises editions of twenty-two inventories predating 1620, editions of two orders of the *ostensiones* of relics from the treasury, and accounts of important donations to the treasury. It is a unique resource—albeit now out of date—and it follows the history of the treasury from the fourteenth to the nineteenth centuries inventory by inventory. A long-awaited attempt to produce a new evaluation of the St. Vitus treasury conducted by the Institute of Art History of the Academy of Sciences around 1990 unfortunately remained unfinished.[117]

Podlaha's work on the St. Vitus treasury focussed the attention of scholars on a new topic – the way Charles IV collected relics. A number of studies have been written since Vojtěch Birnbaum´s first study on this topic.[118] Rudolf Chadraba, Karel Stejskal, Zdeněk Kalista and Jaroslav V. Polc[119] looked at the forms of devotion, the evolution of the iconography, and coveal cultural policy.[120] Recently, Karel Otavský, and Kateřina Kubínová published texts on Charles' relics,[121] especially on the way they were displayed in Prague.[122] Their findings have been complemented by a recent dissertation mapping Prague's religious topography and parochial life in the context of royal policy,[123] and by the articles of Paul Crossley.[124] Both authors have provided fresh methodological support for the study of the medieval treasury in Bohemia.

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[117] Only a little part was published, e.g., Anežka Merhautová, "Relikviář sv. Mikuláše" (Reliquary of St. Nicolas), *Umění* 38 (1990), 281-290.

[118] Vojtěch Birnbaum, "Karel IV jako sběratel a Praha" (Charles IV as a collector and Prague), in *Listy z dějin umění*, ed. A. Birnbaumová (Prague 1947), 146-156.

[119] Rudolf Chadraba, "Tradice druhého Konstantina a řecko-perská antiteze v umění Karla IV" (Tradition of second Constantine and the Greek-Persian antithesis in the art of Charles IV) *Umění* 16 (1968), 567-603, and his "Kaiser Karls IV *devotio antiqua*," *Medievalia Bohemica* 1 (1969), 51-68. Karel Stejskal, "Karel jako sběratel" (Charles as a collector) in *Karolus Quartus*, ed. Václav Vaněček (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1984), 455-467. Jaroslav V. Polc, "Vášeň Karla IV. po ostatcích svatých" (Passion of Charles IV for the relics of saints) in *Otec vlasti 1316-1378* (Rome: Křesťanská akademie, 1980), 55-79. Pavel Černý, "Karel IV. a některé zvláštnosti mariánské ikonografie" (Charles IV and iconography pecularities) in *Otec vlasti, 1316-1378* (Rome: Křesťanská akademie, 1980), 81-117. Jaromír Homolka, *Studie k počátkům umění krásného slohu v Čechách* (Study to the beginnings of the Beatiful Style)(Prague: Karolinum, 1974).

[120] On art and policy also Iva Rosario, *Art and propaganda. Charles IV of Bohemia (1346 – 1378)* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000). The author's good knowledge of Czech literature makes this into a good introduction to the topic in English.

[121] Karel Otavský, *Die Sankt Wenzelskrone im Prager Domschatz und die Frage der Kunstauffassung am Hofe Kaiser Karls IV* Europäische Hochschulschriften 28. Kunstgeschichte (Bern: Peter Lang, 1992). Kateřina Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae. Karel IV. a Řím* (Imitatio Romae. Charles IV and Rome) (Prague: Artefactum 2006).

[122] Karel Otavský, "Das Mosaik am Prager Burg und Drei Reliquiare in Prag und Wien: Karls IV. Kunstaufträge aus seiner Spätzeit" in *Künstlerische Wechselwirkungen in Mitteleuropa*, ed. Jiří Fajt and Markus Hörsch, (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 2006), 53-72. Karel Otavský, "Kult nástrojů Kristova umučení za Karla IV a karlštejnská látka s anděly," (The Cult of *arma Christi* under Charles IV and Karlštejn textile with angels) in *Emauzy. Benediktinský klášter Na Slovanech v srdci Prahy*, ed. Klára Benešovská, and Kateřina Kubínová (Prague: Academia, 2007), 61-76.

[123] David Mengel, "Bones, Stones and Brothels: Religion and Topography in Prague under Emperor Charles IV (1346-78)" (PhD. Disseration, University of Notre Dame, Indiana, 2003).

[124] Paul Crossley, "Bohemia Sacra" and "Polonia Sacra": liturgy and history in in Prague and Cracow cathedrals" *Folia Historiae Artium* 7 (2002), 49-69. Idem, "Bohemia sacra: Liturgy and History in Prague Cathedral", in: *Pierre, lumière,*

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It has only been recently that the attention of a young generation of scholars has turned to religious practices in Bohemia in the Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Era. Important results have come from broad-based studies on Central European space.[125] Several new *statutes* were published as well as a thematic volume on church administration.[126] Reformation amendments to religious practices in Bohemia were rehabilitated in a series of *colloquia* on the Bohemian Reformation[127] published since 1996.

Remaining *desiderata* of medieval scholarship in Bohemia include detailed studies on liturgical and cult practices, both Catholic[128] and Protestant,[129] on the Protestant church administration and account books and on interpretations of cultural policies of powerful personalities (e.g., Wenceslaus IV). Liturgical sources are largely undervalued as well; lately, Kubínová successfully used Prague martyrology in her study on Charles IV and Rome.[130] A new, more detailed evaluation of Hussite destruction of treasuries would certainly bring interesting results as well.[131]

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couleur: Études d'histoire de l'art du Moyen Âge en l'honneur d'Anne Prache, ed. Fabienne Joubert, and Dany Sandron (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1999), 341-65. Idem, "The Politics of Presentation: The Architecture of Charles IV of Bohemia" in: *Courts and regions in Medieval Europe*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones, Richard Marks, and A. J. Minnis (York: York Medieval Press, 2000), 99-172.

[125] Europäische Wallfahrtstudien (esp. Daniel Doležal, and Hartmut Kühne, eds. *Wallfahrten in europäischen Kultur/Pilgrimages in European Culture*, Europäische Wallfahrtsstudien 1 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006); Jan Hrdina, and Hartmut Kühne, eds. *Wallfahrt und Reformation—Pouť a reformace: Zur Veränderung religiöser Praxis in Deutschland und Böhmen in den Umbrüchen der frühen Neuzeit*, Europäische Wallfahrtsstudien 2 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2006); Colloquia Medievalia Pragensia (esp. Martin Nodl, ed. *Colloquia Medievalia Pragensia* 6. *Zbožnost středověku* (Piety of the Middle Ages), (Prague: CMS, 2007)) and Milena Bartlová, and Michal Šroněk eds., *Public Communication in European Reformation. Artistic and Other Media in Central Europe 1380-1620* (Prague: Artefactum, 2007).

[126] Ivan Hlaváček, and Jan Hrdina, eds. *Církevní správa a její písemnosti na přelomu středověku a novověku* (Church administration and its charters on the turn of the Middle Ages and Modern Era), Acta Universitatis Carolinae—Philosophica et Historica 2 (1999) (Prague: Karolinum, 2003). Pavel Krafl, *Synody a statuta olomoucké diecéze období středověku* (Synods and statutes of Olomouc diocese in the Middle Ages) (Prague: Historický Ústav, 2003). Jaroslav V. Polc, and Zdeňka Hledíková, *Pražské synody a koncily předhusitské doby* (Prague synods and councils in the pre-Hussite times) (Prague: Karolinum, 2002). Blanka Zilynská, "Záduší" (Donationfor the soul) in *Facta probant homines* (Festschrift Z. Hledíková), ed. Ivan Hlaváček, and Jan Hrdina (Prague: Scriptorium, 1998), 535-547. Blanka Zilynská, *Husitské synody v Čechách1418 - 1440* (Hussite Synods in Bohemia 1418-1440) (Prague: Univerzita Karlova, 1985). Ivan Hlaváček, *Středověké soupisy knih a knihoven v době předhusitské* (Medieval inventories of books and libraries before the Hussites), Acta Universitatis Carolinae –Philosophica et Historica , Monographia 9 -1965 (Prague: Univerzita Karlova 1966).

[127] Bohemian Reformation Series of the biennial Villa Lanna *colloquia* (Zdeněk David, and David Holeton, eds. *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, appearing since 1996; volumes 1, 2, 3, 6 and 7, henceforth BRRP).

[128] Polc, "Vášeň Karla IV.", 55-79, Jaroslav V. Polc, "Kapitoly z církevního života Čech podle předhusitského zákonodárství" (Chapters from the Church life of Bohemia following the pre-Hussite legislation) in *Pražské arcibiskupství, 1344-1994*, ed. Jaroslav V. Polc, and Zdenka Hledíková (Prague: Zvon, 1994), 30-57.

[129] The work of Augustin Neumann, *Z dějin bohoslužeb v době husitské* (From the History of Liturgy in the Hussite times) (Hradec Králové: Tiskové družstvo, 1922), or *Církevní jmění za doby husitské se zřetelem k Moravě* (Olomouc: Našinec, 1920) cannot be fully trusted because of its manipulative use of the sources.

[130] Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*. Liturgical sources for the basilica of St. Vitus, Kubková-Maříková, and Eben, "Organizace liturgického prostoru v bazilice sv. Víta," 227-240.

[131] As a beginning of this new interest, see Milena Bartlová, "Understanding Hussite iconoclasm," (forthcoming). I am

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3. 2 Bohemian sources for medieval treasuries

Although medieval monastic and cathedral treasures in Bohemia contained many dozens, even hundreds of items,[132] objects surviving from the medieval treasures are scarce. Stehlíková assumes that only 2-3% of objects from church treasuries survived down to our time;[133] I would put the number even lower, at about 1 %. Less than the virulent time of the Hussite wars, it was 1. the re-working of old objects, 2. changes in attitudes to medieval treasuries, and their pragmatic economic use (often for financing new building and restoration of the chuches), 3. the confessional conflict of the seventeen century, and mainly (4.) the state fiscal collapse after the Napoleonic wars that are responsible for these unfortunate results. Loss of treasury jewels in the fifteenth century is related more to restoration and re-building works on the churches then to direct losses through Hussite (or any other party's) plundering.[134] Virtually unreflected in the literature is the Catholic destruction of Utraquist church treasuries known only from mentions in seventeenth-century town sources – a situation resulting from re-Catholisation pressure after the Battle of White Mountain. For example, in the symbolic act of submission, in Chrudim[135] the town council, upon Catholic deacon's demand for "heretic vessels", melted its Utraquist church silverware to make a new large "Catholic" monstrance, preserved even today, as a symbol of its departure from its Protestant past.

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indebted to the author for letting me have the pre-publication manuscript.

[132] The inventory of 1413 of Cathedral in Olomouc coontained almost one hundred pieces of jewellry (Miroslav Flodr, "Exkurs 1. Olomoucká kapitulní knihovna a její inventáře na počátku 15. stol." (Excurs 1. Olomouc chapter library and its inventories at the beginning of the 15.c.) in *Scriptorium Olomoucké. K počátkům písařské tvorby v českých zemích*. Spisy Univerzity v Brně—Filosofická fakulta 67 (Prague: SPN, 1960), 164, the following inventory of 1430 shows a decrease of this number!), similarly as in the Augustinian church of St. Thomas in Prague. St. Vitus treasury contains several hundred relics.

[133] Dana Stehlíková, "K českému zlatnictví doby husitské a pohusitské" (On Czech goldsmith art of Hussite and post-Hussite time) *Umění* 40.4-5 (1992), 301-311. eadem, "Pražští zlatníci v letech 1400 až 1471," (Prague goldsmiths 1400—1471) *Staletá Praha* 14 (1984), 171—187. Situation in Bohemia is particularily bad when compared to, for example, Germany, where the state of preservation of medieval objects is better (Achim Hubel, and Manfred Schuler, *Der Dom zu Regensburg. Vom Bauen und Gestalten einer gotishen Kathedrale* (Regensburg: Friedrich Pustet, 1995), 10).

[134] Appendix II, no. 35—chalices of treasury in Kájov sold by its Catholic priest for the restoration of the church, Valentin Schmidt, "Ein Gojauer Pfarrinventar aus dem Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* (MVGDB) 44, (1906), 193.

[135] Antonin Fr. Rybička, "Seznamy klenotů a úročních platů děkanského chrámu Páně v Chrudimi v druhé polovici XV. a na začátku XVI. století" (The lists of jewels and rents of the deaconate church in Chrudim in the sec. half of the 15th century and beg. of the 16th century), *Věstník královské české společnosti nauk* (1895), 2, ftnote 2. The silver monstrance is 1.6 m high (Karel Chytil, *Soupis památek historických a uměleckých v království Českém od pravěku do počátku XIX. století* (Description of historical and art monuments in the kingdom of Bohemia from prehistory to the beginning of the 19th century), vol. 11. *Politický okres chrudimský* (Political district of Chrudim) (Praha: Nákladem archeologické komise při České akademii císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1900).

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Visual representations of the objects in the treasures are also relatively rare in Bohemia, and their rendering often does not reflect their original design or function. Most of them are found in the representations of the liturgy (eg. Jena Codex), in memorial donations scenes (Karlštejn), in illustrations of moralist texts (Velislav Bible) or designs of the interior of the churches in the sixteenth century (Utraquist gradual of St. Nicholas in Prague). An exceptional case corresponding with similar representations in the West is a print depicting the St. Vitus treasury.[136]

Written evidence on treasures is, on the other hand, more substantial. For reconstructing medieval treasures, the testimony of written records of treasures—the inventories may be relied on. It is rather surprising how little attention was paid to medieval church treasures in Central Europe beyond actual editions. The researchers focused mostly on the treasures' content, and often only on single items or documents. A boader narrative on the treasures, respecting a variety of aspects and functions, is still needed, as well as an evaluation of specific sources, e.g., church registers.

I used a wide pool of narrative, diplomatic and administrative sources mainly from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, among them inventories, registers, and—to a lesser extent—chronicles, charters, statutes, and manuscripts as well. I employed both published and unpublished sources; I edited several of the unpublished sources and attached them in Apendix II, where I have compiled a list of inventories of Bohemian medieval church treasures. Unavoidably, given the broad scale of the research, a need arose to be selective in reading the sources. I only summarised the main facts known from the chronicles for the period before the mid-fourteenth century because in Bohemia there are only two inventories known from the early period of the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.[137]

When reviewing the sources on the later period, I encountered a strong disproportion of chronology and content-related texts. I had a good account on the growth and use of (mainly monastic) treasures from the reign of Charles IV, as well as a collection of administrative sources under Wenceslaus IV. On the other hand, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are covered by an entirely different kind of source material (town registers, church registers, and fragmentory inventories). The state of preservation shifts the focus of attention to the town parish churches and regions outside Prague. Access to the sources from this period is worse, and they are comparatively rare given the growing number of charters and sources generally found in this period. Throughout this dissertation,

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[136] Michal Šroněk, "Karel IV, Jan Rokycana a šlojíř nejistý" (Charles IV, Jan Rokycana and the "uncertain veil") in Martin Nodl, ed., *Zbožnost středověku* (Piety in the Middle Ages), Colloquia Medievala Pragensia 6 (Prague: CMS, 2007), 110.
[137] Appendix I, no. 1, and Appendix II, no. 18.

the reader must keep in mind the chronological and geographical disparities in the coverage of information, which left a significant mark on the testimony of the sources.

Church inventories

Tomáš Sekyrka,[138] in his work on pre-Hussite inventories of Prague churches, defines an inventory of a treasury as a, more or less, complete and detailed list of objects related directly or indirectly to God's service, i.e. a property of a church, chapter or cloister, which is written down to serve the internal needs of the church. This definition omits objects donated for representational, curiosity and memorial purposes, and therefore covers only one part—albeit the most typical part—of the objects in the treasury. Also, the inventories were often written for various institutions (the Church authorities, the town council) and a variety of purposes (representational and memorial, visitation, property evidence, economic value and administration).

In Bohemia, the editions of the inventories of treasures are mostly the result of a nineteenth-century interest in culture history. Less has been published on church inventories after WWI, and post-WWII editions are exceptional; if such inventories are edited, then only within the framework of lists of books.[139] Until very recently, the interest in inventories among scholars was surprisingly low; the editions were mostly used to identify objects in the treasury. The first signs of a new approach to the study of treasures appeared around 2000. New evaluations and questions concentrate on the Emperor Charles IV's collection of relics and St. Vitus treasury.[140] From the perspective of the later development, Zilynská called for editions and evaluations of the least-studied inventories, written down in the town and church registers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[141]

Church inventories are the most important source of information about medieval church treasuries. In the area of the Holy Roman Empire, such inventories appeared as early as the eleventh to

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[138] Tomáš Sekyrka, Inventáře kostelních pokladů v předhusitské Praze (Inventories of church treasures in pre-Hussite Prague) (MA thesis, Prague Charles University 1991), 10.
[139] Editions of the lists of books: Ivan Hlaváček, *Středověké soupisy knih a knihoven v době předhusitské (Medieval lists of books and libraries in the pre-Hussite times)* Acta Universitatis Carolinae - Philosophica et Historica Monographia 9 (1965) (Prague: Universita Karlova 1966). Flodr, "Exkurs 1. Olomoucká kapitulní knihovna a její inventáře na počátku 15. stol.", 162-182.
[140] Otavský, "Kult nástrojů"; *Die Sankt Wenzelskrone*; "Reliquien in Besitz Kaiser Karls IV, ihre Verehrung und ihre Fassungen," 129-141, and Otavský's articles in Jiří Fajt, ed. *Karel IV. Císař z Boží milosti* (Prague: Academia, 2006). Jana Kroupová, and Pavel Kroupa, "On the question of depositing the Sacramentalia of the Holy Roman Empire in Bohemia," 142-155, both in: *Court Chapels of the High and Late Middle Ages and their artistic decoration*, ed. Jiří Fajt (Prague: National Gallery in Prague: 2003).
[141] Zilynská, "Záduší", 535-547. Blanka Zilynská, "Utrakvistická církevní správa a možnosti jejího studia" (Utraquist church administration and its future study) in *Církevní správa a její písemnosti na přelomu středověku a novověku*, 49-52.

the twelfth centuries; recently, however, doubt has been cast on the earliest of Bohemian inventories, dating to this period (around 1130).[142] The next inventory from Bohemia dates as late as the second half of the thirteenth century, and more were probably written in Bohemia in the first half of the fourteenth century, although few of these survived.[143] On the other hand, Bohemia offers a crucial collection of inventories from the metropolitan treasury of the cathedral of St. Vitus from the second half of the fourteenth throughout the sixteenth centuries, and further.[144] Three important inventories come also from the cathedral of St. Wenceslaus in Olomouc. We then possess important inventories of monastic and parish churches for the time around 1400 and again for the time around and after 1500—this time, however, the inventories come from either Utraquist or Catholic town parish churches. No critical catalogue has been written about the treasury inventories; there is only a catalogue of medieval libraries, including the lists of books inventoried in the treasury inventory.[145] The obligation to inventorize church movables was given in the church synodal or metropolitan statutes,[146] where the protection of the church belongings was also ordered.[147]

The format and written material of inventories vary; they may be written on parchment or paper in booklets (**Pl. 1., St. Vitus inventory of 1355**), separate charters (**Pl. 2., St. Wenceslaus in Olomouc**) or as parts of manuscripts, church or town registers (**Pl. 3, Utraquist inventory of Chrudim**), or inscribed on the inner side of a missal binding. Their information value also varies—some inventories provide only the names of objects, some include materials employed, donors or even the monetary value of the objects.[148]

A substantial number of inventories or fragments of them were published in the late nineteenth century.[149] Isolated inventories were published in regional publications,[150] and mentions were

[142] Hlaváček, *Středověké soupisy knih a knihoven*, no. 76, 56. Appendix I.
[143] Hlaváček, *Středověké soupisy knih a knihoven*, 122: Mělník (1276-7), no. 63; Břevnov (1296-1306) no. 6; cloister of Augustinian Hermits in Sušice (cca 1340) no. 172; Louny (cca 1348), no. 61.
[144] CPSVP, III-LX.
[145] Hlaváček, *Středověké soupisy knih a knihoven*, 11, and 122.
[146] Article *De inventariis* in Antonín Podlaha, ed. *Statuta Metropolitanae ecclesiae Pragensis anno 1350 consripta*, Editiones Archivii et Bibliothecae s.f. metropolitani capituli Pragensis (Pragae 1905), 22.
[147] Polc, and Hledíková, *Pražské synody*, Krafl, *Synody a statuta Olomoucké diecéze*.
[148] Sekyrka, *Inventáře*, 11-12, Vlk, *Umělecké řemeslo*, 45-7.
[149] V. V. Tomek, and J. Teige published inventories of Prague churches in their monumental work on Prague (Wáclaw Wladivoj Tomek, *Dějepis města Prahy* (History of Prague), vol. 1 *Staré město* (Prague 1866), vol. 2 *Nowé město* (Prague 1870), vol. 3 *Malá Strana* (vol. 4 *Hrad Pražský a Hradčany*, vol. 5 *Vyšehrad*), (Prague: F. Řivnáč, 1872), Josef Teige, *Základy starého místopisu pražského* (Old topography of Prague), vol. 1.2 (Prague: Nákladem obce král. hl. města Prahy, 1915)). Gregor Wolny edited important Moravian inventories (Gregor Wolný. "Inventarium der Olmützer Domkirche vom Jahre 1435, oder Verzeichniss aller Kostbarkeiten derselben in Gold und Silber, Reliquien von Heiligen, Bücher, Mess und Chorgewänder u.a.m." *Oesterreichische Geschichtsquellen III. Notizenblatt 2 - Beilage zum Archiv für österreichische Geschichtsquellen Heft* 10 (1852), 140-151, *Heft* 11 (1852), 168—172, *Heft* 15 (1852), 225-231. Gregor Wolny,

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extracted from the entries in town registers for monographs on churches and towns. Others were published in a large collection of Church administrative sources, in collections of sources on Prague history, and in historical monographs.[151] For more than a century, the edition of the St. Vitus' inventories by Antonín Podlaha from 1903 represented a rich resources for medievalists,[152] important for the study of reliquaries, liturgical objects, and applied arts in Bohemia under Charles IV and later. It consisted of a historical description of the St. Vitus treasury and the transcription of inventories from 1354 on.[153]

Kirchliche Topographie von Mähren meist nach Urkunden und Handschriften, vol. 1.1 *Olmützer Erzdiocese* (Brno: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1855), 268, footnote 2.). Substantial report on inventories has F. Lehner (Ferdinand Josef Lehner, *Dějiny umění národa českého* (Art history of Czech nation), vol. 1.3 Doba románská (Prague: Unie, 1907). In the late nineteenth century, three important accounts were published in the charter editions: the jewels of the Cistercian monastery of Zlatá Koruna, the treasury in Vyšší Brod Cistercian monastery under patronage of the Rosenberg's, and the list of relics from various Prague churches given to Andreas (Ondřej of Paběnice?) before 1330 (Joseph Emler ed. *Testimonium de reliquiis*.., no. 1722, year 1330, 672- 673, in *Regesta Diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae*, *pars 3 Annorum 1311-1333 Opera Josephi Emler* (Prague 1890), cf. Appendix I, no. 2. Matthias Pangerl. *Urkundenbuch des ehemaligen Cisterzienserstiftes Goldenkron in Böhmen*, Fontes Rerum Austriacarum 2. Diplomataria et Acta, vol. 37 (Vienna 1872)).
The selective list of editions of medieval treasures follows: Fr. J. Zoubek, "Bývalé klenoty kostela sv. Havla v Praze" (Former jewels of St. Gallus in Prague), *Method* 9 (1883), 1-4, 7-9, 115-117. Antonín Baum, "Inventář Krumlovský" (Inventory from Krumlov) *Method* 4 (1878), 10-11, 23-24, 43-44, 70. Vincenc Brandl, "Inventář náčiní kostelního, rouch, skvostů a knih velechrámu olomouckého" (Inventory of church equipment, textiles, jewels and books of Olomouc cathedral), *Method* 15 (1889), 115-117, 127-129, *Method* 16 (1890),7-9. Valentin Schmidt, "Ein Gojauer Pfarrinventar aus dem Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts", *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* 44 (1906), 193. František Lipka, "Starší inventář kostelní v Boskovicích" (Old inventory of the church in Boskovice) *Památky archeologické a místopisné* 20 (1903), 551-556, mainly 551-554. František Mareš, "Materiálie k dějinám uměleckého průmyslu a podobným" (Material to history of art crafts and similar) *Památky archeologické* 16 (1893-5), 297-302. Karel Vladislav Zap, "Týnský chrám, hlavní farní kostel Starého města pražského" (Tyne church, main parish church of Olt Town Prague), *Památky archeologické a místopisné* 1 (1855), 109, Karel B. Mádl, "Nádobí a roucha kostelů kutnohorských r. 1516" (Vessels and textiles of Kutná Hora churches), *Památky Archeologické* 17 (1896), 3-329. Ferdinand Tadra, "Listy kláštera zbraslavského" (Charters of Zbraslav monastery), Historický Archiv 23, 240, no. 187. Rybička, "Seznamy klenotů a úročních platů děkanského chrámu Páně v Chrudimi v druhé polovině XV. a na začátku XVI. století," 1-4.

[150] Eg. Carl Josef von Bienenberg, *Geschichte der Stadt Königsgratz*, vol. 1 (Prague: Franz Gerzabek, 1780). 239, Raimund M. Kobza, *Kleinodienverzeichnis der St. Niklaskirche in Znaim im Jahre 1524.* Beilage zum Bericht des Staats-Reform-Realgymnasium mit deutsche Unterrichtsprache im Znaim (Znojmo: F.M.Lenk, 1928).

[151] An important pre-Hussite inventory from the Prague parish church of St. Gallus was included in the Klement Borový, *Libri erectionum archidiocesis Pragensis saeculo XIV. et XV*, vol. 4, 1, no. 256 (henceforth LE). Teige, *Základy starého místopisu pražského (1437-1620)*, vol. 1.2, 97, no. 12, 13, 23. Ferdinand Hrejsa, *Betlémská kaple. O jejích dějinách a zachovaných zbytcích (Betlehem Chapel. On its history and preserved pieces)* (Prague: Společnost Husova musea, 1922), 37.

[152] Podlaha, *Chrámový poklad*, III-LX.

[153] Twenty-two inventories predating 1526, now partly (14th and 16th centuries) in the Metropolitan Chapter archive in the Prague Castle Archives (APH, KA sign. 260/1-7, text-fiche inv. no. 5187, originals are ink on parchment or paper in a booklet format, not accessible for study), and in the National Archive (15th century). The oldest is of 1354 and the latest pre-White mountain inventory is that of 1512. Since 1512, manuscript AMK KA Cod. XXIV (with revisions). The 16th and early 17th century inventories are not edited, Podlaha includes only single quotes, mainly the losses under the Winter king Friedrich of the Palatine in 1619-1620. The editions contains also inventories after 1620 (1649 and after), which are beyond the time-span of this work.

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In the twentieth century few new inventories were brought to light from the archives; they appear mainly in the context of larger, broadly focused monographs.[154] An overview of the development of the books and libraries kept in the churches in Bohemia is provided by Hlaváček's catalogue from the 1960s.[155] More was promised by two Prague MA theses by Tomáš Sekyrka on Prague pre-Hussite inventories and Miloslav Vlk on the seventeenth – eighteenth centuries Tyne church inventories, but both, unfortunately, remain unpublished.[156] New contributions on research on inventories are rather minor and did not advance much beyond the achievement of those turn of the century authors.

There are several problems in the study of inventories. First is the traditional form of archival cataloguing which complicates selection of the inventories from a large pool of material. Another problem of the study of inventories is the diversity of the formats they appear in as well as their fragmentory nature that complicates identification of the sources in the catalogues. Fragmentory and complicated paleography may also cause problems for readers. And finally, researchers must keep in mind that a large proportion of church equipment, as well as ornaments is often not recorded in the inventory. These are objects kept in the interior of the church, at the altars, in the cupboards next to the altars or in the chapels adjacent to an altar—next to liturgical books and vessels in additon to sculptures, images, altar ornaments, the Eucharist vessels, pulpits, baptismal fonts, chancels, lamps, benches, hangings, and altar covers and curtains.[157]

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[154] Such is the edition of the inventories of St. Thomas in Prague in the edition of *Codex Thommaeus* and the inventories in the registers of Teutonic knights Order. Jaroslav Kadlec, ed. *Codex Thomaeus. Das Augustinerkloster Sankt Thomas in Prag* (Würzburg: Augustiner Verlag 1985). Hereafter *Codex Thomaeus.* Josef Hemmerle, ed. *Die Deutschordens-Ballei Böhmen in ihren Rechnungsbücher 1382-1411*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 22 (Bonn: Verl. Wiss. Archiv 1967).

[155] Ivan Hlaváček, *Středověké soupisy knih a knihoven*.

[156] Sekyrka, "Inventáře". Vlk, "Umělecké řemeslo"(with edition of inventories of the 17-18th centuries). Sekyrka collected eighteen pre-1420 inventories of Prague churches, including a series of thirteen relevant inventories of St. Vitus (the remaining inventories are the collegiate church of the St. Peter and Paul in Vyšehrad, the Benedictine Abbey of St. Benedikt, Bonifacius and Alexius in Břevnov, monastery of the Augustinians Hermits, the church of St. Thomas in the Minor Town of Prague, the church of the Virgin Mary of the Carthusian monastery in Újezd, and the parish church of St. Gallus); except the St. Peter and Paul, Vyšehrad, and the Virgin Mary of the Carthusian monastery all inventories have been previously published. As his work is not easily accessible, it may be helpful to review here its content. The work follows the sources, type of objects, formation of treasures, handling the objects and the fate of treasures. The fifth part is a catalogue of the sources. In his introduction, Sekyrka points out main problems of the study of medieval inventories in Bohemia (eg. insufficient catalogue data, which complicate the search). His compilation is erudite; however, remains focused strictly on archival material that does not reach any historical, art historical or cultural history interpretation

[157] In addition, objects such as organs and bells, used in the material culture of the church may also be found in inventories.Such goods were part of the standard equipment of a local parish church in the fifteenth century - not typically a part of the treasury. Curtains and banners of guilds and brotherhoods,were used todecorate the church interior and carried in the processions together with monstrances and other objects. Canopies, lights, and images are listed in these inventoriesas well. These objects di not regularly form parts of treasuries, although if they were stored in the treasury

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Town and Church Registra

The study of church matters based on research in preserved town books and registers considerably lags behind. As the Bohemian town books do not contain any recent catalogues with up-to-date locations and their editions are rather rare, church registers have not yet been sufficiently exploited by the scholars.[158]

The first entries on church treasuries emerge among legal transactions: an inventory of church objects probably used as a financial resource was compiled in 1348-1350 in the Judicial book of Louny.[159] The number of preserved town registers that contain business matters including testaments and church donations (Znojmo, Jičín, Žlutice, Ústí and Labem, Chrudim) increased after the 1420s.[160] Specialised registers of church donations (a book of donations for the soul—*záduší, zádušní kniha*, Book of Sacristans) were written by lay custodians (Jičín, Tábor, Uherské Hradiště, St. Nicolaus in Prague) in the second half of the fifteenth and in the sixteenth centuries. They comprise all matters relevant to parish economy, including private donations, inventories of treasures, incomes and expenditures, as well as practical details on parish life, such as exchanges of stalls and provisions for candles.

I use church registers in the fifth chapter and included inventories from some of them in Apendix II. Among them, the Book of Sacristans of St. Nicholaus church in Prague Old Town (no. 36), begun in 1497, serves as an example of new developments in treasury administration.[161] I have also included editions of the inventories from the registers in Chrudim (no. 34) and Vodňany (no. 35); all the churches mentioned were Utraquist at the time of the inventory compilations.

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room, they might have been inventoried. Hurdles for coffins, figures of donkeys for Palm Sunday, the Holy Grave, the Crucifix or the Resurrected Christ for Easter Sunday were also likely to have been stored in the sacristy or aumbry, although these goods are rarely mentioned in the sources in general (see *Liber ordinarius* NK Cod. IV D 9, 13r, 15v) and to my knowledge, they do not occur in Bohemian inventories. No mention is made where they might have been kept; the same is true for costumes for liturgical dramas, although the breviary describes an enacted dialogue between women and the angel in the *sepulcrum* on one Easter Saturday, f. 16r). Nor does temporary decoration appear in the inventories (flowers, ears of wheat and wine runners).

[158] For Louny, St. Nicolas in Old Town Prague, and Vodňany see Appendix II (nos. 34-36). Only few editions of Sacristan Books are available (Tábor, and Jičín).

[159] Appendix II, no. 20.

[160] For overview of registers and town books, see Rostislav Nový, *Městské knihy v Čechách a na Moravě 1310 – 1526 (Town registra in Bohemia and Moravia)*. Acta Universitatis Carolinae Philosophica et Historica 4 (Prague: SPN 1963).

[161] Book of sacristans (Book of *záduší*) of St. Nicolaus, Archive of the city of Prague, no. 1665 sv. 551 (microfiche). It covers period of 1497 to 1550s.

Church donations are also included in testaments[162] , documents that represent a specific type of source on church treasures. In the pre-Hussite period, only a small portion of the testaments mention liturgical objects; however, the situation is different for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries when a large part of the testaments were included in the *Testamentsbücher* and became a regular part of the *záduší* (sacristans) economy. I tried to use them but the information they offered was too limited and focused rather on the social position of the donors to provide a broader view on the treasury as a whole. However, in the future, comparative and statistical methods should reveal more about tendencies in pious lay donations in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In this sense, the study of B. Zilynskij on the confessional balance of church endowments in the Hussite Prague is revealing.[163]

A unique source on the dispersion of rare pieces from the metropolitan and monastic treasuries has been edited by Pelikán—the Karlštejn accounts.[164] Shortly after a significant part of the metropolitan treasury was used to pay Sigismund's mercenaries in 1420, Karlštejn defenders against the Hussites under the Burgrave Zdislav Tluksa z Buřenic in 1423-1434 started to sell jewellry from the treasuries, kept safe in Karlštejn. This allowed the soldiers to hold the castle for several years. The motivations of the deed under what was apparently a strangely mild Hussite siege look rather ambivalent; however, these accounts at least provide us with an excellent source on some of the most precious pieces from the metropolitan St. Vitus, and several monastic Bohemian treasures of the time. It epitomises the fate of many other monastic treasures, which fell victim directly or indirectly, to the

[162] The subject became the focus of several recent studies by J. Klassen, T. Borovský, B. Zilynskij, B. Zilynská, T. Krzenck, and K. Hrubá-Neudertová: Zilynská, "Záduší", 535-547, Michala Hrubá-Neudertová, *"Nedávej statku žádnému, dokud duše v těle." Pozůstalostní praxe a agenda královských měst severozápadních Čech v předbělohorské době* (Testament practice of royal towns of Northern Bohemia) (Ústí nad Labem: Univerzita Jana Evangelisty Purkyně, 2002), Thomas Krzenck, "Böhmische Testamente aus der Hussitenzeit" *Bohemia* 34.1 (1993), 7-28, and his "Böhmische Bürgertestamente des 15. Jh. Das Beispiel der Prager-Neustadt" in *Husitství—Reformace—Renesance. Sborník k 60. narozeninám Františka Šmahela*, vol. 2 (Prague: Historický ústav AVČR, 1994), 627-648, Tomáš Borovský, "Odkazy brněnských měšťanů církevním institucím 1410—1530 (Testaments of Brno burghers to the Church institutions)" *Sborník prací filosofické fakulty Brněnské university, Studia minora facultatis phlosophiae Universitatis Brunensis C 46, Studia historica Brunensia* (1999), 79-96.
John Klassen, "Gifts for the Soul and Social Charity in Late Medieval Bohemia," in *Materielle Kultur und Religiöse Stiftung im Spätmittelalter*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz, Sitzungsberichte ÖA der Wissenschaften, Phil. - Hist. Klasse 554. Veröffentlichungen der Institut für Mittelalterliche Realienkunde 12 (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften 1990), 63-81.

[163] Bohdan Zilynskyj, "Postavení utrakvistické a katolické konfese na Novém Městě Pražském v letech 1436—1459" (The position of Utraquist and Catholic Confessions in the New Town of Prague between 1436-1459) *Documenta Pragensia* 9.2 (1991), 389-403).

[164] Pelikán, Josef ed., *Účty hradu Karlštejna z let 1423—1434* (Accounts of Karlštejn of 1423-1434) (Prague: Historický ústav, 1948). See also Rostislav Nový, "Doplňky k "Účtům hradu Karlštejna z let 1423-1434" (Additions to "Accounts of Karlštejn"), *Folia Historica Bohemica* 10 (1986), 193-202.

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Hussite wars. In spite of apparent large and irretrievable losses, a few objects found their way back to their original owners or to other church treasures.[165]

Collections of the Church administrative sources

A unique source for the study of the fourteenth century Church is the *Visitation Protocol*[166] of 1379-1380 written by archdeacon Pavel of Janovice, the archbishop's administrator. Visiting Bohemian parishes, Pavel recorded the state of parish administration, priest's behaviour, and relations inside the community. Although *personalia* and complaints of the bad morals of clergy comprise a major part of Pavel's records, the *Protocol* contains valuable comparative material for the study of church treasures. About a third of the entries contain short lists of liturgical objects kept in the churches, and sometimes, a general view of the administrator on the decoration of the church.[167] It also describes the basic economic situation of countryside parishes in the pre-Hussite period, contrasted with rich monasteries and Prague. Although we are given little information on the interior, it seems likely that forty years before the Hussite wars broke out, countryside parishes in Bohemia were rather modest when conpared to the flattering words of Aenea Silvio Picolomini of the mid-fifteenth century.[168] Hussite plundering would not have made much of a difference in countryside village churches.[169]

Single mentions in the consistory's Court Records (*Acta Judiciaria*)[170] provide evidence for clerical abuse of treasures. Written by general vicars, they reveal a surprisingly high number of sacrilegious thefts by the clergy. The entries refer to objects stolen or lost from the churches by priests or recovered from a thief or when they were pawned. It also contains a few records on village treasuries.[171]

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[165] Tadra, *Listy kláštera zbraslavského*, no. 309, for the year 1447.
[166] *Protocolum visitationis archidiaconatus Pragensis annis 1379 - 1382 per Paulum de Janowicz archidiaconum pragensem factae* (Visitation protocol of archdeaconate of Prague 1379-1382 made by Pavel of Janovice), ed. Ivan Hlaváček, and Zdeňka Hledíková (Praha: Academia 1973). Hereafter *Protocolum*.
[167] In a few cases we learn details about the material, state or decoration of the pieces. Exceptionally, Pavel recorded a known object (reliquary of St. Egidius in its namesake church in Prague).
[168] Alena Hadravová, Dana Martínková, and Jiří Motl, eds. *Aeneae Silvii Historia Bohemica / Enea Silvio Historie česká* (History of the Czechs by Aeneas Silvio), preface František Šmahel (Prague: Koniasch Latin Press, 1998), 169.
[169] The situation was different in monasteries, metropolitan and chapter treasures.
[170] *Acta Judiciaria consistorii Pragensis / Soudní akta konsistoře pražské (Court Records of the Prague consistory)*, ed. Ferdinand Tadra, vols. 1-7 (Prague: Nákladem České Akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1893). Hereafter as AI. 1 (1373—1379) -1893, vol. 2 (1380 -1387), vol. 3 (1392-3), vol. 4 (1396-8), vol. 5 (1401—1404) -1898, 6 (1407—1408), 7 (1420—1424). Contains also records of donations of objects (1378/265, donation of a *viaticus*).
[171] Appendix II, nos. 22-27.

A few other Church administrative sources provide helpful information on this problem: first, the edition of *Libri Erectionum* from the Prague Chapter Archive by Borový.[172] The edition contains registers of altar that were erected under diocesan jurisdiction between 1358 and 1407. There are also accounts of wax for candles, wood, animals, agricultural products, and rents pertinent to the altar *beneficium*. It mentions liturgical vessels belonging to an altar and describes the care for them; they were at disposition of the altar priest and belonged to the altar.[173] The important inventory of St. Gallus in Prague is included in this collection.[174] Some regulations concerning the running of treasuries were recorded as well.[175]

Administration sources for the Utraquist Church contain only scarce information on Utraquist treasuries.[176] The chief administrative body of the Utraquists, the Utraquist Consistory (under Both Species or Lower Consitory), seems not to have required that its church treasuries be inventorized, nor did it provide precise rules for their administration.[177] The Consistory did not have any authority over the treasuries anyway; in reality, church property was already in the hands of lay officials responsible to the local community or city council. The lack of regulations or mentions of treasuries beyond regular collection and distribution of sacred oils and wax, suggests that the Utraquist Consistory had given up any active involvement in parish property matters.

One specific form of an administrative source, Church statutes, shed light on administration of treasuries, their use in liturgy, and protection. Together with papal charters and consistory recommendations, the synodal (provincial, metropolitan) statutes regulated the public appearance and vestments of priests, provision of oils, care for the Eucharist, conditions for keeping travel altars (*viatica*), the work of sacristans, and care of treasuries. They also codified inventorying practice[178] and set punishments for sacrilege. The regulatory role of the statutes is sometimes referred to in the

[172] *Libri Erectionum archidioecesis Pragensis saeculo XIV. et XV sumtibus Pragensis Doctorum Theologiae Collegii edidit Dr. Clemens Borový, Liber I-V* (Altar erections in the archdiecese of Prague in the 14th and 15th centuries) (Pragae J.G. Calve 1875). Hereafter LE.

[173] LE, vol. 4, 379, no. 531 (1392), and 387, no. 540 (1392). Otherwise, they could be the property of the priest.

[174] LE,vol. 4, 1, no. 256.

[175] We know about the common practice of laity being made responsible for the safekeeping of church treasuries. The first book of *Acta* also inserted a 1312 (!) charter by Bishop Jan IV of Dražice forbidding the clergy to hand over "*bona ecclesiarum suum*" to powerful lay people under penalty of a fine. The ban is even older; Jan's predecessor had issued similar bans. LE, vol. 1, 38, no. 71.

[176] Our knowledge of Utraquist administration is still poor (Zilynská, "Utrakvistická církevní správa a možnosti jejího studia," 39-53), mainly due to insufficient source editions.

[177] Klement Borový, ed. *Jednání a dopisy konsistoře katolické i utrakvistické* (Protocols and letters of the Catholic and Utraquists Consistories), vol. 1. *Akta konsistoře utrakvistické* (Prague: I. L. Kober, 1868).

[178] Antonín Podlaha, ed. *Statuta Metropolitanae ecclesiae Pragensis anno 1350 consripta* (Statutes of the metropolitan church of Prague of 1350), Editiones Archivii et Bibliothecae s.f. metropolitani capituli Pragensis (Prague: Sumptibus s.f. metropolitani capituli Pragensis, 1905).

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inventories. In the inventory of the metropolitan treasury of St. Wenceslaus in Olomouc, written in 1435, Bishop Pavel referred to the metropolitan statutes of his church obliging any bishop-elect to inventory church ornaments.[179] Recently, a new edition of dioecesan and provincial statutes for both Bohemia and Moravia has appeared that even covers the Hussites and the Utraquist consistory.[180]

Narrative sources

Narrative sources mention treasury in the political and cultural contexts of the time. They record institutions of church treasuries, important donations, and often explain the background to a treasury's destruction. For the early period and the fourteenth century, I used the Cosmas and Aula Regia Chronicles as well as the Chronicles of Beneš of Weitmil and František of Prague. The most important narrative sources for the fifteenth century and the Hussites are the Chronicle of Laurentius of Březová, Piccolomini's *Historia Bohemica*, the Old Czech Anals, and the Chronicle of Bartošek of Drahonice.[181] For the chapter on the Charles IV policy, I used—among others—the *Vita Caroli Quarti*, the auto-biography of Charles IV, his *Moralitates domini Caroli Romanorum et Bohemiae Regis*, and the Czech Legend of St. Catherine of Alexandria.[182]

Charters and letters

Charters covered matters related to the institution, use and exchange of treasuries, especially donations,[183] pawns, retrieval, and selling. A few inventories were also written in the charter format.[184] Specific regulations may be found in charters on the administration of treasuries.[185] Charters and letters by Charles IV are important sources for the metropolitan treasury.These documents referred to

[179] Wolný, "Inventarium der Olmützerdomkirche vom Jahre 1435," 149.
[180] Polc, and Hledíková, *Pražské synody*. Zilynská, *Husitské synody*. Krafl, *Synody a statuta*.
[181] Josef Emler, ed., *Laurentii de Brzezova historia hussitica* (Hussite chronicle of Laurentius of Březová) FRB 5 (Prague 1894).
[182] "Výklady a naučení duchovní," (Spiritual teaching and explanations), in *Spisové císaře Karla IV. Na oslavu pětistyleté památky jeho sbor Matice české*, ed. Josef Emler (Prague: Matice česká, 1878). Karl Wotke, ed., "*Moralitates Caroli IV. Imperatoris*. Excerpta ex scriptura sacra cum explicationibus," (Moral teaching of Charles IV, the Emperor), *Zeitschrift des Vereins f. d. Geschichte Mährens und Schlesiens* 1.4 (1897), 41-76. *The Old Czech Life of St. Catherine of Alexandria*, transl. Alfred Thomas, in Thomas Head, ed. *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 763-779.
[183] Charter from Viktorin of Opava (Appendix I, no. 3). *Testimonium de reliquiis… RBM*, vol. 3 (Prague 1890), no. 1722, 673 (year 1330).
[184] Land archive in Opava (Zemský Archiv v Opavě), Olomouc branch, AO, sign. MCO A IIId2, AIII c24, AIII b16.
[185] LE, vol. 1, 38, no. 71.

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the influx of relics into Bohemia, the establishment of the feasts of relics and ceremonies related to them.[186] Charters of the Rosenberg family inform us about monastic treasuries during and after the Hussite wars.[187]

Other sources

The last group of sources comprises sources of varied content and format that offer specific type of information. Liturgical manuscripts[188] provide information on the origin of relics and on religious practice in the diocese, as well as particular churches. The Codex of Jena[189] is a richly decorated compendium of Utraquist doctrine and texts documenting the origins of Utraquism, and its reform ideas, including the rite of *sub utraque*. Monographs by Baroque historians[190] provide valuable information—albeit imprecise and biased—on religious life in medieval Bohemia and on coeval perceptions of the most important Bohemian treasuries. These individual sources also promise more interesting results in the future after they are read and analysed in detail.

II. Administration and Manipulation of Church Treasury in Bohemia

1. Keeping, manipulating, and inventoring the treasury

With the establishment of parish organisation in Bohemia and advancement of the Church's control, the treasuries became institutionalised as regarded regulation of their donations, their maintenance and manipulation. Parish administration functioned by the mid-fourteenth century limiting the influence of local authorities over the institution of priests and church property. During the first half of the century under the last Prague bishop, John IV of Dražice, the Church took full control over the rents (*beneficia*, consisting of a quarter of a tithe, and payments from the endowments) that came under the

[186] E.g., for the Holy Lance feast: at the request of Charles IV and the papal bull *In redemptoris nostri*, MVB II, 89, no. 209, 90, no. 210.
[187] Matthias Pangerl, *Urkundenbuch des Cistercienserstiftes B. Mariae V. zu Hohenfurt in Bohmen*, Diplomataria et Acta 23, *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum/Oesterreichisches Geschichtsquellen* (Vienna 1865).
[188] Breviary of the Prague metropolitan church, NK IV D.
[189] KNM, inv. no. IV B 24.
[190] Tomáš Jan Pešina z Čehorodu, *Brevis narratio de ss. Reliquiis in S. Metrop. Pragensi Ecclesia*
in: *Thesaurus in Lucem Protractus sive S. Mercurius , Maximus Orientis Martyr…Thomae Joanne Pessina de C zechorod, Pragae Anni 1675*.

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supervision of the priests.[191] This way the parish priests were guaranteed sufficient income for their livings. Thus, priests were sometimes expected to provide liturgical vessels for their pastoral activity from their own rents.[192] Bishop John also banned the keeping of church treasuries in lay houses; his charter of 1312 forbad clerics to hand over "*bona ecclesiarum suum*" to laymen to prevent later disputes.[193] The accession of Ernest of Pardubice in 1343 and the establishment of the Prague archbishopric (archbishop since 1344)[194] speeded up fforts to achieve independent control of church matters.[195] Ernest issued new diocesan statutes in 1349[196] and statutes for the metropolitan church in 1350; both provide regulations concerning the maintenance of church treasuries.

In the second half of the fourteenth century, an efficiently working organisation, social prestige, support from the secular authorities, the university, and—not least—a wise choice of people in the high strata of the ecclesiastical hierarchy contributed to the rising influence of the Church in Bohemia. The Church came to represent an extraordinary economic power; the Church's ownership of land[197] in Bohemia attained fifty percent before the Hussite wars.[198] The distribution of wealth, however, concentrated around Prague, echoing the distribution of church treasuries in the Visitation Protocol of 1379-1380, where endowed churches were grouped in and around Prague. Finally, the number of clergy in Bohemia was unusually high in comparison with other regions of Central Europe. Clergy was also concentrated in Prague.[199]

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[191] Zilynská, "Záduší," 537.

[192] They were at least partly provided by the priests themselves. Josef Hemmerle, ed. *Die Deutschordens-Ballei Böhmen in ihren Rechnungsbüchern 1382-1411*. Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 22 (Bonn: Verl. Wiss. Archiv 1967), 118 (bequest of brother Henrich). LE, vol. 5 (1398-1407), 548, no. 741, year 1401, 522, no. 701, year 1400.

[193] LE, vol. 1, no. 71 (1312), p. 38.

[194] Latest work on Ernest, Zdenka Hledíková, *Arnošt z Pardubic. Arcibiskup, zakladatel, rádce* (Ernest of Pardubice. Archbishop, founder, advisor) (Prague: Vyšehrad, 2008), the accession esp. 31-34, on administration 119f.

[195] Hledíková, and Polc, "Pražské arcibiskupství v kontextu vývoje země a státu" (Prague archbishopric in the context of state development), in *Pražské arcibiskupství 1344—1994*, ed. Zdenka Hledíková, and Jaroslav V. Polc (Prague: Zvon, 1994), 15.

[196] Hledíková, *Arnošt z Pardubic*, 105-9.

[197] The numbers vary among historians: Zdeněk Boháč estimated twenty five percent of land, Šmahel considers up to fifty percent of all owned land in Bohemia. Šmahel estimated losses during the Hussite wars reached eighty percent. (Šmahel, *La Révolution husite, une anomalie historique*, Essais et Conférences, Collège de France . (Presses Universitaires de France, 1985, 106)), quoted in Thomas J. Fudge, „The Law of God. Reform and Religious Practice in Late Medieval Bohemia, in Zdeněk David, and David R. Holeton *Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* 1 (1994) (Prague: Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic Main Library, 1996), 49. John Klassen, "Ownership of Church Patronage and the Czech nobility's Support for Hussitism," *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 66 (1975), 42.

[198] The level of Church parish patronage was about twenty-nine percent on average although in the vicinity of Prague it rose to fifty four percent and in Litomyšl docese less that fifty percent. Fudge, The "Law of God", 49.

[199] Often mentioned numbers for Prague are: 330 secular priests, 400 monastic clergy, 1200 clerics studying at the university, St. Vitus Cathedral alone had 200-300 clerics. Fudge, "The "Law of God"", 49. Also Klassen, "Ownership", 42. Fudge quotes Šmahel (Šmahel, *La Révolution hussite*, 106) that in 1500, the 1200 clerics will drop to 200 clerics in Prague.

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The vernacular term used in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries' Czech sources for income-generating church property is "*záduší*" (in Czech literally meaning "(donation) for the soul"). It denotes all property and investments of the church, both financial (*beneficia*, *censi*) or non-financial (gifts). Donated money was used for the restoration and maintainance of the church, acquisitions to the treasury, decoration of the church,[200] and other possible expenditures. The content of the treasury room was an integral part of *záduší*—this corresponds to the view of a church treasury as an economic reserve of the church. The growth of *záduší*, however, was limited by certain restrictions imposed on inheritance, as the king and nobility tried to supress donations for the Church and keep the inheritance. In the towns, the restrictions took the form of bans on donations to church institutions of anything other than moveables, permitting gifts of liturgical vessels or textiles but not money, as occurred in Vimperk, Žlutice, or Turnov.[201] These limits were partly responsible for the growing number of chalices, and liturgical textiles in the church records from the fifteenth century, as some of these regulations were in place until 1497.[202] On the other hand, bequests and gifts of chalices remained popular well through the sixteenth century independently of the confessional millieu, becoming an important economic reserve for the church.

In the fourteenth century, the administration of *záduší* was the task of sacristans and custodians. Since the mid-fourteenth century these were often laymen.[203] Archbishop Ernest of Pardubice established the office of lay keeper of donations (*kostelník—vitricus ecclesiae*), in his provincial statutes of 1349;[204] it was an honorable office for the elders of the community. The provincial statutes made it clear that the care of church vessels and vestments and the procurence of vestments for the service was the sacristans' responsibility. They also supported priests in the practical care of objects as well as the financial and practical matters related to *záduší*. In the parish churches, the *vitrici* were supposed to be well-known and reliable parishioners or in a chapter or monastic church trustworthy canons and monks.[205]

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[200] Karel Waska, "Vrchnostenská města a farní správa v Čechách vrcholného a pozdního středověku" (Nobility towns and parish administration in Bohemia in the high and late Middle Ages), in *Církevní správa*, 277.
[201] Waska, "Vrchnostenská města," 276.
[202] Waska, "Vrchnostenská města," 274 –276.
[203] Waska, "Vrachnostenská města," 277.
[204] Hledíková, and Polc, ed., *Pražské synody*, 145. In the same year for Moravia too. Zilynská, "Záduší," 538, ft. 9 (quoted from J. Schlenz, *Das Kirchenpatronat in Böhmen*, Prague 1928, 105). Zilynská, ("Záduší", 539, ft. 9) mentions sacristans for the year 1342 in the church of Holy Spirit in Hradec Králové. Later, they appear in *Protocolum*, and in LE for the year 1368, vol. 1, 71, no. 148.
[205] *Wenceslaus de Budina, presbyter, professus ordinis predictorum, thesaurarius clenodiorum ecclesie sancte Crucis in quarto anno…* Sekyrka, *Inventáře*, 198, no. 242.

The *vitrici* appear in the sources around the mid-fourteenth century.[206] Originally, the lay custodians were subordinated to the local priest; later the community exercised influence over the church property through them. In the fifteenth century, due to the weakening of the Church, the sacristans were controlled by the town council or local patrons.[207] Thirty years after the statues issued by Ernest, lay sacristans were established in churches. Their responsibilities ranged from looking after the church treasury and collecting donations through restoration and provision of vestments and vessels up to church spending and tending to provision of oil and candles. The Visitation Protocol, written in 1379-1380, explicitly mentions those churches in which they had established a sacristan;[208] however, this implies that it may not have been in every church.

Even in the early period, attempts by local laymen to mingle in church property affairs may have been behind the explanations of synodal orders surrounding the *záduší*. Already in 1374,[209] the archbishop's charter records the settlement between the provost of the Augustinian convent in Jaroměř and the town council there. The charter enumerates precisely the responsibilities of the *rector scholae*, the sacristan and bell-ringer based on the synodal norm. It contains orders to the custodian (*vitricus*): he could not take and use money from the church rent freely, but got 30 *grossi*, which he could use for the church maintenance and benefits. He was also obliged to record church possessions and keep accounts "*de bonis ecclesiae*", which he had to show to both the provost and the council members.

The number of *vitrici* is one of the indicators of the church's importance. If the church received a local cult, its incomes increased and this, in turn, required capable and reliable accounting of donations. The church of St. Stephan in Rybníček in Prague hired more than one sacristan; their responsibility was to collect bequests and other rents: "*ecclesia commissit vitricis qui colligunt testamenta et allios fructus pro dicta ecclesia."*[210] Originally a village church, its importance grew when the village was encorporated into newly-founded town of Prague. The church was then endowed with St. Stephen's relics by the Emperor Charles IV and developed a local cult. The possession of important relics that must have attracted the pilgrims provided the *testamenta* and *alios fructus* for the

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[206] Zilynská, "Záduší", 539, ft. 9, mentions sacristans for the year 1342 in the church of Holy Spirit in Hradec Králové. Later, they appear in *Protocolum* (1379-80), and in LE for the year 1368, vol. 1, 71, no. 148.
[207] Waska, "Vrchnostenská města," 277, patron's interference in *záduší* in towns under nobility´s jurisdiction (1347 in Rožmberg´s dominium). Zilynská thinks that lay authority over the treasures developed gradually at a practical rather than institutional level, Zilynská, "Utrakvistická církevní správa," 42-3.
[208] E.g., *Protocolum*, 62, 91.
[209] LE, vol.1, 1374, 94, no. 196.
[210] *Protocolum*, 62.

church. This not only helped the economic running of the church but also required more personnel to administer the donations.

Church jewellry was kept in secluded spaces—either in sacristy, in a special treasury room—or directly at the altar in locked cupboards[211] or chests (**Pl. 29, reliquary cupboard from the Halberstadt treasury**). Another place to keep vessels or reliquaries was in *predella* under the altarpiece, with an openable hollow inside. Although no such cupboard or predella has so far been precisely identified in Bohemian material although there are several late medieval wooden cupboards and chests reportedly originating from these churches are likely candidates for such an original function.[212]

The spatial locations of the treasury rooms are often marked by specific architectural features already remarked upon by scholars such as proximity to or visual communication with the (main) altar space, a two-level structure, small and scarce windows, and a narrow passage to the entrance.[213] The treasury was often a vaulted room,[214] generally in upper levels of the church, above sacristy or in the tower.[215] Access to the treasury room, which housed those objects which were not used daily, was made as difficult as possible with many keys and firm doors to prevent theft. Large and important churches often needed two spaces for the treasury objects—one for those in daily use and one, where the objects which were not used daily could be kept securely. For example, chalices were divided in the inventories by the chalices used daily (in both cases five), and those kept permanently in the treasury (in St. Gallus five, in St. Nicolaus twelve) in the Prague church of St. Gallus in 1390 and Prague Utraquist church of St. Nicholaus in 1538,; the surplus chalices were kept there apparently for their memorial and monetary value.

Sometimes, treasury objects were kept in the chambers of priests, probably for reasons of safety. When kept at the altars, there was more danger that these objects could be lost; for instance in 1407, several relics from the ”shelf“ at the St. Agnes altar of the parish church in Pelhřimov were

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[211] About preserved fifteenth-century cupboards (*Prachtschränke*): Otto von Falke, ”Ein Gotisher Sakristeischrank aus Salzburg,“ *Pantheon* 25 (Januar-juni 1940), 56-7. They were made in specialised workshops (Salzburg), 2–5 m high resembling secular furniture. The type (two levels, double door, sometimes drawers) goes from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, and differs only in their surface decoration (carving, wood inlay). Reliquary cupboard cf. also Janke, *Ein Heilbringender Schatz*, 133-137, cupboard for relics for the main altar dated 1520-30), and 113-4 (sacristy cupboard).

[212] E.g., wooden cupboard with flat carving from Southern Bohemia. I am indebted to Jaroslav Sojka for showing me the piece.

[213] This came up in discussion during the conference *...das heilige sichtbar machen*, in Merseburg, September 17-20, 2008.

[214] From the German name for the treasury room - *gewölb*, *kvelb*.

[215] As in St. Nicolaus in Old Town Prague in 1530s.

alienated by the chaplain.[216] For the purpose of security, the cupboards were locked and reinforced with iron plates; often formerly secular cupboards were used and probably donated as a part of the *beneficium*. Chests were also used in chapter and monastic archives where charters,[217] money and small items (gems, rings) were kept.

Prague provincial statutes contained an order that the treasures of large churches should be annually inventoried[218] to prevent loss or theft, as sacrilege occurred regularly.[219] The will to follow the rule was slow—even in 1398, during Archibishop Olbram of Škvorec's visits to Augustinian monasteries, inventorying needed to be re-introduced.[220] The keepers (*thesaurarius, sacristanus*, *custos*[221]) were charged with looking after the treasury and conscripting new acquisitions. All officials were obliged to hand all donations to the sacristy where a record was made of the acquisition. Any manipulation undermined the supervision of the authorities—if the keeper sold, donated or pawned any item without permission, the contract was deemed invalid.[222] In the donation charters, the donors, however, may have also reserved the right to limit handling or sale of gifts.[223] The statutes also set rules for clerical testaments, where *bona ecclesie*, i.e. liturgical vessels and vestments, should remain at the church where the deceased held his benefice; these items then could not be included in the testament.[224]

The statutes ordered and regulated safekeeping of the treasury inside the church to prevent laity claiming them.[225] In spite of repeated bans, however, it was quite common to keep treasuries in lay houses. In 1398,[226] a silver gilded head reliquary of St. Leonhard was recorded as being kept safe at the home of Anna, a Prague burgheress; it was donated to the church by her brother Leonard. She promised before the vicar to care for it well and give it to the church on the feastdays to be put on the altar along with other relics for the "decoration of the church". If the loss of the reliquary was caused

[216] AI, vol. 6, 1407/486 (hereafter year/page). He was ordered to return them and fined 30 gr.
[217] Olomouc, inventory of 1435, Appendix II.
[218] Hledíková, and Polc, *Pražské synody*, 135. Tomek, *Dějepis města Prahy*, vol. 3, 2d ed. (Prague: F. Řivnáč 1893), 211, quotes from the metropolitan statutes.
[219] For growing number of thefts, see AI, vols. 1-7.
[220] Hlaváček, "Studie k dějinám knihoven", 30, footnote 144.
[221] Brandl, "Inventář náčiní kostelního, rouch, skvostů a knih velechrámu olomouckého," 116. For *thesaurarius* see Sekyrka, *Inventáře*, 198, no. 242 (Václav de Budina, *thesaurarius clenodiorum*). Tomek, *Dějepis města Prahy*, vol. 3, 2d ed., 211-212. On the polarity between lay keepers and religious authority, Vlk, *Umělecké řemeslo*, 15.
[222] Hledíková, and Polc, *Pražské synody*, 135.
[223] LE, vol. 1, no. 71 (1312), p. 38.
[224] Hledíková, and Polc, *Pražské synody*, 136.
[225] Hledíková, and Polc, *Pražské synody*, 143.
[226] AI, vol. 3, 1398/26.

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by her improper care, Anna promised to provide another of the same value. Even the chapter church of St. Apolinaire had its reliquary cross kept safe in the house of a Prague brewer.

Archbishop Ernest of Pardubice defined a general course for the maintenance of treasuries and safekeeping of relics in the metropolitan statutes of Prague St. Vitus church. He also ordered a regular check of the treasury and all church furnishings and recording of any acquistions in the inventories.[227] The statutes established the office of keepers of the metropolitan treasury,[228] and laid down rules for manipulation of the most precious items. The keepers, *custos* and sacristan, and subsacristan, recruited from the canons had to be of good reputation, and trustworthy. These hierarchically-structured offices precisely defined responsibility over a part of the treasury or objects from certain altars or chapels (St. Wenceslas chapel). They looked after thee objects and were assigned various tasks related to the care of the treasury and made provision for services such as binding books, repairing bell ropes and little bells, vessels, providing myrth, and incense.[229] They reported to the main custodian (*custos principalius*) and had to compile an inventory of all things in the sacristy within a month after they were raised to the office,[230] a copy of which had to be handed over to the deacon and the chapter.[231] The custodian was directly responsible to the deacon, who also kept the best pieces with him, probably in his house. Each deacon had to write down an inventory of church ornaments with the help of two elder canons within three months after his accession to the office. Inventorising had to be repeated regularly, every three years. [232]

[227] Podlaha, ed. *Statuta Metropolitanae*, 22. *De inventariis. Ut autem rerum ecclesiae habeatur plenior certitudo et easdem tollatur occulte material distrahendi, statuimus, ut archiepiscopus, qui foret pro tempore, in principio sui reginis de clenodiis et rebus sacristae custodiae commendatis, ceteri autem prelati, canonici et ministri ecclesiae ac eorum quilibet statim post receptionem suam de universis redditibus grossis sui beneficii, nec non rebus mobilibus, si quas in bonis beneficii huiusmodi, quod adipiscuntur, invenerint, inventarium sufficiens faciant, sub suae fidei sacramento eius [cuius] coppiam praepositus aliique prelati et canonici ipsius capitulo, ministri vero decano infra mensis spatium a die requisitionis per capitulum vel decanum super hoc sibi facta [facte], quavis excusatione cessante, facturus et assignaturus [factui et assignaturi] cum effectu*.

[228] Podlaha, ed. *Statuta Metropolitanae*, 31. *De officio custodies et sacristae coniunctim. Custos vero et sacrista, cum habeant officia simplicia, inter ministros ecclesiae computantur, et quamvis uterque eisdem praeficiendus officiis debeat esse vitae probatae et opinionis laudabilis ac etiam in sacerdotio constitutus*.

[229] Podlaha, ed. *Statuta Metropolitanae*, 31.

[230] Podlaha, ed. *Statuta Metropolitanae*, 31. *Ad ipsos (custos et sacrista) etiam insimul licet ad custodem principalius, spectat diligens et fidelis custodia rerum sacristiae propter quod de cetero uterque singulariter infra mensem a suae promotionis principio de universes rebus sacristiae inventarium clare et distincte faciat, ne circa eas fraus aut dolus possit commiti…*

[231] Podlaha, ed. *Statuta Metropolitanae*, 31. *...(inventarium) quod, apud se retenta copia, infra alterius mensis spatium sub sigillo suo sub poena suspensionis a beneficio decano et capitulo tradere teneatur.*

[232] Tomek, *Dějepis města Prahy*, vol. 3, 211.

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The special task of the *custos*—and in his absence of the *sacrista*—was to personally prepare service vestments for the archbishop's mass and return them back after the mass was finished.[233] The keepers had to obey strict security rules when lending anything outside the church. They were obliged demand a note (*cautio*), a credit obligation, written in the presence of witnesses. All of the transaction had to be written down in the account book.[234] Sacristans were also charged with the care of the festive decoration of the altars during liturgical feasts, including the exhibition of relics.[235] The relics were exhibited on altars in a set order and guarded by specially-appointed canons (*bonifantes*, and church matrons (*matrones ecclesiae*), whose responsibility was also to sew and repair altarcloths and vestments.[236] The altars were specified in the task: the relics of St. Vitus, of the Holy Cross, of the tomb of St. Adalbert and the relics of the Virgin had to be placed on their respective altars on the feastdays of St. Vitus and Wenceslaus.. Sacristans were also charged with collection of gifts (oblations, *offertorium*) when the relics were displayed and at the grave of St. Wenceslas; they also collected funerary cloths as well as decorations or any other donations.[237]

2. Theft and Loss of Objects

The great number of sacrileges committed by the keepers of treasuries, both priests and laymen, were clearly behind the rules written in the provincial Statutes of Ernest of Pardubice of 1349 on thesafekeeping of liturgical vessels.[238] The archbishop ordered the punishment of loss of office for any keeper found guilty of alienating any *pretiosam mobilem* without legitimate permission from Church

[233] Podlaha, ed. *Statuta Metropolitanae*, 31. *Specialiter tamen ad officium custodies pertinet, cum archiepiscopus in solemnitatibus ad missam se praeparat, eidem indumenta sacra prius aptata congrue personaliter ministrare, et ab eo, officio peracto, suscipere et sacristae minibus reservanda consignare, alias hoc ipsum facit sacrista custode absente.*
[234] Podlaha, ed. *Statuta Metropolitanae*, 31. *Nec rem quamcunque communem ecclesiae personae, cuiuscunque conditionis vel status existat, nisi prius sufficienti cautione recepta, de sacristia extra ecclesiam sub poena premissa audeat commodare, quae quidem cautio una cum re commodata, die, in qua, et testibus, quibus presentibus commodatur, in libro, quem ad hoc praedicti habere deben, fideliter describatur.*
[235] Podlaha, ed. *Statuta Metropolitanae*, 32-3. *De officio et oneribus sacristae tantum. Ad sacristam autem specialiter pertinet altaria ecclesiam pro festivitatem solemnitate pallis et cortinis ornare, reliquias sanctorum suo tempore exponere et easdem per matronas et bonifantes providos et discretos custodiri procurare.*
[236] Podlaha, ed. *Statuta metropolitanae*, 42-43. "*Officium quarum (matronarum ecclesiae) est pallas et albas dissutas filo lini vel sericeo, si ipsis ministretur et si serico consuere sciverint, consuere…sanctorum reliquias…cum bonifantibus dilligenter et solicite custodir consueverunte.*" Matrons also had to take care of ill canons and not leave them on their own. They had to attend morning and other services as often as possible. They lived behind the chapter house in Prague Castle.
[237] Podlaha, ed. *Statuta Metropolitanae*, 32-3. *Colligit quoque et reservat offertorium, quod apud sepulchrum sancti Wenceslai et reliquias sanctorum ponitur, ac pannos sericeos seu balkinos in exequiis funerum vel alias ecclesiae usibus deputatos.* Sacristan had to keep 12 clerics (*bonifantes*) from his beneficium in Welika wes who would sing hours and antiphons *in choro virginis*.
[238] Hledíková, and Polc, *Pražské synody*, 135.

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authorities.[239] The Court Records testify that the order was needed—that acts of sacrilege committed by priests were apparently a common occurrence.[240] Growing worries of spoiling and abusing church property by both clergy and laity are reflected in the synodal statutes of 1386, 1387, and 1392 illuminating the scale of the problem towards the end of the fourteenth century. Among other things, the statues include a ban on selling church vestments, and also mention donations of horses, domestic animals, and lay dress.[241]

In 1391, the Bethlehem Chapel in Prague Old Town represented a private foundation by the courtier Hans of Mühlheim and the burgher Jan Kříž, where university teachers preached in the Czech language. The foundation charter reflected the troubles that could result from a donation—it could turn into an unhealthy temptation for its clergy. The donors warned against the absence of priests and the stealing of alms and donations. No chaplain or preacher was allowed to alienate money or objects donated to the treasury or manipulate them in any harmful way. The revenue had to be kept in triple-locked a treasury box in the chapel, and later divided into three parts: one for the priests Filip and Jakub, a second for the restoration of the church and the last designated for books for preachers' study.[242]

Clerical offences affecting the treasuries sometimes meant that parishoners were poorly motivated to donate. In the parish church of St. Eligius in Prague, Wenceslaus Borowsky accused the parishioners of ungratefulness and infrequent donations. He chastised the priest for his negligence. Wenceslaus also accused the bell-ringer servants of stealing church ornaments, namely monstrances (reliquaries), humerals and chalices,[243] and the sacristan of illicitly spending the money intended for the church bell-tower, of which no accounts were ever shown to the parishioners. It is hardly surprising that in this situation, the parishioners' willingness to donate to the church was low.

In the village of Podskalí in the vicinity of Prague, on the other hand, donations to the church were a must. The parishioners went so far as to refuse to bury bodies of poor people who had never

[239] Hledíková, and Polc, *Pražské synody*, 135.
[240] This phenomenon, often mentioned as having generated reformists´ critique, should be contrasted with the fact that we lack similar comparative material for the rest of Europe or for the laity, which distorts the image.
[241] Hledíková, and Polc, *Pražské synody*, 238-9, 260.
[242] Foundation charter of Betlehem Chapel, in *Výbor z české literatury doby husitské* (Selection from Czech literature of the Hussite times), vol. 1, ed. Bedřich Havránek, Josef Hrabák, and Jiří Daňhelka, 386-7, (Prague: ČSAV, 1963-4).
[243] *Item dicit (Wenceslaus dictus Borowsky) de testamentis ecclesie, quod decanus ecclesie intromittit se de rebus ecclesie et testamentis, et per hoc stat ecclesia inhordinata, ita quod plebesani non habeat tantam graciam ad dandum testamenta et ornamneta ad dictam ecclesiam, et raro cantantur matutine, que prius cantabantur cottidie et dicit, quod cultus divinus ut plurimus diminutus est et diminuitur et, ut dicitur, propter inadvertenciam et negligenciam dicti decani. Item dicit, quod clenodia et quedam ornamenta quamplura, que non enumenrat, erant a dicta ecclesia per furtum ablata, videlicer monstrancie, homiralia, calices et alia, de quibus anima campanatoris inculpabatur et incarceratus fuit. Protocolum*, 53-4.

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given any bequests to the church[244] – a strange perception at a time when a church treasury was considered in some teachings as the "property of the poor". In any case, in Prague towards the end of the fourteenth century, donations to churches became general practice, required even from commoners.

Liturgical books appear in the Court Records, amongst the items most frequently alienated;[245] the entries mainly include debts[246] or failure of payment for books, or substitutions for alienated books.[247] Accounts involving books refer mostly to the most common books used by priests, such as missals and breviaries.[248] Disputes over liturgical *paramenta* (paraments) are comparatively rarer, but they give us valuable information about church textiles in late fourteenth century Bohemia.[249] Disputes often concern privately-owned *paramenta* that priests brought to the churches with them—although a stolen curtain also appears in the records.[250] It sometimes went too far, as in the case of a stolen abbot's *pallium* from the Augustinian monastery of the Virgin and St. Charlemagne in Prague that was taken by fellow clergymen after the service.[251] In another case, fellow clerics stole vestments and personal belongings to a cleric at Prague University's Charles College in 1380.[252] A book of sentences (*liber sententiarum*), a dark mantle with green silk reverse (here wrongly called *pallium*), and a dark red tunic of Florence linen were stolen from Master Franciscus, canon of Olomouc. Later on, the mantle was "rediscovered" in the chamber of the altar priest of St. Leonard church in Prague.

Occasionaly, a dispute occurred about the place and manner the treasury was being cared for. The desire for the objects to be made publically visible from the time they were donated at the altar to foster the memory of the benefactor was more important than any fear of loss. A late record from 1423 included a promise by two altar priests in the St. Vitus cathedral to keep both their altar garments and the misal donated through the *beneficium* exhibited at their altar of the Assumption of the Virgin.[253] This way, the donation was publicised and remembered.

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[244] *Protocolum*, 114.
[245] AI, vol 6, 1408/117.
[246] AI, vol. 1. 1371/71
[247] AI, vol. 1. 1373/180, vol. 4. 1402/321, an antiphonary burned vol 4, 1402/129, vol. 6, 1407/28, with 2 chalices 1408/23.
[248] AI, vol. 3, 1392-3: 17, 42, 49, 82, 87,108,151, 243, 250, 467, books pawned 1398/109.
[249] AI, vol.1 1379/35, 1379/99, 1379/157, vol. 3 1392/314, vol. 4 1402/340 (ornatus sold), vol. 4 1403/274). In 1408/1421 Hanuš Krumpéř of Prague promised to compensate to the deacon of Ořechov for the loss of a maniple, gloves, stole, humeral and two medallions (*clipeos*) on a chasuble.
[250] AI, vol. 3. 1392/288.
[251] AI vol. 1. 1376/79
[252] AI vol. 2. 1380/130
[253] AI vol. 7. 1423/101

Keeping things visible at the altar was contended by church administrationers who feared loss of the donation. In 1408, a dispute over the safekeeping of a yellow garment pertinent to an altar was finally decided by the vicar in favour of keeping it in the sacristy.[254] In spite of the protests of the altar priest, who demanded the garment be kept *visibly* at the altar of the Corpus Christi in the Tyne church in Prague, the vicar prefered to keep it in the sacristy together with the remainder of objects, and ordered that it should be given to the priest as needed. The altar priests kept their service vessels at each altar or with them because they mistrusted the sacristan in the church of St. Leonard in the Old Town square.[255] He had been responsible for burning down a curtain covering (*circumdabantur*) the images on the main altar, altar textiles, and lost one of the church's chalices.

Chalices were—at any rate—among the most frequently stolen treasury items. Chalices were pawned by priests,[256] or their ownership challenged,[257] especially in the cases when they had been endowed to the church and later pawned by the priest. Their sales for personal profit were noted several times.[258] Compensations or restitutions were demanded, but occured comparatively rarely.[259] Sometimes, the testimony of the parishioners was sought before the chalice could be returned to the sacristy or to the altar.[260]

The fate of the Lomnice castle treasury[261] is an illuminating case of a clerical attempt at personal enrichment. Nicolaus, the chapel priest was accused of stealing the treasury's chalice, missal, psaltery (breviary), and the reliquaries. After the investigation, the priest admitted to have also stolen two garments with dalmatics, and another silver reliquary. He told the investigators that they were stolen from him by the knight of Stráž. The owner of the relics, however, proved with testimonies that

[254] AI vol. 6. 1408/117
[255] *Protocolum*, 91, 92-5, no.13-15.
[256] AI vol. 1. 1376/83, vol. 6. 1408/515, additions vol. 7 1394/67
[257] AI vol. 2, 1382/119, 1384/266, 1385/3, 1386/91, 1386/142, 1387/ 36, 1392/72, 1392/100, 1402/155 (*redimere certa clenodia ecclesie in Kostelecz obligata, videlicet calicem argenteum, librum gradualis et unum missale*), 1408/666)
[258] AI vol. 1. 1373/247—an vestment and two chalices, 1378/270 see below, 1392/265, vestment and chalice 1403/321). AI 1379/59 three vestments, three chalices and one *matutinale* pawned by the priest.
[259] AI vol. 6, 1408/369, 1421—1428/2 a viaticus, vestment and a chalice and money alienated by the parish priest.
[260] AI vol. 1, 1377/133, 193. vol. 2, 1385/128 chalice together with vestment alienated by the priest, similarly 1396/175, and vol. 3, 1398/185, chalice 1398/250, 1401/75, 1403/146
[261] AI vol. 1. 1378/270. *Item die XXIV Julii predictus Nicolaus confessus est se recepisse de dicta capella duos ornatus, duas dalmaticas, unum calicem, monstranciam argenteam (!) et unum librum missalem, que reponere promissit in dicta capella infra VIII dies. Item confessus est se vendisse unum viaticum…(vicarius mandavit ut) vendicioni restituit et mandavit quod ...librum ...redimat... Item dixit quod infrascripte relliquie in dicta capella fuerunt, primo manus argentea cum reliquiis, ymago s. Wenceslai et ymago s. Johanis Bapt. cum reliquiis, item unum oss repositum in argento, item quedam reliquie fuerunt in argento ad modum ciboriorum (!), item de ligno domini in vitro, item reliquie fuerunt in una cistula, quas reliquias anno de presenti dominus de Straz recepit dicto Nicolao violenter. Ibido d. comex dixit quod dictus d. Nicolaus huiusmodi reliquias vendidit d. Henrico de Straz et super hoc duos testes produxit...*

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Nicolaus had sold the relics to the knight for his own profit. Nicolaus tried to defend himself by saying that if he had not sold the ornaments, the knight would have taken them regardless.

It is interesting that reliquaries and more expensive silver statues are rarely mentioned in the Court Records—they figure only in pawns. As relatively rare objects, they were well-guarded and only accessed with difficulty. In 1374,[262] a canon was fined 300 gr. for pawning a silver head of a statue of St. John the Baptist. Here we have an interesting Bohemian testimony of the separable statue's head that was apparently used in processions on the feast of St. John the Baptist, a practice also known from elsewhere. Another silver head, this time a reliquary of St. Stephen, was successfuly returned to its church after the pawn was paid by the parish priest in 1380.[263] A gold reliquary ring was pawned by the priest Henslin of Lobkowicz in 1398.[264] The expensivepiece of jewellry was valued at 4 florenes and contained small bits of the bones of St. Vincentius. The interesting thing was that the ring originally belonged to a lay person, Petr Višně, from whom it may have been stolen by Henslin.

Church treasuries were also attractive for lay thieves, and when the parish priest died, the treasury was endangered. This way the "*omnia et singula*" of the parish church in Křešín was taken away for "safekeeping" after the death of the priest, apparently with the intention of keeping it for an unlimited time.[265] In another case, a knight kept the treasury of the church in Voděrady, promising to return its contents only after the priest promised to return the knight's horses that had been stolen in revenge.[266] When in need of repair, the vessels were carried to a goldsmith; however, the chalice given to the goldsmith, Stephen of Prague, for restoration was stolen from him.[267]

It was sometimes difficult to distinguish whether a treasury was stolen or being kept safe. In 1393,[268] Andreas, a priest from Pelhřimov, confessed that he had taken two chalices and a missal from his church. When authorities demanded that he return them to the "archive" in the church, he answered that he wanted to prevent them from being stolen. He added that he had been right to keep them for a long time, as "no one else could take care of them better than him, and should the archbishop think that he had alienated them, he kept them in a safe place." The vicar then ordered him to return the objects to the church and keep them there, where all other church jewels were kept. Offences by the clergy may have strengthened the position of the lay sacristans; in 1398 in Trnová, the parish priest

[262] AI, vol. 1., 1374, 175.
[263] AI, vol. 2, 1380, 67.
[264] AI, vol 3, 1398, 150. *unum annulum aureum in valore IV floren., in quo particula de uno osse Vincencii est inclusa ..*
[265] AI, vol. 1, 1373, 367.
[266] AI, vol. 1, 1375, 128.
[267] AI, vol. 1, 1374, 162.
[268] AI, vol. 2, 1393, 44.

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was ordered to return the garment to the sacristan, and inquiries were made about other precious objects (*pretiosa*) reportedly lost from the church.

A rare, deeper insight into the work of a treasury keeper comes from 1377,[269] when theft of expensive curtains from the Cathedral of St. Vitus was suspected. An inquiry was made into how the collection was being cared for. Priest Havel, *mansionarius* in St. Vitus, had held the sub-sacristan office in St. Wenceslaus chapel for one year, twelve years ago. His job was to conserve and exhibit the textiles, taking care of garments and curtains, books and other objects for the service and decoration of the church. During the inquiry he was shown the aumbry with the textiles. At that point, Havel could not remember how these particular curtains had look like because the deacon had kept some of the valuable curtains with him.

Havel then enumerated the donations of the curtains by the Bohemian queens: Queen Blanka of Valois gave three large and beautiful curtains and four smaller ones, while Queen Anne of Bavaria gave a large curtain and approximately twelve small *balkin* ones. Anne of Poland bequeathed one solemn curtain embroidered with black eagles on gold for the celebration of the feasts, another with a large black eagle on a blue-grey background, and the third she gave to the mansionaries. She also donated a cloth, from which they made garments and mantles. And today's Empress (Elisabeth of Pomerania) gave the mansionaries three pieces of cloth, one long and two short ones. Havel did not know about other donations[270] to the St. Vitus, as they were not his duty, nor was he aware of the current number of hangings in the Prague church. He, however, insisted that those given to the canons were all kept properly and were now kept in the treasury.

Havel's testimony was not very helpful to the investigators, as he could not say if any of the curtains were stolen. He admitted, however, that they have been re-cut into different shapes and manipulated in various ways; he thought that they now looked better than when he had worked there. His testimony also provides evidence of what seems to have been the common medieval practise of amendation of church vestments, known from preserved pieces, as well as sources.[271]

Manipulation of treasuries included their use as financial reserves. In 1333, the future Charles IV donated twelve silver statues of the Apostles and saints to the sepulchre of St. Wenceslaus.[272] They

[269] AI vol. 1. 1377/6
[270] AI, vol. 1, 1377/6 d.
[271] In 1305, Peter of Zittau recorded the precious cloth and silk textiles given by King Wenceslaus to the hospital and adapted for use by the sick and poor. *Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, FRB, vol. 4, 92, 129.
[272] *Chronicon Francisci Pragensi* (Chronicle of Franciscus of Prague), ed. Jana Zachová, FRB Series Nova tomus 1 (Pragae: Nadace Patriae and Historický Ústav AV ČR, 1997), 164, *Chronicon Aulae regiae*, 414. Otavský, *Die Sankt*

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may only have been partly installed when King John seized them and pawned them in 1336. Eighty years later, the Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg paid his mercenaries with gold and silver from the metropolitan treasury (mostly collected by his father) and from the St. Wenceslaus sepulchre.[273]

The same fate was in store for part of the St. Vitus treasury, which was brought together with objects from other church treasuries to the Karlštejn castle for safekeeping during the Hussite wars.[274] For several years, the defenders sold silver and gold taken from the pieces to provide a living for them during the siege.[275] Thus, major pieces of jewellry from the St. Palmacius chapel, Zbraslav and Ostrov monasteries, and from Vyšehrad, as well as the other gold frontals from the St. Wenceslaus sepulchre in the cathedral (which alone covered their needs for almost a year)[276] were lost to the market in religious goods and precious metals that was largely fed by religious wars.

III. The Church Treasury in Bohemian religious practice

1. Treasury in Liturgy

Bohemian sources suggest an advanced level of lay participation in church rituals by the twelfth century and the importance of practical cult for the needs of everyday life.[277] The twelfth century Homiliary of Opatovice, which includes the Book of Office, sheds light on Bohemian early instructions on the manipulation of liturgical objects, the core of future treasuries;[278] similar recommendations will later be included in the synodal statutes. The source advised the priests not to celebrate mass in shelters or non-consecrated spaces, have a sufficiently solemn container for the *viaticum*[279] for the sick,[280] and lock up the hosts against mice and godless people. Interestingly, there were requirements that the Eucharist vessels and relics be kept at the altar all the time, suggesting that

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Wenzelskrone, 19, Poche, "Umělecká řemesla gotické doby," 456.
[273] CPSVP, 83.
[274] CPSVP, 87.
[275] Pelikán, *Účty hradu Karlštejna z let 1423-1434*.
[276] Fajt, ed. *Magister Theodoricus*, 46.
[277] Sommer, "Procession," 176.
[278] Ferdinand Hecht, *Das Homiliar des Bischofs von Prag*, Beiträge zur Geschichte Böhmens, Abtheilung I (Prag 1863).
[279] The Eucharist carried to the sick.
[280] Pokorný, *Liturgika IV*, 278,the viaticum is *subutraque* (soaked in the Blood).

treasury as a secluded space was not yet common in Bohemia, with the exception of the episcopal churches.

The Homiliary instructed the priests on the kinds of vessels needed for the service. Care for good hygiene is prominent— the celebrant should have clean underwear, wear special vestments, and church vessels should be clean and stored in a clean place. The Homiliary also gives recommendations concerning preservation of sacred oils—the chrism is kept buried in the earth or locked up to prevent abuse. It also limits the material used for chalices—they should not be made from wood or glass. The church should possess a basic set of liturgical books, a misale, lectionary and antiphonary, and the priest should have an assistent to read psalms for him. Following the Homiliary recommendations, lay people should come to confession, keep fasts, feasts and take communion three times per year on Christmas, Easter and Holy Spirit feasts; in the thirteenth century most lay people, however, came to the Eucharist meal only once a year on Easter,[281] on other occasions they participated in the mystery *per oculos*, i.e. through viewing.

Objects from the treasuries were used in the ceremonies on feasts[282] of the liturgical year. From the eleventh century, processions were held on the feasts of saints, for consecration of churches and on other religious occasions[283] when special rites were also performed; such as during a plague lasting from 1359-1362, when Archbishop Ernest ordered masses, processions, fasting and singing. The *agenda* of Bishop Tobiáš of Bechyně from 1294 informs about the use of church vessels in special blessings and benedictions.[284] Moreover, metropolitan, chapter and monastic churches had their own feasts, processions, and special rites connected to relics.[285]

Specific objects were, of course, used in liturgical performances as well.[286] These performances re-enacted the historical narrative of the suffering of Chris, however, only some of them

[281] Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge University Press, 1991), repr. 1992, 36-7.
[282] Johannes Tripps, *Das Handelnde Bildwerk in der Gotik, Forschungen zu den Bedeutungsschichten und der Funktion des Kirchengebäudes und seiner Ausstattung in der Hoch - und Spätgotik*, 2nd ed. (Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag 2000), 12-13.
[283] Sommer, "Procession in early medieval Bohemia," 170-176.
[284] Describes prayers and benedictions over water and salt in the vigil of Epiphany, and the reach of their power outside the church. APH Sign P3 "…*Efficere ergo aqua sancta, aqua benedicta, aqua que cordes lavat ac mundat peccata…sed efficiaris fons exorcizatus ut ubicunque aspersa fueris sive in domo sive in angulis cubiculorum sive in agro sive super homines sive super pecora vel iumeta* (f.13)…(the God created the sacrament of water as substance towards *"… salutem humani genis maxima…ut…(aqua) serviens ad abrissiendos demons morbosque…in domibus vel locis fidelium…*"(f.14). The use of vases - at the altar -takes place the anointment with oil on the priests head and chalice (f.3). A similar ritual is described for benediction of candles that were afterwards taken home, and protected houses, room corners, beds, and kitchens. APH Sign. P3, f. 35.
[285] See *rubrics* in missals, e.g., missals of Prague St. Vitus in Pilsen, see Appendix II, no. 18.
[286] Tripps, *Das Handelnde Bildwerk*, 12-13.

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could be traced in the inventories of treasuries. In St. Vitus cathedral church, the ritual aspects of liturgy seems to have intensified with Charles' IV reorganisation of the metropolitan chapter and introduction of choral singing and music.[287] Removal of the Lent veil hanging *ante chorum* of the metropolitan church symbolised the coming of the Holy week. In the fourteenth-century missal of St. Vitus,[288] the procession on Palm Sunday led the large wooden figure of a donkey carrying an image of Christ (**pl. 4 Christ on donkey**); it was pulled from the entrance of the church to the main altar whilst boys threw flowers.[289] Later, this (or similar) images were mocked and destroyed by the mob of John of Želiv giving us a rare precise testimony on the Hussites' attack on such practices and objects. During the Easter ceremony, the crucifix, veiled in a borrowed cushion-like textile, was carried in the procession; another Christ sculpture was placed by the grave and people kneeled around it before it was ceremonially buried. A students' mocking performance of such theatrical Palm Sunday processions was even recorded in the writings of Master John Hus.

One way to learn about religious performances in liturgy—performances that are otherwise rarely described—is to look in the inventories of treasuries and Books of Offices. In the Saint Vitus inventory of 1387, a cushion or hanging that veiled the cross (apparently a painted or carved Crucifixion scene on a wooden cross in the interior of the church) during the fasting time is mentioned.[290] An early fifteenth century inventory of the Augustinian church of St. Thomas in Prague even provides an account of an *ymago*, a sculpture of Christ with wounds that was traditionally carried to the grave on Good Friday, where it was buried as in re-enactment of Entombent.[291] A similar practice is already documented for 1366 in the church of Přibyslav. In the donation charter for its services, Zdeněk of Ronov ordered perpetual reading of psalms by six persons continuously between the burial of the image of Crucified Christ until its elevation on the Resurrection Sunday.[292]

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[287] The number of individuals in the St. Vitus chapter rose to 32 canons, 34 vicars, 24 mansionaries, 12 psalmer singers, 12 bonifants, 30 choir students, a provost, and a deacon. In Prague there were around 250 clerics in St. Vitus, 100 in Vyšehrad chapter, 89 in other chapters and colleges, parish priests 107, altar priests 105, monastics 360.
[288] National Library, NK IV D 9 (from the second half of the 14th century there is the St. Sigismund feast).
[289] NK IV D 9, f.13r. *Pueros…sequu(ntur) p(res)b(yte)r portans crucifixu(m) coop(er)tum casula..ante chorum in ducit(ntur?) asell(um) cu(m) ymagine Salvatoris*. Probably lent textile or cushion (*ad modum culcitri*), mentioned in St. Vitus inventory 1387, CPSVP, XLI, no. 308.
[290] CPSVP, XLI, inventory 1387, no. 308, *Cortina alba admodum culcitri, cum qua velatur crux in quadragesima.*
[291] *Codex Thomaeus*, p. codex 255-CXXIIIv, p. edition 373. *Item ymago cum v(u)lneribus que ponitur in sepulcro in die Parasceve*. In Hronský Beňadik, Slovakia, a sculpture of Christ from the Grave is preserved, the Grave is now in the Esztergom Cathedral treasury. In *Codex Thomaeus* also two statutes of pregnant Virgin with the child in her womb are recorded.
[292] LE, vol. 1, 60 (1366) no. 123. Přibyslav "*tumulatione imagines crucifixi incepto tamdiu usque ad elevationem ipsius*".

Another special group of objects in the treasuries are related to private anniversaries. The provision of the *beneficium* justified the donor's right to order particular procedures to be held at the anniversary of his/her death, as well as their setting and the form of the ritual held in his memory. The number of anniversary masses increased in Bohemia in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; for example, *thirty three* solemn masses were said at the altar of the Virgin Mary in St. Bartholomeus church in Plzeň every year in 1485. The anniversaries included carrying the canopy or bier, covering the grave with a cloth—both common in the inventories, and burning numerous candles.[293] In the church of Hoříněves, bells were rung and a solemn procession circled the church twice with candles and a canopy; all these objects were then laid over the grave.[294] In 1367, Jan Očko of Vlašim, the archbishop of Prague, erected the altar of St. Erhard, Ottilia and Albanus in St. Vitus Cathedral, and sent a priest there; during thes annual anniversary of his death, masses of funeral candles were lit.The grave was covered by a cloth[295] and guarded by clergy.[296]

Also royal advent, coronation or burial were accompanied by ceremonies—lasting up to several days with a procession of clergy, knights, servants, university students and town patriciat—demanding the use of special objects for the occasion; some objects of value might have been later added to the church treasury. In 1378, after *ostensio corporis* in Prague Castle, the procession with the deceased Charles IV toured Prague churches; men carried lights, banners of lands and *insignia*, or gold canopy over the tin coffin with gold-embroidered cover. Silver gilded jewels were made for the occasion (and later swapped for wooden for the burial), as well as the decorated biers (*castra doloris*) in every church, where it stopped.[297] Banners, king's armour, coats of arms, as well as crowns of the queen and the family were sacrificed at the altar.

Illumination of the church was an important external sign of the mass.[298] Roman *Ordo* orders the use of at least two candles[299] that in the Late Middle Ages were placed on the altar or held by deacons during procession and the Communion; in practice, the altar was illuminated with up to four

[293] LE. 359, no. 503, 566, no. 762., and others, 582, no. 783, see above.
[294] LE, vol. 4 (1390-1397), 359, no. 503, 557; vol. 5 no. 752 (1402), 566, no.762 (1402).
[295] Covers (*coopertoria*) are mentioned in the Břevnov inventory, Zoubek, "Nový důležitý pramen," 51.
[296] LE, vol. 1, 66 (1367), no. 137.
[297] František Šmahel, "Zur politischen Präsentation und Allegorie im 14. und 15. Jahrhundert," in *Otto-von-Freising Vorlesungen der Katholischen Universität Eichstätt* 9 (Munich: Oldenbourg 1994), 12-17.
[298] E.g., LE, vol. 5(1398-1407), 571, no. 770 (year 1403); 618, no. 837, where lighting was the priest's responsibility.
[299] Franz Machilek, "Spätmittelalterliche Lichtverzeichnisse fränkischer Kirchen," in *Církevní správa*, 83.

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to six candles. Candles were burning at the bier;[300] donations were made to the perpetual light at the Corpus Christi.[301] In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, provision of candles and large Easter candles (*postavnik* in Czech) were mentioned also in church accounts as tokens of peace settlements,[302] and numerous iron, brass, bronze or silver candlesticks were inventoried in the church inventories. Next to the ornate liturgical vestments that were inseparate part of the mass since early Christianity, the decorative textiles of various kinds (as tapestries, cushions)—in spite of their passive role in the cult—contributed to solemn decoration of the sacred act. It was this complex solemn setting that the objects in treasuries created; as such, the treasury objects helped to symbolically frame the re-enactment of Christ´s sacrifice.

2. The Eucharist cult and treasuries

Over the course of the fourteenth century, the growing cult of the Eucharist influenced the composition of treasuries and structure of the inventories by introducing new objects into treasury—the monstrances for Corpus Christi among others. Over time, these containers for the consecrated Host exhibited on the altars and in sanctuaries or carried in processions were considered among the most important items in the treasury. To the treasuries were added other objects related to the public cult of the Eucharist: a decorated bier and ribbons for the monstrance, banners, and canopies – all used during processions requiring solemn vestments, not only for the priest, but also the laity. Unlike the development of the Eucharist position in cult—which is in line with a growing interest in the rest of Europe—its position in the liturgy in Bohemia led in the fifteenth century to remarkable results that left their mark on the compositon of treasuries; therefore I would like to dedicate a separate subchapter to the Eucharist.

From the mid-thirteenth century and in the fourteenth century, the position of the Eucharist in Christian worship became more accentuated.[303] The Eucharist was detached from other sacraments,

[300] LE, vol. 5 (1398-1407), 582, no. 783, and 593, no. 798.
[301] Eg. LE, vol. 5 (1398-1407), 662-3, no. 894, (1405).
[302] E.g., in 1504, in the peace settlement contract of Jan Bavor of Švamberk, who had killed a son of a Plzeň burgher, he promised to send a pilgrim to Aachen and donate a large candle (*postavník*) made from four pounds of wax. Michal Dragoun, "Vybavení kostela sv. Bartoloměje v Plzni," 7.
[303] The Fourth Lateran council in 1215 accepted the dogma of transubstantiation, declared that the Eucharist contains the real Body and Blood of Christ (Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 36-7), and also provided rules for its protection. In 1264, the feast of Corpus Christi was established in Latin Christianity. Confirmed in 1317 by Pope John XXII, the feast was celebrated with mass and processions. The Eucharist was displayed in the church, played a part in the Easter ritual, healed the sick, was carried to them, and was used in blessings. The eternal light was added to mark the location of the Eucharist in the church. David R Holeton, *The Bohemian Eucharistic movement in its European context*, BRRP 1 (1996), 24, 26-27. The

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and its importance was related to the faithful by way of reports on related miracles. As a result, interest in the Eucharist grew, confraternities of the Corpus Christi were established, and Corpus Christi altars erected. During the thirteenth century, the chalice was withdrawn from lay Communion entirely, originally for reasons of safty (the danger of spiling the Blood or spreading disease). According to Church doctrine, the need to take the Christ's body in full (i.e. under both kinds) was not affected in any way; in the consecrated Host the real presence was both the Blood and the Body (*concomitance*), and the Communion under one kind of host was deemed valid as it was under both.[304] Secondly, it was claimed that the Salvation-bringing effect of the Eucharist was independent from the priest´s character and deeds. Later developments in Bohemia, however, placed both these claims under scrutiny.

Public devotion of Corpus Christi played the central part in the rituals surrounding the Eucharist,.[305] Corpus Christi processions in St. Vitus cathedral were already attested before the mid-fourteenth century.[306] It is remarkable that the growing public veneration of the Eucharist in Bohemia caught up closely with developments in France and Germany. As a part of a general development across Europe, incentives for the growth of the Eucharist cult in Bohemia were already introduced by the last Přemyslids around 1320. Cunigonde, abbess of St. George monastery, prompted the development of devotional iconography of the Christ's sacrifice in her Passional.[307] Elisabeth, queen of Bohemia, had already donated a reliquary with a miraculous Host from Ivančice in Moravia to Zbraslav Cistercian monastery shortly before 1321.[308] Later, the Olomouc bishop Jan Volek, an illegitimate son of Wenceslaus II and step-brother of Elisabeth, possibly donated—with the approval of Charles IV—the gilded reliquary statuette of the Man of Sorrows (today in Baltimore) to the Benedictine monastery in Pustiměř in commemoration of the queen and her parents.[309] (**pl. 5, Vir dolorum, the Baltimore reliquary**) It may be of significance here that in Paris the processions for the

Host was shown raised before to the community accompanied by ringing bells. In the fifteenth century, raising the Eurcharist on high was practised, together with both the celebrant and the believers kneeling, and accompanied by expressive gestures. When the Communion followed, it was opened by kissing the *osculatorium (osculum)* or *pacificalis (monstrancia pro pace, paczem)*, i.e. kiss of peace. The priest communicated on behalf of the faithful consecrated bread on a patene and wine from the chalice; the faithful then took part in communion only with the bread. In Bohemia, the lay chalice and Communion by children was introduced in the fifteenth century.

[304] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 55-6.

[305] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 243-259.

[306] CPSVP I (1354), IV, no. 61. *Una monstrancia cristallina, in qua portatur corpus christi in die corporis xpi.*

[307] National Library Prague, UK XIV A 17, fol. 3a, dated ar. 1320. Karel Stejskal, and Emma Urbánková, *Pasionál Abatyše Kunhuty* (Pasionale of the Abess Cunigunde) (Prague: Odeon, 1975), 11-16.

[308] Sekyrka, *Inventáře*, no. 212, 180-1. Neuwirth, *Geschichte der Bildenden Kunst*, 148.

[309] Karel Otavský, "Relikviářová statueta Bolestného Krista s nástroji a symboly jeho umučení" (Reliquary statuette of the Man of Sorrows with *arma Christi*) in *Karel IV., císař z Boží milosti*, 153.

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feast of Corpus Christi took place after the year 1323, i.e. in the same year that the later Bohemian king and Roman Emperor Charles IV of Luxembourg arrived in France to receive his education.[310]

The apogee of the cult of Corpus Christi was particularly marked in church interiors as well as in treasuries. The Sacrament was displayed for adoration[311] in Bohemian churches by the mid-fourteenth century, probably at the altar or in a stone enclosure with a fence in the wall.[312] An iron gilded tabernacle made around 1375 replaced a golden pyx with a gilded dove hanging above the main altar in the chapel of St. Wenceslaus in the cathedral of St. Vitus; the dove statuette is attested around the mid-fourteenth century, and may have come from Charles' IV original decoration of the chapel from 1330s.[313] Before 1379/1380, a priest named Valentin carved a (stone?) tabernacle for the Eucharist for the Zbraslav church of St. Gallus;[314] the Eucharist was shown directly at the altar ("*vidit ante altarem*"). In Bohemia, as in Germany, elaborate stone tabernacles (*pastoforia*)[315] were carved in the side walls of the church to provide the Eucharist with a distinguished location.[316]

Designed for viewing, vessels for the Eucharist were often made of transparent glass or comprised a crystal cylinder with *lunula* for mounting the Host and heldin silver or gold. Similar arrangements was made for the reliquaries, indeed, the name is revealing—the term *monstrantia* (or *monstrancia*) was used in the Bohemian inventories for both the Eucharistic vessels and reliquaries. Moreover, the use of the same vessel for both the Host and a relic, is also attested in the sources.[317] In 1379-1382, the church of the Virgin Mary at Tyne had a large *monstrancia* for public presentation of the Eucharist, probably meant to be placed at the main altar.[318] The church also possessed special

[310] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 243. The synodal statutes first decreed there would be a Corpus Christi procession in Sens in 1320, then in Paris in 1323.
[311] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 289-90.
[312] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 44. Protection of the Eucharist was regulated by the synodal stattutes. Generally, it was kept for a week.
[313] CPSVP, inv. I (1354), V, no. 64. *Pixis aurea cum columba deaurata, pendens ad sanctum Wenceslaum super aram pro reservatione corporis xpi. Karel IV., císař z Boží milosti*, cat. no. 68, p. 219. Marie Kostílková, "Pastoforium katedrály sv. Víta v Praze,"(Tabernacle of St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague), *Umění* 23 (1975), 536-543. Made by Master Václav, it shows influence of Parler's architecture.
[314] "*corpus dominicum vidit ante altare iacere in matta... quem locum matte demum excisit ...eccl s. Galli in Aula Regia valentinus plebanus*". *Protocolum*.
[315] St. Bartholomeus in Kolín, dated from 1360-1380. An example of the Utraquist stone tabernacle: Hradec Králové (Kateřina Horníčková, "Enrichment to public representation of (Czech) Utraquist towns," BRRP 7, (forthcoming), dates to the second half of the fifteenth century).
[316] The tabernacles were marked by the figures of angels bowing or censing the niche or central space, Kateřina Horníčková, "Eucharistický Kristus mezi anděly z Týna," in *Žena ve člunu*, ed. Horníčková, Šroněk (Praha: Artefactum, 2007), 226-9.
[317] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 290-1. *Codex Thomaeus*, pag. 189, 377.
[318] *due canne (straws) argentee pro communica(n)tibus. Item una monstrancia magna argentea deaurata pro corpore Christi. Protocolum*, 101.

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vessels for the Communion—two silver straws for the Communion of wine. From this church there is also an interresting mention of three silk cloths for the ministrants, who covered the altar to hide it from the eyes of the faithful when they communicated.[319] The practice of obstructing the view of the faithful on the altar at the moment of the Communion might have been inspired by the fact that the main altar of the church was consecrated to the Virgin Mary and the Corpus Christi, the latter being present on the altar in a form of the consecrated host in the monstrance.

Towards the end of the fourteenth century, mentions of large silver monstrances for the Eucharist (of the "spire type") occur in Bohemian inventories, a few of them are also preserved.[320] Carried on biers by several men, they were sources of parish patriotism and pride as well as the show-pieces of the community's wealth. As for other objects from the treasury, relics could have also been carried in the Corpus Christi processions and shown during the feast of Corpus Christi.[321] Social hierarchy manifested in the symbols of guilds and confraternities such as coats-of-arms and banners, were often kept in the treasury of the church.[322] Regardless of the confessional environment, lay participation in the processions grew in the fifteenth century; their increasingly secular staging even led the Church authorities in Bohemia to set limits to it.[323]

The role of Emperor Charles IV in the growing devotion to relics has been observed, but there has been little interest in the parallel growth of devotion to the Eucharist and its connection to the court of Charles IV. In his youth, Charles wittnessed the introduction of Corpus Christi processions in Paris, and began his autobiography with a description of the exegetic reading of the Eucharist meal.[324] As attested in the sources, the Emperor took communion with the Eucharist frequently, and

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[319] *una palla festivalis pulcra cum antependili et angularibus sericeis. Item III panni sericei pulcri pro ministrantibus et quando communicant homines, tunc tenentur ante altare. Et iste res reservantur in dote plebani per plebanum*, *Protocolum*, 101.

[320] Monstrances in sources: in Tyne church 1379/80, *Protocolum*, 101, in Kutná Hora, Blanka Altová, and Helena Štroblová, eds. *Kutná Hora* (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2000), 324, Jan Kořínek, *Staré paměti kutnohorské* (Old memories of Kutná Hora) (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2000), 315. Preserved monstrancies: monstrance of Sedlec, height 96 cm, possibly 1389, Altová, and Štroblová, *Kutná Hora*, 323. Fajt, *Karel IV., císař z Boží milosti*, 75, cat. 9.13, Velká Bíteš, ibid, 305-6, cat. no 112, height 85,7 cm.

[321] Maria Starnawska, "Procesje z relikwiami w metropolii gnieznienskiej w sreniowieczu (Processions with relics in the metropole of Gniezno in the Middle Ages," *Colloquia medievalia pragensia* 6. *Zbožnost středověku* (2006), 74-5.

[322] Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 261-3, also the critique of it, 265, Hana Pátková, *Bratrstva ke cti Božie*. *Poznámky ke kulturní činnosti bratrstev a cechů ve středověkých Čechách* (Brotherhoods to the honour of God, notes on cultural activities of brotherhoods and guilds in medieval Bohemia) (Prague: KLP, 2000).

[323] Rubin, *Corpus Christi,* 292-3. In 1436 in Brno, the legate ishop Philibert had to ban dressing up formasquarades put on by the laity during these processions.

[324] *Karoli IV imperatoris Romanorum vita ab eo ipso conscripta et Hystoria nova de sancto Wenceslao martyre: Autobiography of Emperor charles IV and his legend of St. Wenceslas*, ed. Balázs Nagy and Frank Schaer, trans. Paul W. Knoll and Frank Schaer (Budapest: CEU Medievalia, 2001).

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demonstrated piety to the Eucharist in public.[325]The innovative iconography of the Man of Sorrows (*Imago Pietatis*) with its theoforic content[326] developed within his court, and was even given a central place in the decoration of the sacred spaces in Karlštejn castle (southwest of Prague) that originally had been dedicated to the Suffering of Christ.[327] It may not be a coincidence that confraternities of Corpus Christi appear in the sources shortly after his death.[328]

Although I cannot further analyse Charles' personal role in the promotion of the Eucharist movement, it is nevertheless clear that his court played an active part in the growing cult.[329] Only four years after Charles' death, an exclusive Corpus Christi confraternity[330] was formed at the imperial court of his son Wenceslas IV. Upon its initiative, but possibly stemming from an earlier idea, the Corpus Christi chapel in the New Town was built in 1382 on the place of an earlier structure, where the annual displays of relics, including those of the Passion,[331] took place. The chapel immeadiately became a key structure in the Prague New Town religious life and a challenge to traditional religious institutions in the Old Town. On Sadeler's engraving, the interesting, complicated structure reveals an outer ring of balconies for the displays of relics in all directions, and a central structure reminiscent of a tower; due to the building's importance, archaeological research at the destroyed site remains a desideratum.

During Charles' IV reign, the Eucharist stood at the centre of attention of the early reform

[325] *Karel IV, císař z Boží milosti*, 147. *Sermo factus per dominum johannem archiepiscopum pragensem post mortem imperatoris caroli iv*, http://www.clavmon.cz/clavis/FRRB/chronica/SERMO%20Ocko.htm.

[326] The iconography creates a direct visual link between the Eucharist and the Passion. In the 1370-1380s, the stained glass window of All Saints church in Slivenec was decorated with an image of the Man of Sorrows with the Host and the Chalice; Prague workshops developed a new theoforic iconography of the Man of Sorrows before 1370 at the latest, making Bohemia an early centre of this type of christological imagery. Horníčková, "Eucharistický Kristus," 211-3. Pavlína Cermanová, "Bolestný Kristus v Kaplickém misálu," in *Žena ve člunu*, 71-77. Fajt, ed. *Karel IV, císař z Boží milosti*, 342, fig. IV.31.

[327] Theodoric's painting of the "living" Man of Sorrows with opened eyes in the the Grave was originally placed directly above the niche above the altar in the Holy Cross church, flanked by theoforic subjects of the Three women at the Grave with myrth and the Angels at the Grave dressed as deacons pointing at Christ (Lc 24, 4). Also the southeastern window niche with the Betany scene and the Eucharist Lamb and angels with incense and censers on the western wall correspond with the Eucharist programme.

[328] 1382 for the New Town of Prague, 1384 in Kutná Hora, Hana Pátková, *Bratrstva ke cti Božie. Poznámky ke kulturní činnosti bratrstev a cechů ve středověkých Čechách* (Prague: KLP, 2000), 2.

[329] For instance, in 1384 (or 1389?), archbishop John of Jenštejn founded the Corpus Christi confraternity in Sedlec near Kutná Hora, with a sepulchre attached to the St. Phillip and Jacob church in the monastery; the Sedlec monstrance [above] may have been donated on this occassion. Altová, and Štroblová, *Kutná Hora*, 323.

[330] Pátková, *Bratrstva ke cti Božie.* Brotherhoods in other churches followed, eg. in the Tyne 1386, in St. Michael in Opatovice 1387, together with endowments for the altars of Corpus Christi. Karel Konrád, *Dějiny posvátného zpěvu staročeského* (History of Old Czech sacred singing), vol. 1, (Prague 1881), 91-2. Members participated in the Corpus Christi processions, sung masses together and donated books and banners; in this form the brotherhoods also flourished in the Utraquist environment. In the Utraquist Tyne church, in 1512, members of a literary brotherhood paraded around the pillars in the interior of the church every Thursday.

[331] Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 291-2.

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thinkers among the Prague preachers.[332] First, Milíč of Kroměříž (Cremsier) promoted frequent Communion[333] around 1370 among the commoners in Prague. His exhortation found followers among "public women" and priests in the Jerusalem religious community who received the Eucharist daily."[334] Milíč's defender and Paris-educated priest, Matthew (Matěj) of Janov, continued to defend frequent Communion before the end of the century,[335] and found support for it in the practices of the early Church. Matthew encouraged laity to accept the Eucharist daily as a condition for Salvation, but was forced to recant his theses at the diocesan synod in Prague on October 19, 1388,under pressure by the Church authorities. The synod restricted frequent Communion, allowing it only once a month and *verbis expresis* promoted the veneration of the images and saints[336] that Matthew and his followers criticised. Frequent Communion, however, gained unexpected support from the Prague archbishop John of Jenštejn after his conversion.

After Matthew, communicating "on behalf of the faithful"[337] was rejected by later reform-minded theologians,[338] and culminated in the return of the lay chalice by Jacobellus of Mies (Jakoubek of Stříbro), who had permitted the laity communicate using both types from 1414 with Hus' consent from Constanz. As a consequence of the re-introduction of the lay chalice, the nature of the Eucharist after the Trans-substantiation and practicalities of its lay administration were discussed among various Hussite fractions revealing unresolved differences between the radicals, the Prague University Masters, or, after 1434, the Utraquists. More significantly for the composition of Utraquist treasuries in the fiftenth century, the Communion of children appeared on the agenda in 1419 at the latest (**pl. 6, Jena Codex, Communion of children**), a practice that was reflected in the inventories.[339] Regulations were issued on carrying the Blood in the processions,[340] and to the sick—a serious practical problem for administrating the chalice. Although attempts to unify Eucharistic practices among the Hussites failed. Important modifications to the rite were confirmed (lay chalice, Communion of the minors,

[332] On the discussion of Milíč's place among the predecessors of the Bohemian Reformation, Mengel, "Bones, stones and brothels," 217-8.
[333] Holeton, "The Bohemian Eucharistic movement," 23 - 47.
[334] Holeton, "The Bohemian Eucharist movement", 29. For Jerusalem, Mengel, "Bones, Stones, and Brothels," 246-58, who sees the community and its frequent Communion in the European context of the Eucharist movement.
[335] Holeton writes that "at the end of the fourteenth century is this (Eucharistic) movement the strongest in Europe." Holeton, "The Bohemian Eucharist movement", 34.
[336] Matthew of Janov. *Regulae Veteris et Novi Testamenti*, 4 vols. ed. Vlastimil Kybal (Innsbruck and Prague: 1908-1913), 20.
[337] Holeton, "The Bohemian Eucharist movement", 30.
[338] Among them Vojtěch Raňkův of Ježov, Mateusz of Cracow and Henry of Bitterfeld. Holeton, "The Bohemian Eucharist movement", 31-34. Community aspect of Communion is popularised by Tomáš Štítný.
[339] This dating discussed by Zylinská, *Husitské synody*, 33-35.
[340] Zylinská, *Husitské synody*, 38.

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and the frequent Communion) in the synods of the 1430s, which were shared—with differences—across the spectrum of the Bohemian Reformation. Although it is only marginally reflected in the treasuries (chapter 6), the lay chalice liturgy had far reaching consequences for the use of chalices. Their cultural meaning also changed: the chalice became a symbol of the Hussite movement.

In Utraquism, the Eucharist enjoyed a central position in the rite. It was fostered by the designated Prague archbishop, Jan Rokycana (**Pl. 7, Picolomini, *Historia bohemica*, Rokycana adoring the Host and the Communion under both species**). He maintained that the Eucharist must be kept all the time before the eyes of the faithful.[341] The centrality of the Eucharist in Utraquism contributed to development of the Utraquist-type altarpiece in the fiftenth century (**Pl. 58a,b – Libiš, Slavětín**),[342] and to the popularity of large monstrances for the Corpus Christi[343] and Utraquist Eucharist vessels known from the inventories as well as a few preserved pieces.[344] Due to great losses in medieval metalwork and hostility towards these "heretical" objects during re-Catholisation, only one—with great certainity—the Utraquist chalice[345] and one ciborium[346] have survived to the present. Only written evidence now testifies to their popularity in the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries.

3. Holy Relics in Treasuries and Devotion

Throughout the Late Middle Ages, holy relics still maintaned a central position in the Christian cult. As material objects, they also kept this position in the treasuries of Bohemian churches in pre-Hussite period and their inventories.[347] In the fourteenth century, the piety exercised through viewing (*Schaudevotion*)[348] influenced the handling of relics and their public presentation—relics were often removed of the treasury for public viewing. Enclosed in precious silver and gold reliquaries, in

[341] František Šimek, ed. *Postila Jana Rokycany* (Postilla of Jan Rokycana) vol. 1 (Prague: Komise pro vydávání pramenů českého hnutí náboženského, 1928).
[342] Utraquist altarpieces with a central niche for the monstrance of around 1450 - after 1500, sometimes with the Eucharist Man of Sorrows, angels bowing etc.: Slavětín, Libiš, Chrudim. Jaroslav Pešina, *Česká malba pozdní gotiky a renesance* (Czech painting in late Gothic and Renaissance time) (Prague: Orbis 1950), pl.. 249, 94, 70.
[343] The question of the Hussite origin of the sun-type monstrance is still open (as depicted in the Codex Krumlov) – I have left it out of my considerations, as no preserved piece nor entry in an inventory of this type of monstrance is known to me.
[344] The large monstrance of Mělník, Cat. 6, in: Dana Stehlíková, *Z pokladů litoměřické diecéze III. Umělecké řemeslo 13.-19. století*. Cat. of exhibition (Litoměřice: Galerie výtvarného umění Litoměřice, 1997), 47.
[345] An Utraquist chalice with a spout of Kadaň, in Stehlíková, *Z pokladů litoměřické diecéze III*, 112-3, cat. no. 146. Unlike the metalwork, the altarpieces from an Utraquist environment are preserved in large numbers, cf. Pešina, *Česká malba pozdní gotiky*.
[346] Utraquist pyx, see Kateřina Horníčková, "Cat. 66" in *Mysterium. L´Eucaristia nei capolavori dell´arte europea,* ed. Alesssandro Geretti, (Milano, Skira 2005), 254-55.
[347] In my work no consideration will be taken of tombs of saints and relics used for altar consecrations, as these were not kept in the treasuries. I.e. I include only "movable" relics
[348] Starnawska, *Swietych zicye po zicyu*, 364.

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beautiful goldsmithing works adorned with images, precious stones and pearls or in wooden statues, their wrapping as an expression of devotion, and they were both venerated in this form.[349] My interest in these relics is not only restricted to their preservation in reliquaries in the treasury rooms. However, in this and the following chapters I will look closely at how this particular part of the treasury was manipulated to illuminate their uses, religious power, and growing role in the Christian cult, which mark the apogee of the treasuries in fourteenth century Bohemia.

So far there has been no substantial study on the distribution of relics in Bohemia before Charles IV. The veneration of relics was already attested for the time around 1000.[350] The number of relics in Bohemia, which was Christianised relatively late, was however, rather low in comparison with the West. Outside Prague, no major accumulations of relics appeared before the collecting activity of Charles IV beyond several important donations to the monasteries under royal or noble patronage in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[351] Monasteries[352] possessed more relics than parish churches, but collections before the fourteenth century do not seem to have been substantial.[353]

As elsewhere, relics in Bohemia were used in official ceremonies, were the source of miracles, and were invoked when intercession was needed during times of plague[354] illness, attack, or in any important activity. Bishop Jan IV of Dražice brought relics for the laying of the foundation stone of the Roudnice bridge on the Labe river in 1333.[355] The same year, the relics and banners were carried in a procession for the recovery of Princess Margaret, daughter of John of Luxembourg; this time the intervention was not successful.[356] In 1338, clergy and Prague citizens carried relics and banners in procession to protect the city of Prague from swarms of locusts.[357] Relics were also carried in the processions upon the occasion of royal or episcopal *entrées*.[358]

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[349] From the time of the 4th Lateran council in 1215, it was not permitted to show bare relics. Starnawska, *Swietych zicye po zicyu*, 363.
[350] Sommer, "Procession", 169.
[351] E.g., The Cistercian monastery of Vyšší Brod, or Zlatá Koruna which possessed important relics, or that of Sázava with the body of St. Procopius.
[352] For instance in 1328, when 40 days indulgences were awarded to those who came to the Řepín castle chapel of the German knights to visit the relics of the Holy Rood, St. Paul the Apostle, SS. John and Paul the Martyrs, and SS. Elisabeth, Barbara and Agatha (Emler, RBM, 561, no. 1433), parish churches could not compete with monasteries in the possession of relics.
[353] *Codex Thommaeus*, 201-202, for the Augustinian Hermits in Sušice in 1339.
[354] *Chronicon Francisci*, 120. Plague 1328: *Porro Elisabeth regina matu tante plaqe per territa processiones cum reliquiis sanctorum universo clero et populo Pragensi iudicit...*
[355] Year 1333. *Chronicon Francisci*, 81.
[356] *Chronicon Francisci*, 139.
[357] *Chronicon Francisci*, 169, year 1338.
[358] In 1324, Elisabeth of Přemyslid, the Queen of Bohemia, returned from her Bavarian "exile", and was met by a procession with participants singing songs and carrying relics. (*Zbraslavská kronika*, 346.) In 1329, when the

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An interesting collection of relics that provides insight into the distribution of relics in Prague before Charles IV belonged to Oldřich of Paběnice, later abbot of the Cistercian monastery of Sedlec He was an important religious figure with connections. He collected his relics in 1326-1328,[359] shortly before he entered the monastery and in his first years at the Cistercian monastery; he might have used his position as the diocesan administrator to gain access to the relics in (mostly) Prague monastic and parish treasuries; some however, he got from private persons. The charter lists more than 89 relics from 63 saints with their origin, next to the body part, proof of authenticity or the authority that confirmed it.[360] Some have been noted only as *alia paria sub suis certis titulis*, according their little tags.[361]

Among institutions which gave Oldřich part of their relics were: the cathedral of St. Vitus, the monasteries of St. George's (Benedictines), St. Thomas (Augustinians), Strahov (Premonstratians), Zderaz (Cruciferous Knights), and St. Jacob (Franciscans) in Prague, and the monasteries of Postoloprty (Benedictine) and Horažďovice (Knights of Malta). Another source were the parish churches of St. Benedict[362], St. Egidius[363], and the Virgin on Pond[364]; finally, he also collected relics from individuals. With relics from individualsit is not possible to distinguish wheather the relics were the result by personal collection by the cleric or derive from the treasuries of their churches.[365]

PragueBishop Jan IV of Dražice approached Prague after 11 years in Avignon. He was met by clergy with relics and banners (*Chronicon Francisci*, 79). In November 1333, Charles IV returned from France to Prague via Zbraslav, where a procession of clerics with relics and banners met him, whilst Prague bells were ringing (*Chronicon Francisci*, 139). More than a hundred years later in 1438, when king-elect Albrecht of Austria was approaching —predominantly Utraquist— Prague, next to Utraquist burghers, and Catholic officials, St. Vitus canons and students with relics met him at the Strahov gate (CPSVP, 88).

[359] Appendix I, no. 2, Sekyrka has the dating of 1330. RBM 4, no. 1722, Zdenka Hledíková, "Závěť Elišky Přemyslovny" (Testament of Elisabeth of Přemyslid), in *Královský Vyšehrad* 3, ed. Bořivoj Nechvátal (Kostelní Vydří: Karmelitánské nakladatelství, 2007), 132.

[360] When receiving the relic of St. Margaret from the parish priest of St. Benedict church in Prague, a piece was even cut out from the skull in the presence of witnesses. RBM, 673, no.1722.

[361] *...et multa alia paria sub certis titulis collocata*. RBM, 673.

[362] This was a rich parish with the relics set in beautiful reliquaries noted also by Pavel of Janowicz forty years later, *Protocolum*, 98. It is likely that Pavel also saw there the reliquary of St. Margareth, the Andreas piece was cut from.

[363] This church gave Andreas multiple relics: a finger of St. Martin, a bone of St. Wenceslaus, both under episcopal seal, bones of St. Adalbert and St. Ludmila, teeth of St. Scholastica and Procopius with his brothers, and stone of St. Stephen. In 1379-80, Pavel of Janowicz found the church empty without ornaments—reliquaries, chalices and vestments were all stolen. A preserved reliquary of St. Eligius (a relic donated by Charles IV in 1378) was either still at the goldsmith's or kept elsewhere.

[364] This church is also well-decorated with at least 6 altars in 1379/80, a cross and textiles. *Protocolum*, 75.

[365] The Queen's chancellor Nicolaus, Werher, the canon of St. Vitus, Rygensus, archbishop from Avignon, and Wenceslaus, son of Rudolp Cosar, who had inherited numerous valuable relics from his deceased brother Bartholomeus, the chaplain of King Wenceslaus, who travelled to Rome and elsewhere. Michael, priest at St. John the Baptist in Újezd, and Wenceslaus, priest in St. John the Baptist in Prague. RBM, 674.

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The composition of relics is centered to more on the trustworthy relics of saints, including Bohemian saints, and disregarded the potentially troublesome memorial relics of Christ and *loca sancta*.[366] Some relics Oldřich collected were, however, highly regarded: there were pieces from the Holy Rood, the dress of the Virgin, Christ´ *lintheamina*, relics of Apostles, St. John Baptist and all Czech patron saints. Oldřich received particles of the Holy Rood inserted in a small silver cross through which miracles even occurred! The inventory also reveals that Oldřich clearly tried to avoid repetition of saints and to achieve as wide a variety as possible—the names of saints were rarely repeated.

Oldřich apparently insisted on the reliable origin of his relics: they cover all major religious orders, Prague parish churches, and clerics with contacts abroad. Oldřich's collection shows a systematic approach of a theologically educated individual to the collection of relics. However, we cannot be sure if this was intended as a private collection or one that was compiled with a hope of later enrichment from, for example, the Sedlec Cistercian treasury.[367] Large personal collections of relics are known in the later period, and for Bohemia his collection not only testifies to the presence of an early collector, but also to the availability of relics in Prague treasuries before Charles IV.

Relics as a medium of new, accelarated devotion were at their peak in the first quarter of the fourteenth century in Bohemia. The image we are given of pre-Charles IV relics in Bohemia seems to be difficult to grasp at first. Due to late Christianisation, Bohemia's possession of relics clearly did not match the growing importance of the kingdom on the European map.[368] On the other hand, the memory of Přemyslid aspirations survived in Bohemia with the dynasty's latest members (chapter IV). New devotion to relics was also promoted by educated individuals with a religious background and having international as well as local contacts, who collected relics out of private interest. This support in 1310s -1320s helped Bohemia to catch up with the up-to-date forms of piety fashionable in the West and foster the cult of relics.

The second half of the fourteenth century is marked by an influx of relics to Bohemia and even to parish churches.[369] By 1390, the Prague parish church of St. Gallus possessed more than forty relics,

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[366] Hledíková, "Závěť Elišky Přemyslovny", 132.
[367] The charter stated that the relics were entrusted to Oldřich by the representatives *sub fide ipsorum ob dei et sanctorum honorem* which does not imply private use. RBM, 673.
[368] Mengel, "Bones, stones and brothels," 267.
[369] St. Gallus: LE, vol. 4, 285. Sekyrka, *Inventáře*, 119-126, no. 93. Eršil-Pražák, no. 263, APH l. 223, sign. XI 1, XI 2, XI 3). St. Eligius, Sekyrka, *Inventáře*, 4, 66-68, Bohuš, the chaplain of Charles IV.

including the relics of the Passion and memoria of the Virgin Mary.[370] The distribution of relics created a virtual sacred topography of Prague.[371] The rapid development of Bohemian treasuries was related to the boom in relics I will demonstrate in more detail in Chapter V.

The primary position of relics in church treasuries was indicated in inventories where they were regularly listed first, as in the inventories of St. Vitus in Prague, and St. Wenceslaus in Olomouc, of parish church dedicated to St. Gallus, and the castle in Krumlov.[372] Relics in treasuries were enclosed in body-part reliquaries, such as busts and hands (*capita*, *manus*, *brachium*) (**Pl. 8, Reliquary bust of St. Adalbert, Prague, St. Vitus treasury**), figure-shaped reliquaries (*ymago*), plenaries (*tabula*), boxes (*capsae*), crosses, ampules, and spire-shapes or other ostensories (usually *monstrantia*) although unwrapped bone relics (*ossa*) were placed there as well. Relics in treasuries were hierarchicaly organised following the importance of the saint in the cult[373] or shape of the reliquary; in these orders they were also exhibited.[374] Patron saints, whose relics were assigned the most important position in the inventory, as well as in the church's space, were placed in busts (*capita*) or hand reliquaries; special shapes were often used for the *memoria* of Christ and the Virgin.

Due to Church's restrictions on showing relics bare during the displays,[375] the visual qualities of the craftsmanship and material of the reliquaries' decoration became an important factor in the communication of sanctity to the people,[376] as these objects were sometimes the only thing the faithful could actually see. Thus, popular forms of reliquaries in the fourteenth century were arm-shaped giving the physical appearance of the saint, and *ostensoria* in various shapes where the relics were enclosed in crystal cylinders or placed under transparent *oculi*. In the fourteenth century, the significant change in the cult of relics lies not in the beneficial effect of relics, but in their wider accessibility and the accentuation of visual contact.

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[370] A large piece of the skull of St. Gallus, part of the hand of St. Gallus, part of *peplum* and *cingulum beatae Mariae Virginis*, thorn of the Crown of Thorns, *mensale Domini*, piece of the Holy Rood, relics of Apostles St. Peter, Paul, Andrew, Bartolomeus, Philip and James the Minor, relics of St. Longinus, Valentinus, Mary Magdalene, George, Laurentius, Stephan, Martin, Nicolaus, Wenceslaus, Adalbert, Ludmilla, Sebastian, Catherina, Ursula, Dorothea, Mary of Egypt, Calixtus, Kylian, Gereon, Elena, Simplicus, Gertruda, Lazarus, Robert, and Mauritius, the teeth of St. Blasius and St. John the Baptist, relics of the eleven thousand virgins, and of many other saints. Sekyrka, *Inventáře*, 119-126, no. 93. Eršil-Pražák, no. 263, APH l. 223, sign. XI 1, XI 2, XI 3.

[371] Mengel, "Bones, Stones and Brothels," 297, etc.

[372] Appendix II, 1,2.

[373] Starnawska, *Swietych zicye po zicyu*, 369.

[374] Starnawska, *Swietych zicye po zicyu*, 368-9.

[375] Starnawska differentiates between relics' displays (*ostensiones*, generally outside, to the crowd), and exhibitions (*wystawienia*, often inside the church on altars). Starnawska, *Swietych zicye po zicyu*, 365, 373. Description of exhibition during the mass, 375.

[376] Anton Legner, *Reliquien in Kunst und Kult. Zwischen Antike und Aufklärung*, (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgeselschaft, 1995), 134-5.

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Local important relics may have been promoted in other media where the relics were represented visually (**Pl. 9, *Tunica alba* (white tunic of Christ) on the Vartemberk votive panel**) or through hearing (sermons). Towards the end of the fourteenth century, a new practice of the insertion of relics into images and statues was introduced in Bohemia;[377] the relics thus, accompany the visual representation of the saint. It needs further study to explain the origin and theological background of this practise, first used in Karlštejn by Master Theodoricus before 1365, but already anticipated in Prague goldsmithing works around the mid-fourteenth century (statuettes reliquaries[378]). As Janov's early Reformation critique of the use of images diplayed a fear of false *effigies*, by inserting a relic into an image, the authenticity of the image was confirmed, and its form justified by the relic's presence; this practice may have been a reaction to the "idolatrious" images produced by the Antichrist.[379] In contrast,, it is possible to see the relic in the image as a form of the visual promotion of the relic in a widely-understandable visual representation amidst the doubts cast on the origin of some of them. The physical combination of relic and image in a "unified" physical and visual presence of the saint might have originally aimed at elimination of the reformists' criticisms and at enforcing the position of images; it may have, on the other hand, contributed to the opposition to the use of images in the cult.

The prestige of relics and miracle-making images grew with the numerous indulgences attached to them.[380] The theology of the "treasury of merits" became a powerful, means of generating income in the organisation of the cults, and, in consequence, the theological background of relics influenced the physical composition of the church treasuries. The collections of relics in the treasuries grew as the result of donations towards the end of the fourteenth century, as did the payments for them, becoming a significant part of the church's economy.[381] And with them grew the critique of *merchandised devotion* bound to indulgences, relics and images to become an issue in the Hussite movement.

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[377] Relics in the images in the St. Vitus inventories, CPSVP, LV, inventory of 1387 (panelling of the tomb of St. Wenceslaus), or the inventory of 1420, item 28.
[378] I mean here the figural composition of one (or several) figures of saints, which narrated the events related to the relic. Several such examples are known from the sources. The only preserved example is the reliquary statue of the Vir Dolorum, now in Baltimore, The Walters Art Gallery, inv.no. 57.700.
[379] Those marked by the Antichrist "*vocantur non veraci effigie, sed fallaci imagine Christiani*," Karel Chytil, *Antikrist v naukách a umění středověku a husitské obrazové antiteze* (Antichrist in the teachings and art of the Middle Ages and the Hussite pictorial antitheses), Rozpravy I 59 (Prague 1918), 11, from St. Augustine. Antichrist eschatology was popular in the Charles IV' s court (chap. V).
[380] Indulgences to these images with relics, eg. Madonnas of Vyšehrad, Staré Brno, Roudnice. Šroněk, "Šlojíř nejistý," 84-85.
[381] Starnawska, *Swietych zicye po zicyu*, 375.

Veneration of relics in the Utraquist environment is a more problematic issue—no thorough study has been made regarding this question.[382] The general misconception is that relics were not allowed by the Utraquists, often suggested on the basis of written—and more polemically oriented—sources written by theologians trained in theoretical polemics. The practise, however, seems to differ from the written evidence. Relics do appear in the inventories of Utraquist treasuries, albeit rarely.[383] The paucity of the mentions is, however, also suggestive.

Moderate Utraquists seem to have accepted relics in the consecration of their churches. In the texts, the idea of hiding relics in appropriate places (altars) shows that it was not the relics themselves that were the problem, but rather the unhealthy cult that evolved around them and the traditional forms of devotion linked to their public display. Their exceptional nature as the remains of saints was not doubted in the Utraquist church, and they had to be approached with esteem. The act of church consecration or manipulation of other relics, however, might have possessed ambiguities in such a confessional context as in Prague between 1437-1438, when the conciliary legate Phillibert consecrated several Prague churches within the Utraquist city. He turned the consecration of churches into a public promotion of Catholic piety among Prague Utraquists. In the divided confessional millieu of fifteenth-century Bohemia for Phillibert, as well as his Hussite opponents the cult of relics epitomised Catholic rituals and Catholic devotion.

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[382] Ota Halama, *Otázka svatých v české reformaci* (The Question of Saints in Bohemian Reformation) (Brno: L. Marek 2002).
[383] Appendix II, no. 30 (Inventory of 1463), and no. 34.

Part II – The Historical Narratives of Treasure

IV. The Birth of a Tradition: Treasuries under the Přemyslids

1. Donations by the Přemyslid princes and kings

Bohemia accepted Christianity in the ninth century, and from the tenth century, donations were made to the churches and monasteries under the patronage of the Přemyslids.[384] The main church treasuries were undoubtedly in Prague: St. Vitus Cathedral, St. Peter and Paul church in Vyšehrad, and St. Wenceslaus in Olomouc. Early information on donations to church treasuries may be found in chronicles and foundation charters.

The Gumpold legend of St. Wenceslaus mentions the translation of the relics of St. Vitus to Prague by St. Wenceslaus (**pl. 10, Consecration of St. Vitus altar by St. Wenceslaus, pl. 11, St. Wenceslaus accepts the relic of St. Vitus**), and the interior of the first church of St. Vitus being decorated with precious metals.[385] Also, the two earliest preserved collections of relics in the St. Vitus treasury, the memorial relics of St. Wenceslaus and St. Adalbert (**pl. 13 a, b, the relics of St. Adalbert**) dated to the tenth-eleventh centuries.[386] Translations of saints' bodies are known from the legends of St. Wenceslaus, Ludmila, and St. Adalbert. St. Adalbert brought the relics of St. Bonifacius and Alexius from Rome to Břevnov in AD 993. He himself was translated by Prince Břetislav in 1039 from Poland to Prague.

The relics of St. Vitus, and St. Wenceslaus in the cathedral treasury were soon joined by relics donated by Abbess Mlada and Bishop Ekhard.[387] The first direct mention of the metropolitan treasury comes from before 1067, when according to a later mention by Cosmas, Bishop Šebíř placed the relics of the blessed Podiven, companion to St. Wenceslaus, "*in camera ubi ecclesiastica servabantur xenia*".[388] *Xenia ecclesiastica* denotes the treasury valuables, probably memoria of St. Wenceslaus and

[384] For early medieval archives and treasures, Ivan Hlaváček, "K typologii středověkých soupisů knih a knihoven na příkladu českých zemí" (On the typology of medieval lists of books and libraries on the example of Czech lands), in *Seminář a jeho hosté. Sborník prací k 60. narozeninám R. Nového* (Prague: Universita Karlova, 1992), 63-4.
[385] CPSVP, 4.
[386] They are in the oldest inventory of St. Vitus treasury from 1354. CPSVP, IV, V.
[387] CPSVP, 3-4.
[388] *Cosmae Chronicon Bohemorum cum continuatoribus* (Cosmas' Chronicle of Czechs with continuations), FRB 2, ed. J. Emler, transl. V.V. Tomek (Prague 1874), 187 (hereafter *Cosmae Chronicon*), CPSVP, 5.

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Adalbert preserved there up to the present day, as the patron's bodies lay in tombs under altars. The fact that the remains of blessed Podiven were placed in the treasury room indicates that already in the eleventh century—if the note is correct—the treasury was considered a suitable place for keeping relics. Pešina maintains that the metropolitan treasury was already well-established and equipped with relics by that time.[389] In 1129, Bishop Meinhard, in an effort to strengthen the cult of saints in Bohemia, consecrated a new tomb of St. Adalbert in the St. Vitus basilica and decorated it with gold, silver and crystal.[390] He donated relics to the treasury, together with the head of St. Adalbert lifted from the tomb;[391] the reliquary must have been also provided. Bishops (Daniel, Ondřej and, Tobias), and high clergy (Deacon Vitus) remained among the important donors to the metropolitan church.[392]

Since its early history, however, the Přemyslid princes were the main donors to the metropolitan treasury. Břetislav, who in 1039 pillaged Gniezno Cathedral and took the body of St. Adalbert to Bohemia, donated it together with the relics of five Benedictine brothers, Archbishop Gaudentius and a large amount of gold from St. Adalbert's tomb to the Prague church.[393] In the twelfth century, Vladislaus II and his son Bedřich (Fridrich) became important benefactors of the treasury donating relics and treasures from the war booty.[394] The former brought relics from the crusade to Palestine and from Constantinople, as well as the bronze candlestick from Milano, preserved today;[395] the latter donated sacred vessels, garments and relics, and ordered bells for the church tower.[396] However, the ruling family also incurred losses to the treasury—Svatopluk (1107-1109), in a time of financial need, took seventy pounds of gold from the treasury and pawned precious

[389] *…verum etiam Cathedralem S. Viti Ecclesiam novo et inaestimabili thesauro … corporibus SS. Adalberti, Gaudentij et Quinq*[ue] *fratrum…decoravit*. Tomáš Pešina z Čechorodu, *Phosphorus Septicornis Stella alias Matutina. Sanctae Metropolitanae Divi Viti Ecclesiae Pragensis Majestas et Gloria. Thoma Joanne Pessina de Czechorod. Prague: Typis Joannis Arnoldi de Dobroslavina anno 1673*, 21.

[390] Meinhard, who completed a pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1130, kept relics of Bishop Gothart, who was considered a saint, buried the relics of Podiven, and brought the relics of the True Cross and of St. Saba and Blasius to Prague. He lifted St. Adalbert's body from his grave and separated his head, which was re-discovered later after the fire of 1142. He also donated his gold reliquary pectoral cross (possibly an imperial gift from Constantinople) together with three *stolas cum fanonibus* and an embroidered black and gold cape (Byzantine imperial donation) to the monastery in Zwiefalten; however, his successor, Bishop John, was not keen to relinquish the donation. They were fetched from Prague only by special envoys sent to the bishop on the order of the Emperor Lothar and Dediwin, archbishop of Mainz. Kateřina Horníčková, "Relikviářové pektorální kříže z Čech a drobná sakrální plastika 11. až poč. 13. století (Reliquary pectoral crosses from Bohemia and the Church minor art of the eleventh to the beginning of the thirteenth century)" (MA thesis, Prague, Charles University, 2000), 35-6.

[391] CPSVP, 6, Pešina z Čechorodu, *Phosphorus*, 430, 503, 523.

[392] CPSVP, 7-8, 10-11.

[393] *Inter alia errant imago Christi in Cruce patientis aurea ingentis ponderis; tres item tabulae gemmis et lapidibus preciosis distinctae altaris, ubi corpus S. Adalberti quiescebat…* Pešina, *Phosphorus*, 22-23.

[394] CPSVP, 5. After Břetislav's Polish booty, this was the first large donation of relics to the treasury.

[395] Metropolitan treasury, sign. V 169.

[396] Pešina, *Phosphorus*, 40.

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textiles to pay for a peace tribute to the Emperor Heinrich V.[397] In 1142, many of the treasuries probably fell victim to the fire that broke out during the siege by Konrád of Znojmo; during the restoration works on the church, the head of St. Adalbert was found and set in a special reliquary.

At times, the Přemyslid princes preferred Vyšehrad to the St. Vitus' basilica—Soběslav donated his father´s crown to the church of St. Peter and Paul in Vyšehrad, a church that was exempted from episcopal jurisdiction and subordinated directly to the pope. The princes also made donations to monastic institutions, even ones located abroad, such as the donation made by Vladislaus' I wife, Richenza of Berg, to the Benedictine monastery in Zwiefalten; Vladislaus founded its daughter monastery in Kladruby. Donations also came from members of nobility: A Czech noblewoman gave the monastery an embroidered frontal (*dorsale*) with images of *Maiestas Domini* and Charlemagne, along with other gifts.

The sources report on church treasuries in Bohemian monasteries as early as the eleventh century.[398] In 1091, the chronicler gave an account regarding Abbot Božetěch of Sázava, who was a renowned sculptor, engraver and painter. He renovated the Sázava church and furnished it with textiles and crosses,[399] still known in the twelfth century. Another Sázava abbot, Reginhard of Metz, after the mid-twelfth century, knew how to paint and carve in wood and bone. He worked in metal, glass and probably enamel as well.[400] Archaeological finds have demonstrated the local Bohemian origin of many liturgical objects, produced for the local market.[401] Special praise was given to Bohemian embroidery, which enjoyed popularity abroad as well.[402] Bishop Jindřich Zdík decorated the Olomouc church of St. Peter *ecclesiasticis indumentis preciossimis*[403] in the twelfth century. The earliest treasury inventory (from 1130) in Bohemia and Moravia has also been linked to Bishop Zdík and this church—if it is not a forgery.[404]

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[397] CPSVP, 5. FRB 2, 156-7.
[398] The first mentions are o books. In the mid-eleventh century, books were shipped by the scribe Otloh to the Břevnov monastery. Sázava's abbot Děthart began to buy and transcribe books after he found only Slavonic books in the deserted monastery. Horníčková, "Relikviářové pektorální kříže," 30-37).
[399] *...omni ornatu, sicuti hodierna die apparet, decoraviit ecclesiam ...immo palliis, campanis crucibus, et omnibus monasticis rebus adornavit.* "Relikviářové pektorální kříže," 31. *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum, cont. I, Monachus Sazavensis, MGH Scriptores* (Cosmas' of Prague Chronicle of the Czechs), vol. 2 (Hannoverae 1852), 250-1.
[400] *Cosmae Chronicon*, 269.
[401] Horníčková, "Relikviářové pektorální kříže," 46-7.
[402] When the nuns of St. Georg cloister embroidered church garments which Bishop Zdík sent to the pope Eugenius III in 1151 as a gift, the pope sent back a letter of praise to them.
[403] Vincentius Pragensis, *Annales Bohemorum (1140-1167)*, ed. W. Watterbach, MGH SS XVII (Hannoverae 1861), 93. Cf. *Letopisy Vincencia, kanovníka kostela Pražského a Jarlocha, opata kláštera milevského*, in *Cosmae Chronicon*, 408-455.
[404] Josef Cibulka, and Jaromír Pečírka, "Umělecké řemeslo" (Art Crafts) in *Dějepis výtvarného umění v Čechách* 3

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When the Přemyslid princes became a hereditary royal dynasty (1198) and gained the right of episcopal investiture, they manifested their status through new foundations and donations. In 1245, King Wenceslaus I donated goods to the Poor Clares nunnery founded by his sister, St. Agnes of Bohemia. The objects included a golden chalice with gemstones, a plenary and two ampules made of crystal. St. Agnes donated *preciosa* to the monastery too; later, in 1251, the pope even sent her a collection of relics from Rome which were brought in solemn procession to the monastery.[405] The foundation charter of Wenceslaus I of 1253 for the monastery and hospital of the newly-founded order of the Cruciferous Knights of the Red Star mentioned "*immobilia vel mobilia sive se moventia*", but the document did not contain a description of the objects;[406] the donors were King, Konstancie, the queen-mother, and Agnes herself. The king also confirmed an earlier lay donation to the hospital by the widow Bohuslava, which probably included treasury objects as well.

The thirteenth century was a period of remarkable growth for the St. Vitus Cathedral treasury resulting in a rising concern for protection of church property.[407] Already in 1212,the Margrave of Moravia, Jindřich Vladislav, donated the relics of St. Thomas, Jacob, and Thadeus to this treasury, as well as the relics of St. Mauricius and Gerhard, joining an earlier acquisition of a relic of St. John the Baptist. Konstancie, the wife of the Přemysl Otakar I, donated a golden chalice with gemstones and a paten as well as a large banner and a set of vestments.[408]

A powerful figure and candidate to the Roman throne, King Přemysl Otakar II, built his royal fame on splendid royal gifts. He gave the All Saints chapel in his palace rich vestments of linen (*balkyn*), purple and silk (*bisso*), liturgical vessels including gold and silver chalices, gold washbasins,[409] and gold and silver panelling (*scutellae*). After 1261, he also donated the gold cross preserved in the Regensburg cathedral treasury. The King received the relic of the Holy Crown from St. Louis. He endowed the Cistercian monastery of Zlatá Koruna founded by him. He showed his magnificence in many gifts to the St. Vitus cathedral, among them gold and silver vessels and garments such as a black chasuble decorated with griffins with green accessories and a reliquary of St.

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(Prague: Mánes 1931), 84. Appendix I.

[405] *Cosmae Chronicon*, 1974, 107. Jaromír Homolka, "Umělecké řemeslo v době posledních Přemyslovců," (Art Crafts in the time of the Last Přemyslids), in *Umění doby posledních Přemyslovců*, ed. Jiří Kuthan (Roztoky u Prahy: Středočeské museum Roztoky u Prahy, 1982), 122.

[406] Václav Vladivoj Tomek, *Dějepis města Prahy* (History of Prague), vol. 1 *Staré město* (Prague 1866), 332.

[407] *Si quis bona et subditos Ecclesiae Pragensis vexare, attenare sive immutare praesumpserit ...non effugiat indignicionem...*and will be damned to perdition. Pešina, *Phosphorus*, 42.

[408] CPSVP, 6-7, 9.

[409] Homolka, "Umělecké řemeslo v době posledních Přemyslovců," 123. Pešina, *Phosphorus*, 44-5.

Margaret.[410] During his reign, the cathedral liturgy was reformed, with more singing and the establishment of a calendar.[411]

To assure the saints' assistance, the rulers carried their treasury on their travels and military campaigns.[412] In 1278, Přemysl Otakar's royal treasury, kept in a large chest, was taken to the battlefield in Moravia where it was captured by Rudolf of Habsburg. The defeat on the Moravian battlefield meant not only political disaster for Bohemia and the loss of the royal treasury, but the loss also caused large losses to the metropolitan treasury of St. Vitus and the city of Prague, both of which were pillaged by the soldiers of Otto of Brandenburg. The chronicler complained not only about the violent destruction of the most prominent church treasury in Bohemia, but also denounced the soldiers' unholy handling of sacred vessels with their bare and unblessed hands.[413]

The accession of Wenceslaus II to the throne was followed by the generous restoration of the royal, episcopal, and monastic treasuries in Bohemia. Wenceslaus restored the royal treasury, which he kept partly at Prague Castle and partly in the Cistercian monastery of Aula Regia in Zbraslav. According to Peter of Zittau, the king keenly collected relics of the saints, placing them in gold and silver reliquaries decorated with precious stones and otherwise tried to restore church treasuries.[414] Although fitting a general *topos* of a model king, Peter's description of Wenceslaus' taste for treasuries and relics is probably not too exaggerated; one episode in the chronicle described the king's fear of storms and his trust in the protective power of relics against thunder and lightning.

The king donations to the treasury on the occasion of his foundation of the Cistercian monastery in Zbraslav reflected the importance of the place as a royal burial ground. He provided a golden cross decorated with gems he had bought for 1400 pounds (*hřivna*) of silver, many gold and silver reliquaries, a whole set of silver liturgical vessels with a number of chalices. He also gave 200 silver pounds for the acquisition of books.[415] In Wenceslaus' II testament mentioned by Peter, the king distributed jewellry, relics, garments and even his portable altar from the royal chapel (All Saints church?) to other churches; the majority of the vestments went to Zbraslav.[416]

The history of the most famous piece in the treasury, the golden cross of Zbraslav, can be traced after Wenceslaus´ II death. The cross was spoliated only two years after the king´s death along

[410] CPSVP, 1903, 9. Homolka, "Umělecké řemeslo v době posledních Přemyslovců," 123.
[411] Pešina, *Phosphorus*, 44.
[412] E.g., from Austria in 1254, Homolka, "Umělecké řemeslo v době posledních Přemyslovců," 123.
[413] CPSVP, 9. Pešina, *Phosphorus*, 47-8.
[414] *In augmento ecclesiastici ornatus delectatus fuit*.. CPSVP, 10, ft. 4. *Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, 50-51.
[415] *Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, 90.
[416] *Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, 133.

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with other twenty pieces from the Zbraslav treasury[417] in Olomouc after the killing of his young son and successor Wenceslaus III. Known for his piety and enthusiasm for goldsmithing work, the king reportedly "begged" the convent to give him the best pieces from the treasury to carry with him on his campaign in Poland.[418] Later, the monastery bought back the golden cross for only 300 pounds from a merchant called Nicolas in Prague, a sum that was much lowerthan its original value. The cross was probably returned in parts, or lost its footing or decoration. The traders did not seem to have had any problem with making transactions with such well-known objects. The cross was eventually returned but it sreturn must have occurred only exceptionally.

In reality, around 1300, important church treasuries in Prague were not in good shape. The royal Přemyslid treasury was lost to the Austrians in 1278, the metropolitan treasury, as well as treasuries of other churches, had suffered serious losses in 1279-1280 under Otto of Brandenburg's invasion while the renewed treasury of Wenceslaus II largely went missing in 1307-1308 and 1310.

2. New Intensity, New Media: the Piety of the last Přemyslid queens

Under Přemysl Otakar's reign (died 1278), the first inventory of a Bohemian church treasury was written in the early twelfth century Gospels from Mělník. The collegiate church in the queen's dowry town of Mělník was inventoried under Provost Budislav (mentioned 1276-1277). The inventory provides an idea of a relatively rich treasury in a city church with royal links at the end of the thirteenth century. The treasury contained six caskets with relics, a plenary (*plenare unum*), a silver panel (*tabula argentea*) and 26 volumes, mostly of liturgical manuscripts.[419] Based on the inventory, the treasury contained liturgical vessels including six chalices, and one cup, one golden cross, two ivory combs (*duo pectines eburnei*), three altarcloths, three solemn *vella* for chalices, three solemn and three daily chasubles, five solemn and nine daily albs, three solemn stoles, a diacon's vestment (dalmatic, tunic), four mantles and several hangings, covers, and other textiles for the church interior, some of them reportedly of the Byzantine origin (*greco opere, greca*).[420]

[417] The foundation of Zbraslav was inspired by the position of St. Denis in France, meant as a royal burial place. It may have been given a corresponding treasury and may even have been the royal treasury. In this light, we should see the "supplication" of Wenceslaus III to have the cross and other jewellry accompany him to Poland.
[418] Given the close ties of the monastery to the royal house, Wenceslaus might have had the right to the treasury donated by his father.
[419] Appendix II, cat. no. 18. Hlaváček, *Středověké soupisy knih a knihoven*, 51, cat. no. 63. Lehner, *Dějiny umění národa českého* I.3 (Praha 1907), 499 ft.1, 558 ft.1. Cibulka, and Pečírka, "Umělecké řemeslo," 3, 84.
[420] Lehner, *Dějiny umění národa českého*, vol. 1.3, 557-8.

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The rich donations were probably the reason for the early inventorizing of the treasury. The presence of six reliquary boxes and Byzantine fabrics suggests that the queen as the patron or the royal family participated in the formation of the treasury. Such a treasury was clearly not a common one—it had the same number of chalices, considerably more reliquaries, a golden cross, and twice as much books as the Sušice Augustinian monastery approximately 70 years later.[421] Also the ivory combs and a golden cup suggest noble or royal gifts. The composition of the treasury can only be explained through its patroness, at the time of the inventory Queen Cunigunde of Hungary (Bohemian queen from 1261—1285), the granddaughter of Béla IV and mother of both Wenceslaus II and Abbess Cunigunde of Přemyslid.

It is significant that the first preserved inventory of a church treasury comes from the queen's town. Bohemian princesses and queens followed the piety and female patronage models of medieval queenship,[422] their public role manifested in generous donations to churches, and acts of charity.[423] The daughter of Queen Cunigunde, the Abbess Cunigunde of St. George monastery seems to have introduced new forms of medieval piety to Bohemia. The depiction of Passion relics from her Passional (**pl. 12, *arma Christi* from the Passional of the Abess Cunigunde**) is the first image of this type in Bohemia, representing the personal and intimate dimension of her devotion to Christ's suffering. She might have been inspired in her youth—the relic of the Passion (the Thorn) was obtained by her father directly from the Sainte-Chapelle treasury. The *Arma Christi* iconography from the Pasional augurs the future development of christological imagery for contemplating Christ's death in its human dimension.

Abbess Cunigunde is also the likely donor of the silver St. Ludmila reliquary arm (**Pl. 14, St. Ludmila**), preserved today in the Prague Castle collections, to the saint's altar and grave in St. George church.[424] The abbess raised the saint's body[425] and re-arranged the altar and the tomb in the church to honour the saint; upon this occasion, she exposed the relics on the altar for veneration in the new reliquary. She may also have initiated occasional or regular exhibitions of the arm at the altar. This form of public presentation—at this point not yet very in Bohemia—was designed to attract pilgrims and foster the cult.

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[421] *Codex Thomaeus*, 201.
[422] Bozóky, *La Politique des Reliques*, 227-232.
[423] Female donations to St. Vitus, CPSVP, 9,11.
[424] Dana Stehlíková (article forthcoming).
[425] On this occasion, the relic of St. Ludmila registered in the testament of Queen Elisabeth might have been used as it had been in her possession since childhood. Hledíková, "Závěť Elišky Přemyslovny," 132.

The accession of John of Luxemburg to the Bohemian throne did not fulfil expectations of those who hoped for royal generosity to that sown by the Přemyslids;[426] his name does not even appear among St. Vitus' donors. It was his wife, and niece of Cunigunde, Elisabeth of Přemyslid (**pl. 15, the bust of Elisabeth of Přemyslid**), who cherished this tradition and embodied its continuity.

As the result of her domestic political representation, Queen Elisabeth was regarded as heiress to Přemyslid traditions. Because of the king's absence, and his relaxed approach to Bohemian affairs, her proud attitude to the Přemyslid past put her in the front of domestic opposition to John. Her participation in the revival of traditional royal piety intensified after she fell out of her husband's favour in 1322. When she arrived back in Prague from her "exile" in Bavaria in 1325 she was met by a procession of priests carrying relics. The royal *entré* meant she was recognized as queen of Bohemia and was a mark of the respect give to her as heiress to the Přemyslid dynastic tradition.

Towards the end of her life, Queen Elisabeth, suffering from a lung disease, focused on pious donations and restoration of the royal and St. Vitus treasuries. She made an effort to regain the relics belonging to her father Wenceslaus II and lost after her brother's death in Olomouc in 1306. Upon her request and gift of a gold reliquary panel set with gems with which she supported her request,[427] the pope urged the abbots of Třebíč and Louka monasteries as well as the provost of Kounice to help the queen to get back the items from the Olomouc St. Wenceslaus chapter that had retained part of them.[428] The relics apparently belonged to the royal treasury of the Přemyslids, which Wenceslaus III had taken with him to Poland, and—similarly to the case of the Zbraslav cross—they were never completely lost.

Among the relics that Elisabeth demanded from the Olomouc chapter in 1327 was the skull of St. Anne; the same year she asked for the return of another piece—the head of St. Margaret, possibly enclosed in a reliquary[429] and probably taken from Olomouc (?) and pawned by Peter (of Aspelt?), archbishop of Mainz; this may have been the relic donated to St. Vitus by Přemysl Otakar II and taken

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[426] Although John is often perceived in a negative light as having pawnedg silver statues from the grave of St. Wenceslaus (1336) (Otavský, *Wenzelskrone*, 19, ordered in 1334 as one of the first acts of young Margrave Charles), he co-founded the Carthusian monastery in Újezd near Prague and equipped it with ornaments. In 1341, he gave one tenth of the returns from the silver mines for building the new cathedral in Prague.
[427] *Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, 360.
[428] RBM, IV, 537, no. 1370.
[429] RBM, III, 538, no. 1371. Uses "caput s. Margaritae". Peter of Aspelt, archbishop of Mainz, visited the Olomouc chapter in 1316, RBM III, 133. It was taken among other jewellry from the St. Vitus treasury by Rudolf of Habsburg in 1306-1307 (possibly having been pawned to the Olomouc chater?), Sekyrka, *Inventáře*, 152, no. 150. *Chronicon Francisci Pragensi* FRB IV, 374.

from there by Rudolf of Habsburg in 1306-1307.[430] In her supplication to the pope, she reminded him of his father's good custodianship and devotion of relics—in return she received from the pope a shipment of relics.[431] Her collection contained the relics of St. Ignatius, originally from the Cistercian monastery in Osek, and the reliquary of St. Lucy and Clara that were later given to the metropolitan treasury by her son, Charles IV. She succeded in restoring the royal treasury to some extent—the existence of a royal collection of relics in 1330s-1340s is confirmed by early donations of Charles, who used it as a resource for his own donations.[432]

Meanwhile, she continued her own collecting. Around 1326, she received a number of relics "from various persons and churches". In another note from 1327, Elisabeth allowed the relics she had recently collected, be adorned with precious stones be inserted in reliquary panels (*plenaria*) and golden and silver monstrances.[433] Shortly before her death she bequested an expensive breviary, rich silk vestments and altar textiles valued at 40 *sexagenas* to Vyšehrad church. However,for a long period, she especially favoured the Cistercian order. In her testament, she bequested 102 pieces of her relics to the Cistercian monastery in Waldsassen divided in three small chests and without their reliquaries. If this was due to her limited means or a result of her husband's need for money which he demanded upon his return to Bohemia in 1327 it is not possible toestablish. It was not, however, an uncommon way of keeping of a relic collection. A set of liturgical vestments, three chasubles, a crystal pyx, and six reliquaries were also part of the bequest.[434] The testament contains important relics from the Passion. It has been suggested that many of the relics originated in Bavaria.[435]

Her testament shows Elisabeth to have been a keen collector of relics, bridging the Přemyslid and Luxemburg interests in the cult of saints. One of the abbots present at her deathbed was the previously mentioned Oldřich of Paběnice, lawyer, theologian, and dioecesan administrator from 1321-1325 and from 1330 abbot of the Sedlec Cistercian monastery.[436] His (personal?) collection of

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[430] Peter of Aspelt was charged between 1311-1318 with administration of Bohemia; he might have pawned the object from financial need.
[431] RBM III, 537-538.
[432] CPSVP, 21, ft. 2 and 13 mentioned the relics of the head of St. Ignatius and a small reliquary of St. Lucy and Clara. The Martyrology of Prague St. Vitus Church APH, KA, C 5, reported on the head of St. Ignatius "*cuius caput Elysabeth…in monasterio Osek …obtinuit et eidem Karolo, filio suo dedit…quod ipse postmodum ecclesiae pragensi donavit et voluit ac ordinavit, ut hoc festum sub duplici officio cum propulsatione veneraretur*."
[433] *Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, FRB IV, 280, correct date 1327, Sekyrka, *Inventáře*, 229, no. 344. RBM III, 537-538.
[434] Hledíková, "Závěť Elišky Přemyslovny," 139.
[435] Hledíková, "Závěť Elišky Přemyslovny," 133.
[436] Hledíková, "Závěť Elišky Přemyslovny," 132.

relics, compiled in 1330, has already been discussed.[437] The list records a number of relics collected between 1326 and 1328from various monastic and parish churches, mainly located in Prague.

In 1326, at the demand of the queen, probably transmitted through her son at the French court, the French king, Charles IV, sent Elisabeth a splinter from the Holy Crown of Thorns,[438] which had been in the possession of the French from the time of Saint Louis. Peter of Zittau saw the relic in person and described it as being as long as a finger and thin. The arrival of the relic was welcomed by a procession of Prague clergy on October 28, 1327, and it was added to the royal treasury, called in the chronicle as "the queen's relics", which confirms the existence of such a collection at this date. Where it was placed is unknown, but All Saints chapel would have been appropriate because its architectural context resembled that of St. Chapelle, the original home of the relic. The following year, Elisabeth sent a part of the relic to Pope John XXII in a golden reliquary adorned with precious stones in an effort to support the canonisation of Agnes of Bohemia, her great-great-aunt.

These queenly initiatives reflected new tendencies in devotional practices. She reportedly attended church services daily and initiated a procession with relics during times of plague in Prague. She actively participated in the introduction to Prague of a relative novelty in Central Europe—the cult of Corpus Christi—approximately at the same time it was introduced to Paris and other medieval capitals of Europe. Sometime between 1319 and 1321 she brought the miracle-making Eucharist from Ivančice in Moravia in a solemn procession to Prague and donated it in a monstrance to Zbraslav monastery.[439]

Collecting relics and public piety created a space for the public activity of royal women and widows, whose other political participation was restricted. The last ten years of the queen's reign marked a formative period for new devotional practices in Bohemia, with public processions, ceremonies, and a growing veneration of relics, as well as the enrichment of church treasuries and formation of private collections of relics. The potentials of the cult of relics became a source of inspiration for the later cultural policy of Charles IV who made use of the treasury Elisabeth put together. Charles continued Elisabeth's legacy in royal representation through acts of piety[440] and

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[437] Appendix I, no. 2. RBM, III, 672-4, no.1722.
[438] *Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, 280, correct date 1327, Sekyrka, *Inventáře*, p. 229 no. 344. RBM III, 537-538. Pulkava´s chronicle assigned her a part in sending the Thorn to Charles, Sekyrka, *Inventáře*, 230, no. 346.
[439] Joseph Neuwirth, *Geschichte der Bildenden Kunst* (1898), 148. Years 1319-21. Sekyrka, *Inventáře*, 180-181, no. 212.
[440] Ralf Lützelschwab, "Prague - das neue Paris? Der französische Einfluss auf die Reliquienpolitik Karls IV", In *Wallfahrten in der europäischen Kultur/ Pilgrimages in European Culture*, 205.

elaborated upon her role in the introduction of new forms of piety to Bohemia; the piety was closely linked to the growth of church treasures.

Another important figure promoting the cult of relics in the first half of the fourteenth century Bohemia was Elisabeth-Richenza, the widow of Wenceslas II and Rudolf I of Habsburg, who collected relics supported by her latest husband, Jindřich of Lipá (died 1329). After his death, the scale of her activities extended across the borders of Bohemia. In the charter of 1333, the abbess of the nunnery of the Eleven Thousand Virgins in Cologne in the Rhineland confessed that they given a whole body of one of the eleven thousands martyrs (*unum verum integrum corpus de praefatis sanctarum undecim milium virginum*) to Elisabeth, former queen of Bohemia, who then passed it on to the Cistercian monastery of Aula Sanctae Mariae in the suburbs of Brno, which she founded.[441]

In another charter, the deacon and the chapter of St. Gereon in Cologne testified that "the heads (*capita*) and the relics given to Elisabeth, queen of Bohemia, were venerated as the relics of SS. Martyrs of Thebes, Gereon and his company," before they were sent to Bohemia. In Elisabeth-Richenza's search for authentic relics in imperial monasteries in Germany and quests of written confirmations of the relics' origin—as in the case of Oldřich of Paběnice—we see the downside of the growth of the fourteenth century relic collecting: the fear of *falsa*. Proving the authenticity of the relics became even more popular over time— testimonies to the authenticity of the relics were demanded also by Charles IV.[442]

Another proof of Elisabeth-Richenza´s extensive collecting activity comes from Trier. The provost, prioress and convent of the Augustinian nunnery of the Virgin in Trier testified that Elisabeth (Richenza), former queen of Bohemia, together with her daughter, Agneta of Poland, visited the tombs of saints in their church and asked for relics. They were given a glass flask full of sacred oil that had run through the bones of St. Catherine.[443] The queen clearly understood the potential of imperial monasteries as sources of reliable relics and used her status to press the nunnery for the donation.

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[441] RBM, 785 nos.2017-2018. *Abbatissa totumque capitulum secularis eccl. S. Undecim milium virginum in Colonia profitentuur, se ad preces ferventes magistratus Coloniensis et ob respectum Elisabeth, …unum verum integrum corpus de praefatis sanctarum undecim milium virginibus …donavisse.*

[442] RBM, 785, no. 2019.

[443] RBM, 786, no. 2021. *Praepositus…s. Mariae in Treveroyde ordinis s. Augusti cupimus fore notum, quod d. Elisabeth, bis regina Bohemiae cum Agneta, filia sua, ducissa Poloniae, devotionis causa reliquias sanctorum nostrae ecclesiae duxerit visitandas et -- sibi de praedictis reliquiis - aliquid postulaverit inpartiri nos igitur precibus --d. Walrami, archiepiscopi Coloniensis, et earundem inclinati unum vas vitreum, impletum de sacro oleo s. Catharinae, quod de ossibus eiusdem minutis profluxit et emanavit, duximus largiendum.*

Richenza's personal journey to Rhineland to gain authentic relics of saints for her foundations reminds us of the later policies of her step-grandson Charles, whose power and influence was, of course, much greater. The traditional female version of official royal devotion was, in her case, pursued with personal zeal, making the Brno nunnery an important centre in the medieval religious topography of Moravia and enriching it with an important treasury.[444] Interestingly, all three collectors, the two queens and Oldřich of Paběnice were all benefactors of Cistercian monasteries that they favoured. Although having limited means and power, both these last Přemyslid queens recognised the potential of relic collecting in creating an appropriate ambience, not only for their public appearance and more active social roles, but also in the pursuance of their political aims.

V. The Politics of Treasure

1. The Hidden Treasure: From intellectual concept to the implementation of policy

St. Augustine elaborated on Jesus' opposition to *treasures on heaven and earth*,[445] pointing out the danger for the soul in multiplying earthly treasures.[446] Worldly treasures were not only considered temporary and corruptible in the material sense—they were also corrupting in the spiritual sense. Only *spiritual treasures* could lead a man to Salvation.[447] The double nature of "treasure" in the Augustinian sense is reflected in the antithetic images of the Life of Antichrist, a medieval counterpart to the biblical narration of Christ's life, developed in an eschatological framework after the year 1000 and popularised in Western Europe from the twelfth century. According to St. Augustine in his *De Civitate Dei,* before Christ judges people, the Antichrist will come to seduce them (*non veniet ad vivos*

[444] Later in the 14th century, Margrave Jodocus of Moravia donated a Byzantine image of the Virgin Mary and added the famous relic of the Virgin's veil from Prague St. Vitus cathedral to it.
[445] Mt 6:19-21, cf. Lc 12:33-34.
[446] *Est multiplicatio terrenae generationis secundum primam naturae nostrae benedictionem…Et ista plane multiplicatio fructus est, et non venit nisi de benedictione Domini. Jam quid dicam de aliis multiplicationis? Multiplicatus est ille auro, ille argento, ille pecore, ille familia, ille possessionibus, ille omnibus. Multae sunt terrenae multiplicationes… Etenim curis homines in…multiplicantur. Multiplicatus videtur in anima, in quo etiam multiplicata sunt? ..Ille tantummodo luxuriosus; iste est avarus, et superbus, et luxuriosus: multiplicat.. in anima sua, sed malo suo. Multiplicatio ista egestatis est, non ubertatis.* St. Augustine, *Ennarratio in psalmum CXXXVII (:3)* (PL, xxxvii, col. 1778), quoted in Robert P. Miller, "Chaucer´s Pardoner. The Scriptural Eunuch, and the Pardoner´s Tale," *Speculum* 30.2 (April 1955), 188.
[447] Similar interpretations of spiritual treasure imagery exist in contemporary poetry, but how popular it was in Bohemia is little known.

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et mortuos judicandos Christus nisi prius veniet ad seducendos in anima mortuos adversarius eius Antichristus).

The "Vita Antichristi" in the Prague manuscript of the Velislav Bible (Ms. XXIII.C.124, National Library), now dated to a time around 1340,[448] is an early example of an illustrated story of the Antichrist. Written by Velislaus, notary and courtier to King John of Luxembourg and his son, the Emperor Charles IV, and successive canon of all major chapters in Prague, the story is illustrated with twelve major scenes from the *Vita Antichristi* starting from the Annunciation up to Antichrist's role in the Apocalypse. Three scenes from the series explicitly show the negative impact of false treasure as means of the Antichrist's deception.

Albeit following this model, the *Scriptum super Apocalypsim* from 1244, the choice of scenes in the Velislav Antichrist is rather peculiar as it stressed the Antichrist's role in the seduction of *kings* through *ostensio thesaurum* (showing of treasures), in which Antichrist shows the kings the treasuries of money, jewellry, and chalices, as well as gold and silver (**pl. 17 a,b, Antichrist showing treasures from the Velislav Bible fol 132r-v, showing**). Some princes resisted and in the illustration they are shown turning away from the scene. Inscriptions under each image explain the true bad intentions of the Antichrist.[449] Unlike Christ, the Antichrist exhibited material treasuries only to deceive these kings[450] while at the same time the true, spiritual treasures remain hidden to them.

The series of cartoon-like images continued with the distribution of the Antichrist's corrupting treasures.[451] (**pl. 18, Distribution of Antichrist's treasures from the Velislav Bible, fol 132v, *Distribution of treasuries***) He offers gifts of money, precious objects and golden chalices to gullible kings, and princes, and thus, secures their service.[452] Those kings who accept the gifts of Antichrist are marked by a sign on their foreheads and led to hidden treasuries of gold and silver mountains which

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[448] Lately Lenka Panušková, "Die Velislav-Bibel in neuem Licht," *Umění* 56.2 (2008), 106-118, esp. 106. It has been inserted between the Old and the New Testament series (the end of story is missing), followed by the Apocalypse, Acts of Apostles and St. Wenceslaus legend.

[449] Chytil, *Antikrist*, appendix II titled *Vita Antichristi ve Velislavově bibli* (appendix II Vita Antichristi in the Velislav Bible), fol. 132r. (upper image) *Hic Anticristus ducit per manuum reges incredulos et ostendit eis montes aureos et argenteos.* Fol 132v (lower image): *Ibi Anticristus denaria sua sibi credentibus **thesauros** distribuit. Ipse namquem inveniet **thesauros absconditos** per quos ad sequendum se inclinabit plurimos Ditabit et divites huius seculi falsis diviciis.*

[450] *Ditabit enim bonis divitis huius seculi, et tunc eorum falsam felicitatem ad decipiendum alios ostendet*, Chytil, *Antikrist*, 78-79, appendix II, 132rv (comparison of the two texts).

[451] Chytil, *Antikrist*, appendix II, f. 131v, 132r, 132v.

[452] Accompanying tags say: *Hic sunt reges quos allicit per munera sibi credendum et ad se sequendum. Unde eis habunde pecuniam fundit et clenodia diversa et ciffos aureos. Hic sunt predicatores et apostoli Antichristi secuntur eum. Hic sunt qui cognita fallacia avertunt se ab ipso nollentes eum sequi.* Chytil, *Antikrist*, appendix II, f. 131v, p. 230.

Antichrist exposes to their sight.[453] In the end, the moral reading of the antithesis makes the meaning clear with the Antichrist offering them treasuries of the present even though these represent "false treasures" *in aeternum.*[454] It should be read as an *exemplum*: gathering worldly treasuries is not a good strategy for rulers over the long term. The Antichrist's treasures do not bring positive things for their government, nor will they be of help in the Last Judgement. Rather the opposite—they will deprive those who accept the gifts of Salvation.

As noted already by Chytil, the Prague manuscript was distinguished from other illustrations of the story by way of a substantial theological foundation, an educational character, and—I would add—a specific focus on princely education. Chytil pointed out the complex models used for its compilation,[455] but left out the question of its original purpose. Although so far little is known about the creation of the manuscript, the close links Velislav had with the young king Charles IV, may provide an explanation as regards the manuscripts original owner. It is known that Charles IV (from 1341 *rex iunior*, crowned 1346-1347, Emperor 1355),[456] favoured the theme of the Apocalypse in his artistic patronage, venerated its author, St. John, and had encountered the Joachimist teachings of Cola di Rienzo. As a young ruler with an ambition to provide good governance as we know from his own writings, the meaning of the story must have been particularly appealing to him.

Antichrist eschatology was broadly popular in fourteenth-century Bohemia, and at Charles' court. Recent scholarship sees Luxembourg Bohemia as the "promised land" for interpretations of the end of times.[457] A peculiar piece of information comes from a daring Antichrist accusation aimed at the Emperor himself by Milíč of Kremsier in 1366, pronounced—reportedly—during a sermon at his court, as Milíč predicted the return of Antichrist the following year. Other sources also attest to the wide popularity of the story in Bohemia. A number of texts on the Antichrist has been preserved in

[453] *Capitulum: Ipse namque Antichrist inveniet thesauros absconditos: Hic Antichrist ducit per manum reges incredulous et ostendit eis montes aureos et argenteos.* Chytil, *Antikrist*, appendix II, f. 132r. p. 230.
[454] *Ibi Antichrist denaria sua sibi credentibus thesaurus distribuit. Ipse namque inveniet thesauros absconditos per quos ad sequendum se inclinabit plurimos. Ditabit et divites huius seculi falsis diviciis./ Tertio decipiet per munera. Ipse namque Antichrist inveniet thesaurus absconditos per quos ad sequendum se inclinabitur plurimos. Ditabit enim bonis divites huius seculi, et tunc eorum falsam felicitatem ad decipiendum alios ostendet.* (In the picture, the Antichrist holds a chalice and a box with money, chalice and purse lying around it.) Chytil, *Antikrist*, Appendix II, f132v, p. 231.
[455] Karel Chytil, *Antikrist*, 78-9.
[456] Charles IV (1316-1378), the son of John of Luxembourg and Elisabeth of Přemyslid, resumed rule over the country first under the title of Margrave of Moravia (in residence in Bohemia from 1333) and from 1341 as *rex iunior*, crowned Roman king in 1346 and the Bohemian king in 1347 in St. Vitus.
[457] František Šmahel, *Husitské Čechy. Struktury, procesy, ideje* (Hussite Bohemia. Structures, processes, ideas) (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2008), 282. Chytil, *Antikrist*, 31-33. Hussite environment (Matthew of Janov, John Hus, Jacobellus of Mies, Nicolaus of Dresden, Nicolaus of Pelhřimov, *De Anatomia Antichristi*). The importance of the story for the early stages of the Reformation was realised by Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, *Kořeny české reformace* (Prague: Karolinum, 1996), 13.

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Bohemia. Hussite theologians frequently manipulated the story as did early reformists (in additon to Milíč Matthew of Janov). Such manipulation may also be found in a number of sermons. For my considerations the link between the Antichrist to the biblical antithese of earthly and celestial treasures is important. The imagery of the double treasure was included, for instance, in the readings of the St. Vitus chapter. The the fourteenth-century breviary (*liber ordinarius*) of the Prague St. Vitus chapter[458] included anantithesis of terrestrial and celestial treasures,[459] elaborated on the idea of a *thesaurus absconditus*.[460] "the Hidden Treasure", and it even warns against ostentatious public showing of treasuries.

Emperor Charles IV (**Pl. 16, the portrait of Emperor Charles IV**) in his autobiography *Vita Caroli IV*, a fourteenth-century *speculum* of a competent ruler, writes his twelfth chapter exactly on the same theme of spiritual and worldly treasures using the biblical parables of *Hidden Treasure* and the *Pearl of Great Price.* The text reveals Charles' personal concerns in the double nature of treasures, and their implications for the ruler's good governance. The message Charles IV passed to his successors read as follows: in order not to endanger one's chances for Salvation and to be worthy of one's crown, the ruler should seek and keep the "true", i.e. hidden spiritual treasures.[461] This is the only way to successful government and to one's Salvation.

In his exegesis, the Pearl represented the Kingdom of Heaven and the quest of man to reach it, something which can be achieved only through wisdom and faith. The Pearl is therefore the key to Salvation; it stood in direct opposition to worldly treasuries, luxury and wordly interests. Then Charles IV likened the Kingdom of Heaven to a treasure hidden in a field (*thesaurus absconditus*) and

[458] National library, NK IV D 9.
[459] NK IV D 9, Lec. III, 73v. *quia thesauris terrestribus incomparabilit(is?) munera celeste p(ro)cessit..*
[460] NK IV D 9, 78v *Cellorum regnum …Thesauro in agro abscondito comparatur quem qui invenit homo, abscondit et pro gaudio illi(s) vadit et vendit omnia que habet et emit agrum illum. Qua iure hoc quo(que) notandum est q(uo)d invent(us?) thesaur(us) abscondit(us) ut fervetur qa(?) studii celestis desiderii a malignis specibus custodire insufficit(er) qui hoc ab humanis laudibus non abscondit. Maliqui autem species(?) iterum nostrum nonquasi guida.* (79r) *Deperdavi ergo desid(er)at qui thesaurum publice portat in via(m)…Thesaurum autem celeste desid(er)ium. Ager …in que thesaurus absconditus disciplina studii celestis.*
[461] *Vita Caroli IV* (The Autobiography of Charles IV), in *Karel IV. Literární dílo*, transl. Jakub Pavel (Praha: Vyšehrad, 2000), 48-9. *Caroli Imperatoris Romanorum Vita Ab Eo Ipso Conscripta et Hystoria Nova de Sancto Wenceslao Martyre (Autobiography of Emperor Charles IV and his Legend of St. Wenceslaus)*, ed. Balázs Nagy, and Frank Schaer, with an introduction by Ferdinandt Seibt, Central European Medieval Texts (Budapest: CEU Press, 2001), 104-8. Charles IV quoted Matthew's (Mt 13: 44) parable of "kingdom of heaven similar to hidden treasure," explained by Charles as the Holy Spirit, 48. Those, who did not want to repent and remained *blind*, cannot find the treasure. When it was found, it was hidden in his heart out of fear that the Devil might take it away, 48-49, and so he sells eveything he has - that is, his sins - through confession and humbleness, and accepts the treasure - that is, the good deeds. If he is persistent, he will hold the treasure in the kingdom of heaven eternally. (Then follows the comparison of Mt 6: 19-21).

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invisible to mortals.[462] When found, such treasure was more precious than anything else. The hidden treasure can be found only by a just man, who has made himself worthy of such a gift. Any Christian ruler should only try to gather the hidden treasures of Holy Spirit, leaving behind worldly treasuries, i.e. those shown by the Antichrist. Here, Charles IV responded directly to the Antichrist story. Charles then also paraphrased the imperative from Mt 6:19-21 about gathering treasures in heaven rather than on earth, and presented it as the main task for a Christian ruler.[463]

Inspired by St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas,[464] another piece of Charles' writing, the *Moralitates domini Caroli Romanorum et Bohemiae Regis* is a collection of practical moralist codes for rulers. The focal point of the *Moralitates*[465] is the idea that Christ is the King of Kings, and any contemporary king represented Christ on earth and must serve only him; this gave him absolute power over his subjects, but only in so far as his rule follows *God´s Law*, the king has not sinned, and the private interests of the king give way to the public interest of the community as a whole. The mythical ruler, King Sedechias, presented royal virtues as a pre-condition for good Christian rule, which culminated in a warning about gathering false and corruptive treasures. The king, who gathers treasures through force, is misled toward wrong-doing and has committed the sin of greed. His rule is unjust and sinful, and the true treasures, those of the Holy Spirit and God´s Grace, will be denied to him. [466]

The double nature of treasure and the morality of hidden treasure are key elements in Charles' IV allegorical political thought. It communicated Charles' concept of good Christian government and the bond between heaven and earth, where the king acted as one of the links. Another important link between the spheres was through the power of relics.[467] The role of relics was proclaimed in the final

[462] *Caroli Imperatoris Romanorum Vita Ab Eo Ipso Conscripta*, 104-8.
[463] Treasure imagery in the literary work of Charles corresponded to his allegory of good and bad government in Karštejn's mural paintings. Hana Hlaváčková, "Idea dobrého panovníka ve výzdobě Karlštejna" (Idea of good governance in the decoration of Karlštejn), *Průzkumy památek* 13 (2006) Apendix, 14.
[464] The influence of St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas, Zdeněk Kalista, *Karel IV. Jeho duchovní tvář* (Charles IV, his spiritual personality)(Praha: Vyšehrad, 2006), Zdeněk Kalista, "Karel IV. v českých dějinách duchových" (Charles IV in Czech spiritual history), in *Otec vlasti 1316-1378*, ed. J.V. Polc (Rome, Velehrad: Křesťanská Akademie, 1980), 9-21.
[465] Kalista, *Karel IV., jeho duchovní tvář*, 52.
[466] "*Jestliže král myslí shromážditi poklad skrze násilí a bez spravedlnosti, myslí to, což pravé nenie, nebo neshromáždí tak pokladů jedné skrze vypuzenie lidu ze země a popleněnie královstvie svého*." (If the king intends to gather the treasure through violence and without justice, he thinks wrongly, as he will not be able to gather treasures through expulsion of his people from his country and plundering of his lands). Kalista, *Karel IV. Jeho duchovní tvář*, 53, cf. *Moralitates* (cf. "Výklady a naučení duchovní," (Spiritual explanations and teachings), in *Spisy císaře Karla IV*, or Karl Wotke, "Moralitates Caroli IV. Imperatoris. Excerpta ex scriptura sacra cum explicationibus" (Moral teachings of the Emperor Charles IV), *Zeitschrift des Vereins f. d. Geschichte Mährens und Schlesiens*, 1-2 (1897-1898). Also in *Karel IV. literární dílo*, 68, however the translation is not precise there.
[467] Late in the writing of this dissertation I gained access to Mengel's "Bones, Stones, and Brothels". Its chapter 5 deals

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part of the St. Catherine Legend written between 1360-1375 within the closest circle of Charles. After cruel torturing, the maiden speaks to Christ or—rather—to the contemporary fourteenth-century audience. She advertises her ability to intercede on the faithfuls' behalf after having been crowned with martyrdom. Her appeal to Christ, when made in remembrance of her tortures, of which the material memories are her relics on earth, shall not be overheard.[468] Thus, whoever venerates her relics in memory of her death or has an image of her martyrdom painted in his house or legend in a book,[469] and remembers her when looking at it, shall be granted his wishes and has the door open to Salvation. In response, Christ consents to her appeal and welcomes her to his closest circle. The legend concludes with description of the good effects of pilgrimage to the saint's grave in Sinai, of miracles that occure there, and of the healing oil that flourishes from her relics.[470]

In the letter from Trier to the Prague chapter in February 1354, Charles calls the relics "*thesauros coelestes et spirituales*", heavenly and spiritual treasures.[471] After the death of Trier archbishop, the chapter seek the Emperor's agreement with the new candidate to the office. Charles uses his position to gain access what he considered more appropriate and profitable reward than money. "*Although we could have legally…receive … quantities of money from the archbishop-elect and the chapter of Trier, our regal dignity spurned this* ***and instead required payments of heavenly***

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with the subject in depth and from a different perspective came to parallel conclusions. The work was particularily illuminating in the way it filled in the gaps in the broad nature of Charles' concepts and in his policy of establishing a Bohemian pantheon, p. 263-371.

[468] *The Old Czech Life of St. Catherine of Alexandria*, 776.

[469] Interestingly, the effect of relics veneration is coupled here with that of images. St. Catherine begs Christ to help those who have paintings of her martyrdom in their houses, and ask for help whilst looking at them. The saint popularises her own experience - according to her legend, she was converted by looking at the image of Madonna with the child Jesus. Vladimír Šmilauer, ed., *Dvě legendy z doby Karlovy. Legenda o svatém Prokopu. Život svaté Kateřiny (Two Legends from the time of Charles IV. The Legend of St. Procopius. The Life of St. Catherine)*, transl. Josef Hrabák, and Václav Vážný (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1959), 137. This is shown on two panels from the Christian Museum in Esztergom (ar. 1420, Inv. no. 54.2, Legner, *Die Parler und der Schöne Stil*, vol. 2, 459). St. Hedwiga, whose painted *vita* was written in the Prague court in mid-fourteenth century for the Silesian duke Louis and his wife Agnes, had similar close relationship to the image of the Madonna with the child. (Legner, *Die Parler und der Schöne Stil*, vol. 3, 234) The saint is depicted with her small devotional ivory image of the Madonna on the titel page of the codex. Legner notes that the Luxembourg rule signifies not only the reinforcement of the relics' veneration, but also the compilation of new legends around holy images – both tendencies culminates in the Late Middle Ages (Ibid., 234).

[470] Šmilauer, *Dvě legendy z doby Karlovy*, 218-9.

[471] CPSVP, 31, ft. 2. (Sign. APH XI, 4) *…dum nobis sanctarum reliquiarum pignora ibidem occurrunt , quae dudum in votes regiis praecipua ardenti desiderio gestabamus.* ***Et quamquam magnas et innumerabiles pecuniarum quantititates ab electo et capitulo ecclesiae Treverensis iuste et rationabiliter ac sine ulla reprehensione habere potuissemus , regalis tamen dignitas ipsas respuens, censuit thesaurus huiusmodi coelestes et spirituals, quos non tinea demolitur, erugo non consumit, nec fures effodiunt vel furantur, videlicet reliquias infrascriptas ab eisdem electo et capitulo, licet invitis et cum dolore cordis eorum , obtinere.*** *Et nisi pro tunc ipsa Treverensis ecclesia destitute fuisset pastore, et ut eo promptiores essemus partes nostras interponere in promotione ecclesiae praedictae apud sedem apostolicam eamque regiae celsitudini nostrae recommisam dignaremur habere, nequaquam praefatas reliquias habuissemus ab eisdem.*

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and spiritual treasures, which moths do not destroy and rust does not consume, and which thieves do not break in and steal *from them, despite their unwillingness and heart-felt sadness.*"[472]

In 1365, Charles IV transferred "the most precious treasure" (*preciosissimus thesaurus*), the body of St. Sigismund to Prague.[473] Seemingly a common literary topos, the superlative *preciosissimus thesaurus* reflected the leading position assigned to relics in the Emperor's concept of government. In the Miracles of St. Sigismund[474] the performance of the saint together with other Bohemian patrons is put to the service of the protection of the people of Bohemia.[475] "*Lucky and sacred (is) the (metropolitan) church of Prague that it holds so many treasures (of bodies) of saints. Rejoice lucky Bohemia that you have so many intercessors near the Lord.*" In his policy conception, Charles gives a deeper meaning to the relics as precious treasures by identifying them with the ancient concepts of the true, Salvation-bringing treasures; they are, in fact, *materialised spiritual treasures*. He used and manipulated the relics with the aim of providing his subjects with direct access to such treasures, represented on the one hand through personal adherence to the Law of God, and on the other hand through the saints' assistance, protection, and intercession.

This conception of relics' manipulation, which manifested in gathering relics in Prague and enclosing them in precious wrappings, was inspired by the moral reading of the Bible, and of the legends of saints. Moral biblical allegories, and their eschatological meaning created a powerful incentive to Charles' IV collection of relics; the influx of relics to Prague, however, is not simply Charles' private response to these biblical parables, but rather the result of his effort to public implementation of the literary concepts. As remarked by Mengel, the relics were designed to maintain an essential position in Charles' political concepts and be implemented in Prague's and Bohemia's

[472] *Et quamquam magnas et innumerabiles pecuniarum quantititates ab electo et capitulo ecclesiae Treverensis iuste et rationabiliter ac sine ulla reprehensione habere potuissemus , regalis tamen dignitas ipsas respuens, censuit thesaurus huiusmodi coelestes et spirituals, quos non tinea demolitur, erugo non consumit, nec fures effodiunt vel furantur, videlicet reliquias infrascriptas ab eisdem electo et capitulo, licet invitis et cum dolore cordis eorum , obtinere.*The translation is David Mengel's, "Remembering Bohemia's Forgotten Patron Saint," BRRP 6 (2007), 19-20.

[473] *Venit* (emperor Charles IV) *in Agaunum causa devotionis visitandi limina sanctorum martirum Thebeorum, ubi tunc temporis requiescebat preciosissimus thesaurus, videlicet corpus sancti Zigismundi, regis Burgundie, quod impetravit sibi dari et attulit secum Pragam.* Beneš of Weitmile, *FRB*, 4, 533. Mengel, "Remembering," 23.

[474] The position of St. Sigismund's relics is also invoked at the beginning of his *Mirakelbuch*: *…O venerandum, pretiosum et inefffabile donum, omne infirmitatis auxilium…O sancta et fidelis societas, quae nullo potuit violari certamine, quaeque adunata corporibus pro delictis populorum staret et mente. O felix et sancta Pragensis ecclesia quae tantum* ***totum sanctorum pretiosis meruisti thesauris****. Gaude et tu, felix Boemia, que habes afflicta multiplicatos pro te intercessores ad Dominum*. (f. 2r, 463). Mengel, "Bones, Stones, and Brothels," 263, ft. 1 (*Miracula sancti Sigismondi martyris per ipsum in sanctam Pragenses ecclesiam manifeste demonstrate*).

[475] Mengel, "Bones, Stones, and Brothels," 342.

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religious topography[476] — all that was present in Charles' policies since the mid-1350s at the latest. And the literary framework was established in the Charles' writtings as early as 1440s.

In his youth in France, Charles was inspired by official royal Late Capetian piety[477] and absorbed the spiritual means to augment the authority of government through the possession and devotion of relics (**Pl. 19 St. Louis showing relic of the Holy Crown**).[478] Young princes learned the twofold use of relics within the official court piety: the royal dimension of the veneration of Passion relics in symbolic re-enactment of Christ as the Eternal King and the veneration of the patrons of the land.[479] The first model stemmed from the key position the Passion relics enjoyed in both Eastern and Western Christianity and from the tradition of imperial or royal possession of these relics beginning with Constantine and Helena[480] (**Pl. 20, Mandeville travels, Christs relics in Constantinople, pl. 21b Christ's relics as symbol of royal and imperial power, Sir John Mandeville's Travels**)[481]; their distribution was an expression of close ties and recognition between medieval rulers. The second model was more politically-oriented;[482] it helped to gain intercession for the land through its holy patrons, to construct common identity and public memory, as well as foster local patriotism. Through the memory of ancestrial lineage it helped the ruling dynasty to legitimise its rule—this concept was particularily appealing to Charles, as through his maternal-line he was descended from St. Wenceslaus and Ludmila.

It would be, however, a simplification to explain Charles' relic manipulation only in terms of

[476] Mengel, "Bones, Stones and Brothels," 269, 297-299. Mengel (p. 376) avoids—rightly to my mind—the narrow linking of Charles' concepts to the Bohemian Refomation, and avoids calling his effort "a reform"; however, their parallel thinking and terminology, as well as interest in a Christian past—albeit not always the same models—cannot be overlooked. Charles' (as well as the reformers') concepts built on individual responsibility and rehabilitation of Augustian concepts of the way the world funcioned. Reformation thinkers elaborated further on these foundation, beyond the framework of an internal religious reform; they represent a re-evaluation of the original paradigms by the religious authorities towards new meanings. Thus, efforts to reformation/reform can be seen as a process of stripping off multiple layers of established cultural meanings (probably no longer viable) and towards their re-definition.

[477] Franz Machilek, "Privatfrömmigkeit und Staatsfrömmigkeit," in *Kaiser Karl IV. Staatsmann und Mäzen*, Ferdinand Seibt, ed. (Munich: Prestel 1978), 88-89. Karel Otavský, „K relikviím vlastněným císařem Karlem IV, k jejich uctívání a jejich schránkám" (Relics in the possession of the Emperor Charles IV, their devotion and montage), in *Court Chapels of the High and late Middle Ages and their artistic decoration, Proceedings from the International Symposium*, ed. Jiří Fajt (Prague: National gallery in Prague, 2003), 392-3.

[478] Elsner, "Replicating Palestine", 127.

[479] Karel Otavský, "Drei wichtige Reliquienschätze im luxemburgischen Prag und die Anfänge der Prager Heiltumsweisungen," (offprint of lecture held at symposium on Charles IV, the emperor in God's Grace, p. 3) (forthcoming).

[480] Flusin, "Les Reliques de la Sainte-Chapelle," 20.

[481] Josef Krása, *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville. A Manuscript in the British Library* (New York: George Braziller, 1983), pl. 7. Krása suggests the the Prague annual display of relics and commemoration of Charles IV was the model for this plate. The relics shown include the purple garment or white tunica, the Holy Cross, the Sponge and the Crown of Thorns.

[482] Otavský, "Drei wichtige Reliquienschätze," (offprint p. 3).

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French inspiration.[483] As opposed to Sainte-Chapelle, where the relics were arranged for exclusive viewing by the court,[484] Charles' relics were offered for *public* veneration. Using the language of public ritual of display, Charles twisted his model towards a public effect that corresponded better with his concept of universal world rule. Charles manipulated relics for the public effect of his moral reform, which he turned into a political aim. This policy was aimed at all of society, as he stated in the introductory part of the donation letter accompanying a shipment of relics from Germany in 1354.;[485] The donation was made to the archbishop, chapters, the lords and nobility of Prague, clergy and all common people in Bohemia, and the Empire. In the following subchapters I will describe the policies employed by Charles to achieve his goal.

His mother's family tradition also influenced Charles' attitude to relics.[486] Charles followed Elisabeth's legacy in re-constituting the Přemyslid treasury[487] with regard to his Přemyslid ancestry, and above all Saint Wenceslaus, something Charles had already publicly manifested upon his arrival to Bohemia. At that time, the traditional symbols of Přemyslid rule in Bohemia had been badly shaken. The Castle lay in ruins and royal property and the treasury was largely pawned or lost due to his father's expenses. On his return, Charles reverently made a stop at the Zbraslav monastery to the graves of his mother Elisabeth and Wenceslaus II. He was met there by a procession of Prague clergy with relics demonstrating their expectations towards his future role in the consolidation of the Přemyslid realm. In 1334, the prince donated silver Apostle figures for the decoration on the tomb of St. Wenceslaus[488] in a symbolic gesture recognizing the task before him. The building of the new cathedral and coronation church of the Bohemian kings on the ancient site of the Přemyslid *basilica* was also charged with symbolic ties to the sacred past of the Přemyslids. With re-organisation of the religious space in the cathedral around its four main saints (**Map 1**) and with the transfer of the bodies of the Bohemian kings[489] to their new tombs in 1373, and the transfer of the body of St. Sigismund, he

[483] Lützeschwab, "Prague—das neue Paris?", 206-8.
[484] Otavský, "Drei wichtige Reliquienschätze" (offprint, ft. 10) (forthcoming).
[485] Eršil—Pražák, AMK, 80, no. 263. CPSVP, 25, January 2, 1354: "*through God's Grace—although we are not worthy of it—we rule the world and the Christian people are enjoying peace under our rule. And from our will, as well as from the God's Grace and Will the Grace was given to the church of Prague, to the Empire and the Bohemian land, to our subjects—and so many of the precious relics of the martyrs and other saints was given to us, so we, who through Him received the relics of his saints…could honour them"…"these relics that we out of God's will received them, we have decided to donate them to Our Holy Mother Prague church for joy of the Kingdom of Bohemia, and to the Salvation of our subjects.*"
[486] Machilek, *Privatfrömmigkeit*, 87 (ft. 7).
[487] Crossley, "Bohemia Sacra, and Polonia Sacra", 50. Machilek, "Privatfrömmigkeit," 89.
[488] Otavský, *Wenzelskrone*, 19. Machilek, "Privatfrömmigkeit," 89.
[489] Karel Stejskal, and Karel Neubert, *Umění na dvoře Karla IV* (Art in the court of Charles IV), 2d ed., (Prague: Artia,

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built a symbolic structure rooted in local tradition, but actualised within a broad concept of Christian history.[490]

2. Treasures on Heaven and Earth

In 1333, at the age of 17, Charles returned to Bohemia having had experience of the French taste for symbolic architectural forms and elegant goldsmith ing work[491] as well as useful concepts of treasury manipulations. It influenced Charles' constructions,[492] court and religious ceremonies, and provided a model for the ideal royal saint in the figure of St. Louis.[493] Charles probably had the French models in mind when he established All Saints palace chapel as a chapter church in 1339 and re-built it on the Sainte-Chapelle model in both its form and content,[494] possibly to house his own collection of relics.

In spite of numerous attempts to grasp Charles' IV personality, until recently the true meaning and importance of his devotion to relics was undervalued.[495] Charles IV was a deeply religious person, as reflected in his autobiography. The personal faith with which he approached the relics, was, however, closely intertwinned with official statesman's piety of a late medieval monarch.[496] These two aspects of his devotion to relics are inseparable due to Charles' deep personal religiosity. His inspiration derived from the universalism in the teachings of St. Augustin and St. Thomas Aquinas accentuated the spiritual bond between the king and God and the king and his subjects turning public (including church) space into an ambience for ceremonies communicating his political concepts

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2003), 22. Šmahel, "Zur politischen Präsentation und Allegorie."

[490] Jaromír Homolka, "Zu den ikonographischen Programmen Karls IV," in *Die Parler und der Schöne Stil 1350-1400. Europäische Kunst unter den Luxemburgen*, vol. 2, ed. Anton Legner (Cologne 1978), 608-618, Crossley, "Bohemia Sacra, and Polonia Sacra, 50-54.

[491] Otavský, *Wenzelskrone*, 19, 98-9, 149-150. Otavský, "K relikviím", 392.

[492] Vojtěch Birnbaum, "Karel IV jako sběratel a Praha (Charles IV as a collector)" in *Listy z dějin umění*, ed. A. Birnbaumová (Prague 1947), 146-156. Mengel, "Bones, Stones, and Brothels," 66-78.

[493] Otavský, "K relikviím", 392.

[494] Otavský, "K relikviím", 393.

[495] Scholars explained it as the result of private interests, political aims, returns to ancient *topoi* of royal piety, or economic and political enhancement of Prague. Spěváček sees the economic profit from pilgrims and indulgences Jiří Spěváček, "Frömmigkeit und Kirchentreue als Instrumente der Politischen Ideologie Karls IV.," in *Karl IV. Politik und Ideologie im 14. Jahrhundert* , ed. Evamaria Engel (Weimar 1982), 158-170). Chadraba (Chadraba, "Kaiser Karls IV *devotio antiqua*," 51-68) sees in the relics traditional imperial piety. Otavský (Otavský, "K relikviím", 392) and Stejskal (Stejskal, *Umění na dvoře*, 25) pointed out that Charles IV had been inspired through French examples. Stejskal suggests that Charles IV brought the core of his collection of minerals and antiquities from France; both stress Charles' good knowledge of late Capetian royal piety (Stejskal, *Umění na dvoře*, 27). Mengel points out the centrality of Prague in Charles' IV concepts. *Remembering*, 18, also fifth chaper in Mengel, "Bones, stones and brothels").

[496] *Staatsfrömmigkeit*, *politische Religiosität*. Machilek, „Privatfrömmigkeit und Staatsfrömmigkeit," 87-101. For the critique of limiting Charles religiosity to only political religiosity, see Otavský, *Wenzelskrone*, 91.

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through official piety and symbolic language.[497] Manipulation of relics, of course, was to prove useful in carrying through various political agendas, such as the legitimisation of Charles' rule in Bohemia and the Empire, promoting dynastical roots,[498] and ancient moral models of government,[499] protecting the land, and securing his own place in the History of Salvation.[500]

Charles' passion for relics reflected similar aspects of mingling private and state religiosity as did his artistic policy.[501] It oscillated between two poles, combining an emotional display of private devotion and outwardly directed public ceremony. The cult of relics formed a framework for the promotion of political concepts through various media, such as ceremonies, religious performances, public presentation, art, and architecture. From the beginning, Charles' relics formed part of his "politics of self-presentation"[502] intersecting policy with ceremonial displays within the city. Through regular display of relics he promoted Prague as an imperial seat and a pilgrimage centre, as the location of the last resting place of the holy kings, and princes. Finally, by bringing some of the most important Passion relics to Prague, the city was symbolically posing as second only to Rome and Jerusalem.[503]

Charles IV collected relics systematically and closely examined their authenticity. He searched for the most important items in the hierarchy of relics (the Passion, and the Virgin Mary memorial relics), followed by the relics of the first martyrs, Apostles and papal saints, and two of his personal favourites, St. Catherine and St. Nicolaus. Among his main achievements, he transferred the bodies of St. Vitus and St. Sigismund to Prague. Among his relics, an important place was assigned to his ancestors (St. Wenceslaus, St. Ludmila, St. Sigismund, and Charlemagne),[504] and saints of royal origin (St. Sigismund, St. Ulrich, St. Afra, St. Hylaria, St. Helena). By claiming the holy origin of the Luxembourgs and the Přemyslids, as well as the sacred dimensions of kingship, he anchored himself in historical time as its logical fulfilment.[505]

Charles' donations of relics to Prague churches culminated in a period roughly between 1350-1360. This was also the time period when the major displays of relics were established and became a

[497] Šmahel, "Zur politischen Präsentation," 2.
[498] Crossley, "Bohemia Sacra", 50.
[499] Hlaváčková, "Idea dobrého panovníka," 14.
[500] Crossley, "Bohemia sacra," 50, Otavský, "Drei wichtige Reliquienschätze".
[501] Machilek, "Privatfrömmigkeit und Staatsfrömmigkeit", 87-101. Crossley, "Bohemia Sacra and Polonia Sacra", 49. Otavský, "K relikviím, 392.
[502] Crossley, "The Politics of Presentation," 99-172.
[503] Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 217-275.
[504] Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 293. Mengel, *Remembering*, 26.
[505] Crossley, "Bohemia Sacra," 50.

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regular part of the city life. He obtained them from the treasuries of monasteries and churches around the Empire, in Rome, and through international contacts. Charles continued Elisabeth's efforts and built a new Bohemian royal treasury with the Passion relics. He richly endowed the metropolitan treasury of St. Vitus with a large shipment of relics to match the importance of the church, and donated relics to chapter and monastic treasuries across Bohemia.[506] Several Prague parish churches appeared in his or his courtier's donations as well.[507] He obtained the rest of the body of its patron saint, St. Vitus, for the cathedral, and added a new royal cult of St. Sigismund.[508] He donated precious reliquaries for relics, divided relics, and distributed them around Prague and back to the Empire (Aachen, Herrieden, Agaune) to support the growth of these cults. As a result, he turned the country, whose treasuries were rather meagre in comparison with Western Europe into a territory sanctified by the presence of numerous relics and patron's bodies, with Prague[509] competing with the most important centres of Christianity in the number of relics held in the churches.[510]

2.1 The "True Treasures": Karlštejn

Thomas Pešina of Čechorod, a seventeenth-century historian and canon of St. Vitus, saw Charles IV as the founder of two[511] of the most important treasuries in Bohemia[512] including the metropolitan

[506] Endowments to chapter churches: All Saints church, Vyšehrad, St. Apolinaire, Karlštejn, and Tangermünde castles. Important monastic donations: the Carthusian monastery in Újezd near Prague (together with John), St. Thomas in the Augustinian church in Prague, and Karlov monastery.

[507] Donation of the relics of St. Eligius by Bohuš, chaplain to Charles IV (Sekyrka, *Inventáře*, no. 4, 66-68), head of St. Gallus (Sekyrka, *Inventáře*, no. 93, 119-126), relics of St. Heinrich and Cunigonde, and a St. Stephen relic (František Eckert, *Posvátná místa král. hl. města Prahy. Dějiny a popsání* (Sacred places in the royal capital city of Prague), vol. 2 (Prague: Dědictví sv. Jana Nepomuckého, 1884, 105-6) Cf. silver head reliquary of St. Stephen in *Protocolum*).

[508] Crossley, "Bohemia Sacra," 51-2. Mengel, "Bones, Stones, and Brothels," 336-340.

[509] *Vix credo, Urbem nullam in Europa esse (unam Romam excipio) in qua tam rara et tot Sanctorum Lipsana atque etiam ad Christum et eius Matrem Virginem pertinentia, invenire pius Peregrinus possi , sicut Pragae in Ecclesia Metropolitana. …nihil… ad hasce nostras…Quem non moveant tot Sanctorum Corpora et Coelestes Exuviae a Carolo IV. toto Orbe quaefitae, et in arcem Caroli compositae: quibus raritate et singularitate rerum pares (scio quid scribam) vix hodie ulla civitas habet: ut mecum sentiunt Eruditi: a Roma vincimur, pluribus aliis nihil concedimus.* Bohuslav Balbín, *Vita venerabilis Arnesti Archiepiscopi Pragensis*, (Prague 1664), quoted in Thomae Joanne Pessina de Czechorod (Tomáš Jan Pešina z Čechorodu), *Thesaurus in Lucem Protractus sive S. Mercurius, Maximus Orientis Martyr* (Pragae 1675), A2v-A3r.

[510] Mengel, "Bones, Stones and Brothels," 268.

[511] *"Brevis narratio de ss. Reliquiis in S. Metrop. Pragensi Ecclesia,"* in Pešina z Čechorodu, *Thesaurus in Lucem Protractus*, A3r. For particular position of the imperial treasury (A4r). For a modern distinction Otavský, "Drei wichtige Reliquienschätze" (offprint).

[512] Distribution of relics suggests that the Emperor had also a private collection of relics divided among his residences (The Tangermünde collection was apparently the treasury that was returned to Jošt (*Jodocus*) of Moravia, Margrave of Brandenburg, and nephew of Charles, in 1412. Walter Zahn, *Kaiser Karl IV in Tangermünde* (Tangermünde 1900), 34).

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treasury of St. Vitus and the royal treasury in Karlštejn (*reliquiae regni, cimelia regni*).[513] The treasuries represented two different approaches to relic collection. The ancient metropolitan treasury boasted large numbers of relics and a long tradition that made it a natural centre in Bohemian religious topography. On the other hand, the *reliquiae regni* was a small collection of first-class relics that made up for the paucity of their numbersby the high esteem in which they were held, their rareness and their origins.

The royal treasury was an outstanding collection of the Passion relics collected by Charles IV and inspired by the French treasury of Sainte-Chapelle.[514] Designed to benefit Bohemia and the dynasty through Christ's protection and beatification of the land,[515] it was perceived as the lands' patrimony (the fifteenth century sources call the most important piece, the golden cross, the Land's cross—*Landeskreuz*). The treasury's significance was reflected in its manipulation. From 1357, the treasury was kept in Karlštejn, Charles' IV castle southwest of Prague,[516] where the chapter was established to look after the treasury.[517]

After mid-1350s, the construction of Karlštejn took a step in the direction of the symbolic structure of religious spaces.[518] The initial reason for the change in the building programme may have been Karlštejn's choice as the temporary residence for the imperial relics that were brought to Prague in 1350. Although originally another location was considered,[519] sometime before 1357 Karlštejn was finally chosen for their safe-keeping. The imperial treasury was, however, bound to the title of the Roman king. As Bohemia was not the core part of the Empire it could claim the right to it only so far

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The existence of Charles' IV private treasury can be inferred from the royal court in France. Charles V possessed a treasury comprised of 3906 entries dispersed in royal residences in Paris and its surroundings including relics and reliquaries, as well as secular goods. His brothers, the dukes of Anjou, Berry and Burgundy, were also collectors of luxury goods; even the inventories of their treasures take the form of illuminated memorial books. Otavský, *Wenzelskrone*, 22. Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 225, 240-1, and Machilek, "Privatfrömmigkeit," 89. No record has survived concerning the nature of his collection; the silence may be explained by Charles' disapproval of ostentatious presentation of his private treasuries as opposed to public showing of official treasuries. Otavský presumes that the Prague part of his treasure was kept in the All Saints treasury in the palace (Otavský, *Wenzelskrone*, 22, 20). In 1339, Charles IV established a chapter with a provost and twelve canons recruited from the elders of the University. Four years later he donated many relics in reliquaries of gold, silver and precious stones to mark the importance of the church. All Saints, built close to the private chambers of the king and settled with the University teachers, created a highly sophisticated clerical circle around the Emperor.

[513] Karel Otavský, "Zlatý relikviářový kříž" (Gold reliquary cross), in *Karel IV., císař z Boží milosti*, 111-114.

[514] Jannic Durand, "Le Trésor sous Saint Louis," in *Le Trésor de la Sainte-Chapelle*, 138.

[515] Zdeněk Tobolka,ed.. *M. Pavla Žídka Správovna* (The Corrector by Master Pavel Žídek) (Prague: Česká akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1908), 21-2.

[516] Otavský, *Wenzelskrone*, 15. Otavský, "Kult nástrojů," 66. František Kavka, "Účel a poslání hradu Karlštejna ve svědectví písemných pramenů doby Karlovy," in *Magister Theodoricus*, 21.

[517] Fajt, ed. *Magister Theodoricus*, 148, part H, I

[518] The problem with identification of religious spaces, Fajt, ed. *Magister Theodoricus*, (Kavka) 21, (Homolka) 120.

[519] Kavka, "Účel," 23. They were kept in Prague for several years, although it is not sure where (the St. Vitus Cathedral - Otavský, "Kult nástrojů," 63, unfinished Augustinian monastery in Karlov, the Emmaus).

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as the Bohemian king bore the title. Charles was well-aware of this position and—in spite of his effort—could not count with keeping it in Bohemia forever, which explains the absence of direct iconographic evidence of the imperial treasury in the decoration of the castle. The Passion relics of the royal treasury, however, provided enough iconographic reference material for the decoration. Between the mid-1350s and 1365, a unique project got underway to provide suitable space for both treasuries within a chapel.

Particular architectural features of Karlštejn have been noted with its special focus on the Holy Cross chapel (formerly the Suffering of the Lord). Its peculiar anachronistic outlook, an "inwardness" that resembled a reliquiary turned inside out (**Pl. 26, St. Cross chapel**). Structural oddities in the two-bay chapel, as well as its fortress-like character with deep windows, a dark interior made shivering and vivid through glittering gold vaults and gold and jasper walls with large half-figures of saints can be seen in light of Charles' *sugeresque* predilection for exalted visuality. The shrine-like setting turned inwards implied at first sight that the space was created as stage for its very special content: the Passion relics.[520] The special nature of its contents was assured both in liturgy and life,[521] as well as in the structure's complicated iconography.

After the building was finished, the interior decoration of the chapel was entrusted to Master Theoderich (around 1360). Large painted wooden panels with saintly figures enclosed both royal and imperial treasuries as material memories of Christ' Salvation-bringing Sacrifice and epitomised them as the true, "hidden treasures" of the Bible, and Heavenly Jerusalem at the same time. In the middle of the Eastern wall directly above the altar, the Man of Sorrows and Crucifixion were placed as the visual materialisation of the Sacrifice. The angels in the triangular fields kept the *arma Christi* physically present in the treasuries. The central position of the Sacrifice in the union of visual, material and spiritual (the Eucharist presence and iconography) presence surrounded by the saintly residents of the Kingdom of Heaven (also physically present through relics inserted in the panel's frames and visible through crystal *oculi*) unleashed an elaborate complex of meanings and biblical references.

Although explicit iconographic references were made to the royal treasury, the decoration of the eastern wall of the chapel points toward the universal value of Christ's Sacrifice. By avoiding

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[520] *In diffuse orbe terrarum non est castrum neque capella de tam precioso [opere], et merito, quia in eadem conservabat insignie imperialia et tocius regni sui thesaurum*..). Fajt, ed. *Magister Theodoricus*, 34 (cited after FRB IV, Prague 1884, 533)

[521] Already in 1352, Charles IV asked for *pontificalia* for any priest who would celebrate mass at the altar with the imperial relics (Kühne, *Ostensio*, 112, Otavský, "Kult nástrojů," 64). In the foundation charter of Karlštejn chapter, only bishops were allowed to hold service at the altar with Passion relics, and sexual intercourse—even marital—was forbidden in the church tower, Fajt, ed. *Magister Theodoricus,* 148, part H, I.

models of ancient imperial iconography as well as personalised or historical references, and by using universal Christian concepts, the iconographic programme—similarly as the treasures in Charles' exegetic texts—managed to create a proper iconographic setting for both treasuries as part of the common heritage of Christianity, at the same time, coping with their particular nature.

The central object in the royal treasury was a large gold reliquary cross (*preciosissimum iocale regni et regum Boemie*) was manufactured before 1359. Several pieces of the Wood of the Holy Cross, two Thorns of the Crown of Thorns received at the turn of 1356 and 1357, and other Passion relics (the Nail, the Sponge) were mounted to a cross in 1357, and in 1359 awarded with magnanimous indulgences. Today's cross, embellished with crystal *oculi* to facilitate display of the relics was produced around 1370 ((**Pl. 23, Bohemian royal cross**), today the Metropolitan treasury of St. Vitus) to replace the cross from 1357.[522]

The first cross of 1357 was kept originally in the Emperor's oratory (today's St. Catherine chapel) in Karlštejn, consecrated to the Relics of the Suffering of Christ as showen in the painting of Charles IV and Anna of Swidnicz (**Pl. 24 Adoration of the Cross**) above the chapel door or in one of the Scenes with Relics on the outside wall of the oratory (now the Virgin Mary church, **pl. 25b Relic inserted to the Bohemian Cross**).[523] Otavský's idea of the older cross from 1357 is also supported by the text in the *arenga* of the foundation charter for the Karlštejn chapter,[524] where "the pearls of the Blood decorate" the True Cross, which corresponds with the actual Karlštejn depiction, where pearls decorate the golden cross. The literary and pictorial imagery of the Eucharist pointed towards the Salvation-bringing effect of the cross' relics. Even after the decoration and completion of the Holy Cross chapel was changed, the former oratory served as place for the safekeeping of a treasury—now probably from the Virgin Mary church, and the Karlštejn chapter.

The paintings on the outside wall separating the oratory from the chamber testify to the proper origin of the cross' relics (similarly to the later scenes depicted on the Cross of Urban V or on the

[522] Otavský, "Zlatý relikviářový kříž," 111.

[523] The little cross reliquary in the scene is identical with an existing cross reliquary now in Vienna imperial treasury, Rotraud Bauer, et alii, *The Secular and Ecclesiastical treasuries* (Vienna: Rezidenz Verlag, Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, 2005), 165-6, cat. no. 156. The cross may depict the Trier relic of the Cross inserted into the first royal cross, and later, in 1370, taken out. It probably was placed the imperial treasury under Sigismund.

[524] 27.3. 1357. Christ Blood: *salutifere, regenerationis nostre salutifera*), and preciousness (*dignissima eiusdem insignia*). *Sacratissimum dominice passionis misterium et dignissima eiusdem insignia eos, qui preciosi sanguinis dominici inestimabili precio ab eterne ruine precipio sunt redempti…O vere felicem salutifere cruces aram, margaritis eximiis Christi sanguine vernantibus expolitam, o clavum clarissimum illius venerabilis membris infixum et rutilandissimo rosei cruoris stillicido purpuratum,…o inclitam lanceam lateri salvatoris inmissam per quam fluxerunt largiflue redempcionis partier et regenerationis nostre salutifera sacramenta…*(*Magister Theodoricus*, 34)

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Chains reliquary, both made by Charles IV after 1365). [525] The Scenes with Relics by the court painter Nicolas Wurmser of Strassbourg[526] depict the "moments" the cross' relics were donated to Charles (**pl. 25a, Relic scene 1, donation of the Thorns from the Holy Crown**), although they cannot be considered exact historical records: a part of the Holy Cross and the two Thorns, donated by the French dauphin as well as the Sponge donated by John V Palaiologos. The 1357 foundation charter of Karlštejn chapter mentions the early collection of relics, but identifying these relics with the relics in the current cross creates difficulties.[527] The paintings of the Scenes with Relics apparently depict the relics that were part of the royal treasury after 1360, emphasizing the role the Emperor (and Bohemian king) played in acquiring them. Approximately around this time, the royal treasury joined the annual showing of imperial relics[528] in Prague New Town.

The iconographic program of the remaining spaces in the Castle, where the Luxemburg and Přemyslid inheritances unfolded in both dynastic and sacred history (Wenceslaus' legend, The Miracle with St. Nicolaus' finger), described in allegory the journey of the chosen ruler towards ideal government in the Christian sense.[529] Within the structure, with such dynastical memorial program, the decoration of the Holy Cross chapel stood out as a different historical construct telling a parallel narrative of the History of Salvation.[530] As a parallel to the twofold effect of the treasuries (in the sense of the two floors of Saint-Chapelle the universal Christian and the local French), the decoration of Karlštejn offered two kinds of medieval *memoria* techniques: one unites sacred and historical dynastical *memoria* in a historical re-construction of time; the second expressed an ideal Christian

[525] Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 405, fig. 123. 401, fig. 113-4.
[526] Jiří Fajt, "Karel IV. 1316-1378. Od napodobení k novému císařskému stylu" (Charles IV. 1316-1378. From imitation to the new imperial style), in *Karel IV, císař z Boží milosti*, 65.
[527] A problem is posed by a mention in the charter of the Holy Lance, which was not part of the royal collection, but rather imperial. Another problem is the disappearance of the Thorns that were obtained in 1356/1357 – a Thorn is mentioned among the royal relics in December 1357. The fragment of the Nail (*pars de clauis*), mentioned in the charter, is probably from the Nail in the imperial treasury. Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 227.
[528] Otavský, "Kult nástrojů," 70.
[529] Hlaváčková, "Idea dobrého panovníka," 13. The same idea was recently suggested for Charles IV *Königskirche*, the Cathedral of St. Vitus, by Crossley, "Bohemia Sacra," 50, 52.
[530] *…pro nostra salute sponte Cruci affigi/ et acerrime mortis in ea subire supplicum est dignatus/ ut sua morte/nos perditos/a morte revocaret ad vitam O vere felicem salutifere Crucis aram/margaritas eximiis/ sanguine Christi uernantibus expolitam/ O clauum clarissimum/ illius uenerabilis membris infixum/ rutilantissimo rosei cruoris stillicidio purpuratum…/O uenerandam spongiam / qua fons interne eterneque dulcedinis /aceto e felle potatur / O inclitam lanceam lateri Saluatoris immissam/ per quam fluxerundt largiflue redemptionis partier et regenerationis nostre salutifera sacramenta… in Regno nostro Boemie Crucis alme sanctissimorum Quinque uulnerum / Claui/ Spongie/ Lancee et dominice passionis memoria …Ad laudem et gloriam Trinitat(is eterne) et nominatim piissimi Redemptoris nostri / ad salutem nostrum incarnate et passi sueque Crucis /uulnerum Claui Spongie/ Lancee et salutifere passionis / necnon aliorum insigniorum eius et totius militia celestis honorem…* Fajt, ed. *Magister Theodoricus*, 144.

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concept of time. In both kinds of *memoria*, the focus was on relics; visual narrative of the saint founder was part of the first kind of memory.

A decade after Charles' concepts of treasures were revealed in the texts, the realisation of Karlštejn can be seen as a physical realisation of the parable of the 'hidden treasure'. Both royal and imperial treasuries were hidden[531] in the "reliquiary" of the chapel, and the access to them was allowed through personal re-enactment of the journey of the good ruler following good models. The journey is a parable of the quest of the worthy man who finds the hidden treasure or the Pearl, keeps it for himself, and as a reward is cleansed of his sins.

The allegorical meaning of treasures, where the desirable treasures were hidden to all but the worthy, was discussed above. Karlštejn epitomised this notion; unlike the glassy light-filled space of Sainte-Chapelle, Karlštejn represented a different setting with itscompact, closed, with heavy walls, protected, inward-looking, where the treasures/treasuries were hidden to all but the chosen ones who proceeded through a passage of personal transformation and moral purification. As the reward at the end of the journey, the walls and the treasuries of the Holy Cross chapel re-enacted the path to the Kingdom of Heaven, as in the words of the parable: *simile est regnum coelorum thesauro abscondito in agro,*[532] materialised in physical presence of relics and visual iconographic commentary.

2.2 "Totus honor ecclesiae nostrae…"*: The Treasury of St. Vitus in Prague*

The largest part of Charles' acquisitions went to the treasury of the Cathedral of St. Vitus, to which he showed special reverence and to which he assigned a central role in religious topography of Prague, and indeed, Bohemia.[533] In an earlier chapter, I have followed the gradual growth of this treasury under the Přemyslids, under whom it both acquired important relics and a key position among Bohemian church treasures, but suffered loss of valuable items in various political turmoils. Outshone by the memory of her son, Charles' mother, Elisabeth of Přemyslid, had already put significant effort into the restoration of some of its content; however, it was the *grande* work of Charles to bring the treasury to a level of splendour never before attained. Out of the treasury's 450 relics listed from the

[531] Kühne, *Ostensio*, 117, writes: "die Reichsreliquien auf dem Karlstein **gehütet** wurden".
[532] Mt 13:44 *Simile est regnum coelorum thesauro abscondito in agro; quem qui invenerint, abscondit*…Hieronymus, *Commentarii in Ezechielem*, Cl. 0587, Lib. 9, cap. 28, linea 321 (Brepols (http://clt.brepolis.net/clt/start.asp?sOwner=menu) 2473-2482/3813).
[533] Mengel, "Bones, Stones, and Brothels," 32.

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seventeenth century, about 60 percent were donated by Charles IV (that is around 300 items).[534] The largest shipments of relics came in 1350 and 1355; the later probably even inspired changes in the way the treasury was inventorized. At the end of Charles' life, with about three hundred relics in the treasury, St. Vitus was a true miracle-making and Salvation-bringing Bohemian *trésor*, whose fame was to be recalled in the following centuries (**Pl. 37, St. Vitus treasury**).[535]

Franciscus of Prague reported when the foundations of the new cathedral building were laid, Charles gave "many relics, rich in gold, silver and precious stones together with valuable garments, many chalices and monstrances and other church equipment to the the metropolitan church, which were intended to serve the needs and decoration of the church. He also decorated the grave of St. Adalbert within the old *basilica* with gold, silver and precious ornaments together with images and rich sculptural decoration (*imaginibus diversis et sculptures artificialibus*), so that everyone admired them as something never seen before in the country (*et talibus in regno Bohemiae non fuit prius repreta*)". The donation of relics and liturgical equipment was intended to recall the recent rise in the status of the church, as well as having been a probable response to the practical requirements of its liturgy after recent reorganisation and enlargement.

What remained of the original pre-1350 St. Vitus treasury[536] is comprised in the first inventory of 1354;[537] it was a relatively unimpressive collection for the most important church in Bohemia. The treasury was could trace its ancient origins to the saintly patrons of the church through memorial relics (The Sts. Wenceslaus and Adalbert collections survive to the present day). The mostly inventory recorded recent works, primarily the equipment of the St. Wenceslaus altar (*tabula quinque fratrum*, *tabula …cum crucifixo…altari scti Wenceslai deputata*).[538] Thirty-five containers (*capsae, cistulae,*

[534] Mengel, "Bones, Stones and Brothels," 268-9.

[535] Pešina z Čechorodu, *Thesaurus in Lucem Protractus*, A2r. *Magnum ac praedivitem thesaurum SS. Reliquiarum sive quis earum multitudinem,sive raritatem et excelentiam spectet, habere S. Metropolitanam Pragensem Ecclesiam, vix, puto, ullum apud nos reperiri ita peregrinum, cui id compertum non sit. …me haud ignorare etiam complures alias Urbes et Ecclesias sacris huiuscemodi Cimmeliis nobilitatas pre aliis clarescere… Ut tamen nostra, seu numero et copia, seu raritate et excellentia superent , me non videre. Dictum audax, seda vero minime alienum.*

[536] The treasury room would have been located in the sacristy of the *basilica*, the St. Michael's chapel (*in capella ad sanctum Michaelem*) located north of the cathedral building, attached to the south part of the ambit. The chapel was probably still in use in the pre-Hussitic era (Maříková-Kubková, and David Eben, "Organizace liturgického prostoru v bazilice sv. Víta," 228, 233)). Some vessels were placed on the altars and above in the St. Wenceslaus chapel.

[537] CPSVP, I (1354), Pag. 2.

[538] In comparison to the donations made by Charles, the most favoured reliquary form of the treasury in the first half of the fourteenth century were hands (*manus* -11), and crosses—less common are the *capita*, and *imagines*, i.e. statuettes. Two *capita* (in 1387 it was 26), eleven *manus* (1387 - 23), four reliquary statues (1387 - 13) and two *tabulae*, eleven crosses (1387 - only 6, of which 2 were the new crystal crosses), the armour of St.Weceslaus and sword of St. Mauritius, 8 *plenaria*, 2 mobile altars, 2 monstrances for the Eucharist, a pyxis, a collection plate, and *memoria* of St. Adalbert (*baculus, anulus, cappa*). CPSVP, IV, 29-67.

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pixides and a pectoral) together with other unidentified relics were, on the other hand, probable survivors of previous attacks on precious metal reliquaries in the history of the treasury.[539] As for liturgical vessels and textiles, only the greater number of chalices mentioned in the inventory from before 1354 indicated the special status of the treasury;[540] In general, the smaller size of the earlier treasury would hardly have been sufficient to support the extent of liturgical activity required by Charles IV for the cathedral church.

The first donation of important relics to the Prague St. Vitus cathedral that can be followed more closely was made in 1349-1350,[541] and included the relic of the Bloodied Veil of the Virgin (*peplum cruentatum*, **pl. 34, Bloodied veil reliquary**), and the relic of the Tablecloth from the Last Supper (obtained in 1348 from Louis of Hungary, **pl. 32 a,b, Relic and reliquary of Last Supper Tablecloth**), to which a special annual indulgence of one year and one *quadragen* was assigned by Pope Clement VI in February 1350. [542] Some relics originated in the treasury of Queen Elisabeth (the Bloodied Veil, the St. Ignatius, St. Lucy and Clare reliquary).[543] Although it was cast into the shade by the ceremonial arrival of the imperial relics to Prague on Palm Sunday later the same year, a first attempt to implement Charles' policy of bringing the cult of relics into the public forum can be seen in the older plan of the display of the *mensale* on Maundy Thursday.The relic was most likely displayed in the cathedral. Already in the late 1340s, Charles designed the practical modes of implementing these displays and their settings (the establishment of the New Town of Prague and the Market, able to hold large numbers of pilgrims, Karlov and Emmaus monasteries and, the building of the Cathedral). From its early stages, the Prague metropolitan church and treasury had been assigned a key role in the concept of establishing regular public displays of relics in churches. These ideas were echoed in the

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[539] CPSVP, V, 89-98. Or possibly partly Elisabeth's donations?
[540] CPSVP, I, 38 (28 placed in the treasury) chalices, of which 10 chalices were distributed on the altars (1355 - 1324 remained after four were used for *plenarium*), only 2 *fistulae* for communicating wine, 11 ampules, 3 ampules for the oils, 4 censers, and 4 candlesticks. Pre-1354 vestments included 19 garments for the mass (1355 -13 30, 1387 - 1335) and 5 mantles (*cappas*) (already 24 pieces in1355 with the number increasing in 1387 as many as 145. In the year 1396 there were 12 more added. This high number cannot seen as characteristic of growth—the cappes were regularly given to the church after the death of canons.
[541] Donation of 1349/1350 of four *capita* and six reliquary Apostle statues (remains of the 1333 decoration of St. Wenceslaus tomb?), a fragment of the Holy Crown of Thorns, the *peplum cruentatum* and the *mensale* (I (1354), no. 12, 15, 19, 7-11, 16, 28), a vase with relics of St. Stephen, vessels, and *regalia* represented a significant contribution to the treasury.
[542] Otavský, "Kult nástrojů", 65, *Chronicon Francisci*, 347-456, 454. CPSVP, 19, and III. Cf. Eršil-Pražák, 71, no. 228 (*mensale Domini*, relic obtained 1348).
[543] CPSVP, III, 15, 17.

text of the statutes of Ernest of Pardubice from[544] 1350 that stressed the key position the relics held in St. Vitus—through them the cathedral grew in distinction.

A turning point in the growth of St. Vitus' treasury was Charles' procession through Germany and Italy in 1354-1355. The motivation for the shipment of the large collection of imperial relics was explained by the Emperor in his signed letter from Mainz on January 2, 1354[545]—he has in mind the Salvation of all his subjects and benefits for the land: "*Out of Our will and out of God's Grace He looked gracefully upon the church of Prague, on the Empire, and the Bohemian land, on Our subjects, and gave us so many excellent relics of saint martyrs and other saints, so that We, who thanks to Him were given the relics of His saints, could venerate (them) as much as possible…these relics that We have received thanks to God's will, we have decided to donate to our Holy Mother the Prague church, to increase the joy of the Bohemian kingdom, and to Salvation of our subjects.*"

Inspired by the French welcome of the Constantinople relics,[546] the Emperor asked the people to rejoice over the heavenly gift and accept the relics with respect. He concluded by asking the Archbishop Ernest to establish a diocesan feast to celebrate the coming of the relics to Bohemia. The Archbishop ordered the feast of *allacio reliquiarum* celebrating the shipment with a double mass (*sub duplici officio*) on January 2[nd.];[547] After Charles' supplication, Pope Innocentius VI added indulgences of one year and forty days to those who visited Prague metropolitan church on this feast day.[548]

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[544] Podlaha, *Statuta*, 43.
[545] APH (AMK), XI 1 and 2, of January 2, 1354. cf. Pešina z Čechorodu, *Phosphorus Septicornis*, 622, 433-7. Eršil-Pražák, I, 80, no. 263, sign. 223 XI 1-3. CPSVP, 26.
[546] CPSVP, 26.
[547] CPSVP, 27.
[548] CPSVP, 27, ftnote 4. KA 225 X 11, Eršil–Pražák, 81, no. 265. "*petitio continebat quamplures venerandae reliquiae sibi a nonnullis ecclesiarum et monasteriorum praelatis, capitulis atque conventibus aliisque personis ecclesiasticis, in quaorum ecclesiis seu monasteriis in diversis Alamaniae partibus epostebant, quas ecclesiis et monasteriis ipsis per nonnullos clarae memoriae catolicos Romanos reges eiusdem Karoli predecessores donata fuisse et per ipsorum predecessorum suorum litteras ad nonnullas earum approbatione sedis apostolice subsecuta, …videlicet de …Domini nostri Iesu Christi …inconsutili tunica ac purpurea, qua per Pilatus indutus et albam, in qua per Herodem illusus extitit vestibus , ac pannis, quibus fuit in presepio involutus et etiam copertus et de ipso presepio ac ipsius domini nostri sudario, nec non de lacte et duobus cingulis beatae Maria Virginis matris eius, et insuper de sanctorum Bartholomei apostoli, Marci evangelistae, Gregorii pape, Patricii et Metelli, martyrum et pontificum, Sixti papae et martyris capitibus et de ipsius sancti Marci magna costa, ac de sanctorum Lazari, quem Deus a mortuis suscitavit, Urbani pape…Florentii episcopi Argentinensis…Prothasii brachio et de sanctorum innocentium ac sanctorum Colimanni…, Gerardi episcopi, Thiebaldi confessoris, Gordiani et Epimachi…certas partes sanctorum quoque Urbani papae…Ochmari abbatis, Hylariae martiris, regine Cypri matris sanctae Affre, Dyonisii episcopi Augustensis...capita, ac sanctorum Sergi et Bachi…, Januarii et sociourum eius corpora, brachium et quamplures reliquiae sancti Conradi episcopi Constantiensis, brachium et reliquiae sancti Odalrici, episcopi Augustensis, integra scapula cum cute sancti Pelagii martiris, mandibula sancti Florentii…et nonnulae aliae diversorum sanctorum reliquiae…idemque Rex praefatas reliquias ad metropoliticam regni sui Boemiae Pragensem ecclesiam pro maiori divini cultus et dictorum veneratione sanctorum transmittere seu offeri facere devotionis zelo proposuerit et intendat, Nos cupientes, quod a Xpi fidelibus eo devotius praefatae reliquiae venerentur et ad ecclesiam ipsam eo dicti fideles devotius confluant, quo ibidem uberius dono celestis gratiae conspexerint*

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Charles' stay in Trier in February 1354 yielded the most important pieces in the shipment. When writing abut this events, historians recorded the secrecy of the act and unwillingness of the chapter to fulfill Charles' wishes, which would hardly have been approved of bythe patriotic citizens of Trier.[549] In the metropolitan church, Charles cut off a third of their Holy Cross relics brought by St. Helen, obtained a piece of *manna*, of the episcopal staff of St. Peter the Apostle (later mounted into the pastoral staff of Prague archbishops),[550] a piece of the iron chains of St. Peter, the shoes of St. Andrew and the ring of his grandfather Heinrich VII.[551] The most important relic, however, he obtained in the St. Maximin convent, a third of the *peplum beatae Mariae virginis*. A thirteenth-century fabric—one layer of fine white gauze-like cloth[552]— provided three years and three quadragens of indulgences for those individuals who came to venerate it during Cathedral showings.[553] In Trier, he also received the hand of an Innocent and further *memoria* of his grandfather.[554] The relics were sent to Prague in secret[555] with reliable officials from his court (among them Canon Velislav, possibly the donor of the Velislav Bible), on March 23, 1354.[556] The relics

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se refectos…omnibus vere poenitentibus et confessis, qui in die, qua praefatate reliquiae ad eandem eclessiam offerentur et in anniversario eiusdem diei perpetui futuris temporibus annuatim ecclesiam ipsam devote visitaverint, unum annum et quadraginta dies de iniunctis eis poenitenciis …relaxamus." Cf. CPSVP, I, 1354, VIII-IX.

[549] Letter of February 17, 1354. Sign. KA 228 XI 4 (Eršil—Pražák, 82, no. 268), text in CPSVP, 31, ft 2. ***thesauros coelestes et spirituales… videlicet infrascriptas reliquias*** *ab eisdem electo et capitulo, licet invitis et cum dolore cordis eorum, obtinere….Et nisi pro tunc ipsa Treverensis ecclesia destituta fuisset pastore, et ut eo promptiores essemus partes nostras interponere in promotione ecclesiae predicte apud sedem apostolicam regiae celsitudini nostrae recommissam dignaremur habere, nequaquam praefatas reliquias habuissemus ab eisdem….*

[550] On the importance of this relic Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 177, 256.

[551] As above, CPSVP, 30, 31, ft. 2. *tertiam partem de ligno crucis Dominicae, quod manu nostra propria praecidimus, quod quidem lignum crucis praedictae beata Helena Constantini mater de Jerusalem rediens ad Treverensem civitatem secum attulit……ab ipsis electo et paucis de capitulo valde clandestine habuimus et secrete…Praeterea tertiam partem pepli beatae Mariae Virginis gloriose …*

[552] A very fine thin layer of silk fabric. I am grateful to Milena Bravermannová for her expert opinion.

[553] CPSVP, 35.

[554] CPSVP, 32. Charles tried to foster the beatification of his grandfather by testifying to his merits and obtaining a finger relic from his body. Although he did not dare to further promote his sanctity—he left the possibility open for the future. The beatification did not take place and no cult of Henry of Luxembourg ever developed. It appears, that there was no mention of Henry's memoria in the inventories so these items were probably retained by Charles himself. —*Item habuimus ibidem digitum unum ipsius Henrici imperatoris abcissum de manu sua per quosdam devotos et religiosos viros ob reverentiam et venerationem ipsius, quam adeum ex multa devotione habebant propter ipsius merita et testimonium bonae vitate suae.*

[555] As above, CPSVP, 32. *in aliis vero monasteriis…non credentibus nos illic causa reliquiarum habendarum inibi venisse,sed potius ad videndas solummodo easdem, civitas autem Treverensis nobis oboedientiam iam fecerat, et ipsi hoc videntes, sese nobis opponere non audebant in hac parte, de facto reliquiarum ipsarum notitia habeant, ut nuncium secreto habeatis, neminique pandatis propter pericula viarum…*

[556] Eršil- Pražák, 82, no. 269, KA sign. 229 XI 5 (Regesta imperii VII, 144, no. 1810). Cf. Podlaha- Šittler, I, 1354, IX, 299-301, 303.

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requirred proper settings which they also received through Charles IV—in the form of gold and silver reliquaries (**pl. 30 Example of capita, St. Paul from Prague Archbishopric**).[557]

An excellent source for learning about the development of the metropolitan treasury is the series of inventories of the treasury compiled since 1354.[558] It started with the inventory of 1354. This is the time the major donation of relics was shipped making it an additional separate section in the inventory.[559] The text named Charles as the donor.[560] The donation was mostly composed of relics from old imperial churches and monasteries, often with a distinguished an early medieval tradition behind them.[561] The idea behind the shipment aimed at providing St. Vitus cathedral, as the new archepiscopal seat, with a corresponding treasury embellished by ancient saintly traditions as enjoyed by other similar churches in the Empire. The number and importance of the shipment was imprinted in the records of the inventory—in 1355, a new inventory was compiled, where the acquistions were assigned places that corresponded better to their importance. This inventory is ornamented with red writing and inked initials.

The preservation of the 1354 inventory recording the donation may have not been a coincidence, as the inventory to testified Charles' prime position among the donors to the treasury. However, the fragmented order of the entries and its simple style and layout suggest that this inventory was originally drafted for practical reasons. In comparison, the inventory of 1355 is a more representative document: the careful style of writing and layout (the pen-drawn filigree initial 'A', the use of red ink pens for initials and the stylistic concerns of the writer[562]) as well as its logical structure suggests that the inventory was shown to the Emperor or the Archbishop (**Pl. 1, St. Vitus inventory of 1355**). It began directly with Charles' donation of relics from Germany from 1354 and the content is

[557] CPSVP, 34, Cf. II, 1355, nos. 60,71, 28, 34.
[558] CPSVP. The current state of the treasury: Antonín Podlaha, *Soupis památek místopisných a historických. Poklad svatovítský a knihovna kapitulní (The List of topography and historical monuments. St. Vitus treasury and the chapter library* (Prague: Česká akademie, 1903). The collection of inventories is preserved in the Metropolitan Archives (AMK), in the Archives of Prague Castle (box Inventories, cf. Appendix II)), and in the National archives. The period of our interest is covered by 22 inventories, 8 of them reporting on the relocated and divided St. Vitus treasury during the Hussite wars and post-Hussite period.
[559] CPSVP, I, 1354, IX. The relics were recorded in the inventory of 1354 twice. The first list was compliled hastily—it was listed without proper hierarchy. The second reflected the importance of the relics placing Christ relics first. Some of the relics came already fixed in reliquaries in the form of a bust or a hand (I., no. 290-3, 294) while others were placed in a decorated setting after their arrival in Prague (I, no. 294 addition).
[560] Otavský, *Wenzelskrone*, 20.
[561] Otavský, "Kult nástrojů", 65.
[562] Probably written by Jenec, Johannes or Plichta, canons of St. Vitus Chapter, CPSVP, XII, at the order of Deacon Przedvogius.

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structured according to the form of the object with a subdivision based on religious hierarchy.[563] Even here, however, the founding role of Charles IV was stressed immediately following the notation for the reliquaries of the patron saints of Bohemia (*Haec infrascripta capita donata sunt ecclesiae praedictae et decorata per serenisimum principem dominum dominum Karolum quartum*….) and repeated again when the Passion relics were ennumerated.[564]

In the autumn of 1354, Charles obtained another part of the Holy Cross from Kaiserberg monastery (Alsatia),[565] some relics from Bonn, and an alleged Gospel autograph of St. Marcus from Aquileia.[566] His collection notably grew in the Aquileian dioecese, where his half-brother served as the patriarch. Althougth the number of relics (among them the head of St. Luke the Apostle) could not compete with those obtained in Rhineland, his efforts were crowned in Pavia at the cloister of St. Marinus, where he obtained the body of St. Vitus and carried it back with him to Prague. This time he was not content with shipping the relic, but presented the body personally in the procession and welcome, an action fully in line with models of royal piety.[567] The letter of the Emperor to the canons of Prague announcing the gift praised his contribution to "greater glory and honour of the City of Prague" and the whole kingdom of Bohemia, emphasizing his bonds to Přemyslid traditions.[568] As stated in the letter to the archbishop, chapter and *totique clero et populo regalis urbis nostre Pragensis*, *felix Boemia* deserved to be adorned and glorified through such gifts of Divine clemency. The charter proclaimed the first place of Our Holy Mother Prague church (*mater nostra sancta Pragensis ecclesia*) among Bohemian churches (*quaeque ecclesiarum omnium Regni nostri Boemiae domina esse dinoscatur et magistra*), which was consecrated by its patron's saintly blood and the blood of Charles' ancestors. Then he stressed his efforts in demanding the relic from the Pavians and

[563] *Primo inventarium capitum:*….(first *capita patronum* and St. Crisogon, who were ancient possession of the church, then Charles gains, i.e.) *sanctorum apostolorum…Capita sanctorum martyrum…capita confessorum…capita virginum et viduarum*… APH KA inv. no. 260/1-7, pag. 19, cf. CPSVP, XII.
[564] CPSVP, (II, 1355, nos. 59, 60, 62-69, and 72).
[565] In his letter, he describes his journey as: *ut dum de sacrarum reliquiarum thezauris per loca sacri imperii egregium aliquid et insignie clenodium devotorum nostrorum largitione consequamur, per illud eandem (Pragensis) ecclesiam benignitate regia decoremus*. CPSVP, 36, ft. 3.
[566] CPSVP, 38, esp. ft. 4, and 39, ft. 3. Here also there is information about the making of the reliquary container for the autograph.
[567] Bozóky, *La Politique des reliques*, 238-240, 245.
[568] *"…Tunc enim gloriosi Boemiae principes, de quorum alto sanguine traxisse nos constat originem, pro Xpi nomine gloriosa subiere certamina et pia colla iugulo submittentes atrociter trucidati celeste rosarium meruerunt sertis presigniti rosis introire. Nunc per nostre vigilancie regalis obsequiam varia sacrata sanctorum corpora innumerasque reliquias longe lateque per orbem collectas felix meruit Boemia possidere, felix nimirum Boemia, que talibus ac tantis divina clemencia muneribus se preditam gloriatur, felix utique, in cuius aula regali magnifica sedem sibi elegit excellens imperium orbis terre."* Cf. CPSVP, 44-45, ft. 3.

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the convent, who protested saying that this was the most precious treasure of their commune (*inviti et earundem reliquiarum avidi, nostris tamen votis et precibus satisfacere cupientes et adventum regium sibi desideratissimum in ea parte singulariter honorantes, ipsas*[569] *... eisdem nostris nuntiis non sine lacrimarum profluvia…quas* ***preciosissimum*** *civitatis et ecclesiae Papiensis suumque* ***thezaurum*** *communis eorum assertio proclamabat…*). Finally, he demanded that the *translatio* should be announced to collegiates, convents, and parishes throughout Prague and its suburbs.[570]

Charles used his coronation journey to Rome to acquire numerous other relics in the possession of the monasteries and churches in the Italian cities along his way: among them St. Longinus, St. Ananias, St. Stephen Protomartyr, St. Vitalis, and St. Clement and many others of uncertain location (St. Sigismund, St. Martin and banner of St. George).[571] Some relics—including the body of St. Vitus—he carried with him for the whole journey back to Prague, using the opportunity to order reliquaries for them along the way. Thirteen relics, however, remained without a reliquary.[572] The Emperor also donated liturgical objects such as *altare portatile*, lunula (*naviculla*) for censer and liturgical textiles to the treasury.[573] By the end of 1355, the collection of relics in the St. Vitus treasury equaled that in other ancient metropolitan and conventual treasuries in the Empire.

After 1355, when the building of the cathedral treasury of relics was almost completed, the influx of relics slowed down[574] but did not cease. Charles turned his attention to other projects now such as the establishment of the royal treasury in Karlštejn, making arrangements for the imperial treasury, and organizing the designs for the public displays of relics, which were reorganised in the (late?) 1360s, probably for the most popular *annus iubileus* of 1369, when both *ostensiones* attracted unknown numbers of the faithful to Prague. This may have been the result of reorganisation of the original display of relics as the results of additions from other two important treasuries—the Bohemian

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[569] On the state of the body:*...quae pro nimia vetustate pro maiori parte redactas repererunt in pulverem…* CPSVP, 44-5, ft. 3.
[570] A similar announcement was also made with the translatio of St. Sigismund. Mengel, "Bones, Stones, and Brothels," 340.
[571] CPSVP, 46-7.
[572] Some of these later dissappeared from inventories, probably given away as gifts. Already Pešina realised that not all the Italian relics actually made it into the St. Vitus treasury—some remained in Charles' IV possession and some (as such) re-appeared in Karlštejn. CPSVP, 47, ft. 16 (quoting Pešina of Čechorod).
[573] CPSVP, 48. Although I focus here on the role of the "second founder" Charles IV., his example encouraged various donations by other royal, stately, and religious figures, 49-50 and after that passim to 53, 60-73.
[574] Karel Otavský, "Das Mosaik am Prager Dom und drei Reliquiare in Prag und Wien: Karls IV. Kunstaufträge aus seiner Spätzeit" in *Künstlerische Wechselwirkungen in Mitteleuropa*, ed. Jiří Fajt and Markus Hörsch (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 2006), 55.

and the cathedral treasuries .[575] New acquisitions to the treasury arrived in the period between 1365 to 1368-1369, when a new saint patron—the Burgundian king St. Sigismund—was introduced to Bohemia and a few valuable relics were brought from Charles' second visit to Rome.

In 1365, when Charles journeyed to Pope Urban V in Avignon, he used the opportunity to collect a group of relics from French monasteries and cities (in additon to St. Sigismund and Cunigonde, St. Antonius, St. Magdalen, St. Marta and others), which were welcomed in Prague in a solemn procession.[576] The Roman journey enriched the treasury with a copy of famous image of the Virgin known as *Salus populi Romani* and included the autograph of St. Lukes, and a relic from the staff of St. Paul.[577] Although donations were no longer as common as in the early 1350s, there was yet one more crucial relic in Charles' concept to come to Prague in 1365. The body of St. Sigismund was brought to Prague to strengthen the power of the patron saints of Bohemia in interceding on behalf of the Bohemians through their miracle-making royal saint.[578] Prague St. Vitus was now sufficiently equipped with spiritual treasures[579] "that moths do not corrupt" (as well as their costly wrappings), and with such a powerful circle of patrons, it illustrated the high position held by Prague metropolites among imperial bishoprics.[580]

During his lifetime, Charles' personal involvement with the treasury was remarkable.[581] He personally manipulated the relics, provided reliquaries for them,[582] re-used precious stones from the decoration, encouraged and personally visited *ostensiones*, designed liturgical practices,[583] and asked for papal indulgences. Charles' direct influence on the treasury is also confirmed in the text of the inventory of 1354, where the relics brought from Trier were to be handled "following the king's order".[584] Through his activities he can rightly be seen as the second founder of the treasury.

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[575] Otavský, "Drei wichtige Reliquienschätze" (forthcoming).
[576] Beneš Krabice of Weitmil, *Cronica ecclesiae Pragensis*, 237, 387.
[577] CPSVP, 59.
[578] Mengel, "Remembering," 25, 28-31.
[579] "*O felix et sancta Pragensis ecclesia quae tantum tot sanctorum* ***pretiosis meruisti thesauris****. Gaude et tu, felix Boemia, que habes afflicta multiplicatos pro te intercessores ad Dominum*" (f.2r, 463). *Miracula sancti Sigismondi martyris per ipsum in sanctam Pragenses ecclesiam manifeste demonstrate*, quoted in Mengel, "Bones, Stones, and Brothels."
[580] Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 177. The possession of certain relics elevated Prague "young" archbishopric to a status closer to the archbishop-Electors of Trier, Cologne and Mainz.
[581] He set the rules for manipulation with the St. Wenceslaus Crown - granted the chapter jurisdiction over it, and attached it to the relics of St. Wenceslaus, Otavský, *Wenzelskrone*, 25-86.
[582] CPSVP, 34.
[583] CPSVP, 21, ft. 2.
[584] *De reliquiis vero per Romanum capellanum domini Archiepiscopi allatis et caeteris iuxta mandatum maiestatis regiae disponetur*. CPSVP, I, 1354, IX.

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Charles' donations to the St. Vitus treasury (**Pl. 31 agate bowl donated by Charles IV**), and their chronological distribution confirm that the cathedral maintained its central position in the Charles' concept of the way treasuries could be used in his Salvation-bringing "program". The key impulse for accumulating the treasuries and relics in St. Vitus was the foundation of an archbishopric; however, the cathedral—with the graves of the Bohemian patrons, important Christ and the Virgin *memoria* and plenty of other relics—was constructed to present an all-inclusive and complex ideal image of a church combining royal and spiritual aspects, "*Gesamtkirche*" in the words of Otavský, where building of its treasury became an important part of the project.[585] Importantly for my work, the treasury and the church represented a natural core for diseminating cults through the miraculous effects of the saints, the perpetual course of temporary exhibitions of relics, their distribution around the city (St. Stephen, below), and other religious rituals, in which the cathedral and the city were interwoven.

2.3. Treasures on Earth

The City of Relics

In the imperial seat of Prague, the cult of relics became a prominent symbol of the city's new status. Like its older sisters, Constantinople and Rome, it was woven around a network of pilgrimages and processions within the gates of Prague, a circle of feasts celebrated around the year, and the topography of religious places (**Map 2**). Two new feasts directly linked with the relics were introduced in Prague: the *allacio reliquiarum* to commemorate Charles' donation in 1354, and the Feast of Holy Lance and Nail to celebrate the city's possession of the imperial relics. With the foundation of the New Town of Prague in 1348, Charles' IV concept of the holy city was materialised.[586] St. Vitus Cathedral in Prague Castle and the Ox Market in the New Town were the key locations in Prague[587] where the public cult of relics was concentrated.[588] However, the distribution of

[585] Otavský, "Das Mosaik am Prager Dom und drei Reluquiare in Prag und Wien," 55.
[586] Vilém Lorenz, *Nové město pražské* (New Town of Prague) (Prague: SNTL, 1973), 198-200.
[587] Prague lodged most of Charles IV acquisitions, but a considerable number were also distributed throughout neighbouring lands such as Moravia or Lusatia and imperial cities (Nürnberg, Aachen) via diplomatic, and dynastical contacts.
[588] For dissemination of *ostensiones* of relics around Prague, see Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 226, ftnote 48 Next to Ox Market in the New Town and the St. Vitus cathedral, also Vyšehrad, and Břevnov monastery.

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cult places included the whole city, creating a network of pilgrim routes and a vibrant fabric of religious architecture interwoven within it.[589] A whole parallel religious infrastructure was created within the city of Prague catering for the souls of the Prague citizens and pilgrims. The number of indulgences offered by the cults in Prague intensified in parallel with an increasing number of feasts, places and famous relics coinciding with the policies employed by the Holy See in the last two decades of the fourteenth century.[590] In the following chapter, I will focus on those Prague monastic and parish treasuries known from their inventories to show the impact of growing cults on their contents (and vice-versa).[591]

The content of treasuries and the growth of cults

The extended sacred infrastructure began with St. Peter and Paul chapter church in Vyšehrad. Due to its religious importance, it was likened by Kubínová to the "city of clerics".[592] The chapter church was directly subordinated to the Holy See and this position defined its particular position in Prague and Bohemia and also played an important role in the Charles' IV concept as existing parallel to the Vatican in Rome, which also stemmed from its geographical position within the city of Prague, and its importance as a place of memory of the Přemyslid dynasty and its mythological origins.[593] Exempted from the Archbishop's jurisdiction, the Vyšehrad chapter church stood as a counterpart to the metropolitan church. In 1355, Charles IV donated to the church a piece from the altar that was known to had been consecrated personally by St. Peter which he had obtained in Pisa, and endowed through special indulgences to draw pilgrims to the church. The possession of such an important relic manifested the direct link of Vyšehrad to St. Peter and alluded to the position of Vatican in Rome – this way Prague followed the topography of Rome with an independent religious precinct of Vyšehrad, and with a ring of important monasteries (royal or imperial foundations) around its walls.

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[589] Perfectly described by the author of Urban V's *vita*. "*Ipse enim imperator multum fuit curriosus et sollicitus in reliquiis undecumque congregandis, quas demum in magna veneratione habuit, et eas magnifice adorando in ecclesiis et monasteriis civitatis Pragensis honorifice collocavit.*" Stephanus Baluzius, and Guillaume Mollat, ed., *Vitae paparum Avenionensium hoc est Historia pontificium Romanorum qui in Gallia sederunut ab anno Christi MCCCV usque ad annum MCCCXCIV,* vol. 1 (Paris 1916), 315-6.
[590] Hrdina, "Die Topographie," 195.
[591] I have purposefully not included other institutions participating in Prague cults (Karlov, Emmaus, etc.), as information on their treasuries are scarce in comparison to places where there is an inventory at our disposal.
[592] Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 285.
[593] Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 281, 283-4.

Considering the importance of the place, relatively little is known about the treasury of the Vyšehrad church, as no full medieval inventory has survived. Its large reliquary cross (presumably containing the Passion relics) was broken to pieces during the Hussite siege of Karlštejn together with the most precious objects in the treasury.[594] Vyšehrad also possessed the same relic of the Virgin veil which was venerated in St. Vitus church; it may have been the relic inserted in the miraculous image of the Vyšehrad's Madonna of Humility (**Pl. 41 – Madonna of Humility, Vyšehrad**).[595] This relic of the *peplum* was shown to the public every year on certain feast days. In the papal charter issued at the demand of Wenceslas IV, the display of this relic offered twice the indulgences in 1397 than its pair in the metropolitan church,[596] a situation, which must have attracted numerous visitors. From the sources we learn about the crowds of pilgrims that flocked to this church on the day of the display.[597] This supports the idea that Vyšehrad's original position in Charles' "all-inclusive" concept may well have shifted given the political conflict between Archbishop John of Jenštejn and King Wenceslaus IV towards a more competitive one at the expense of the metropolitan church.

Although no full inventory of the treasury exists, it is known that in the summer of 1420, silver from six reliquary busts (*capita*), three statues, four reliquaries, six silver hand-reliquaries, a pulpit entablature, and several liturgical objects (a pyx, two censers, two candlesticks and two crosses) from St. Peter and Paul's treasury was pawned for 4000 florenes in Wroclaw by the Emperor Sigismund to pay for his war against the Hussites.[598]The relics, gems and pearls that had adorned these pieces were returned to Karlštejn castle. This represented apparently only one part of the church's treasury. Other objects from the treasury were lost during the siege of Karlštejn, and some (with the archive) were given to the monastery in Melk in Austria for safekeeping. Nevertheless, enough remained to be carried away by the Prague mob after the fall of Vyšehrad in the autumn of 1420.

Even less is known about the treasury of the chapter church of St. Apolinaire. As the chapter was founded by Charles IV in 1362, an initial donation by him was predictable. Later in 1381, a silver gilded reliquary cross decorated with crystals was reported as having been bequeathed to the church by

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[594] In 1423, Pelikán, "Účty hradu Karlštejna," 14, cat. no. 13.
[595] The practise of sending images of the Virgin and inserting relics in them, Šroněk, "Šlojíř nejistý," 99-101. Miraculous images played key role in the establishment of local cults later in the fifteenth century. Hrdina, "Die Topographie," 198.
[596] Sekyrka, *Inventáře*, 90, no. 29. (NA, Archiv kapituly vyšehradské—archive of the Vyšehrad chapter to 7.4. 1397).
[597] Laurentius of Březová, *Husitská kronika. Píseň o vítězství u Domažlic* (Hussite chronicle. The Song on the Victory of Domažlice), transl. František Heřmanský (Prague: Svoboda 1979), 167. Hereafter Laurentius (1979).
[598] Inventory of St. Peter and Paul in Vyšehrad, Sekyrka, *Inventáře*, 72-74, cat. no. 12. (transcript of a list of 1.8.1420). Appendix II, no. 9.

Johannes Krupa, presbyter in Prague.[599] Already the description suggests that the cross was an expensive and unusual item. It was therefore given into the hands of Thomas the Brewer, a burgher of Prague for safekeeping.[600]

One of Prague's regular displays of relics took place at the Benedictine monastery of Břevnov, an ancient monastery founded by St. Adalbert, who in 993 brought here the relics of St. Benedict, St. Bonifacius and St. Alexios from Rome. The monastery also held the miracle-making relics of St. Vintíř (Günther). It was these relics that were mainly responsible for making this location a functioning local pilgrimage centre since Přemyslid times. Luckily, a fragment of the inventory of the treasury made in 1390 is still in existence although the beginning (containing presumably a list of the relics and reliquaries in the monastery) is unfortunately missing.[601] At the end of the fourteenth century, the monastery had a venerated sculpture of the Virgin with the child, carried in processions dressed in a tunic, sculptures of St. Adalbert and St. Peter, an old mother-pearl panel[602] with the Assumption of the Virgin, and two ivory statuettes of the Virgin (one of them old). A beautiful silver gilded plenary with a relic of St. Margaret in a large glass cylindrical *tubus* made *de novo* in 1406 from the older piece is still preserved today (**Pl. 39 – Břevnov plenary of St. Margaret**). Four cushions are mentioned in the inventory as being used to support its predecessor[603] possibly during its exhibition or during the procession. The treasury also contained an ostrich egg and precious stone bowls (the stone-carved bowls were the kinds of gifts favoured at Charles's court), free gemstones, and pearls as well as a painted map of the world.

The so-called St. Adalbert patene from the Břevnov treasury also came from the court or directly from Charles IV (**Pl. 40 – Břevnov St. Adalbert paten**),. A liturgical dish, it is stylistically linked to imperial production and commemorated the saintly founder of the monastery.[604] Břevnov, with its ancient dynastic links, held a special position in Charles' religious topography and staged imperial ceremonies. When he returned from the coronation in Rome in 1355, the Emperor was

[599] AI, year 1381, 54.
[600] AI, year 1398 (silver cross returned to the owner), 102.
[601] Appendix II, no. 5.
[602] *…tabula antiqua fracta, in qua est assumpcio beate Virginis de nobilibus conchis tamquam margaritis*, Josef Emler, ed. "Zlomek inventáře kláštera břevnovského z let 1390—1394" (Fragment of the inventory of Břevnov monastery of 1390—1394), *Sitzungsberichte der königl. böhmischen Geselschaft der Wissenschaften, Philos.—Histor.—Philol. Classe* (1888) (Prague 1889), 286.
[603] Emler, "Zlomek," 286. Peter Barnett, "Relikviář sv. Markéty" (Reliquary of St. Margaret), in *Karel IV., císař z Boží milosti*, 252-3, cat. no. 90.
[604] *Tisíc let benediktinského klášera v Břevnově* (Millenium of the Benedictine Monastery of Břevnov), (Prague: Benediktinské opatství 1993).

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welcomed here by Prague officials and people and then led from Břevnov in the solemn procession to the city.[605] Shedding light on Charles' grand concept of making Prague a religious centre through his support for cults within the city, the list of Břevnov books contains two volumes that are an interesting demonstration of the spread of official cults: the *historia de lancea Domini notata cum officio missae* and *historia sancti Syzysmundi (Sigismundi) in papiro*. Both cults were introduced and fostered (in the first case even with a special mass) by the Emperor and concentrated in the metropolitan church and in the New Town Ox Market. Their presence in Břevnov reveals a programme of dissemination of these cults to other chosen monastic foundations around Prague that linked them with the main centres of the cult and surrounded the city with a ring of important monasteries with their specific local cults and meanings.

St. Thomas of the Augustinian Hermits monastery in Prague Minor Town, again one of the prominent late Přemyslids' foundations in Prague from 1285, exemplified Charles' IV bonds and piety to Přemyslid traditions. Charles' IV donations made him a second founder of the monastery in the footsteps of the Přemyslids: in St. Thomas, the Emperor ordered a silver head reliquary for the relic of St. Dorothy donated by his grandfather, Wenceslaus II, as stated by the inscription on the reliquary.[606] This was probably part of a larger donation of relics that took place between 1355 and 1365 and was no less cherished. The Emperor donated the relic of the patron saint St. Thomas and the relic of an *Innocentum.* Both relics were originally given to the metropolitan treasury.[607] As in the case of his metropolitan donations, Charles IV used the opportunity for commemorating his patronage of the works in the treasury through records in the church's inventory. The inventories of St. Thomas served as repositories of memory for the Emperor Charles' IV role in the renewal of the cults in the monastery.

The relic collection of St. Thomas was probably even richer than in Břevnov. It is typical of this convent, popular among the courtiers and citizens of Prague, that a significant part of the relics were donated by lay people.[608] The most important relics were exhibited at the graves or altars on feast

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[605] *Codex Thomaeus*, p. 370.
[606] *Codex Thomaeus*, pag. 189, p. 377.
[607] Possibly from the relics of the Innocents that disappear from the metropolitan inventories of "1365" (inventory III dates to the years before 1365) and 1368, CPSVP, XV, footnote 3—that would date the donation to between 1355 and before 1365. The source of St. Thomas' relics in the metropolitan treasury is confirmed by the inventory of "1365", CPSVP, XXV. Hypothetically, I would put it close to the Henzlin's donation of 1362—possibly in relation to the realisation of the second *annus iubileus*.
[608] *Codex Thomaeus*, 48 (donation of Henzlin Meynhardi in 1362).

days.[609] In twenty two reliquaries, there were more than a hundred (107) relics of saints, plus the relics of the Holy Rood, Christ´s memorial relics, and the *memoria* from the Virgin Mary (milk, hair).[610] Among them the most prominent were the Passion relics including Christ' tunics (possibly both *inconsutili* and *consutili*), the *mensa* of the Last Supper, and the purple vestment (*vesta purpurea*). The monastery also held part of the Virgin's veil (*peplum*). One of the relics, that of St. Pancratius, was famous for performing miracles in which thirty people were cured of serious illnesses in 1380.

In addition, in the early fifteenth century, the treasury contained twenty-two reliquaries and crosses, eighty-eight garments, eleven pluvials, thirty-nine solemn and sixteen common altarcloths and eleven covers for the graves of the patrons.[611] The monastery treasury contained the venerated bodies and their parts of St. Thomas, St. Gerhard, St. Catherine, St. Bonifacius, St. Christicola and St. Bargaria, St. Justina, and St. Apolinaris in additon to many other relics of saints. A large donation of relics was made by a layman, Henzlin Meynhard, in 1362. These relics were meant to be exhibited on certain feast days and celebrated by everyone in the convent.[612] In the adjacent chapel, where the bodies of St. Christicola and Bargaria lay, the inventory listed, in additon to two silver *capita* of St. Christicola and St. Bargaria, two reliquary crosses with the pieces of the Holy Cross,[613] three hand reliquaries, a *cyphus* with the collection of relics donated by Henzlin, and the miracle-performing relics of St. Pancratius.

The main group of relics was kept displayed at the choir over the entire (or the bigger part) year. There, a hand reliquary with a finger of St. Thomas bearing a dedicatory inscription by Charles IV was always on display. The reliquary served at the same time as a container for a Corpus Christi relic as well as another donation presented by Charles IV, the herm of St. Dorothea. In the choir in the middle of the church stood a stone sculpture of the Virgin surrounded by sunrays (*in sole*)[614] with the relics of the Apostles, the Bohemian patrons, and saintly bishops and virgins together with two reliquary crosses, one showing the Passion relics,[615] a pectoral with the *peplum beate Marie Virginis*

[609] Relics exposed on certain feastdays, *Codex Thomaeus*, 48.
[610] *Codex Thomaeus*, pag. 189, p. 376-380.
[611] Appendix II, cat. no. 7, *Codex Thomaeus*, 47.
[612] *Codex Thomaeus*, 48.
[613] The inventory records the value of the two reliquary crosses with the Holy Cross relics as being as high as 120 *sexagenas*! Cf. the average yearly rent of an altar was 8 *sexagenas*!
[614] Its position in the inventory together with other Charles' donations, the imperial iconography of the Virgin *in sole*, and a later record revealing it as a stone sculpture suggest the sculpture's link witho Charles IV.
[615] *Primo de ligno Domini, de tunica inconsutili, de veste purpurea, crines beate Mariae virginis , de peplo beatae Mariae Virginis, item sanctorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum, ossa sancti Laurentii martyris, item sancti Georgii martyris, item sancti Christofori martyris, item sancti Valentini martyris, decem milia militum martyrum, ...sancti Augustini,...sancti*

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and other relics, another pectoral with the Passion and other relics, four ampules with oil, Virgin's milk, and the blood of saints, and twelve other reliquaries of various shapes, as well as eight *capita* of the Holy Eleven Thousand Virgins.[616] From the records in the *Codex Thomaeus* it appears that the initial, key donations concentrated in the 1350s—1360s probably marking a response to the imperial policy of elevating the positions of Prague's monasteries.[617] These were the incentives that established the monastery within Prague's religious topography.

Gifts of two important *imagines* were recorded in the later wave of donations to the treasury in the 1380s—1390. These gifts marked a shift in popular devotion from relics to devotional images. The "invasion" of images and decorated panels into the treasury continued until shortly before the Hussite revolt, around 1415, when the treasury received four painted (?) panels: the Assumption of the Virgin, a scene of the Crucifixion with St. Christicola and Bargaria shown on the back, the Ressurrection and the Virgin with the Child. The fifth object was recorded in the inventory as simply a reliquary panel. In addiotn to the stone statue of the Virgin standing in the middle of the church there were five other wooden statues of the Virgin with the Child, of which two were of the iconographic type of *Maria gravida*, attesting to the popularity of the Mother of God among Prague cults shortly before the Hussites.[618] The images and statues recorded in the inventories of the treasury seem to have been *Andachtsbilder*, comprising iconography related to the Salvation, the Virgin Mary and Christ's Sacrifice.[619]

Its important position on the religious map of Prague made the monastery into a popular burial place for wealthy burghers and courtiers, who figure among its donors.[620] This may explain why the St. Thomas treasury had plenty of textiles, some showing profane subjects or the coats of arms of the donors. Some of the pieces of drapery were among the most expensive pieces.[621] The inventory provides information on the decoration of the hangings that covered the scenes from both the Old and

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Nicolai, ...Materni episcopi..., sancti Antonii abbatis, ...sancti Pauli primi heremite, ...sancte Barbare...sancte Dorothee..., ...sancte Marthe...Marie Magdalene. Codex Thomaeus, 378.

[616] *Codex Thomaeus*, 376-380.

[617] *Codex Thomaeus*, 48.

[618] *Codex Thomaeus*, 372-3.

[619] From other examples in inventories it can be inferred that *ymagines* kept in the treasuries tended to be images with a special reverence or position in the cult, or even painted reliquaries, not simply altarpieces. They might have been carried in processions, exhibited on the altars (e.g., *veronica* images) or used in preaching or special liturgical rituals (dramas?); it will be the task of future scholars to look closely at this problem.

[620] *Codex Thomaeus*, 49.

[621] *Codex Thomaeus*, 367, 369.

New Testaments as well as the apocryphs (eg. *infantia Salvatoris*, *de creatione mundi*, *de veteri testamento*) instructing on biblical history as well as high status, representative pieces.

A rare account of a monastic treasury was included in the Visitation Protocol of 1379-1380.[622] The church of St. Benedict of the Teutonic knights[623] in Prague owned nine reliquaries decorated with gems, pearls, and crystals, two of them hand reliquaries. The key piece took the form of an imperial crown held by three hands and decorated with sapphires, gems and pearls. The crown formed an small upper shrine with a crystal displaying the Thorn from the Crown of Christ in a composition resembling the Thorns reliquary of Sainte-Chapelle. Another reliquiary with the relics of St. Fabian and Sebastian even won praise from the administrator for its unusual beauty. The third silver gilded reliquary carried the image of St. Julianne engraved on gold background under a crystal. A piece of the Holy Cross was kept together with various relics in a large reliquary cross. The collection finished with a tooth of St. Benedict, the patron saint of the church, and the relics of St. Matthew and St. Mary Magdalen.[624]

The Carthusian monastery in Újezd just beyond the walls of Prague was founded jointly by John of Luxembourg and Charles IV. Symbolically, it lost its treasury in the wave of pillaging following the death of King Wenceslaus IV, the son of Charles IV, in 1419. The inventory of the treasury was carried out in March 1425 when it was returned to the monastery from the convent of Oywin (Ojvín) near Zittau, where the treasury had been kept safe during the early war years. In the light of what we know about its founders, the two reliquaries and four crosses, as well as few pieces of quality textiles surely do not represent the whole of the fourteenth-century treasury of the monastery. The inventory may record only those remnants of the treasury that survived the plundering and were kept protected at the edges of the realm.

The few examples of Prague church treasuries from monastic environments demonstrate the impression made by Charles' policies concerning development of the sacred topography of Prague

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[622] *Protocolum*, 98-100, no.21. Appendix IV, no. 21.

[623] Convents of Teutonic knights were generally well-equipped with relics in their treasuries even before Charles IV as a result of their contacts and military background. Cf. above the chapel in Řepín, chapter on relics.

[624] *Protocolum,* 100, no. 21. "*Item brachium sancte Margarethe in monstrancia quasi cum manu. Item manus argentea deaurata, in qua est brachium sancte Elisabet. Item una monstrancia argentea deaurata, tenens in tribus manibus coronam imperialem gemmatam cum zafiris, gemmis et perlis, in cuius superficie est una monstrancia aurea, in cuius medio est cristallus continens in se spinam de corona domini spinea. Item una alia monstrancia argentea deaurata multum pulcra, continens reliquias beatorum Phabiani et Sebastiani . Item monstrancia argentea deaurata, habens dentem beati Benedicti, habens subpedem cupreum. Item monstrancia argentea deaurata, continens ymaginem deauratam sancte Juliane in cristallo. Item una monstrancia argentea deaurata continens cum gemmis, continens reliquias beati Matei apostoli. Item alia monstrancia argentea deaurata pulcra cum cristallo desuper, in qua sunt reliquie beate Marie Magdalene. Item monstrancia pulcra argentea deaurata, continens crucem magnam desuper, in qua sunt diverse reliquie et magnam partem de ligno domini.*"

during the 1350s—1360s. The example of St. Thomas shows that Charles' strategy for the enrichment of Prague churches was deployed between 1355 and some time before 1365, when the third inventory of St. Vitus was compiled, possibly in relation to the realisation of the second *annus iubileus*. They reveal Charles' use of earlier Přemyslid foundations and his strategies of dissemination and intensification of the cults of the Passion, the Virgin or the Bohemian patrons in Prague monastic churches (**Pl. 42, Our Lady of Zbraslav**, donated by Charles IV). The inventories reflect the growing donations of the people of Prague who built a a ring of cult centres around the city. It is to be regreted that no such records are so far known from other monastic churches (such as Karlov, the Virgin of Snow, St. Catherine, Zderaz, St. Agnes, St. Anna, or Zbraslav). Remarkable is the density of the most prominent Passion and the Virgin's relics, whose distribution around Prague created a unique situation in imitation of Rome and reminicent of Constantinople and Paris. The inventories also show the most popular forms of presentation of relics and their easy accessibility around Prague. Finally, they also reflect the interesting phenomenon of the rising popularity of devotional images from the 1380s until the Hussite revolt.

Parish churches in the religious topography of Prague

Charles *grande* idea of creating a religious topography of Prague also included important Prague parish churches,[625] such as St. Gallus, St. Heinrich and Cunigunde, and St. Stephen. These churches were often newly founded or re-endowed by Charles IV, and— not by coincidence—their cults often represent royal, and military saints.

The Emporer donated relics personally to the most prominent among Prague's parish churches. The parish church of St. Gallus in the Old Town of Prague had its treasury inventoried in 1390 by John of Pomuk (later made saint), the archbishop vicar, and the rector of the church. The reasons he put forward in the introduction for inventoring the treasury deserve mention here. They reveal its exceptional position among Prague's parish churches.[626] As the church was famous for its relics and treasuries (*sic ultra ceteras Ecclesias parochiales dioec. Pragensis reliquiis Sanctorum et clenodiis*

[625] Hrdina, "Die Topographie," 195.

[626] *...certi et quasi potiores parochiani mei proponebant, qualiter Ecclesia praefata in monstrantiis, calicibus, ornatibus, libris, tapetibus et aliis clenodiis et rebus tam in argento quam etiam auro habundaret et sic ultra ceteras Ecclesias parochiales dioec. Pragensis reliquiis Sanctorum et clenodiis insignita, fulcita et decorata, et ne tales successu temporis per meos successores, dictae Ecclesiae plebanos vel per quospiam alios forte dissipari seu quovis modo alienari contingat in futurum* ...LE, IV, 345, no. 485.

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insignita, fulcita et decorata), the vicar was asked—as he writes—by some powerful parishioners to compile the inventory in order to protect the memory of the treasury's content out of fear of loss of the donations in the future.

The parish church of St. Gallus possessed forty-four reliquaries and innumerable relics, among them a gilded silver bust reliquary of St. Gallus in episcopal gear donated by Charles IV and confirmed in two letters (**Pl. 40b, example of such bust reliquary, St. Paul from Arts and Crafts Museum**). Among other pieces, there were three hand reliquaries (St. Gallus, St. Valentinus, St. Longinus), and a crystal cross with silver junctions containing the relic of the Holy Cross and other saints. A large gilded panel reliquary with an image of the Crucifixion displayed a relic of the Virgin's Veil and Belt (*peplum et cingulum beatae Mariae Virginis*) under a crystal *oculus*—a testimony to the attachment of relics to previously used images by Theodorich in Karlštejn. There was a reliquary with the images of the patron saints of Bohemia and the four Evangelists. *Una spina de corona Domini* was placed under a crystal. On top there was a silver statue of St. Blasius stood in pontifical gear stood holding the saint's tooth in his hand. Another reliquary held relics of St. George, Laurentius, Stephan Protomartyr, Martin, and Nicolaus, and yet another a tooth of St. John the Baptist. A statutte of St. Lucy with her tooth stood over a crystal cyphus which held part of a *mensale Domini.*. In addition to other Apostles, there were relics of St. Peter, Paul, and Andrew set in a reliquary, which bore images of a lion, a pelican and an ostrich. There was another part of the Holy Cross, relics of the vestments of the Virgin and her hair in a reliquary standing on three feet with an ivory statutte of a nursing Maria, as well as a large bone from one of the Holy Virgins, two heads of the Virgins (**Pl. 43, wooden reliquary busts of Virgins**), and many other saints. The number of the relics greatly exceeded fifty.[627] Tthe descriptions of reliquaries reflect a remarkable variety of shapes, elaborated craftmanship and a taste for rich decoration.

An unusually rich treasury for a parish church, it created a local cult, and indicated the role of its "mighty patrons". The church is positioned strategically on the edge of the Old Town in the merchants' quarter. In comparison with the number of relics, together witha coeval critique by Matthew of Janov writen at the same time as the inventory, the church had "only" ten chalices (one decorated with the life of Christ), a silver censer with lionesses, a silver urceus, and a silver pulpit.

[627] Appendix II, cat. no. 20.

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Large numbers of vestments made of imported and expensive fabrics, and many hangings with secular subjects correspond to the status of the donors, wealthy citizens of Prague.[628]

In the Visitation Protocol of 1379—1380, mentions exist of single reliquaries that promoted the development of local cults.[629] Silver gilded head reliquaries of St. Stephen (*caput sancti Stephani argenteum deauratum*) were kept and exhibited for veneration by the locals and pilgrims on the saint's feast day both the Prague churches of St. Stephen (St. Stephen in Pond, and St. Stephen in the Wall).[630] At the time of the visitation, however, the church of St. Stephen in Wall had already pawned theirs to the provost of Chotěšov monastery. A silver gilded head reliquary of St. Leonard in the namesake church in 1398 replaced a wooden head reliquary. This parish church was among the richer ones in Prague.[631] A head-reliquary, this time sculpted in wood and painted (**Pl. 43 – wooden reliquary busts**), is mentioned for the church of St. Martin the Minor.[632] The church of St. Martin in the Wall in Prague[633] even possessed a statue of St. Martin made from silver and gilded. The priest asked the sacristans to pawn it in order to pay for the restoration of the church. An exceptional, large reliquary cross came from Radotín near Prague.The cCross, made of jasper, had silver junctions and crystal ends.[634] Probably a gift from a local patron, the cross may have been manufatured in the imperial workshops, where crystal crosses and works of jasper and agate were produced.

The parish church of St. Gastulus (Haštal)[635] possessed a real treasury. As a parish church of a respectable community of Old Town German merchants, it owned in 1379-1380 two silver ampules and six reliquaries, all decorated in various ways.[636] Their reliquaries included a Crucifixion on top of

[628] A hanging with the Emperor and the Imperatrix chasing wild animals, LE, 348.
[629] Appendix IV.
[630] *Protocolum*, 62, no. 5, and 65, no. 7.
[631] AI, 1398, 26. *Protocolum*, 94, no. 13. "*caput Leonardi ligneum deauratum habet fibula cum cristallo et reliquiis. ... Anno LXXX quo supra, die XXVII mensis Junii, hora vesperorum in domo dotis plebani sancti Leonhardi in Maior. Civ. Prag. constitutus personaliter: primo unam casulam de flaveo axamit nudo cum crucifixo cum una dalmatica, aliam dicebat plebanus esse circa Rok, parrochianum ipsius ecclesie, obligatam. Item humerale pulcrum cum atinenciis, prout in regestro. Item casulam dictam Habardi cum atinenciis. Item unum ornatum cum grifonibus vel cum aquillis de stamine aureo cum pretexturis. Item IIIs ornatus de nachonibus. Item unum ornatum nigrum cum dalmaticis et una alba et uno humerali et stolis pro uno presbytero. Item quinque cappas corales. Item unam palam bonam cum ymaginibus et duo angularia de taffat. Item duas monstrancias argenteas deauratas. Item unus calix argenteus deauratus maior. Quibus rebus sic ad manus dictorum dominorum tradicionem ipse dominus Procopius plebanus protestabatur.*" *Protocolum*, 95, no. 13-15.
[632] *Protocolum*, 81., no.14. "*...caput sti Martini ligneum*",
[633] *Protocolum*, 67, no. 8. "*... caput argenteum 18 sexagennas gross*."
[634] *Protocolum*, 318.
[635] *Protocolum*, 88, no. 16.
[636] "*…monstrancia argentea deaurata cum subpede deaurato, habens crucifixcum desuper deauratum estimacionis XVIII sexagenas, sed pes ipsius monstrancie est obligatus per vitricum ecclesie et de consensu plebani in duabus sexagennis. Item alia monstrancia deaurata portans cooperturam Kristallinam. Item due monstrancie argentee cum subpedibus ligneis*

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a silver gilded reliquary, a bowl with a crystal cover, two reliquaries with wooden feet covered by mother-of-pearl, a small gilded reliquary, and a carved agate bowl (cf. **agate works from Prague workshops, pl. 31**). The decoration is diverse and the presence of two bowls from semi-precious stones suggests these objects were previously used in a secular context as well as a possible link to goldsmiths working for the court.

In addition to valuable reliquaries, the mother of Archbishop John of Jenštejn donated two images of saints, Sigismund and Margaret, to the church of St. Gastulus. The two images and the treasury reliquaries had been kept in her house in a chest (*kapsa*, from lat. *capsa*, case).[637] After her death, Archbishop John, at that time bishop of Meissen, rejected to return the treasury to the church. Displaying responsibility and independence, the administrator insisted on restitution of these objects to the church treasury.[638]

This interesting note shows how and through whom such donations came into parish church treasuries during the 1350s-1370s. It underlines the role of Charles' court, high officials and their families in the first, cult-making donations of relics to Prague churches. The devotion to relics trickled down from the court to the parishes and urban space under the Castle walls, into the circles of the townsfolk. Families of courtiers helped to distribute relics from prestigious collections (Charles IV, St. Vitus, personal resources) all around Prague. The network of personal and family links was the channel through which the relics' cult was deployed in the city.

Outstanding pieces in parish treasuries are testimonies to the policies fostering the cult of relics in Prague (**pl. 38, reliquary of mitra of St. Eligius of the goldsmith's guild**). Parish churches received a local cult, which was crucial for further growth of the treasury, and to which the locals responded again by donations or revenues. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, the monastic and parish churches of Prague competed to attract donations and, where succesful, they accumulated a considerable wealth of liturgical objects and even relics. The economic strength of the particular

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late ambe admodum peralmaterii. Item una parva monstrancia argentea deaurata. Item ultima de lapide akstaynino habens pedem argenteum cum nodo deaurato…" *Protocolum*, 88, no. 16.

[637] Cf. "Capsa magna", transl. as great shrine in Amy G. Remensnyder, "Legendary Treasury at Conques: Reliquaries and Imaginative Memory," *Speculum* 71.4 (Oct. 1996), 891.

[638] "*Item dicit plebanus, quod uxor domini Pauli, pie memorie, mater archiepiscopi moderni, donaverat pro dicta ecclesia duas ymagines sanctorum, Sigismundi et sancte Margarethe, que* ymagines *cum dictis monstranciis servabntur in quadam kapsa, quam idem plebanus propter securitatem servabat in quadam kamneta in domo dicte domine matris archiepiscopi, qua mortua dictus dominus archiepiscopus, tunc episcopus Misnensis, recepit et monitus per plebanum ipsas reddere noluit dicens, quod deberet prius ad curiam Romanam citari tunc solvetis. Et dominus archidiaconus mandavit plebano, ut moneat ad hoc archiepiscopum pro restitutione dictarum ymaginum sub pena prestiti iuramenti.*" *Protocolum*, 88, no. 16.

community was an important factor in the process. Thus, the city employed its own capacity to develop local cults in the parishes bound to famous relics or images.

As regards Charles' policy of making Prague a religious centre, it is significant that although the most important relics were concentrated in Prague Castle, Karlštejn and Vyšehrad, the whole city of Prague and its surrounding was interwoven with sacred spaces. The religious topography of Prague designed by Charles IV shows the strategic placement of monasteries and the metropolitan church on the one hand, and support of parish churches on the other. Charles' concept of making Prague a pilgrimage centre was all-inclusive. It applied to Prague as a whole, where even parish churches were endowed with relics and posed as example to his court and Prague burghers. If an important relic was not in the possession of the church, there was a possiblity to "borrow" it from the cathedral treasury on the saint's feast day, and organise its public procession and exhibition (St. Stephen in Pond). Such processions with relics through the city visualised the sacred topography through a network of public rituals.

In the early years of reign, Wenceslaus IV continued his father's policy. In spite of growing controversy between the king and the archbishop of Prague, John of Jenštejn, Wenceslaus in the donation charter for St. Vitus of 1388 claimed his desire to continue in Charles' footsteps,[639] and, as late as in 1397, Wenceslaus demanded special papal indulgences for those visiting the relic of the Virgin's veil, kept in Vyšehrad and donated to the construction of the church.

As a result, churches in Prague filled with altars, chapels, devotional art and treasuries. Šmahel pointed out that the number of the donations to the churches grew, especially after the plague of 1380, a phenomenon marked by intensive donating activity of the lower gentry from the second half of 1380s.[640] Although the direct impact of plagues of the second half of the 14th century was less marked in Prague than elsewhere in Europe, from 1380, Prague was repeatedly hit by the disease, which probably contributed to the deepening of the spiritual atmosphere in the city. The growing role of the churches in the religious life of Prague townfolk is reflected in the five altars erected in 1360s-1370s in the Tyne church, the seven altars erected again in the same church between 1380s-1390s, and

[639] The donation of Wenceslaus IV to St. Vitus of 1388: *Quam idem pecuniam iidem canonici non in usu proprios aut privatos sed tantum modo pro decore et ornatu Sepulchri S. Wenceslai conventere finaliter tenebuntur… (Carolus, quis) sacras comparando reliquias ac ipsorum Patronorum nostrorum et preaefertim S. Martyri Wencelsai tumbas, auro, argento, gemmis interlucentibus adornando: ipsius vestigia eo quidem imitamur libertati*s…Pešina, *Phosphorus Septicornis*, 71. Wenceslaus also enlarged rents for the readings in the Virgin choir, established *anniversaria* for his father and family, and donated to three altars in St. Vitus.

[640] Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, 22, 24. The Tyne church altar erections after 1380: 1380 twice, 1381, 1384, 1388, 1393, 1396, 1402,1404,1411 and 1417. Tomek, *Základy starého místopisu pražského*, vol. 1., 24-25.

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another four altars erected there before 1417. This amounted toa total of more than 23 pre-Hussite altars erected in the church.[641] As many as sixty-three altars were registered in 1397 in St. Vitus' cathedral.[642] The large number of altars being installed in churches between 1380 - 1400 suggests that the patterns from the early phase of donations from 1350s - 1360s was followed more extensively during the reign of Wenceslaus IV, a trend culminating around 1400.

Church treasuries outside Prague

We enter more speculative territory when looking at the situation in the Bohemian countryside. Preserved inventories are relatively rarein the region as a whole. Comparisons are problematic since these inventories come from different kinds of churches (monastic, parish, and even private chapels, with various levels of local support), and their treasuries were inventoried over a long period of time and for variety of purposes.

Beyond the thirteenth-century inventory of Mělník, whose special nature has already been pointed out, the content of treasuries outside Prague before the mid-fourteenth century has survived in only two preserved inventories detailing the lost monastic treasury of the Augustinian Hermits in Sušice and the parish treasury of the Elevation of the Holy Cross church in the royal town of Louny. At first glance, both accounts seem to confirm that the church treasuries outside of Prague before the mid-fourteenth century were rather unimpressive collections of liturgical textiles and vessels, with relatively little connection to devotion and the cult of relics. In spite of a few known precious relics and reliquaries from the monastic environment (eg. Cistercian monasteries in the Rosenberg's realm: Vyšší Brod, Zlatá koruna), it is reasonable to question the extent to which the increasing importance of relics within Latin Christianity in the thirteenth century also concerned Bohemia.

The list of lost objects from the Sušice monastery resulted from the conflict in 1339 between the Augustinian monks and parish clergy headed by the archdeacon of Kuřim and Vyšehrad chapter. This led to the attack on the recently-founded Augustinian monastery, despoiling of its treasury, and other losses to the monastery. The problem is that we cannot be sure if the entire treasury was

[641] Zap counted 21 altars established in the Tyne church between 1344 and 1405. Karel V. Zap, "Týnský chrám, hlavní farní kostel Starého města pražského" (Tyne church, main parish church of Old Town Prague), *Památky archeologické a místopisné* 1 (1855): 11.

[642] Josef Pelikán, "Inventář oltářů kostela sv. Víta v Praze z r. 1397" (Inventory of altars in St. Vitus in Prague of 1397), *Památky archeologické* (1946), 130-131.

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destroyed.[643] The list of lost objects includes one reliquary (*thabula cum sanctuariis*, a plenary?), another panel, two crucifixes, six chalices, a pyx for the Corpus Christi, and church textiles[644] - from a later perspective this would have been a relatively poor monastic treasury. One has to keep in mind, however, that this treasure represented only the initial donation to the foundation of the monastery—as can be seen in the lost books by Hlaváček,[645] the treasury represents the basic practical liturgical equipment needed for pastoral function of the monastery.

The second inventory testifies to a situation when the treasury and property of a parish church came under scrutiny from the town authorities. As early as 1348, the council commission of the town of Louny, headed by the burgrave, inventoried the church treasury. The commissions report and two inventories of books and church ornaments were written down in the town's Judicial book.[646] Shortly before 1348, the town was damaged by great fires that caused it to incur large debts; this probably forced the council to look for all available resources in the church treasury to help clear the town's debts.[647] Again, the treasury was not impressive, with (possibly) one reliquary, whose existence might have been linked to the patronage of the Cistercian monastery in Waldsassen. The monastery owned many relics, including those of Elisabeth of Přemyslids. In spite of the patronage, the inventory shows the close relations between the town and the church, something observed in other notations (the church tower served as a treasur for the towns' treasury and archive).

The following accounts of countryside church treasuries for the period after the mid-fourteenth century date mostly from the rule of Wenceslaus IV (the late 1370s-1410s). In agreement with Hlaváček's observation on medieval libraries in the pre-Hussite period,[648]scholars have noted the same large losses of information concerning medieval treasuries, especially for treasuries in the countryside. As the few following examples show, monastic churches, private chapels, and apparently some town parish churches as well had treasuries containing reliquaries, images and other ornaments, marking

[643] Hlaváček, "Studie k dějinám," 32, footnote 156.
[644] Twelve garments, twenty-six altar cloths, four hangings with images. Seventeen books representing only liturgical codices. *Codex Thomaeus*, 201, no. 60. Appendix II, cat. no. 3.
[645] Hlaváček, "Studie k dějinám," 32.
[646] Two lists written before 1351, probably in 1348-1349. Appendix II, no. 17. Court book of Louny, sign. OA Louny 1 C 1, fol. 6v-7r, unpublished. Mentioned in Hlaváček, *Středověké soupisy knih a knihoven*, 50, cat. no. 61. The church possessed four chalices, a monstrance or a reliquary, an image of the Coronation of the Virgin, seventeen books and eight garments, seven altarcloths and towels, a grave cover, and a few single vestments. The second inventory is an extract of the first, possibly summarising the objects singled out for pawn or sale.
[647] I am indebted to the archivist Jan Mareš for this information. Vilém Herold, "O nejstarší knize lounské" (On the oldest Book of Louny), *Sborník archivních prací* 21.1 (Prague 1971), 40, ft. 45, 41. Jaroslav Vaniš, "K otázce patrocinia děkanského kostela v Lounech" (On the question of the patrocinium of the deaconate church in Louny), *Sborník okresního archivu v Lounech* 1 (1985), 37-42.
[648] Hlaváček, "Studie k dějinám," 9.

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their importance in the religious topography of a given region. These treasuries, however, seem to represent rather exceptions than the rule,[649] although they tend to be somewhat over-represented in sources. Nevertheless, it does seem that village churches, as well as some countryside monastic houses and towns seem to have had minor treasuries with basic liturgical equipment.[650] With some exceptions (influential monastic foundations and their filial churches or churches under powerful local patrons), the countryside treasuries in pre-Hussite period revealed less potential for boosting the cult.

Pious patronage by the local lord provided a private chapel in Lomnice Castle containing a remarkable treasury from before 1378 that held a silver hand reliquary with relics and reliquary statues (*ymago*) of St. Wenceslaus and John the Baptist, a silver *ciborium*-shaped reliquary, a free piece of bone mounted in silver, and other relics placed in a small casket (*cistula*).[651] More importantly, a relic of the True Cross was set inside a glass reliquary, clearly intended for displaying the relic. Interestingly, compiler of the list could not precisely identify the relics so they were described based on the form of their reliquaries. Typically for a personal collection, some unidentified relics—probably those of less certain origin and saints—were simply kept in a casket.

Founded as late as 1367 by the Rosenberg brothers, the monastery of the Augustinian Canons in Třeboň was soon after to rank among the important cultural and religious centres of late fourteenth century Bohemia. The monastery participated in the Krumlov showing of relics (following subchapter) organised by the Rosenbergs, and under their patronage and through the convent's own effort, the monastery acquired a large library of more than 135 pieces within first twenty-five years of its existence. The inventory of the monastic treasury was compiled in 1415 after a new abbot took office in 1414[652] and this inventory already lists more than 300 books! This remarkable achievement corresponds with the support given by the Rosenbergs and other donors, as well the exceptional place of this monastery in the region.

The inventory of the treasury lists first a large silver gilded cross decorated with precious stones and pearls, apparently the most precious item in the treasury as well as fifteen other reliquaries:

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[649] Cf. Appendix IV compiled after *Visitation Protocol* of 1380.
[650] Appendix IV. Churches outside Prague possessed only 1-2 chalices and generally no reliquaries (with the exception of the pilgimage site of St. John in the Rock (Spelunka, Skala) and the adjacent church in Vrážas well as churches in Obříství, Unhošť, and Tuchoměřice).
[651] *Item dixit quod infrascripte reliquie in dicta capella fuerunt, primo manus argentea cum reliquiis, ymago s. Wenceslai et ymago s. Johanis Bapt. cum reliquiis, item unum oss repositum in argento, item quedam reliquie fuerunt in argento ad modum ciboriorum, item de ligno domini in vitro, item reliquie fuerunt in una cistula, quas reliquias*…AI, vol. 1, 1378/270.
[652] Hlaváček, "Studie k dějinám", 21.

the hand of St. Egidius (probably Eligius—Jiljí),[653] a silver *caput* of St. Calixtus, a gilded reliquary of St. Matthew, a silver reliquary of St. Candidus, a gilded reliquary with relics of St. Martyrs and a tooth of St. Vincentius, a reliquary of St. Pancratius, a small gilded cross with the Wood of the Holy Cross, three reliquaries for the Apostles, Martyrs and the Virgins, a small reliquary of the hair (*cerves*) of the Virgin, a reliquary of St. Victorinus, a small reliquary with the blood of St. Wenceslaus, a reliquary for the *peplum beate virginis*, a small reliquary of the Confessors, and two "beautiful" painted *effigies* of the Virgin and *Veronica*, probably comprisinga pair. In addition to a number of vestments, altarcloths and pontifical gear (including an ivory staff), eleven chalices (three gilded), a censer, four ampules, five crosses for *osculum pacis*, and a gilded cross are listed.[654]

The composition of the treasury's relics reflects an interest in the Holy Cross and the Virgin's memorial relics as well as links to the metropolitan treasury and Charles' IV donations; it is likely that they came through Prague. The relics of the Virgin Veil, and the *Veronica*, St. Wenceslaus, Matthew and Vincentius probably came from the metropolitan church. The person in the best position to obtain them was Peter of Rosenberg, the provost of All Saints church in Prague Castle. The relics may have originated in the hypothesized treasury of All Saints church and as such, their presence may indirectly support the existence of this treasury, considered a repository for Charles' IV own collection of relics and a resource for his donations. As a whole, the treasury of the Augustinians in Třeboň seems to follow concepts known from Prague (Augustinian monastery of St. Thomas); similar inclination to boast local cult and devotion to relics and images among the Augustinians is suggested also by the preserved reliquary statue of St. Benigna (**pl. 44, St. Benigna from Zaječov**) from the Augustinian monastery in Zaječov with an opening for the relic.

The other monastic treasuries were less overwhelming. The treasury of the church in Havlíčkův Brod, belonging to the Order of the Teutonic Knights, was rather modest in comparison to Třeboň: it contained only two reliquaries, eight chalices and a pyx.[655] The treasury of the Dominican monastery in Plzeň,[656] inventorized sometime in the second half of the fourteenth century, had an only

[653] We have a relatively good account of the value of the objects from the charter of 1461. Here, John of Rosenberg returned jewels from Austria back to the monastery. The source describes the weight of the large cross and its foot, the head of St. Calixtus, hand of St. Jiljí (Eligius), and consequently four reliquaries of the Apostels, martyrs, confessors and the virgins, and finally the hand of St. Victorin, and head of St. Jiljí (!). Joseph Neuwirth, "Beiträge zur Geschichte der Klöster und der Kunstübung Böhmens im Mittelalter", *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* 34 (1896), 38. (Separate offprint).
[654] Hlaváček, "Studie k dějinám knihoven", 46, 51.
[655] Appendix II, no. 6.
[656] Appendix II, no. 4.

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slightly richer treasury with a large copper monstrance or reliquary, three other reliquaries, a cross containing the Wood of the Holy Cross, six other silver crosses, a pectorale, one embroidered and one crystal pyx, and ten chalices, and twenty-eight chasubles among many other textiles.[657] It would be too much to call these typical examples of late fourteenth century monastic treasuries outside Prague. Nevertheless, their contents may well be closer to such monastic treasuries than that of the Augustinians in Třeboň. Even so, when compared to the village parishes, it illuminates on the one hand the prestige obtained by monasteries within their localities by presenting relics for public devotion, and on the other hand, the large differences between them.

When a powerful monastery lay behind the scenes, the treasury of a parish church could be unusually rich. In the year 1393 during the inventorization of the Benedictine monastery of Břevnov, the treasuries of its filial churches were also inventorized. The church of Nezamyslice possessed nine reliquaries (including containers for the Corpus Christi) of which two were copper and one wooden, six chalices, twelve garments, thirty altarcloths, thirteen (!) ampules, a urceus with a lavatory, and twenty-five liturgical books. One would not expect so many reliquaries and textiles in a parish church.[658] An interesting description of the main altar was preserved in Nezamyslice recording two painted altar panels, two small tablets (a wooden tablet with figures in copper relief and another made of lead—a donation from the Břevnov abbot Diviš), four pyxes for Corpus Christi, a sculpture of the Virgin with two mantels, and a pearl crown. Of particular note were an alabaster statue of the Virgin Mary with a pearl crown, two portable altars and a box with indulgence letters. Above the altar there stood an image (?) of the Virgin Mary flanked by two angels. The candles, four candlesticks, banners, fans, and a panel with silk cover were placed on the altar,. Two silk fabrics to cover the supports under the exposed relics, a box with pyx, liturgical vessels, a painted wooden panel with inserted relics and another panel for its filial church were also recorded.[659]

The treasury is reminiscent of the treasuries acculmulated by Prague churches eager to attract pilgrims through their relics. Nezamyslice was certainly not a typical example of a countryside parish treasury; as it belonged to Břevnov, it profited from the policies known from Prague. Light is shed on its role in the cult by letters claiming the indulgences the faithful could receive—these were placed

[657] A large copper gilded monstrance (for the Corpus Christi?), a round reliquary, a monstrance (a reliquary?) with three towers and a small reliquary, five crosses, and crystal pyx. Neuwirth, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Klöster und der Kunstübung Böhmens im Mittelalter*, 41.
[658] Appendix II, cat. no. 4—attached to Břevnov. Emler, "Zlomek", 287-288.
[659] Similar, although less rich treasuries may be found in other filial churches of Břevnov, in Kostelec (two monstrances), Chcebuz (a monstrance and two reliquary caskets), and Bříství, where even a head reliquary of one of the Eleven Thousands of Virgins (*caput XI milia virginum*) was kept.

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directly upon the main altar. Břevnov monastery was certainly the source of the church's relics that helped the church to obtain the indulgences for the promotion of the local cult. The Benedictine monastery, one of the exponents of Charles' policies, acted here as a proxy for the strategy employed in Prague, promoting the cult of relics from its own resources.

An important insight into a town church treasury comes from an inventory compiled following the great fire of 1407 in the town of Hradec Králové, a dowry town of the Bohemian queens. The fire damaged the church as well as some books and textiles although the damages were rather minor.[660] At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the church had as many as seventeen altars, among others altars to St. Vitus, St. Sigismund and St. Leonhard. As for the reliquaries, the treasury had only three as well as a broken one of an ostrich egg. The liturgical equipment was complemented with ten chalices, a silver cross, a *pacem*, four ewers, eight pairs of ampules, thirty books and a large number of textiles (eg. sixty-two altarcloths). Four banners for the Corpus Christi and eight banners *ecclesie* here reflect the rise of the late medieval public devotional ceremonies typical of town communities, that is, the public feasts and processions that enriched the interior decoration of the church, and through its display, boasted unity and local patriotism. The "material" outcome of the burghers' piety was exhibited in the interior (and occasionally the exterior as well) of the church and represented a visualised bond between the town's citizens and their parish church.

When looking at the treasuries of parish churches outside Prague, the large gap between the quality and number of church ornaments in Prague and the lack of them in the countryside village churches is immediately apparent.[661] In many countryside parishes churches possessed no *ornamenta* beyond the personal property of the priest and basic tools for the service such as a chalice, a set of vestment, and a missal. It is symptomatic that the separate paragraph entries about the church ornaments almost disappear from these records in the Protocol; they occur rarely, and if they do occur, then mostly in towns. In Welika wes,[662] the priest had to use his own old missal and garment. He bought two new garments, a missal and two breviaries for the service, which he later consented to leave to the church. Based on similar promises in the Protocol we know that the administrator used his authority to persuade the priests to will their vessels to their poor churches after they died or left.

Even the poorest place of worship, however, at least had to have altar vessels. In 1398, the hermitage of Sovíč near Dobříš received basic service vessels thanks to the preacher Matthew of

[660] Appendix II, cat. no. 26.
[661] The following statistics are drawn from the Visitation Protocol of 1379-1380 (*Protocolum*).
[662] *Protocolum*, 248

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Prague.[663] He gave the two hermits living there a chalice made of pewter, a vestment made of linen (*harass*), a portable altar, and a rather poor quality altarcloth (*palla*). Interestingly, the hermits were not given the things in perpetuity, but rather they had to promise to return the things later.

The content of the administrator's reports changed when confronted with countryside parish property,. Now the reports provided more accounts about ownership of the fields as well asdomestic animals belonging to the churches than to the chests in the treasury which were probably close to empty.[664] Even the Eucharist did not receive appropriate attention in many places.[665] The church in Strašecí in the Rakovník deaconate was poorly equipped with a few books in a bad state and four garments but owned several cows. The administrator ordered the church to sell the cows so that the sacristan, local councillors and judges could buy a breviary for the church's priest with the resulting money.[666]

Not surprisingly, the village churches could not compete in terms of their decoration and or in the contents of their treasuries with the monastic or town churches.[667] The economic strength of the parishioners was limited, the lack of institutional control made clerical misconduct possible, and due to insufficient protection, the treasuries were liable to loss. The intensification of cult developed in such places with more difficulty, if at all, as the main task of the parish clergy was to serve the every-day religious needs of the community.

When a local cult developed, it was mainly by way of contacts with monasteries (Břevnov) who were themselves engaged in the promotion of the cult. Monasteries as well as their priories and filial churches, helped to "export" these forms of devotion out from Prague. In spite of significant differences between the contents of their treasuries, their position as local cult centres remained unchallenged in the fourteenth century. Parish churches in the towns also participated in the growing cult, but there it was rather manifested in a growing number of altar foundations and decorations (The St. Spirit church in Hradec Králové possessed seventeen altars and sixty-two altarcloths in 1407,[668] Brno's St. Jacob had five chapels and nine altars 1404-1446[669]). With the later weakening of the

[663] AI, vol. 3, 1398, no. 309.
[664] Moral standards also seem to have weakened. Priests lived publicly with women, had children, drank too much, wore secular clothing, carried weapons, stole and lent money, and gave their mistresses church vestments to sew their clothing from. *Protocolum*, 141, 135-161 *passim*.
[665] *Protocolum* 147, 186.
[666] *Protocolum*, 189.
[667] For many examples and comparison, see Appendix IV, with a table providing an overview of parish treasuries from the Visitation Protocol, no. 44f.
[668] Appendix II, no. 28.
[669] Berthold Bretholz, *Die Pfarrkirche zu St. Jakob in Brünn* (Brünn: Rudolf M. Rohrer, 1901), 64-65.

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monasteries during the Hussite wars, they assumed their roles as natural religious centres, flavoured by local patriotism, urban identity and self-promotion. Already with their economic might and self-representation these centres possessed the potential to become important media of devotional practices outside Prague in the pre-Hussite era.[670]

2.4 Going public: Relics displays

The most attractive public performances fostering local cults, where relics and reliquaries as well as some other objects from treasuries played their roles were the displays of relics (*ostensiones reliquiarum*). Thanks to the favourable political environment, implementation of Charles' IV concept and his personal involvement, mid-fourteenth-century Prague was in the best position to become one of the main pilgrimage centres in Central Europe. Charles IV's notion of bringing his contemporaries closer to the Heavenly Kingdom was enhanced with a series of displays of the most famous relics—public events that had both a religious as well as a political background that attracted pilgrims to Prague in large numbers.

The displays of imperial, royal and metropolitan relics in Prague

In the fourteenth century, the imperial treasury (**Pl. 21a, the imperial treasury**) comprised one of the attributes of the Roman king and Emperor, with the capacity of adding a spiritual dimension to their rule. Following the ideal of the pious king, Charles IV held imperial jewells in high reverence, and, after being crowned Roman king in 1346, he calculated them into his concep boosting their public devotion. Although public display of the imperial treasury had taken place before, he introduced new elements to the ritual further adding meaning.[671] He designed the Prague annual display of relics,[672]

[670] In the mid-fifteenth century, new local cults emerged in the Bohemian countryside in the Catholic environment *outside* town centres (Kájov—cf. my chapter VI, Chlum sv. Máří, Bohosudov). Jan Hrdina, „Die Topographie der Wallfahrtsorte im spätmittelalterlichen Böhmen," in *Geist, Gesellschaft, Kirche im 13.-.16. Jahrhundert. Internationales Kolloquium, Prag 5.-.10. Oktober 1998*, ed. by František Šmahel, Centre for Medieval Studies, Prague 1999 (= *Colloquia medievalia Pragensia* 1), 200-201. These cults shared similar features—they were anti-Protestant and developed around miraculous sculpture/images of the Virgin, defamed by the Hussites, lay far from the centre of the Bohemian state and often close to the borders of the kingdom. In the case of Chlum and Kájov, the churches lay under monastic patronage. Pre-Hussite pilgrimages outside Prague are known only from chapter and monastic sites (Stará Boleslav, Sázava, Břevnov, Teplá), with the possible, although little known, exception of Sv. Ivan pod Skalou.

[671] Kühne, *Ostensio*, 129.

[672] On evolution of *ostensiones*, Herrmann-Mascard, *Les Reliques des Saints*, 206-216 (regular showing relics become more popular in the thirteenth century, the *Veronica* in 1300. IV. In 1215, the Lateran Council forbade showing of bare relics and from that time relics were shown in reliquaries, 214, in order that doubts not be cast on their originality, 215). Cf. in Kühne, *Ostensio*.

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which culminated with the showing of the imperial treasury as a complex ceremony, advertising the saints' protection of the land, legitimising the dynastic succession, as well as promoting Prague as an imperial city and seat.

After negotiations,[673] Charles obtained the imperial jewels (*sacraria imperii*),[674] to whose guardianship any Roman king was entitled, in 1350. They were sent to Prague from Munich in March that year so that they would arrive before Easter to make a symbolic *entrée*. They arrived first in Vyšehrad where they were kept for a few days and then brought to the city in solemn procession on Palm Sunday and put on display.[675] Later in the same year, Charles was given papal permission to organise the annual public display of these jewells. In 1354, the Feast of the Holy Lance and Nails (*Festum lancee et clavium*)[676] was introduced throughout whole of the Holy Roman Empire, to be celebrated on the Friday after the Easter *octave* with an *officium* written within the close group of church intellectuals around Charles.[677] (**Pl. 22, initial, Liber Viaticus of John of New Market (Sroda in Poland) with the Eucharist Christ, beginning of the officium of Holy Lance**).

The Prague *ostensio* first displayed the imperial treasury[678] and other relics in a wooden structure (*turris reliquiarum*) built on the Ox Market in the New Town of Prague on the Feast of Lance and Nails.[679] The core of the treasury was a collection of Passion relics, joined with *memoria* of Charlemagne and other saintly soldiers, as well as the holy popes and the Apostles. From the (early?) 1360s, the royal treasury, and a selection of the St. Vitus relics joined the imperial relics during the display, staged as a ceremony organised into four sessions depending on the collections of relics. They were shown from the tower (*turris*) to the crowds of pilgrims gathered on the square below either in sequence or together to all sides; later, when the complicated structure of Corpus Christi chapel was built in the 1380s, the four balconies of the structure were probably used for this showing. (**pl. 28 a, b, Nurnberg and Eisenach displays of relics**)

[673] Following the death of Ludwig of Bavaria, Charles IV acquired the imperial treasury from his son Ludwig, the Margrave of Brandenburg. He might have obtained them under the promise of keeping them in Nürnberg or Frankfurt, Kühne, *Ostensio*, 109-110.
[674] For the special status of imperial relics, see Machilek, "Privatfrömmigkeit und Staatsfrömmigkeit," 93.
[675] Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 228. Kühne, *Ostensio*, 110.
[676] On the Friday after the second Sunday of Easter. Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 228. Also Kühne, *Ostensio*, 113, the feast was celebrated for the first time in 1356.
[677] Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 226-254, editions of the orders 291-298).
[678] Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 228-31.
[679] The relics were brought from Karlštejn (before 1357 possibly from the cathedral of St. Vitus?) the day before the display. Other places (Karlov, Emmaus or Vyšehrad) might have been considered for the imperial treasury before 1357, but were not used. Pavel Kroupa and Jana Kroupová, "On the question of depositing the Sacramentalia of the Holy Roman Empire in Bohemia," 142-155, in *Court Chapels of the High and Late Middle Ages and their artistic decoration*, ed. Jiří Fajt (Prague: National Gallery in Prague: 2003), 399-409). On the format of the ritual, Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 235.

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The display was composed of relics from the three treasuries organised into four sessions: the highlights of the metropolitan treasury of St. Vitus (first two sessions) underpinning Bohemian dynastic lines, the royal relics with the gold cross (third session), and the imperial relics (the fourth session), of which some pieces received new containers or were newly re-adjusted.[680] The ceremony started with Bohemian patrons accompanying the relics of the Evangelists and popes from the St. Vitus treasury and continued with the Passion relics (*arma Christi*) and the relics of the Chains of the Apostel martyrs St. Peter, Paul and St. John the Evangelist from the royal treasury. The *ostensio* culminated with symbols of imperial rule (the sword and crown of Charlemagne as well as the sword of St. Maurice), and the imperial *insignia* with the Holy Lance, whose relic was so important for Charles IV that he probably made a copy of it for St. Vitus treasury (**Pl. 21c – copy of the Holy Lance from St. Vitus**). The program reflected shows manifold and universal meanings including: protection of the land through the patrons and holy church authorities, the most sacred *memoria* of Christ's Salvation-bringing Sacrifice in the company of his closest Apostels and aids, the sacred dimension of kingship, and the ancient sacred traditions of imperial power.

The showing was concluded with announcement of the next Year of Grace (*milostivé léto, Annus iubileus*) of the septennial cycle, when the Trier Veil of the Virgin would be shown in the cathedral St. Vitus.[681] This promotion of the next septennial Prague showing linked the annual *ostensio* with the septennial cathedral display of relics, tracing the course of sacred time in the city. Prague was not only symbolically laid out through the sacred topography and spatial distribution of relics, but also through the periodicity of sacred ritual, supported by two other displays of relics in the city, in Vyšehrad and Břevnov (**Pl. 27, pilgrims badge from Prague**).[682] At least four different, regular displays of relics and many feastdays displays in local churches created a Prague rich indevotional opportunities through relics.

The visual format of the annual New Town showing was well organised and highlighted each time with a different memory. First, reliquary busts[683] of saints were shown: first the Bohemian patron saints (*capita s. Wenceslai, Viti, Adalberti, Sigismundi*), then the Evangelists Marc and Luke, and

[680] Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 236. Kühne, *Ostensio*, 122.
[681] Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, Appendix, 289-90. APH, annual showing: KA Praha, Codex IX, f 38v, septennial showing - codex IX f. 58r-60r, 57r-v and 62. Cf. CPSVP, Czech translation of Latin original.
[682] Other pilgrimage centres were Sedlec near Kutná Hora and the Episcopal church in Litomyšl, Hrdina, "Die Topographie," 196. 196. Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 226, ftnote 48. Cf. Sekyrka, *Inventáře*, no. 29, p. 90, letter of Bonifacius IX of 7.4.1397.
[683] The most important relics (independently from the body part) were always inserted in the *capita*. *Capita* were inventoried first in the inventories as the most important part of the treasury. Cf. CPSVP, Appendix II.

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finally the saint popes Urban and Gregory—all of whose reliquaries were kept in the St. Vitus treasury. The first course promoted Bohemia's sacred tradition and linked it to the papacy. Although we have no description of the ritual, this *defilé* of busts must have been an attractive performance due to the objects' size, form and glittering material. The following course showed Christ´s Passion relics from the St. Vitus treasury together with the Veil of the Virgin stained by the Blood of Christ[684] that was honoured for its reference to the Eucharist. It also served to commemorate the most important ecclesiastical treasury in Bohemia and Charles himself, as all the relics had been donated to the St. Vitus' treasury by him.[685]

It is striking that the order of the head reliquaries (the patrons, Mark, Luke, Urban and Gregory) corresponded with the order in which the relics had been written down in the St. Vitus inventories from 1355 up to the inventory of 1396. Both the order of the showing and the inventories followed the hierarchy of relics depending on their importance to the archdiocese. The herms' participation in the displays is confirmed in the inventory of 1368 since these reliquaries were named among those which had lost some of their precious stones, probably through careless handling or extensive use,[686] reflecting their repeated use in ceremonies and exhibitions before 1368.

The third course displayed the Karlštejn's royal treasury.[687] It started with three pieces of the chains of St. John the Evangelist, St. Peter, and Paul and part of the tunic of St. John the Evangelist, followed by a piece of the *presepe* (the crib, also known as *cunabulum*-cradle),[688] and the Virgin's veil

[684] The second course (see identifications with the inventory items in parentheses): *Primo peplum cruentatum beatae Mariae Virginis (*II—1355, 70 *in cistula argentea deaurata in qua sub cristallo continetur pars people…cruentati, quod sub cruce Domini beata Virgo dicitur in capite habuisse*). *De ligno sanctae crucis (*I - 1355 probably 58)*: crux aurea habens quattuor gemmas …quae est antiqua ecclesiae. Clavus Christi (*II—1355, 61, 1368 - IV, 61, fixed in gold *–in auro). Pars mense Domini (*II—1355, 69, in piece*—pars mensae Domini circumdata auro puro*). *Mensale Domini* (I—1354, 19, II—1355, 68 in a crystal ewer*—canula magna cristallina circumdata argento*). *Sudarium Domini (*II—1355, 62. in the *plenarium—in tabula argentea* together with *pars corporali insuta* = tunica inconsutili*). De tunica Christi alba, in qua fuit illusus (*I - 1355*, 66. in monstrancia cristallina). De tunica Christi purpurea (*II—1355, 65. *in small round reliquary—rotunda monstarncia parva aurea), in qua fuit coronatus. De tunica Christi inconsutili(*II—1355, 64 probably in a gold pectoral*—pectorale aureum…sub berillo de inconsutili tunica Domini..) . De cathena sancti Clementis (*II—1355, 175. in iron crate*—Cathena, per quam missus fuit sanctus Clemens in mare in pariete in capella sancti Wenceslai, inclusa crate ferrea*).All relics are recorded in the inventories of the cathedral treasury between 1355-1368.

[685] The Blooded Veil (CPSVP I, 1354, no. 15) as well as *mensale* (CPSVP I, 1354, 19), *pars mense* (CPSVP I, 1354, 279), *sudarium* (CPSVP I, 1354, 281), *de tunica Christi purpurea* (CPSVP I, 1354, 249), *de tunica inconsutili* (CPSVP I, 1354, 247), *alba vesta* (CPSVP II, 1355, 66), and possibly *pars de ligno sancte crucis* ((CPSVP I, 1354, 300-1) were all donated by Charles IV at various points of time: the Blooded Veil was surely in St. Vitus treasury before 1354 and it is likely the item from the royal treasury that was given to Queen Elisabeth. The other relics were donated to the treasury in 1354.

[686] CPSVP, inv. of 1368, XXVII. The damages also concerned the head reliquary of St. Stephen—this implies that the annual showing of St. Stephen relic on the saint´s feast in the church of St. Stephen church was already taking place by 1368.

[687] Otavský, "Das Mosaik am Prager Dom und drei Reliquiare in Prag und Wien, 59.

[688] All reliquaries are now part of the imperial treasury in Vienna (*The Secular and Ecclesiastical treasuries*, 178-180, cat.

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hiding Christ's nudity on the cross (*pannum* or loincloth) given to Charles IV by Pope Urban V in 1365 (the reliquary is known as the "Cross of Urban V.") (**Pl. 33, the so-called Cross of Urban V.**); as the piece was stained by Christ's Blood, it turned into the most venerated relic towards the end of the century displacing the Trier's veil.[689] These relics were all shown together with the royal cross holding apiece of the Holy Rood from Trier,[690] the central piece inthe royal Bohemian treasury.

The order of the display as published by Kubínová[691] must have been established after 1368 when the last relics from the third course were obtained during Charles' second visit to Rome (Christ's *pannum*, the relic of St. John the Evangelist's cloak and the piece of *praesepe*[692]). From the early 1360s (probably since the jubilee of 1362?), the royal treasury had been included in the annual New Market showing. The inventory of St. Vitus' treasury of 1387 shows remarkable affinity with the first and second courses of the annual display[693] as rendered in both the Prague and Munich editions of the lists, especially in the sequence and arranging of the relics in two groups: the first being from the beginning of the inventory and the second from the "special collection" of relics kept in St. Michael's sacristy. The lists may therefore have been compiled sometime between 1368 and 1387.[694] The Prague edition of the order in the chapter archive Cod. IX is later, from the beginning of the fifteenth century.,[695] Its contents already show the established order of the annual display as opposed to the order of the septennial one in the metropolitan church of St. Vitus.

The annual displays took place every year until 1417. The Hussite revolt interrupted this tradition. However, the practice was remembered throughout the fifteenth century. Emperor

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nos. 166-168). Typical of the chain reliquaries (with the exception of the crib) is the "narrative" style of elaborated engraved, niello-like images on a gold background telling the legend or Charles' act of donation. Otavský, "Das Mosaik am Prager Dom und drei Reliquiare in Prag und Wien, 57, 61-7. Kubínová argues for an "ancient" form of adjustment of the crib as proof of its original connection to the imperial treasury. Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 245, 247.

[689] Šroněk, "Šlojíř nejistý," 82-3.

[690] The reliquary of the Chains, St. John's tunic and the crib might have come into the imperial treasury only in the time of Sigismund of Luxemburg. Pope Urban V's cross probably also came into the possession of the St. Vitus treasury, as it was put on display during the cathedral showing in . This may have prevented being carried away with other pieces of the royal treasury.

[691] Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 291-294, dating 235.

[692] Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 241-4.

[693] The order of St. Vitus relics in the annual *ostensio* correspond with the situation after 1355 and also appeared in the 1368 and 1387 inventories. In 1355, however, the relic of the chain of St. Clement still in the chapel of St. Wenceslas (CPSVP II, 1355, 175) from where relics were not taken for showing.

[694] The order of the showing corresponds best with the inventory of 1387 although the St. Clement chain is missing from it. The St. Vitus treasury already contained the head of St. Sigismund before 1365 (CPSVP II, 23 in head reliquary, 80, among the relics not yet fixed in reliquaries), attested to first in 1355, then in 1365 and then in 1368. The head reliquary was listed as missing from the inventory by 1365, when it probably was peobably joined to the body at the newly-arranged grave of St. Sigismund in the ambulatory of St. Vitus cathedral).

[695] KA Cod IX, fol. 38v, here on fol. 58r-61r represent the two versions of the cathedral showing. Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 291-298.

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Sigismund in 1437 used the memory of Prague displays for legitimising his rule in Bohemia by organising the last Prague display of relics following the Charles' IV model, but in different confessional context—thus, the event evoked the memory of Charles IV's "golden age". Three decades later Pavel Žídek, the *mentor* of the Hussite king, George of Poděbrady, demanded that the king return the imperial relics to Bohemia. As late as 1489, the noble humanist, Bohuslav Hasištejnský of Lobkovice, remembered having imperial treasuries displayed in Prague. The memory of the Prague displays outlived them long into the fifteenth century, raising occasional interest and, depending upon the speaker, regrets.

Cathedral display of relics

Four years after the establishment of the annual display in the New Town,[696] a public display of one third of the Virgin's Veil obtained by Charles IV in Trier was supported by indulgences from Innocenc VI in 1354.[697] The indulgences were bound to the exhibition of this relic shown on the feastdays during every seventh year; by the late 1360s, the septennial display,[698] celebrated as the jubilee year (*annus gracie sive indulgentiarum*, *annus iubileus*), culminated in a display of relics composed of the relics mainly from the metropolitan treasury of St. Vitus. The jubilee culminated the week before the feast of the Assumption of the Virgin although several displays were organised on important feastdays during the year as well.[699]

Originally, the venerated central piece of the showing was the large section of the Virgin's Veil taken from Trier by Charles IV in 1354, where it had been donated by St. Helen, and where the relic had also been displayed in the septennial cycle.[700] Due to its emotional charge and as a memory of Christ's Sacrifice, the Trier Veil relic was replaced by the *Bloodied* Veil of the Virgin (*peplum*

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[696] Kühne, *Ostensio*, chapter III. 1.2., 106-132, knows of only one Prague display of relics (on the New Town Market). Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 226-254, editions 291-298) distinguished between the two showings and published their respective orders.
[697] CPSVP, 35, ft. 1. Papal indulgences AMK, Eršil-Pražák, 82, no. 272, sign. 232, X 22. May 30, 1354.
[698] The dates of compilations of the preserved inventories of the St. Vitus treasury often coincide with the jubilee years.
[699] Kubínová, *Imitatio Roae*, 232-3, CPSVP 35, ftnote 1.
[700] CPSVP, 31, ft. 2. *...quod quidem peplum venerandum de septimo in septimum annum ibidem, secundum indulgentiam Romanorum Pontificum, in monasterio s. Maximini omni populo publice solet ostendi, prout e sicuti aliae reliquiae beatae Mariae virginis Aquisgrani in publico anno septimo demonstrantur.*

cruentatum) in 1390.[701] The Prague church possessed three different relics of the Bloodied veil (one of them shown in the annual display),[702] as the most venerated piece.

As shown by Otavský and Opačič, the balcony above the Golden Gate of the Cathedral,[703] available since 1367/8,[704] was designed for display of the St. Vitus relics (**Pl. 35, Last Judgement mosaic**). The Gate served a ceremonial as opposed to frequent, use for special occasions linked with saints' feasts or the royal family. From the structural point of view, it resembles the balcony of Our Lady church in Nürnberg, founded by Charles IV in 1355, and used for display of relics in 1361 or the balconies of the Corpus Christi chapel (1380) in the New Town used for annual displays. At the beginning,[705] the cathedral displays may rather have taken place on the wooden structure attached to the window of the upper sacristy in the northern ambulatory of the cathedral, a structure mentioned by Hájek as existing until 1541.[706] Probably in the political and confessional situation in Prague in the fifteenth century it was brought into the intimate environment in the cathedral interior and the relics were shown from there again.

In 1370, the Gate to the cathedral facing the royal palace and the courtyard was decorated with a mosaic of the Last Judgement. The iconography of the mosaic and the whole Gate reminded the faithful, not only of the events of the Last Days and the intercessors including the Bohemian patrons, but it was equally important to accentuate salvation of Christ's Sacrifice.[707] In the central field of the mosaic, Christ is depicted with bleeding wounds. The Angels around the mandorla hold the *arma Christi* indicating (similarly as in Karlštejn) the precious contents of the treasury kept behind the mosaic wall that held the most important relics in the St. Vitus treasury.[708] Five of the six[709] depicted

[701] Eršil-Pražák, 155, no. 551.
[702] Šroněk, "Šlojíř nejistý," 80-82.
[703] An idea expressed by Zoe Opačič in a lecture at the conference *Kunst als Herrschaftsinstrument. Böhmen und das Heilige Römische Reich unter den Luxemburgern im europäischen Kontext*, Prague Castle 9.- 13.5. 2006. On the same idea, Otavský, "Das Mosaik am Prager Dom und drei Reliquiare in Prag und Wien," 56. In their early phase, the old *basilica* or the sacristy were the likely place for cathedral showings. For information on the architectural development of the cathedral I am indebted to Petr Chotěbor.
[704] CPSVP, 1903. Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 232-7.
[705] The "windows" of the sacristy reach to the floor like doors. They originally lead to a balcony that had been envisaged since the beginning of the construction. The sacristy was already built in the first half of 1350s before or around the first display of the Veil; this arrangement supports the idea that at the beginning it included in a display of only one or few pieces (where the balcony would suffice). The long ceremony with many relics evolved later, probably in the late 1360s.
[706] Václav Hájek of Libočany, "*O nešťasné příhodě, kteráž se stala skrze oheň v Menším městě na Hradě pražském i na Hradčanech léta 1541*" (On the unhappy fire that took place in the Minor Town, in Prague Castle and Hradčany in 1541), Prague 1541.
[707] For example, Salvation through the Sacrifice was personified in the figures of the phoenix and pelican on the inner side of the entrance pillars and in the sculptural decoration of the Gate (keystones with symbolic plant ornaments).
[708] Independently from my text, this subject has also been elaborated on by Otavský in his article Otavský, "Das Mosaik am Prager Dom und drei Reliquiare in Prag und Wien," 53-72. Otavský calls the room (*sacristia superior*) the "safest

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the *arma Christi* (the Sponge, one of the Nails, the Column of Flagellation, the Holy Cross, and the Holy Lance) could be shown during any of the two afore-mentioned Prague displays, four of them in the cathedral display.

The cathedral display on the last week before the Assumption put on display a larger selection of relics than the annual feasts on the New Town Market, but it also put more stress on the Bohemian saintly lineage. In additon to the Christ's relics, those of the Virgin were also shown together with numerous St. Wenceslaus *memoria*. However, the most venerated relics were the large section of the Virgin's Trier Veil (*magnum peplum beate Marie virginis*) and the *Veronica* (*veronica cum facie Domini*).[710] The relics of St. Wenceslaus as the patron of Bohemia shown in the introductory part of the display were the "domestic" source of the church's fame anchoring independent Bohemian and dynastic memory in the Christian tradition.

Kubínová[711] first published the order of the cathedral *ostensio* (AMK, codex IX, 57r-61r). It is remarkable that the main relics (*capita*) of the Bohemian patron saints St. Vitus, St. Adalbert, and St. Sigismund, as well as the head of St. Wenceslaus were omitted from the list of relics. They were likely exhibited on the altars of the patrons inside the church to allow for a solemn circulation of pilgrims. The interior of the cathedral on display days established a pilgrims' route inside the building centred around the graves of the patron saints with the relics shown inside and was also marked by important *memoria* and cult places. The pilgrims entered the sacred space from the West with bowing before St. Adalbert's tomb in the (not yet existing) nave. The route started at the tomb of St. Sigismund, followed through the ambulatory passing by the sacristy where the treasury was kept and the relics shown and then continued through the eastern part of the ambulatory to the grave of St. Vitus. The pilgrims finished their sacred journey at the tomb of St. Wenceslas in the south-western corner of the St. Vitus choir. On the journey they were reminded of the land's dynastic history by the tombs of the Přemyslid kings and the royal memoria in the Virgin choir. They passed by altars of many saints, whose relics were venerated in the ambulatory chapels and the pilgrims may have received instruction on the founders and patrons of the altars. The septenial display was hardly a static ceremony; rather, it was designed to inspire the continuous solemn movement of pious pilgrims inside the church.

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tresor" in the cathedral.

[709] The preservation and whereabouts of the relic of forceps is not known to me.

[710] Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 236-7. *Veronica* is also depicted on the Golden Gate mosaic. The presence of the Virgin and St. John the Baptist as intercessors at the Last Judgement was materialised through their relics shown during the *ostensio* (11 and 3).

[711] Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 35, 295-298.

The cathedral septennial showing united a part of the royal treasury with the metropolitan one to strengthen the effect on the pilgrims, and to present the most important Christ's and the Virgin's memorial relics within the Bohemian context. It structured relics in three sessions: the first session focussed on St. Wenceslaus, the second session on the Virgin Mary, and the third session on the Passion of Christ. Each section started with a sequence of the main relics, then continued with a succession of reliquaries combining more relics in them. This system – albeit it reveals certain logic in ordering the reliquaries by the body parts or historical importance – pays, however, less attention to the hierarchy of the saints.[712]

The first sequence started with the three patriarchs and the armour of St. Wenceslaus,[713] followed by hand-shaped reliquaries of various saints (*manus*, *brachium*). Some relics were not placed in a reliquary.[714] The second round started with important Charles' acquisition of the relic of *pannum cruentatum* (coming from the Karlštejn treasury and brought to the cathedral for the displays).[715] This relic was one of two Bloodied Virgin Veils that gained in popularity among pilgrims[716] (**Pl. 36, Madonna Aracoeli with bloodied veil from the Metropolitan treasury**). Then came the memorial relics of the Virgin Mary, Moses' staff and the powder of St. John the Baptist. A sequence of relics in order of the body-part (*brachium, dens*) or form of the reliquary (*imago, ladula*) followed.[717]

The third section began with the reliquary cross from Karlštejn (from the royal treasury) along with the Passion relics and Christ's relics from the cathedral treasury (*pars clavi, due spine de corona Domini, mensale Domini, tunica purpurea, tunica alba, tunica inconsutilis, pars mense, manna missum de celo, statua Domini, vexillum Domini*). These items were followed by the relics of the Apostles Phillip and Jacob, St. Lawrence and Louis, and a part of the shroud from the Sepulchre. Then the main relic of the showing was presented—the Trier Veil (*Item magnum peplum beate Virginis*) and the *Veronica* (*item veronica cum facie Domini, quam urbanus papa dedit Karolo imperatori ad similitudinem proprie veronice Romane*). Following came another Sepulchre shroud, the relics of the

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[712] For these two approaches, see Starnawska, *Swietych zicye po zicyu*, 368-9.
[713] Both the patriarchs' reliquary, and the St. Wenceslaus memorial relics are preserved.
[714] Eg. *Item de costa sancte Agnetis virginis... item de costa sancte Elisabeth*, Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 296. This is unexpected – according to the Church's regulations, relics should have not been shown bare.
[715] *Primo crux aurea Urbani pape in qua habetur seu continetur particula de panno cruentato, quod Christus erat precinctus in cruce*. Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 296.
[716] Šroněk, "Šlojíř nejistý," 79-110.
[717] Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 296-7.

Four Western Fathers, St. Nicolaus and other saints. The showing was concluded with a benediction for the pilgrims.[718]

The programme of the display accentuating St. Wenceslaus, the Virgin and the Passion of Christ had parallels with the symbolism revealed in Karlštejn's decoration: St. Wenceslaus epitomising Christian rule in Bohemia, the Virgin as intercessor at the Last Judgement, and Christ's Sacrifice as the pre-requisite for Salvation. It commemorated the country's sacred past and pointed to the Last Judgement when the "treasury of merits" would be useful. The display presented both the metropolitan and royal treasuries with the aim of promoting local sacred traditions in the context of an universal Christian understanding of time symbolised in the mosaic of the Last Judgement with Bohemian patron saints.

With two Prague displays of relics, the cult of relics in Prague attained a strong incentive and developed a rhythm. Regrettably, no descriptions exist of these performances, but through comparison it can be inferred that the displays were staged shows combined with singing and an introduction of each piece connected with the commemoration of its donor and the history of the relic, thus providing instruction on biblical and legendary narratives. The strategy worked well: sources mention huge crowds of pilgrims heading towards the Prague feasts in 1369, 1388, and 1398 when the jubilee years of the septennial showing[719] coincided with the annual display. From the 1360s, the displays promoted Bohemia as the land where the most important treasuries joined together in the protection of the land and its people.

The Rosenbergs' Relic Display in Krumlov

The Prague displays of relics became a model for the development of late medieval piety in the region.[720] Soon after its establishment, it was copied by the second most important noble family in Bohemia, the Rosenberg's, on their estates in Český Krumlov in Southern Bohemia. Behind the ceremony, which in its content and organisation, was clearly modelled on the Prague display, marked an effort by the Rosenbergs to equal the Bohemian king by legitimising their rule through the same

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[718] Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 297-8.
[719] As in 1369, 1388, and 1398, Beneš of Weitmil, *Cronica ecclesiae Pragensis*, 539/b. Cf. also Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae*, 237, Laurentius(1954), 442.
[720] Hrdina, "Die Topographie," 196.

pious models. The Krumlov display took place annually[721] between 1358 and 1417 on the feast of Corpus Christi; the procession on this feastday continued even in later periods.[722]

Scholars have had luck with the Krumlov displays since the order of the display has been preserved and edited.[723] An important source for learning about the format of display, this source describes in detail the public bilingual ceremony, which included a procession through Krumlov, exhibition of relics by the clergy, a spoken explanation by a lector in Czech and German, singing responses, sermons on moral issues, and the mass.[724] The actual displays took place on an elevated platform attached to the Franciscan church in Krumlov. The date of the event was announced ahead of time on the Trinity Sunday of each year. The relics were brought for display from several religious institutions, several from the Cistercian monastery of Vyšší Brod (a large gold cross, a reliquary with Rosenberg's roses, and a reliquary of Mary Magdalen),[725] and old family foundation of the Rosenbergs, and Zlatá Koruna (originally royal foundation); all objects shown in the display were collected in the Franciscan monastery in Krumlov. The source reports that the monasteries involved were bound by a promise given to the founders of the Franciscan monastery, Kateřina of Rosenberg[726] and her sons, to bring their relics there in person for a public presentation. Later also the Augustinians, settled in Třeboň in 1367, took part in the annual event, enriching it with relics from their treasury.[727] The details of the Krumlov ceremony, i.e. the use of a speaker, the setting, the composition of the relics from several (read here monastic) institutions, liturgical singing, and the encouragement of broad public penitence all illuminate the possible format of the Prague showing, for which such a detailed account is lacking.

[721] Ferdinand Tadra, "Ukazování sv. Ostatků v Českém Krumlově ve XIV. věku" (Display of relics in Český Krumlov in the 14th century) *Časopis Muzea Království českého* 73 (1899), 173-4. Indulgences of Bonifacius IX for the showings in Krumlov.
[722] Jan Müller, "K charakteru výtvarné kultury Českého Krumlova v letech 1420-1470" (On the art production of Český Krumlov between 1420 and 1470) *Umění* 33, 1985, 521.
[723] Valentin Schmidt, "Das Krummauer Heiltumfest," in *Festschrift des Vereines für die Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen zur Feier des 40 Jährigen Bestandes 27.5. 1902* (Prag, 1902), 116-125. Tadra, "Ukazování sv. Ostatků v Českém Krumlově ve XIV. věku," 173-4.
[724] Description in Tadra, "Ukazování sv. ostatků v Českém Krumlově v XIV. věku," 432-7.
[725] Tadra, "Ukazování ostatků v Českém Krumlově v XIV. věku," 432-7, esp. 434 ft. 4. Cf. Appendix II, 15, Matthias Pangerl, *Urkundenbuch des Zisterzienserstiftes B. Mariae V. zu Hohenfurt in Böhmen*, Diplomataria et Acta 23, Fontes Rerum Austriacarum/Oesterreichisches Geschichtsquellen (Vienna 1865), no. 244, 303-4, no. 242, 300-1.
[726] Katerina, born Schaumburg, widow of Petr I of Rosenberg, a close courtier of John of Luxemburg and Charles IV. Her sons were Peter II of Rosenberg, Jošt (Jodocus), Oldřich (Ulrich), and John.
[727] Müller, "K charakteru výtvarné kultury," 521.

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In the display, the abbot of the Cistercian monastery in Vyšší Brod, the traditional Rosenbergs' foundation and burial place,[728] was obliged to bring the Corpus Christi in an *ostensory*, collect all the relics for the display, lead the procession at the opening of the ceremony and sing the mass; he could be replaced by any higher dignitary if they were present. The relics were carried in a chest by four men surrounded by singers and musicians.[729] Others threw flowers and twigs in front of the procession. Then three boys announced the coming of the consecrated Host by ringing bells in front of the abbot of Vyšší Brod, who carried the Corpus Christi under a silk canopy with images of the four Evangelists. In this manner, the procession arrived at the parish church of St. Vitus in Krumlov.

Singing *Te Deus laudamus* and *Salve regina*, the procession returned back to the Franciscan church of Corpus Christi and the Annunciation of the Virgin where the relics were displayed outside the church. The ceremony started with a joint public confession in Czech and German. Then, a large gold cross with a piece of Holy Rood was shown together with a Thorn from the Crown of Thorns, and the Veil, with which Christ's eyes were covered during the mocking scene.[730] The priests were obliged to display the relics in all directions where the faithful gathered, turning them around for better viewing. The speaker guided people through the ceremony, introducing each relic, first in Czech then in German. On the opposite side, on higher ground, a choir of boys sang songs to each relic that was shown.

In the third showed Christs' baby cloths and the Blooded Veil of the Virgin were shown in the third round.[731] In the last and fourth round the relics of the most popular saints were announced and

[728] Tadra , "Ukazování ostatků, v Českém Krumlově v XIV. věku," 433, thinks that the Zlatá Koruna abbot was responsible for leading the procession and accept relics from other institutions. It is probably a mistake (?), cf. 434, ft. 4, where it is stated that the relics the abbot brings (see below), belonged to Vyšší Brod (cf. Appendix II, 15, and later in the text) and not Zlatá Koruna. As the source speaks all the time of a single abbot, it was probably the abbot of Vyšší Brod. Tadra does not explain, why he thinks it was the task of abbot of Zlatá Koruna. The text edition of Tadra: ... *"(abbas?)(custo)diam habeat et curate invigilet, quod monstrancie omnes iden numero integer recipiat ab illis, quibus eas distribuit. Principaliter deferat monstranciam cum hostia sacra, qui eciam missam summam cantare debet, que monstrancia ponatur super calicem cum aliis reliquiis, videlicet cruce aurea, in qua magna pars de lingo domini inclusa est, et duas monstrancias, tabulas argenteas deauratas, quarum una habet tres argenteas ymagines in superficie, in medio quinque lapides cristallinos, sub quibus reliquie multorum sanctorum continentur, alia cum ymagine s. Marie Magdalene et duobus angelis ipsam ymaginem tenentes, totum de argento deaurato, sicut se dominis fundatoribus eorum et nostris subscripserunt in perpetuum pro predicta solempnitate corporis Christi ad conventum fratrum minorum in Chrumpnaw personaliter apoortare, populo ostendere et sine inpensis et cura fratrum reducere, et si maior prelates ipso abate pro tunc non interesset, ipse abbas officium faciat et reliquias populo ostendat."*

[729] As the reliquaries were numerous and could not all be carried in a single chest, other arrangements were made by senior guardian or sacristan of the monastery. Tadra, "Ukazování sv. Ostatků v Českém Krumlově v XIV. věku," 434.

[730] For this relic, missing in St. Vitus treasury, see Klára Benešovská, "Drobná poznámka k původnímu významu točenice" (Short note on the original meaning of the knotted veil) in *Žena ve člunu*, Kateřina Horníčková, and Michal Šroněk, eds. (Prague: Artefactum, 2007), 371-81.

[731] For public veneration of this relic, see Šroněk, "Šlojíř nejistý", 79-110.

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shown. These relics included teeth of St. John the Baptist, St. Peter, St. Nicolaus, and others. Then prayers were said for the donors of the relics and the founders of the event as well. At the end, the speaker announced that papal indulgences would be awarded to the pilgrims and invited them to the next year's showing. The church officials returned to the church where they had placed Corpus Christi on the altar previously, to celebrate the mass. The crowd was divided into four groups and sermons were preached in the open air or, alternatively, the pilgrims were allowed to attend the mass. After the ceremony, the alms were distributed to the poor. Then all went to lunch—high church officials invited by the Rosenberg family gathered in the Krumlov castle. After lunch, a Latin lesson on the Corpus Christi was held for the participating clergy and the people were encouraged to confess their sins.

The composition of the display to a large extent followed Prague's annual display. There are changes in the composition of the relics; the relic of the knotted Veil covering the eyes (*točenice*), St. Nicolaus (this saint is included in the septennial Prague *ostensio*), and the baby clothes were added as alternatives to the famous Prague relics. Prague displays inspired the Rosenbergs to chose relics focused on the Passion, to structure the ceremony into four rounds, and in the omnipresent promotion of the founding family. Treasury objects, words and prayers combined to commemorate the salvation of Christ's Sacrifice and the patronage activity of the Rosenbergs. On their lands the Rosenbergs turned the display into elaborate public family *memoria*.[732]

In comparison to the Prague displays, the program in Krumlov was straightforward, to maintain the memory of the Rosenbergs as powerful and pious benefactors. At the end of the ceremony, Kateřina and her sons were commemorated as the patrons and a memorial prayer was said in their honour. The display opened with a large gold cross of Vyšší Brod (preserved up until the present) commemorating Christ's Passion, and piety and power of the Rosenbergs' ancestors, the founders of the monastery. Zlatá Koruna's famous Thorn of the Crown of Thorns was then shown as part of the second round, donated to the Cistercian monastery by its founder Přemysl Otakar II. The fact that it was included in the display symbolised the political success of the Rosenbergs in the region. Other Passion relics followed: the knotted Veil covering the eyes of Christ, *mensale* Domini, and the Bloodied Veil of the Virgin. The last relic already enjoyed popularity in visual representations; for example, on the Crucifixion of the Vyšší Brod painted cycle (probably from Krumlov or Vyšší Brod) the Virgin's veil is stained by Christ's blood. Peter I of Rosenberg (died 1347), husband of

[732] Comparatively less space was given to the Bohemian patrons than in the metropolitan showings and hints at royal and imperial power disappear from the program.

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Kateřina, close ally of the Luxemburgs and likely donor of the cycle, apparently possessed the relic of the Blooded Veil and initiated its promotion in the visual media. The Rosenberg's relic of the Veil shown in Krumlov probably originated from the Prague St. Vitus relic, which was among the pre-1350 donations of Charles IV.

Two, so far unknown,but important reliquaries from Vyšší Brod treasury have been identified as taking part in the showing. [733] The first is a reliquary panel with the image of St. Mary Magdalene carried by the angels, which is probably identical with the silver gilded panel of the saint returned to Vyšší Brod in 1463-1464.[734] The second item, the reliquary with three silver images and a crystal rose revealing the relics inside, is identical with a remarkable reliquary panel of the Rosenbergs mentioned in the charter of 1354 and signed by the brothers Peter, Jodocus, Ulrich and John of Rosenberg, confirming the proper origin of relics it contained.[735] The panel was bought and made into a valuable gift by their mother Kateřina (died 1355), who followed the Přemyslid queens and made herself a renown donor of relics, which she might have obtained through her husband at the court of Charles IV. She donated the reliquary to Vyšší Brod[736] where it is listed among the things returned sometime between 1463-1464. The reliquary relics came to her posession mostly through Prague, and relatively recently: her contemporaries Charles IV, Louis of Hungary, Nicolaus, patriarch of Aquileia, and the Archbishop Ernest of Pardubice were listed as the donors of these relics.

From the description of the Rosenberg reliquary it can be inferred that it may possibly have been a silver (gilded?) reliquary panel (*tabula*) with a crystal oculi in the form of a five-petalled rose (*in modum rose crystalline*) decorated by rosettes containing the Rosenberg coat of arms (*item tabula s ruozemi 19 hriven..., ...tabulam cum rosis, que ob remedium anime nobilis domine Katherine de Sawnberg matre nobilium dominorum Petri J(o)doci Vlrici et Johannis monasterio nostro donata sunt cum calice aureo infrascripto*)[737] revealing the numerous relics inside. Three statuettes or relief figures on the panel held the most important relics of the reliquary. The angel held a cross with the Last Supper tablecloth (*mensale*) while the statuettes of St. John the Baptist and St. Wenceslaus held the

[733] *...tabulas argenteas deauratas, quarum una habet tres argenteas ymagines in superficie, in medio quinque lapides cristallinos, sub quibus reliquie multorum sanctorum continentur, alia cum ymagines Marie Magdalene et duobus angelis ipsam ymaginem tenentes, totum de argento deaurato*...Tadra, "Ukazování ostatků, v Českém Krumlově v XIV. věku," 434, ft. 4.
[734] Cf. Pangerl, *Urkundenbuch von Hohenfurth*, 242, 300-1, confirmed by Abbot Thomas in 1464, 244, 303-4, see Appendix II, 15.
[735] Pangerl, *Urkundenbuch von Hohenfurth*, 111, no. 104, written in Krumlov 5.10. 1354.
[736] Pangerl, *Urkundenbuch von Hohenfurth*, 111-112, Appendix II, no. 15.
[737] Cf. Pangerl, *Urkundenbuch von Hohenfurth*, no. 242, p. 300-301, confirmed by Abbot Thomas in 1464, no. 244, p. 303-304, see Appendix II, 15.

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respective teeth of these saints.[738] The reliquary contained many other relics (seventy-eight altogether, of which eight were relics of the Apostels), most of them probably originating in the Prague metropolitan treasury.[739] Their composition suggests that the reliquary was probably shown during the second part of the display or several times during the whole ceremony.

Together with the gold cross of Vyšší Brod, this reliquary panel seems to have been the central piece in the Rosenberg family's representation, symbolised here in the five-petal rose, their coat-of-arms. Similarly as in the Nativity of the Vyšší Brod cycle with the Rosenberg's coats-of-arms, [740] the reliquary communicated the family's piety and status. Beyond the power of the relics, the reliquary memorialised the donor and her family, promoting their role as initiators of the ceremony and suppliers of some of the most important relics.

Although the Krumlov showing was of lesser extent than the showing in Prague, the combined presentation of the most important church treasuries in the region was a remarkable achievement for the ambitious family. In imitation of Prague's display, the Rosenbergs were keen to promote their position as the second most important family in the kingdom. By organising an important display of relics, the Rosenbergs posed next to the Bohemian and other European rulers. They followed the idea of Charles IV and provided access to Salvation and the miraculous power of relics by organising an annual ceremony through which they contributed to their local popularity and advertised their fame beyond the borders of their territory, not to mention its additional spiritual and economical effects. They counted on the displays' potential to support local patriotism and loyality to the rulers. By keeping the ceremony bilingual and using vernacular languages, they not only contributed to a better understanding of the salvation message, but they also fostered cohesion between the local two nationalities, the Czechs and Germans. The *ostensio* of joint treasuries in southern Bohemian monasteries became a symbol of the Rosenbergs' supremacy in the region, family representation and local shared memory. Both in Prague and Krumlov, public devotion of relics grew into displays of power but in Krumlov, it also helped to demonstrate the independent authority of the Rosenbergs.

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[738] This form of reliquary with statuettes on a platform became fashionable around the middle of the fourteenth century in Prague goldsmith workshops. However, only one has survived, the reliquary with Man of Sorrow of Baltimore (*Karel IV., císař z Boží milosti*, cat. no. 41, 152). Probably this is the type of a reliquary was also mentioned in the Karlštejn Accounts and in St. Vitus treasury, *Karel IV., císař z boží milosti*, 144.

[739] Listed in Pangerl, *Urkundenbuch Hohenfurth*, 111-112.The way the composition of the collection followed that from Prague cathedral treasury is remarkable. Besides the effort to imitate the cathedral treasury, the personality of Petr II of Rosenberg, canon in St. Vitus in Prague and provost of the All Saints church in the Prague Castle, might have played a role in the contacts between Krumlov and Prague.

[740] Antonín Matějček, *Česká malba gotická. Deskové malířství 1350-1450* (Czech Gothic painting. Panel painting 1350-1450) (Prague: Melantrich, 1940). *Karel IV, císař z Boží milosti*, cat. no. 9a, 87-89.

VI. Reformation of the Treasury

1. The Cult under Critique

1.1 Against "human inventions"

Approaching the end of the 14th century, critical voices against contemporary expressions of piety were spreading among Prague preachers. The first generation, represented by Milíč of Cremsier (Milíč of Kroměříž) and Matthew (Matěj) of Janov, was followed by John Hus, Nicolaus of Dresden and Jacobellus of Mies at the beginning of the fifteenth century. Hus' death at the stake in Constanz in 1415 led to the outbreak of the Hussite revolt, marking the beginning of Bohemian Reformation.[741] The Hussite religious wars resulted in a profound change in the confessional map[742] of Bohemia and, after elimination of the radical wing, the Czech population split between an Utraquist majority and a Catholic minority.[743]

Within the theological discourse of the Bohemian Reformation, questions of religious practice became the main field of controversy. The problem was so important that religious practice and therefore the actual use of treasuries became the core of identity-construction on both sides of the conflict. Although the first generation of critics relied on biblical exegesis and basic theological fundamentals, it criticized the bad morals of contemporary Church's religious practice that was perceived as corrupt through "trade" in indulgences and commercializing God's Grace. With Milíč and Janov the critique was intwinned with their eschatology and they viewed contemporary times as the times of the Antichrist's return. Amidst Milíč's and Janov teachings there resonated crucial questions for their contemporaries. What is the role of the saints and their remains in Salvation? Could

[741] Out of the vast general literature on the Bohemian Reformation I have mainly used František Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce* (Hussite Revolution), vols. 1-4 (Prague: Karolinum—Universita Karlova, 1993), František Šmahel, *Husitské Čechy. Struktury, procesy, ideje* (Hussite Bohemia. Structures, processes, ideas) (Prague: Lidové noviny, 2008), on the later period Josef Macek, *Jagellonský věk v českých zemích* (Jagellonian time in the Czech Lands), vols. 1-4 (Prague: Academia, 1992-2002), Josef Macek, *Víra a zbožnost Jagellonského věku* (Faith and piety of Jagellonian time) (Prague: Argo, 2001).

[742] From the 1420s, parallel Hussite church administrative structures had already been formed. Blanka Zilynská, "Ansichten der böhmischen Utraquisten des 15. Jahrhunderts zur Wallfahrt," in *Wallfahrten in der europäischen Kultur / Pilgrimages in European culture*, 80.

[743] The confessional map of Bohemia complicated with the creation of the Unity of Brethen in 1457, whose members denied keeping any luxury, or riches. As its activity as well as religious practice can be better followed only after 1500, I have not gone into this problem. The Brethens kept objects for the service, but the first inventories of Brethen houses are preserved from the late 16th century. Recently, a new collection of sources and inventories of Brethen religious houses were found in former house of Mladá Boleslav.

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treasuries of churches filled with relics and shiny reliquaries help in the process? Do the objects of cult such as images and relics play a positive role in salvation or are they actually counterproductive? May they not actually be the weapons of Antichrist trying to deceive them? Can one actually work *actively* towards one's Salvation?

Reformer thinkers were sceptical about the role of material and visual memories of the saints for Salvation and preferred a"practical application of the Law of God",[744] i.e. the biblical tradition was purified of the ***human inventions*** of the contemporary Church. In Milíč and Janov, these inventions were not only superfluous, but they represented the direct inventions of the Antichrist with the purpose of misleading people. With Hus and Jacobellus, the opinion prevailed that the religious life of the early Church was in direct opposition to the contemporary 15th century practices of the Church. With this background, more radical Hussites repeatedly objected to *traditiones humane*[745] (or "*lidské nálezky*"), religious practices that were not mentioned in the Bible, but were observed by the contemporary Church.[746]

In the synod in autumn 1389, Matthew of Janov[747] who was inspired by Milíč, with two of his colleagues was forced to recant his views on the cult of images and relics that—according to his views—misleads the faithful to idolatry.[748] In his fifth chapter *De Corpore Cristi (On the Body of Christ)* of his *Regulae veteris et novi testamenti* (*Rules of the Old and New Testament*) written in the early 1390s, he uses more careful words and thorough biblical support to explain his position on the place of relics and images in churches. On the basis of the original biblical texts (Laws, i.e. Old and New testaments),[749] he rejects the images and idols (i.e. any *cult objects*) in the church space. Earlier

[744] Thomas J. Fudge, "The Law of God. Reform and Religious Practice in Late Medieval Bohemia" *BRRP* 1 (1994), 51-2.
[745] Amedeo Molnár, *Jan Želivský. Dochovaná kázání z r. 1419* (John of Želiv. Preserved sermons of 1419) in *Výzva Jana Želivského. Výbor z kázání*, Amedeo Molnár, ed. (Prague: Ústřední církevní nakladatelství 1954), 79. Želivský about relics, images and (cult) statues—*ydola* as human inventions: "*O pie Christe, quanta ydola statuerunt principes in Praga, sacerdotes dotatos, vel quanta ydola sunt in ecclesiis, ut ymagines, pepla*." Also Fudge, The "Law", 62. Fudge (p. 63) concludes that "iconoclastic ardour was part of the implementation of the "Law of God". This is a very simplified statement, even during the radical years, cf. my subchapter on the destruction of treasuries.
[746] Fudge, The "Law", 52.
[747] Matthew was preacher at St. Nicolaus Church in Prague Old Town, and wrote the fifth book of *Regulae Veteris et Novi Testamenti* in early 1390s. Full edition *Z páté knihy Regulí Starého i Nového Zákona Matěje z Janova, Mistra Pařížského /Mathias de Janov, Regulae Veteris et Novi Testamenti* (From the fifth book of the Regulae of the Old and New Testament of Matthew of Janov, the Paris Master), ed. Jana Nechutová, and Helena Krmíčková (Munich: Oldenbourg 1993), 26.
[748] Among others articles, he was accused of criticising the indulgences the archbishop awarded to a "beautiful" image of the Virgin. Kristína Sedláčková, "Jakoubek ze Stříbra a tzv. Týnské kázání z 31. ledna 1417. Názory předhusitských a husitských "reformátorů" na obrazy (Jacobellus of Mies and so-called Sermon in the Tyne church of January 31, 1417. Views of the Hussite "reformists" on images)" *Opuscula historiae artium. Studia minora facultatis philosophicae universitatis Brunensis* F 48 (2004), 27-8.
[749] The theological roots of the Hussite critique led A. Molnár to explain Bohemian Reformation as the first Reformation movement. Currently, scholars prefer to use the term "pre-mature" Reformation.

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research saw Matthew—wrongly—as nearing to ideas of iconoclasm; in reality, Matthew opposes the use of images in churches under certain conditions,[750] and did not deny the merits of the saints; Matthew only categorically rejects the "excesses"[751] of their cult. The exaggerated cult of images (and relics) stems from Antichrist rather than Christ, and manifest in doubtful miracles, unreserved adoration of people, bowing, burning candles, gathering of people, or in pilgrimages.[752]

In course of the two decades after the death of Charles IV, Matthew opposes exactly the form of devotion to images and relics that the Emperor tried so much to promote in Bohemia. To modern researchers, however, Matthew's critique of contemporary religious art is better known than his similar views on relics. To my mind, they cannot be separated, devotional artworks and relics represented a parallel problem for Matthew as both were the manifestations of the cult of saints, and were handled together in the fifth chapter of the *Regulae veteris et novi testamenti*. The discourse on their nature and appropriateness of their veneration belongs to our study, as cult objects, both devotional images and relics, comprised the core of church treasuries at the end of the fourteenth century. It is for this reason that Matthew's, as well as the critiques of other writers, directly touches the existence and content of church treasuries in Bohemia and marks the beginning of their development in the fifteenth century.

In the *Regulae*, Matthew abhored "the terrible things erected in the churches at the time in Bohemia"[753] and criticised the tactics of churches and towns in attracting pilgrims through the famous objects in their treasuries.[754] In his view, images and relics were often abused by greedy priests or other unworthy people, who bully people to get their money.[755] Matthew was not against the use of images[756] in the churches as such. If they ornamented the church, served to teach the laity, or had a commemorative function then they could remain in the church as far as he was concerned provided that measures were taken against their apparent or excessive veneration.[757] Any miracles assigned to the saints or their images needed to be carefully researched and evaluated, however, so they provide no basis for an improper adoration of relics or images. Matthew spoke of shaking these images in front

[750] Mainly the part *De ymaginibus in templis vel statuis*, in *Z páté knihy regulí*, 31,37.
[751] *Z páté knihy Regulí*, 25-26
[752] Matthew provides rare accounts of 'extreme' acts of piety, he had heard of, e.g., hanging of *ex voto* objects. *Z páté knihy regulí*, 36.
[753] *...abhominacio sit errecta (in templo Dei, temporis nostris) et eciam in Bohemia.*
[754] *Z páté knihy Regulí*, 38.
[755] Ota Halama, *Otázka svatých v české reformaci* (The Question of Saints in Bohemian Reformation) (Brno: L. Marek 2002), 139-140. *Z páté knihy regulí*, 28-29, 31.
[756] In Janov, the term *ymago* should be understood close to the biblical sense, as any figurative imagery in the cult context.
[757] *Z páté knihy regulí*, 27.

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of them and embracing and kissing them as well. Proper veneration of the saints was acceptable in his mind as well as honour given to the living "saints",[758] the true Christians among the people. However, if images and relics attracted too much of the attention of the faithful Matthew suggested they should be ***hidden from public view*** (but not necessarily destroyed!), as none of the faithful could be sure that their reported power is coming from Christ or the Antichrist, i.e. if the object was true or damned. Therefore, for example, such cult-provoking relics should be respectfully placed inside the altars.[759] Quite a lot was actually at stake here, improper veneration (albeit unconscious) of objects was a form of idolatry that could place souls in danger of losing one's soul to perdition.

Matthew criticised ***excessive*** devotion of relics and images he saw around him and worried about its consequences for people from the eschatological point of view. As these cult objects deceived people into the sin of idolatry, "they (the images) should be burned and destroyed, not appealed to or revered by kneeling and burning candles in front of them."[760] Images and relics were to his mind, moreover, often venerated at the expense of the Corpus Christi,[761] although they only represented *human inventions*.[762] People should not believe that God enacted any miracles through them for the people who honoured them. In fact, they can be dangerous and sinful, when induced by the Antichrist. If a case of such inappropriate veneration occured, the relics should be thrown out or hidden and the image destroyed. All reverence should be given to the Corpus and Blood of Christ.[763]

Matthew's critique was aimed at the accelerated religious activity in Prague after the death of Charles IV, and before 1400. His views resonated in contemporary Prague more than has been generally assumed. Still, at the end of Janov's life, a priest of similar orientation, Jakub Matějův of Kaplice publicly preached in St. Nicolaus church in the Old Town against images that cast shade on the central position of the Eucharist in the cult.[764] Previous chapters describe the policies employed to foster the cult of saints and their impact that made Prague a religious and pilgrim's centre. To such a careful and insightful viewer as Matthew, the same policies were manifested in the growing number of

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[758] Sedláčková, "Jakoubek ze Stříbra," 32.
[759] *Z páté knihy regulí*, 28,30.
[760] Vlastimil Kybal, *Mistr Matěj z Janova. Jeho činnost, spisy a učení* (Master Matthew of Janov. His activity, writings and teachings) (Praha: Nákladem jubilejního fordu král.české společnosti nauk 1905), 19-20, 131-2. *Z páté knihy regulí*, 34.
[761] *Z páté knihy Regulí*, 25.
[762] Even if an image is more venerated than other images e.g. by kneeling or burning candles, it should be thrown out of the church in disgrace or if it is believed that a sculpture could perform miracles, the sculpture should be broken into pieces. Kybal, *Mistr Matěj*, ft on p. 134.
[763] Kybal, *Mistr Matěj*, 136. *Z páté knihy regulí*, 31.
[764] Josef Krása, "Husitské obrazoborectví: poznámky k jeho studiu" (Hussite iconoclasm: notes on the study)" *Husitský Tábor* 8 (1985), 13.

ambivalent religious artworks and cult objects exhibited for veneration in the church interior. The ambivalent nature of their veneration lay at the heart of his critique. His negative standpoint towards exaggerated devotion to relics and images shared common ground with the biblical exegesis (*biblicism*, direct reading of the Bible) that emphasized individual responsibility for personal Salvation and fear of personal deception from writings such as those coming from Charles' IV court.

Master John Hus, however, did not follow Janov's eschatological and biblical arguments when he opposed the miracles of Christ's Blood in Wilsnack in his tractate *De Sanguine Christi* in 1408. In the text ordered by Prague archbishop John Zajíc of Házmburk, Hus sees no problem in the displays of the Virgin Veil and the Passion relics in Prague Castle at the beginning of the fifteenth century.[765] Unlike his later followers of Janov and Hus, Hus remained on orthodox ground when speaking of veneration of images and relics, neverdoubting their role in the churches. Although he rejected the Wilsnack's miracle of Christ's Blood on a theological basis, the Body of Christ rose to heaven complete and therefore could be present on earth in any other form than the Eucharist, he consented to the practice of pilgrimages to relics in general. On the other hand, I have not found any strong praise of relics as true treasures in Hus' writing. Hus reservedly issued warnings about ostentatious public miracle-making as being one possible sign of the Antichrist's activity.[766] In this he approached the standpoints of Milíč and Janov.

In the *biblicism* of John Hus, however, the moral concept of *thesaurus* made a surprising return. In his preaching, Hus referred to the same moral meaning of treasure as Charles IV in his *Vita*, with similar implications for personal morality. In Hus' Latin sermon, it was not gold, precious stones or money, but virtues that were identified with a person's inner treasures: "*Quere bonos mores thesauros interiores*," he quotes Bernhard of Clairvaux *De contemptu mundi*. By seeking virtue and avoiding sinful riches, the faithful collected the true treasure *(verum thesaurum)*[767] for their own benefit. Similar (moral) reform-oriented thoughts bridged Charles' IV moralist views on treasures with those of John Hus approximately half-a-century later. At this time, the addressees of warnings were not kings or princes, but rather priests as the direct inheritors of the Apostles. In comparison to Janov (who speaks to all of God's community) or Charles IV (who speaks to lay rulers) Hus paid more

[765] Zilynská, "Ansichten," 82.
[766] John Hus, *Defensio articulorum Wyclif*, in *Magistri Joannis Hus Polemica (Magistri Joannis Hus Opera Omnia)* 22, Jaroslav Eršil, ed. (Prague: Academia 1966), 160-161.
[767] "*Ergo quere bonos mores thesaurus interiores. Vince gemmas, sperne aurum, quia sic colliges verum thesaurum*." Anežka Schmidtová, ed., *Iohannes Hus Magister Universitatis Carolinae. Positiones, recommendationes, sermones* (John Hus, Master of Charles University. Positions, recommendations, and sermons) (Praha: SPN, 1958), 63.

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attention to the moral education of the clergy. He repeated once more Christ's banning the possession of gold and silver to the Apostles (Mt 10:9).[768] and warned of clerical greed, avarice and love of luxury propelling the coming of the Antichrist.[769]

This move to critique clerical conduct was followed by other thinkers who made it the crucial argument at the beginning of the Bohemian Reformation, occasionaly flavoured with an eschatological context.[770] In the *Tractate of the Beast and its Image*, an educated layman, Petr Chelčický, elaborated on luxury and greed as being the primary problem of the Church. The Church's hunger for money was manifested in selling masses, offices and indulgences to the laity, by fooling them into giving further donations to the churches, thus, participating in the work of the Antichrist in distributing false treasures among the faithful.[771] Through these false treasures, both false clergy and the deceived laity lost their chance of salvation at the Last Judgement. Whereas the fourteenth-century Antichrist of Velislav and Milíč tried to deceive kings, in Matthew of Janov's text, he threatened all the Christian faithful.[772] In a further turn, in the writings of Hus and Petr Chelčický, the Antichrist deceived innocent laity through greedy clergy, who were the vehicles, even the personification of his power. Here, the Antichrist figure lost its abstract eschatological dimension and materialised in the contemporary sinful clergy, who now embodied the Antichrist who mislead the faithful in their just quest for Salvation.

The popularity of this perspective within the framework of the Hussite rebellion spread in the form of the antitheses of the *Tabulae novi et veteri coloris* in woodcuts, wall-paintings or panels.[773] These works were used in religious polemics against the papal party. Much later, in the aftermath of the religious polemics, plates of the Utraquist Jena Codex, a collection of Utraquist theological and moralist writings compiled around or shortly after 1500, criticized Catholic clergy by comparing (Catholic) priests, who demand money and precious goods as well as sell sacraments and indulgences,

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[768] Jan Hus, *O Církvi* (On the Church) in Rudolf Kalivoda, and Alexandr Kolesnyk, *Das Hussitische Denken in Lichte seiner Quellen, Beiträge zur Geschichte des religiösen und wissenschaftlichen Denkens 8*, ed. E. Winter and H. Mohr (Berlin: Akademie Verlag 1969), 164. Cf. Acts 3,6.
[769] *Responsum M. J. Hus ad articulos Paleč 1415*, in František Palacký, ed. *Documenta Mag. Joannis Hus vitam, doctrinam, causam in Constantiensi Consilio actam et controversias de religione in Bohemia annis 1403-1418 motas illustrantia edidit Franciscus Palacký (Praga Sumptibus F. Tempsky 1869)*, 220-1. *Defensio articulorum Wyclif, Joanni Hus Opera Omnia*. *Polemica*, 158.
[770] Šmahel mentions the importance of the Antichrist's teaching for the Hussites. Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, 12-13. Alexander Patschovsky, and František Šmahel, *Eschatologie und Hussitismus*, Historica NS series Supplementum, Prague 1996).
[771] Petr Chelčický, *Síť víry* (Net of Faith), in Kalivoda, and Kolesnyk, *Das Hussitische Denken im Lichte seiner Quellen*, 431.
[772] *Z páté knihy Regulí*, 25.
[773] Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, 28.

to the apostolic poverty of the early Church.[774] (**Pl. 47 Weighting of papal tiara**). Despite Church authorities defending the notion of priests' poverty, Catholic priests defended the money they got through rents.[775] Elsewhere, the St. Martin's poor chasuble was proposed as a contrast with the rich garments of the archbishop and church officials at the head of a procession (**pl. 45, a, St. Martin serving in a poor chasuble 28v, pl. 45 b, c, apostolic poverty in arguments against the rents of the Catholic clergy 16v and 17r)**.[776] The text on the plates argued the cause for the Utraquist side that, at least in written polemics although less so in reality, demanded poverty for the Utraquist clergy as the true followers of the Apostolic Church. In the situation of the Bohemian confessional divide of the early sixteenth century, the argument's development from the original moral parables of false and true treasures shifted its meaning towards a critique of Catholic (as well as Brethen) religious practices.

The texts of Matthew of Janov inspired the next generation of critics, chief among them Nicolaus of Dresden and Jacobellus of Mies,[777] who shifted their point of view from exaggerated forms of the cult of saints towards a critique of the *cult of images*, making it one of the main points of discourse during the outbreak of the revolt.[778] Nicolaus of Dresden criticised the practice of holding extensive ceremonies over the bodies of saints[779] that are long-time dead, and named the greed of clergy as the original reason for the convention. He also recalled Janov's accusation levelled at pilgrims, who run "up and down" for beautiful images, relics, and indulgences.[780] His text on images was, however, argued much more radically than Janov's, epitomising the changes the theoretical support had undergone since the *Regulae*.[781]

Albeit not at the centre of Nicolaus' interest, his views on the cult of relics represented a significant shift in the arguments of critics. When Janov suggested that dangerous relics (and images) should be *respectfully* hidden from the eyes of the public (*deberent abscondi, ac private utpote in*

[774] The Library of the National Museum, KNM, inv. no. IV B 24, contrasting images of the early and contemporary church stressing the greed of clergy: 15v-16r, 16v-17r, 17v-18r, 28v- 29r, (indulgences) 71v. Pavel Brodský, *Katalog iluminovaných rukopisů Knihovny Národního Muzea v Praze* (Catalogue of illuminated manuscripts of the National Museum Library), (Prague: KLP, 2000), 49-54, cat. no. 41.
[775] Jena Codex, KNM, inv. no. IV B 24, fol. 16r-18r.
[776] Jena Codex, KNM, inv. no. IV B 24, fol 28v-29r. I am grateful to Milada Studničková for lending me her (as yet unpublished) iconographic analysis of the image. Cf. 30r, 30v, 31r, 31v, 32r, 32v, 33r-33v (on luxury in vestments).
[777] Inspired by Janov's and Milíč's Antichrist on Jacobellus in 1412, Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, 48.
[778] Jana Nechutová, "Traktát Mikuláše z Drážďan "De imaginibus" a jeho vztah k Matěji z Janova" (Tractate of Nicolaus of Dresden "De Imaginibus" and its relation to Matthew of Janov) *Sborník prací filosofické fakulty Brněnské university* E 9 (1964), 149-161. Year 1415. Sedláčková, "Jakoubek ze Stříbra", 7-43. The argumentative peak of *controversio supra imaginibus* represents the period between 1415 and 1419, but later weakens. Later on, the debate continued on the format of the mass and cult until the Compactates in 1437. Krása, "Husitské obrazoborectví: poznámky k jeho studiu", 15.
[779] Nechutová, "Traktát Mikuláše z Drážďan," 157.
[780] Nechutová, "Traktát Mikuláše z Drážďan," 154.
[781] Sedláčková, "Jakoubek ze Stříbra," 36.

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altaribus ***reverenter*** *reservari)*, Nicolaus, when copying almost word for word Janov's ideas, left out the term "with respect" (*abscondi in capelis suis in privato vel in altaribus reservari*) and added the citation of relevant authority.[782] Similarly to the *Regulae* in Nicolaus' writings, relics seemed to be less controversial than images and Nicolaus did not explicitly deny their importance as he did in the case of images. However, their public impact needed to be limited. Their role in altar consecration was undoubted but no other form of public reverence should be given to them. His position on images, on the other hand, was much more radical (the tractate *De imaginibus* is written in 1415) and close in argumentation to that of another Hussite theologian, a preacher in the Bethlehem Chapel, Master Jacobellus of Mies.

At first Jacobellus, a man close to Matthew and Nicolaus, saw the relics together with images,[783] and in the context of the bad morals of the clergy, the greedy *clerus Antichristi*. As such, the relics, among them he also named the cathedral's *peplum* of the Virgin, attracted people leaving the Corpus Christi only to come in second.[784] In early 1417, in his sermon (*questia*?) *Positio de ymaginibus*, he rejected the cult of images in response to the conservative Hussite priests who lent themselves to traditional forms of piety.[785] The sermon dealt almost exclusively with images in churches, and exposed Jacobellus' radical oposition to them. His opinion goes much further than Janov's although he restricted his arguments to the bad effects of images and this time left the problem of relics and treasuries out of the sermon. In his polemics concerned with St. Thomas Aquinas' defence of images, however, Jacobellus reminded his listeners that Christ preached poverty in spite of the fact that Jews had gold service vessels. Therefore good followers of Christ find any treasuries equal to mud in value.[786] In a hierarchical understanding of the Scripture, this Jesus statement should be given preference over the Old Testament's description of the use of precious vessels and decoration in the Temple as well as over any defence of Aquinas. In simple terms, for Jesus' followers, poverty was more valuable than any church treasury or decoration.

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[782] Nechutová, "Traktát Mikuláše z Drážďan," 156.
[783] Sedláčková, "Jakoubek ze Stříbra," 8, ftnote 4. Questia *Quia in templis* of 1414: "In churches, one admires images, bones and relics (*ossa sive reliquias vocatas sanctorum*), artfully decorated with gold and silver," more than the Sacrifice of Christ.
[784] Zilynská, "Ansichten," 84. quotes Betlehem preaching of Jacobellus (František M. Bartoš, "Betlémská kázání Jakoubka ze Stříbra z let 1415-16" (Betlehem sermons of Jacobellus of Mies from 1415-1416) *Theologická příloha Křesťanské revue* 20 (1953), 57, 119). Similar arguments has Jan Rokycana, cf. Zilynská, "Ansichten," 84.
[785] Halama, *Otázka svatých v české reformaci*, 142.
[786] Sedláčková, "Jakoubek ze Stříbra," 20.

The respective positions on images and relics among the Hussites had already begun to differentiate during the early years of the movement and the split endured through the 1430s down to the administration of Václav Koranda the Younger in the last third of the fifteenth century.[787] The articles of the Hussite synods 1417-1419 illustrate the disagreement between the radical Hussites and the conservative circle of Prague University Masters on the place of images and relics in the churches. The later not only agreed to the unrestricted use of images in church space, but did not forbid kneeling in front of them as demanded by the reformist circle of University teachers around Jacobellus.[788] Conservative Masters, such as Prokop of Plzeň, Jan of Příbram, or Jan Papoušek, accepted and even further fostered veneration of relics in processions, pilgrimages,[789] and visual media.[790]

In the first years of the conflict, *iconophobia* became a key manifestation of the Hussite doctrine among radical priests. In 1419, John of Želiv (Jan Želivský) preached against the presence of images in churches and use of rich garments by Hussite priests.[791] Images were traditions invented by people and the media of the Antichrist through which he seduced the community of the Church. In his sermon, he called attention to the fact that many idols, images and vestments were erected or endowed in Prague churches in his time. A similar radical standpoint was maintained by Nicolaus of Pelhřimov, elected Taborite bishop, who accused the clergy of improper enrichment through indulgences and naïve pilgrims‘ piety;[792] some of the manifestations (eg. miracles with bleeding hosts) he sees as *freshly introduced inventions* of “false piety“.

The radical wing of the Hussites, the Taborites, opposed veneration of images and relics pointing out the disagreement between the role of saints in the Bible and their current veneration in the Church. In the *Confession and Defence of the Taborites*, Nicolaus of Pelhřimov[793] rejected prayers to the saints and requests for their intercession as futile,[794] but acknowledged, in the sense of Matthew of Janov, their role as *exempla*. The Taborites thus, did not kneel in front of images or relics, venerate

[787] Noemi Rejchrtová, “Obrazoborecké tendence Utrakvistické mentality Jagellonského období a jejich dosah” (Iconoclastic tendencies of the Utraquists in Jagellonian times and its impact) *Husitský Tábor* 8 (1985), 63-65.
[788] Zylinská, *Husitské synody*, 38.
[789] Zilynská, “Ansichten,“ 87
[790] Horníčková, “Eucharistický Kristus,“ 224, Šroněk, “Šlojíř nejistý,“ 79-110.
[791] Molnár, *Jan Želivský. Dochovaná kázání z r. 1419*.
[792] Zilynská, “Ansichten,“ 87-8.
[793] Nicolaus of Pelhřimov, *Vyznání a obrana Táborů* (Confession and defence of the Taborites), trans. František M. Dobiáš, and Amedeo Molnár (Prague: Academia 1972), 220. Halama, *Otázka svatých v české reformaci*, 149-150.
[794] The theses of the Taborites were followed by Petr Chelčický and the Unity of Breathen, Halama, *Otázka svatých v české reformaci*, 151. For more on this question among the Unity see Michal Šroněk, *Výtvarná kultura Jednoty bratrské* (Visual arts of the Unity of Brethen), Opera minora series (Prague: Artefactum, 2007).

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them or burn candles in front of them. In a hostile bid, however, the conservative Master Příbram accused the Taborites of opening and damaging saints' graves and throwing away relics.[795]

Given the situation of post-Compactate Utraquism after 1437, the exact position of the moderate Hussite party to the devotion of images and relics has represented a problem for research. A negative standpoint often appears in their polemical, theological, and satirical texts, as well as in Catholic texts on the Utraquists. However more radical opposition can rarely be documented.[796] An increasing number of individual iconoclastic voices were part of the Utraquist camp in the late fifteenth century.[797] Archbishop-elect Rokycana based his criticism on Janov's arguments concerning excesses in the devotion to relics. He disliked pilgrimages, indulgences,[798] and decoration and adoration of relics. Reportedly he even threw out ornaments on the Holy Virgins' head reliquaries in the Johanite monastery in the Minor Town of Prague.[799] However, even his adversaries had to admit that he did not rail against the use of images in churches[800] - whether his restraint was out of fear, as accusations suggest,[801] or his more moderate approach, is now difficult to say.

Utraquist theological treatises and religious writings suggest a more negative approach than probably existed in reality.[802] Some forms of traditional public devotion such as Corpus Christi processions or "sort-of pilgrimages" to Emmaus, were embraced by the Utraquists. In particular, the monuments that were preserved, the inventories of Utraquist churches (see later), as well as the historical sources do not confirm wide-spread rejection of traditional piety or iconoclasm among the

[795] Jan of Příbram, *Život kněží Táborských* (The Life of the Taborite priests), ed. Jaroslav Boubín (Příbram: Státní okresní archiv v Příbrami a Okresní muzeum Příbram, 2000), 57, 65, 98.
[796] Next to Jan Rokycana, also Václav Koranda the Younger, or illuminations and texts in the Jena Codex, Zilynská, "Ansichten," 90, 92,94. On images in the Manual of V. Koranda, see Noemi Rejchrtová, "Obrazoborecké tendence utraquistické mentality Jagellonského období a jejich dosah" (Iconoclastic tendencies of the Utraquists in Jagellonian times and its impact) *Husitský Tábor* 8 (1985), 63-65. Here, Koranda reacts to the large number of artworks in Utraquist churches.
[797] The revival of Matthew of Janov's ideas can be read in the book of the priest Martin of St. Henry in Prague. Martin speaks against the decoration on the graves of saints and building churches, altars and chapels in their honour. He quoted Mt 23, 29-31, where Christ speaks to Pharisees about garnishing the sepulchres of the righteous, warning against idolatry, concluding *"…Thus fasting towards a saint feast, holding vigils, donate to church, chapel and bells in his (saint's) name and praying to him, is idolatry as well…"*[797] Martin pointed out the interest of artisans in making images and sculptural decoration by quoting the Acts of Apostles, where silversmith Demetrius and his apprentices put the whole city of Ephesus into confusion against Paul the Apostle, who preached that God does not need gold and silver. Halama, *Otázka svatých v české reformaci*, 173. On iconoclastic attacks in the uprising of 1483, Winter, *Život církevní v Čechách*, vol. 1, 30.
[798] Jaroslav Boubín, and Jana Zachová, *Žaloby katolíků na Mistra Jana Rokycanu* (Complaints of the Catholics on Master John Rokycana)(Rokycany: Státní okresní archiv, 1997), 50.
[799] *Žaloby*, 51, 28.
[800] On Rokycana's moderate standpoint with regard to images, cf. Rejchrtová, "Obrazoborecké tendence," 65.
[801] *Žaloby*, 52, 29.
[802] Milena Bartlová, "The Utraquist Church and the Visual Arts Before Luther" *BRRP* 4 (2002), 217.

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Utraquists. Images had their place in Utraquist churches[803] and the invocation of saints remained part of the order of the Utraquist mass.[804] Among the Utraquists, however, the individual views of priests or the community defined local forms of cult. At times, the opinion of the community and their priest may even have been in conflict. Lay demand for a public display of piety contradicted the theological principles of more radically-oriented priests.

It is likely that criticism of the surplus decoration of churches led the Utraquists towards the concept of "honest" images;[805] images that do not pretend to perform miracles or seduce the faithful to "false" piety or idolatry. Such images had their place in churches for instruction of laity and provide moderate decoration. Bartlová suggests that many images that have come down to us from the first half of the fifteenth century should be assigned to this concept. Anyway, a number of preserved images from the Utraquist churches,[806] albeit only some with Utraquist iconography, from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries manifest an Utraquist return to decorating churches with images[807] although their adoration should be avoided. Thus, we do not hear about any miracle-making images from the Utraquist environment, whereas the Catholic pilgrimages of the fifteenth century often had such miracle-making images as their goal..[808] Finally, it is significant that relics never made a similar comeback to church interiors as images. Their *public role* seems to end with the death of Ladislaus Posthumus in 1454, although they do occasionally appear in the inventories and possibly also in the interior of churches.

Under King George of Poděbrady, his Catholic mentor Pavel Žídek referred back to the ancient concept of royal patronage reviving the idea of royal collecting of relics. As late as 1471 in his treatise on ruler's virtues and good governance, he urged the "Hussite" king to return to the Prague tradition of displaying relics, enumerating their benefits:[809] for the economy, beauty, protection and sanctification

[803] Appendix II, no. 30 (relics), Zikmund Winter, *Kulturní obraz českých měst. Život veřejný v XV. A XVI. Věku* (Urban Culture of Bohemian Towns in the 15th and 16th centuries), vol. 1 (Prague: Matice česká 1890), 441, 443-444 (the description of the altar in the Utraquist church of St. Barbara in Kutná Hora in 1502). Horníčková, "Eucharistický Kristus," 221-6.
[804] Zdeněk V. David, *Finding the Middle Way. The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther,* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press, 2003), 217
[805] Milena Bartlová, *Poctivé obrazy, České deskové malířství 1400-1460* (Truthful images. Panel painting in Bohemia and Moravia 1400 – 1460) (Praha: Argo 2001).
[806] Jaroslav Pešina, *Česká malba pozdní gotiky a renesance 1450-1550* (Czech painting in late Gothic and Renaissance time) (Prague: Orbis, 1950).
[807] The reasons for return of images to churches, cf. "Artikulové smluvení na držení kompaktát w Čechách 10.3. 1437." (Articles of the Compactate Accord 10.3. 1437) in *Archiv český čili staré písemné památky české i moravské*, vol. 3 (Prague: F. Palacký, 1844), 453-455.
[808] Pilgrimages developed in Catholic German areas, Jan Hrdina, "Die Topographie," 200-1.
[809] Zdeněk Tobolka, ed. *M. Pavla Žídka Správovna (The "Správovna" of Master Pavel Žídek)* (Prague: Česká akademie

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of the land, the greater glory of the royal dynasty, protecting the morals of the people, and keeping kings on the path of righteousness. In Žídek's *Správovna*, the treasuries of relics are viewed, in a seemingly old-fashioned way, as the common patrimony of the country.King George was even urged to wage war with the German city of Nürnberg to bring the imperial relics back to Prague, to their home in Karlštejn Castle. Earlier, Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg had given the imperial relics to Nürnberg.

Apart from the fourteenth-century growth in treasuries as a material condition for critisim, the reformists' discourse on images, treasuries and relics had two origins. The accelerated growth of devotion posed a challenge to the *biblicism* of the intellectual elite on the one hand and to the eschatological ideas present at that time in Bohemia. Public cult was perceived as a dangerous human invention or even the media of the Antichrist. Excessive veneration of images, and relics, equivalent in Janov's writings, as well as pilgrimages were judge to spoil one's chances for Salvation, as did income-generating and the materialistic conduct of the clergy. Jacobellus then shifted the focus from relics to arguments against images. The treasuries themselves seem to have lost much of their polemic charge. Whereas Matthew of Janov views pondered opposition to the cult, a generation later, both Jacobellus and Nicolaus crossed the line to *iconophobia*. The discourse also shifted the focus back to the centrality of the Eucharist in the cult.[810]

1.2 The "chasuble dispute": The Hussites' position on garments

Controversio supra ymaginibus was not the only problem that preoccupied Hussite theologians. Even more space was given to the practical problems of the actual format of the Christian rite, resulting in the introduction of two significant novelties, the lay chalice and the Communion of the minors that introduced new vessels to the mass. There was still one part of the church treasury that up to this point had never been challenged - church textiles. Surprisingly, it was the question of priests' garments that developed into an enduring controversy between the Hussites and the Catholics, as well as among the Hussites themselves.

As their use in the liturgy remained the main function of treasury objects, Hussite amendments to religious practice had a direct influence on the content of treasuries. The changes to the Hussite rite

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císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1908), 21-22.
[810] Sedláčková, "Jakoubek ze Stříbra," 40.

divided not only the Catholics and the Hussites, but also fractions inside the Hussite movement that followed different teachings of remanence. The debate on the external format of liturgy and religious practice took the form of the theological disputes and synodal regulations that took place roughly between 1415 and 1437 and came to be known as ***the chasuble dispute***.

Hus was the first to criticize unworthy clerics who hid behind the external format of the ritual[811] and, thus, could avoid questioning of their moral conduct. Defending Wycliff, he maintained that the only reason why priests would need to collect money and treasuries from the people is to provide for the poor.[812] He quoted church authorities in cases, when treasury objects (*res ecclesie*) could be taken from the priests in times of need and sold when the money is needed for the poor.[813] Hus discussed the right of the ruler to take his church donations back when they cause damage to the kingdom, abused by unworthy priests.[814] According to Hus, *human inventions* should never outshine the Law of God, be abused to enrich anyone, or be *considered crucial for Salvation*. The religious practice that he preached, however, was no different from that of the Catholics. This position was held afterwards by moderate Hussites, the University masters and Prague party that had rejected "novelties" in the Christian ritual as early as 1417.

A more radical view of religious practice was shared by the key Hussite theologians Jacobellus of Mies and Nicolaus of Dresden. Jacobellus in the *Epistola pro communione infirmorum* and tractate *De cerimoniis*, written in response to the practical problems of the Communion *sub utraque* (under both kinds) in or shortly after 1415, allowed simplifications of the ritual in time of need (*articulus necessitatis*), e.g., where there was danger of death.[815] He did not deem objects and conditions shaping the ritual such as liturgical books, office vestments, altars and consecrated space, crucial to completing the ritual. He even consented to leaving out selected parts of the Office that were not absolutely necessary for carrying out the sacred act. Jacobellus claimed that by serving with limited means, the Salvation-bringing effects were not diminished, and, even better, the priest avoided the sin of losing

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[811] Jan N. Sedlák, "Liturgie u Husa a husitův" (Liturgy in Hus and the Hussites) in *Studie a texty k náboženským dějinám českým* 1.2. (Olomouc: Matice cyrilometodějská, 1914), 133.
[812] Cf. MS C5 in AMK, fol. 24. *Ergo res ecclesie pauperibus et militibus Christi stipendia debent intelligi.*
[813] Hus. *Defensio articulorum Wyclif*, 183-184.
[814] Hus. *Defensio articulorum Wyclif*, 185-187.
[815] *Propter quod in articulo necessitatis sacerdos, ut non negligat infirmum ullo modo in communicando sub utraque specie, cum non posset accidentalia post addita et substancialia simul observare, saltem substancialia misse in primitiva ecclesia per se a sanccioribus observata observet…sacerdos…ad opera misericordiae spiritualis obligatus…ne sacerdos ex hoc negligendo infirmum finaliter transeat in ignem eternum. Et si non potest pro tunc talis ritus modernus misse observari, tunc saltem hoc fiat secundum ritum compendiosiorem et breviorem ecclesie primitive…* (*Epistola Mgri Jacobi de Misa pro communione infirmorum*), in Sedlák, "Liturgie u Husa a husitův", 146-147.

his soul. The practical problems of serving the lay chalice, such as spilling the Blood or similar misfortunes, were of secondary importance in this context.[816]

Jacobellus then named four elements that should be essential elements of the mass. These elements included sufficient substance, the priesthood of the consecrator, Jesus' words of consecration, and righteous intentions. When these elements were all present, the Sacrament would take place even *sine vestibus sacris et sine altari*.[817] He gave several proofs of the redundancy of liturgical vessels and textiles: As Christ did not consecrate the table where he served the Last Supper, neither were gold and silver garments indispensable for the Church. Ancient saints in the early Church also served in common vestments and committed no sin in doing so.[818] Jacobellus added that consecration of the altar or chalice was not necessary.[819] Sedlák has pointed out that although the rules were simplified only in the time of need, it was Jacobellus who gave the Taborites all the arguments for the Hussite liturgical reform,[820] even though at end of his life he resentfully denounced his part in it. At this point, however, Jacobellus' arguments on the nature of the Christian rite rendered the actual existence of the church treasuries redundant.

Jacobellus' final part in *De cerimoniis* focused on the use of valuable vessels in the mass. He pointed out that the statutes of the Church had changed on the issue of the material used to manufacture chalices and that in olden times, the Early Church had carried out the service with wooden vessels. Following St. Berhard of Clairvaux, Jacobellus warned that there was a danger that use of gold and silver chalices incited more admiration than devotion. Here, Jacobellus revealed his distrust of an aesthetic experience of treasury objects. To explain this better he added his own parable: whereas in the old times, vessels for church services were wooden and the priests "made of gold and

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[816] *Epistola Mgri Jacobi de Misa pro communione infirmorum* in Sedlák, "Liturgie u Husa a husitův", 147-149.
[817] Sedlák, "Liturgie u Husa a husitův," 140-141, 150.
[818] Sedlák, "Liturgie u Husa a husitův," 151. In *De cerimoniis*, Jacobellus quotes from St. Ambrosius: „*Aurum sacramenta non querunt neque auro placent que auro non emuntur. Ornatus sacramentorum redempcio captivorum est. Et vere illa sunt vasa preciosa, que redimunt animas a morte. Ille verus thesaurus est domini, qui operatur, quod sanguis eius operatus est. Hec Ambrosius. Si ergo sacramenta non requirunt ornamenta aurea, eadem racione nec alia ornamenta preciosa vestimentorum quorumcunque.*
[819] *Dicendum est, quod non propter hoc consecracio altaris est instituta, quia sine ea non potest confici sacramentum, quia consecracio confertur altari, ut sit ydonea mensa tanto sacramento. Idem eciam intelligendum est de calicis consecracione….Neque vero michi dives in Judea templum, mensam, lucernas, thuribula, patellas, scyphos, mortariola et cetera ex auro fabrecata* (here he follows Hieronymus, but shifts the meaning of the original). *Tunc hec probabantur a domino…nunc vero, cum paupertatem domus sue pauper dominus dedicavit…Ecce quod cultus divinus, qui debet fieri in spiritu et veritate, similiter ewangelica ministracio sacramentorum non requirunt ritum splendidum vel ornatum preciosum vestimentorum…sine talibus vestibus, sic sine illa vel extra illam ecclesiam dedicatam et preter altare in ecclesia in articulo necessitatis sacerdotes Christi possunt conficere sacramenta…* (*De cerimoniis*) Sedlák, "Liturgie u Husa a husitův", 151-3.
[820] Sedlák, "Liturgie u Husa a husitův," 136.

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silver", nowadays the chalices are made of gold and silver, but the priests are "wooden" and "*porosi*"—i.e. lacking devotion. The correct approach was achieved when the priest used wooden chalices and distributed gold and silver from the treasury to the poor or the community. Finally, he repeated that Christus did use gold when he served the Last Supper. In his days, vessels varied in form. Thus, in times of need, they were permited to vary even more.[821] Christus consecrated neither the table of the Last Supper nor the chalice he used, nor did he or the Apostles wear special garments on this occasion. It was this statement that would later lead the radical wing to consider priestly vestments redundant. Jacobellus, however, did not go that far saying that although the use of garments, consecrated chalices or altars was not compulsory condition for the service, *they were to the benefit of things*.[822]

Already before the outbreak of the revolt, traditional religious practices were being challenged by popular Hussite preachers. In the castle of Kozí Hrádek and in the town of Ústí and Lužnicí (South Bohemia), the preachers rejected the use of rich garments and liturgical vessels when serving masses to the pilgrims who came to these unofficial religious gatherings. They celebrated mass outside ecclesiastical sanction, deliberately altered the liturgy, conducted worship in barns and in the open air, baptised in fish ponds, and openly denounced common religious practices of the Catholic Church.[823]

The true reform of the liturgy, the door to which opened with Jacobellus' *De cerimoniis*, was put into practice by the Taborites.[824] In response to Příbram's critique, they repeated after Jacobellus and Jerome that the "mass should take place in the spirit and truth, and did not require rich rites and ornaments on precious vestments", thus, denouncing a significant part of traditional church treasuries.[825] Inspired by the Apostolic Church, the radical wing of the Hussites simplified the ritual and rejected the use of valuable garments, claimed that gold and silver were not necessary for making liturgical vessels and restricted Latin chants.[826] They used simple metals for chalices,[827] and limited altar decoration,[828] as well as the number of vessels. Together with the moderate party, they

[821] Sedlák, "Liturgie u Husa a husitův," 156.
[822] Sedlák, "Liturgie u Husa a husitův," 158.
[823] Božena Kopičková, *Jan Želivský* (John of Želiv) (Prague: Melantrich 1990), 64. Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 2, 115.
[824] Cf. Nicolaus of Pelhřimov, *Vyznání o obrana Táborů*, Jan z Příbramě, *Život kněží Táborských*, 64-65, 83-84.
[825] Sedlák, "Liturgie u Husa a husitův," 137, 141.
[826] In 1417, following Jerome's translation of *Credo* and *Decalogue*, the priest Jan Čapek translated service texts of the missal into Czech. Mass became understandable for the community and parts of it started to be sung in Czech. František M. Bartoš, *Ze zápasů české reformace* (From the Fights of Bohemian Reformation) (Prague: Kalich, 1959), 51-2.
[827] The Taborite chalices were made of tin, iron, clay or wood, Laurentius (1979), 115.
[828] The service took place on any table covered with any cloth, with no vestments, corporals, or chalices. Laurentius (1979), 115.

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administered the lay chalice (*communio sub utraque*, i.e. the Eucharist was served to laymen under both species of the Body and Blood of Christ[829]), and Communion for children requiring special arrangements for the Communion part of the mass. At this point, however, we are not aware of any objects that were actually invented to ease the administration of the chalice.

In the early years of the Hussite movement, when the Hussite synods challenged the use of rich garments in the mass,[830] the "chasuble dispute" became one of the most important points of conflict between the radical and moderate Hussites. It represented, in fact, a debate on religious practices, and, therefore, on the necessity for keeping the precious objects and vestments in church treasuries. On December 10, 1420, a debate between the Taborites and more moderate Hussite Prague was called to discuss the use of garments during the service.[831] Although the gravity of disagreement between the two parties made the question secondary, two tractates were held, one by each party, for and against the use of such garments in the mass. On the Taborite side, Mikuláš Biskupec spoke against garments; on the Prague side, the arguments were lead by Jacobellus of Mies. At the meeting, seventy-two articles were raised against the Taborites accusing them of heresy. The accusations also included questions of religious practice.

Two years later in 1422 and different conditions of war, another theological debate took place near Konopiště in the presence of the armies of both the radical and moderate sides. The main theme was again the use of garments during the mass. Four arbitrators ruled that garments are part of an inseparable tradition of the Church and should therefore be used. The Taborites were pressed to accept the use of chasubles, but refused to obey. On both sides, treatises were then written to defend their respective positions.

In this early period, the attempt to unite the divided Hussite parties regarding garments and the order of the mass failed.[832] Liturgical practice was discussed again at the synod of 1424 held at Prague University. There, the Taborite priests again rejected the use of decorated service vestments as well as special vestments for the priests, but even the radical party was divided on the question - the tradition seems to have been too strong. In addition, the Taborites challenged the practice of consecration of vessels and objects, denying the treasury objects their special roles and sacred character, whilst the

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[829] On development of the Eucharist in Bohemian Reformation movement, see David R Holeton, "The Bohemian Eucharistic movement in its European context," *BRRP* 1 (1996), 24-27.
[830] Zylinská, *Husitské synody v Čechách 1418-1440*, 55.
[831] Zylinská, *Husitské synody*, 39. Dispute in the house of Zmrzlík.
[832] Zylinská, *Husitské synody*, 48.

moderate wing kept to the Catholic way.[833] The question was revisited several times between 1426 and 1427 and in 1437, when the debate was concerned with the rites of the mass and its unification within the country. In 1431, one of the last debates on the form of church rituals took place at the University. John Rokycana led the polemical fight against the Taborites from the point of view of moderate Utraquism[834] (from *sub utraque*) and defended the use of chasubles and the distribution of the Sacraments as special rites of the Church. The St. James' synod that took place in 1434 after the battle of Lipany represents the middle way between both parties, closer to Rokycana's Utraquism, which seem to have finally prevailed.[835] In the end, however, it seems that major changes to the Catholic rite, beyond the lay chalice, Communion of minors, and use of the Czech language in the readings, were cancelled in Prague in 1437 at the latest, when Prague (under the influence of the Basel Council legates) embraced the traditional form of the ritual.[836] The Taborite reform of the liturgy lost ground. In the future, most Utraquists were to follow the order of the mass that was not that far from the Catholic practice, and keep the treasuries in churches.

Beyond the mass, the Utraquist approach to religious ceremonies may have remained somewhat more sober than the Catholic one, as the Utraquists partly denounced certain specific Church rituals. At least under John Rokycana and Václav Koranda, Utraquist intellectuals did not fully trust forms of Catholic symbolic communication. However these forms seem to have affected the composition of treasuries.[837] After both the Taborites and ultra-conservative Utraquists were eliminated, Rokycana was accused of serving the mass using non-consecrated vessels and vestments, freely amending the ritual, and using the vernacular.[838] He evaded the accusation by saying that the chalices, vestments, and altarcloths were consecrated by the presence of the Eucharist.[839] He also denounced the benediction of water and other substances, feasts for church consecrations, and the *pacem*.[840] On the other hand, both kinds of the Sacrament (i.e. also the chalice with wine) were carried

[833] Zylinská, *Husitské synody*, 38.
[834] Sedlák, "Liturgie u Husa a husitův," 138.
[835] Zylinská, *Husitské synody*, 79.
[836] The Basel council legates achieved the following official promises from the Hussite party: benediction of water, serving mass at consecrated altars, keeping canonical hours, no additions to the prayers, benediction of candles, and ashes, etc., retaining enthroning to parishes, pilgrimages, sacrifices, keeping images and seven sacraments. "Artikulové smluvení na držení kompaktát v Čechách 10.3.1437," 453-5. Apparently, not everything was kept by Rokycana's adherents.
[837] In a song against John Rokycana, the Utraquists are accused by the Catholics of mocking liturgical rituals such as aspersion and benediction of water. Bedřich Havránek, J. Hrabák, and Jiří Daňhelka, eds. *Výbor z české literatury doby husitské* (Selection from Czech literature of the Hussite times), vol. 1 (Prague: ČSAV, 1963-4), 88.
[838] *Žaloby*, 64, 40.
[839] *Žaloby*, 59, 35.
[840] *Žaloby*, 67-9, 42-3.

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to the sick. He reportedly forbad carrying images and relics in processions,[841] concentrating his attention on the proper place of Corpus Christi in the rituals and church space.

After the death of Rokycana in 1471, the Utraquist consistory, the highest administrative body of the Bohemian Reformation, still felt the question of garments was sensitive. Aware of its limited power, and in effort to reconcile disputes among various adherents of Utraquism, the Consistory left communities with a considerable degree of freedom to decide on the format of the ritual.[842] Zylinská pointed out that efforts toward reconciliation were manifested in differentiating between the "fundamental and optional, obligatory for Salvation, and voluntary, or even useful "practices.[843] Within these categories, the use of garments remained optional. Parish communities often inclined to a conservative approach and maintained local traditions (garments, processions with monstrances and banners, feasts, consecration of water, images in churches, and the Sacraments) (**Pl. 46, altar of Nový Bydžov with Utraquist priests dressed in chasubles and originally with tags showing their names**). They demanded written consent to respect local customs from the confirmed priest. Later, the community compiled their own Order of the Mass (*bohoslužebný řád*)[844] or wrote the rules in the Sacristan Books determining what should be used in the service (eg. bells ringing, chasuble, how many candles). Contracts between the priest and the community were apparently compiled as early as 1461,[845] although the payments and prescriptions for the format of the ritual as part of the priest's contract are known only from later times. The Consistory sources also reveal cases where the priest acted against the will of the community in the use of garments, sacred oils, or images. The Consistory also ruled that even in those parishes where vestments were not used in service, they must be kept in the treasury and not destroyed. The oft proclaimed unity of Utraquism continued to deteriorate after the infiltration of Lutheran and Reformed ideas in Bohemia in the sixteenth century with occasional complaints of the communities to the Consistory about priests who did not want to follow local custom of serving the mass in chasubles.

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[841] *Žaloby*, 51, 28.
[842] Cf. examples in Klement Borový, ed. *Jednání a dopisy konsistoře katolické i utrakvistické* (Resolutions and letters of Catholic and Utraquist Consistories), vol. 1, *Akta konsistoře utrakvistické* (Acts of the Utraquist Consistory) (Prague: I. L. Kober, 1868).
[843] Zylinská, *Husitské synody*, 104.
[844] Alois Sassmann, ed.(?), *Utrakvistický řád služeb božích Jana Rudolfa Trčky z Lípy z roku 1616* (Utraquist Order of God's services of Jan Rudolf Trčka of Lípa from 1616, http://home.tiscali.cz:8080/ ca967743/rad_utrak.htm, František Dvorský, "Příspěvky k dějinám církevním v Čechách II" (Contributions to the church history in Bohemia II) *Sborník historický* 2 (1884), 23-31 (contracts between the communities and priests).
[845] *Žaloby*, 68, 43.

The Utraquists' inclinations towards a Catholic taste for opulent ritual was occasionally scrutinised by more radical priests. in his Letter to Zacheus of 1462, a Hussite priest of the Prague side, Martin Lupáč, criticised his fellow colleagues in the following words: "[you see] our priests how they compete so that they would equal this "whore" (i.e. the Roman Church) in ceremonies, decorations, splendour, in their shouting, playing organs, rubrics, aspersions, and [see] how they bolster fleshy and worldly ornaments that calm the people, and consider them a great glory."[846] This suggests that in the majority of cases, church treasuries and the decoration of churches did not suffer harsh losses under the Utraquists, and if they suffered in the war years, the objects were soon replaced by new donations.

As a result of their more moderate approach as well as Catholic pressure, Utraquist changes to the Catholic Order of Mass were rather minor.[847] The Utraquists retained confession of sins, festive garments, and images in churches, prayers to the saints, bell-ringing, the Sacraments and even some processions, such as the theophoric one, but rejected the kiss of peace, the *introit*,[848] and, occasionally (?) the feasts of the Virgin.[849] The most troubling part of the Utraquist mass was the practical conduct of the lay chalice and serving the Eucharist to minors. The Hussite song *Časy svými jistými* (By Certain Times) not only defended infant Communion and the Communion under both species, but also supported their existence by quoting the Church Fathers.[850] Later, in the *Catholic Accusations on Rokycana,* written in 1461, the Catholics mentions Rokycana's use of large *chalices with spouts* and *spoons for the Communion of minors*, the most prominent Utraquist additions to the composition of church treasuries detectable in the inventories of Utraquist churches.[851] The use of precious materials

[846] "…*u všech našech kněží, kterak o závod spěchají, aby se právě s touto nevěstkou* (= Roman Church) *srovnali v jejích obřadech, ozdobách, nádheře, v jejich křicích, varhanání, rubrikách, kropáčích, a jak veškerou tělesnou a světskou výzdobu, která chlácholí lid, co nejvíce a bez přestání zvyšují, pokládajíce ji za velkou slávu.*" Havránek, Hrabák, and Daňhelka, *Výbor z české literatury doby husitské*, 74.

[847] Utraquist mass roughly followed its Catholic counterpart with *Gloria*, reading from the Epistles and Gospels, and preaching.

[848] Cf. *Wanderbuchlein des J. Butzbach gennant Piepontanus* (Berlin, Union 1988), 103-104. In his account of his 1488-1494 stay in Bohemia, he observed that the Bohemians did not have rosaries, consecrate salt or water, pray for the dead, or celebrate certain saints' feasts. On the other hand, they read parts of the mass in the vernacular and let children take communion. Reportedly, they did not allow images monastic orders, or demand poverty from priests, 105. Also, for them, the canonical hours, confession, and consecrations were a "waste of time", 106. *Žaloby*, 62-3, 38, 36, 34.

[849] The position of the Virgin in Hussite teachings represents a problem in this study. Her position as a key intercessor and as the most venerated relic was challenged in the fifteenth century, but she retained her special position as the Mother of God, a position that allowed for many images of her with her son on the altarpieces in the Utraquist churches in the sixteenth century.

[850] Fudge, *The Magnificent Ride*, 205-6.

[851] *Žaloby*, 70, 45. *De coclearibus et calicibus magnis. Item ordinavit pro practica utriusque speciei calices magnos cum canna et coclearia pro parvulis, pro quibus in pontificali forma non repreritur.* Appendix II, no. 32.

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for liturgical vessels was prevalent, albeit chalices made of brass or copper do appear in the inventories as well.[852] The Utraquists were allowed to use tin and copper chalices and ciboria in the service by the Resolution of the Community of Prague (*Výnos obce pražské*) of July 21, 1421, practiced for example by the conservative cleric, Jan of Příbram.[853] Although these less valuable items appear in all the Utraquist treasuries I have studied, they are still comparatively rare and appear in second place in the inventories.I If their use depended on personal choice, they were donated by less well-off people or manufactured at a time when precious metal was not available cannot be decided on the basis of the available sources.

As an epilogue to the *chasuble dispute*, unique Jena Codex antitheses illuminate the importance of the issue for the Bohemian Reformation. On fol. 25r, a bishop weighs a Hussite chalice against a papal tiara, pulled down by a small devil (**Pl.47, Weighting of papal tiara, Jena codex**). The rich garments and the *infulae* of the bishop here represent the "papalist", luxury-loving clergy. Antithetic images directly reflecting the chasuble dispute are drawn on fol. 28v and 29r, where the story from the St. Martin's legend with Martin serving the mass in a poor and too short, tunic-like chasuble after he gave his rich garment to a poor man is set against the rich garments in the procession of the Catholic high church officials wearing *pontificalia*.[854] With the Husites' demand for clerical poverty, the question of garments in the service reflected the arguments against clerical luxury and pride. Although around 1500, the time of the Jena Codex compilation, the dispute had long been over, and ornamented garments were regularly used by the Utraquist priests, Utraquist theologians, when putting together this historical compilation of the Utraquist doctrine, still took a critical stand. Hussite (and Utraquist) arguments in favour of clerical poverty were thus responsible for a significant shift in the understanding of the role of church treasuries. They were no longer considered resources (and source of possible temptation) for the priests, nor were they a focus of devotional practices but rather they now became a resource for the community.

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[852] Seven tin chalices in Chrudim are noted in a damaged inventory from the mid-fifteenth century, unpublished. Also, five tin chalices are mentioned in the Chrudim, inventory of 1504, Appendix no. 29, Vodňany (a brass monstrance), and St. Nicholas in Prague (a brass chalice), Appendix nos. 30-31.
[853] Pokorný, *Liturgika*, 173. Dana Stehlíková, "Umělecká řemesla" (Art Crafts) in *Od Gotiky k Renesanci. Výtvarná kultura Moravy a Slezska 1400 - 1500*, vol. 2, Kaliopi Chamonikola, ed. (Brno: Moravská Galerie v Brně, 1999), 551.
[854] In the legend, the tunic miraculously elongated and the angels covered St. Martin's bare legs and elbows with golden chains. I am thankful to Milada Studničková for letting me use her unpublished notes on the Jena Codex. Jena Codex, Library of the National Museum, KNM, inv. no. IV B 24, fol 28v-29r. Cf. 30r, 30v, 31r, 31v, 32r, 32v, 33r-33v.

2. Treasuries in Confrontation

2.1 Treasuries in Hussite iconoclasm

Sharing the theoretical framework in the critique of the cult, Hussite pillaging of church treasuries was related to the question of Hussite iconoclasm. Although the motivations may be strikingly different in each case, scholars have rarely made a distinction between the two attitudes. To date, the pillaging and vandalisation of treasuries has not yet been a separate subject for study. The first time attention was paid violent destruction of treasuries by Hussites was in 1983 at a symposium aiming at a new evaluation of Hussite iconoclasm.[855] There, Nechutová differentiated between different levels of Hussite "iconoclasm": *iconophobia* (the theoretical framework for fear of images), *iconoclastia* (the destruction of images), and war pillaging (the destruction of valuables); the latter she saw as being independent from ideologies.[856] These categories can no longer be seen as sufficient, as they do not sufficiently take into account the distinction between the Hussite position on images and their position on treasuries and their development over time. They only considered the "non-ideological" vandalisation of the treasuries, omitting other possible motivations behind Hussite sacrilegous conduct and destruction. As I proposed at the beginning, treasuries encompass various symbolic meanings. Therefore the destruction of treasuries should also be considered in light of its effect on their symbolic message.[857] For the later period, the distinction between written polemical sources and a much more diverse reality should also be noted.

Interesting reflections on the different notions of destruction of treasuries comes to us from the chronicler Laurentius of Březová when he described the 1420 destruction of the St. Vitus treasury by Emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg (**Pl. 51, portrait of Emperor Sigismund of Luxembourg**).[858] When Sigismund gave the order to break herms, hand reliquaries, and monstrances into raw gold and silver, Laurentius somewhat sardonically asked the reader: "whose sin is worse? Those who destroy wooden images or those who destroy the silver ones?" Neither Sigismund or Laurentius thought about the destruction of St. Vitus' treasury as being a result of war pillaging. From the Emperor's point of

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[855] Krása, "Husitské obrazoborectví," 9-17.
[856] Nechutová, "Prameny předhusitské a husitské ikonofóbie," 36-37.
[857] Bartlová first has noted Hussite iconoclasm as a result of hatred of the opponents of Bohemian Reformation, and economy reasons, Bartlová, "The Utraquist Church and the Visual Arts," 217. Her other reasons (fear from realism, distrust to complicated meanings) can be applied to destruction of images, but not the treasuries.
[858] Laurentius (1979), 101.

view, Sigismund followed his ancient right as the Bohemian king to use the metropolitan treasury when in need of money and for the benefit of the kingdom. The moderate Hussite priest Laurentius saw the act of destruction through the lens of Christian morality.

It might again have been Jacobellus, who provided the theoretical impulse to radicals[859] to attack monasteries and churches.[860] In his later apology (1428) against the Taborites he admitted there had been destruction of churches of Hussite adversaries. Or was it only the ambivalent role of the capital city, "oversaturated by artworks and the splendour of its churches"[861] with a number of cults that caused such indignation? I see three main incentives for the Hussite destruction of treasuries. One stems from the critique of clerical luxury and "corruption"[862] and the second from the theological rejection of "human inventions" in the service. The third motivation was perpetuated as a combination of the manifestation of power and a defamation strategy, sometimes combined with financial benefits for the army. Each case of pillaging therefore must be viewed separately and in its particular context to expose the main motivations behind the destruction.

The theologians' scepticism towards donations related to the cult created a theoretical basis for the Hussite destruction of treasuries in Prague, but the motivation for each act was clearly more structured than that. Early attempts to cleanse Prague churches of their riches might have taken place as early as late 1417,[863] and possibly even before that. The destruction at the Carthusian monastery in Újezd (17.8.1419) and Carmelitan convent (20.8.1419) in the New Town following the death of King Wenceslaus were aimed at rich, secluded convents, adherents to strict Catholicism that were, at the same time, symbols of royal power. Meanwhile, the mob also attacked brothels (August 19, 1419) manifesting Hussite morality. In the church of the Virgin on the Pond (August 18, 1419), the attack was against the decoration of the chapel of Albík of Uničov, a former archbishop of Prague. Beyond simple pillaging of rich cult places,[864] their destruction had the symbolic dimension of attacks on royal and religious authorities as manifestations of power. Two further accounts confirm this motivation

[859] The role of Taborites and lists of destroyed monasteries, Laurentius (1979), 119-121.
[860] Sedlák, "Liturgie u Husa a Husitův," 144.
[861] Krása, "Husitské obrazoborectví," 13.
[862] Krása, "Husitské obrazoborectví", 11-12. Also previous chapter.
[863] Bartlová, "The Utraquist Church and the Visual Arts, 215.
[864] This is the way it was described in the Rhyming chronicle: *V Praze plačíc smrti krále, kostely , kláštery také, i obrazy všelikaké, ej, i stolice vybichu, varhanóm neodpustichu./ Majíc na tom málo dosti, rozsypachu svatých kosti, v tom oltáři i ornáty, musichu se dáti znáti.* (In Prague, crying for the death of the king, (they) churches, cloisters, and images, and even seats and organs were destroyed. Even that did not suffice, the bones of saints in the altars they dispersed, and even in garments they (themselves) showed off.
Zlomky rýmované kroniky, 152, in Havránek, Hrabák, and Daňhelka, *Výbor z české literatury doby husitské*, 30-38.

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behind the first Prague iconoclastic attacks. Old Bohemian Annals report on the capital punishment meted out to a man who defamed the clerical status by wearing a chasuble pillaged from the Újezd monastery.[865] In other words, the act offended the city's authorities and they punished it as sacrilege. Secondly, in the truce agreement of November 13, 1419 between the city of Prague and the royal party of Queen Sophia, the Prague party was urged by the royalists to stop destroying images, churches and monasteries.[866]

An anti-Hussite song outlines the theological background to the destruction of treasuries in basic terms: "*Takéť dějí: netřebať obrazóv / ani kterých v kostele oltářóv / .../netřebať je zvónóv / ani vysokých kóróv*..." (They say that images are not needed, nor altars nor bells nor high choirs).[867] Even more radical was the Czech *Pikhard* article, where the author called for the destruction, not only of treasuries of liturgical utensils, books, donations and benefices, but also of churches, chapels and altars with the names of God or a saint. Baptism should be carried out without a baptismal font or holy water,[868] and an unworthy priest should not be allowed to celebrate the Sacrament and anyone had the right to take the Eucharist vessels and break them.

Since the early 1420s, the number of known reports on the destruction of church interiors and treasuries (namely images, altars, liturgical vessels and vestments, organs and bells) has grown. According to Laurentius, the Taborite articles of 1420 already contained an order to destroy any monastery, superfluous churches and altars, images, church vestments, and chalices.[869] No oils or baptismal water should be kept; none of the chalices, corporals, vestments, and other blessed objects, special vessels or textiles in treasuries were needed. Missals and choral books, breviaries (*viatici*), canonical hours, and decorated vestments should be destroyed or burned.[870] Laurentius' accusation that the Taborites stole books, broke chalices, and monstrances in treasuries, and sold them cheaply should therefore be seen in light of the Hussite quest for clerical poverty, the priority of the Law of God above human additions, as well as the war economy. On the other hand, his claim that they took relics out from their reliquaries and threw them around, if it is at all true since Laurentius was biased against the radicals, can be seen as defamation of the cult of saints and traditional piety. The polemics concerning chasubles suggests a similar motivation, beyond simple economic reasons, behind the

[865] For the link of defamation in *masopust* time (feasting before the beginning of the Lent) and pillaging of monasteries, see Michal Šronek, "Boření obrazů jako svátek" (Iconoclasm as feast) in *Žena ve člunu*, 391-404.
[866] Laurentius (1979), 39.
[867] Transcription in Nechutová, "Prameny," 35.
[868] Kalivoda, and Kolesnyk, *Das Hussitische Denken im Lichte seiner Quellen*, 297.
[869] Laurentius (1979), 103.
[870] Laurentius, (1979), 111.

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destruction of liturgical vestments from which they made cloaks, shirts or even underwear. The war economy was then behind minting money from chalices and monstrances from Prague churches and payments to the mercenaries with vestments.[871]

Destruction of the church treasuries hidden at Castle Sedlec near Ústí and Rábí are sometimes seen as *topos* for the moralist background of Hussite destruction of treasuries stemming from the theoretical background I have outlined above. Monstrances, chalices and church vestments were piled on pyres and burned. This act was also a manifestation of power. Booty was not taken beyond horses, weapons and money.[872] This way Hussites could not be accused of immoral enrichment, hunger after treasuries, and stealing, but rather showed their uncompromising attitude to ecclesiastical riches to their enemies, consistent with their keeping the rules of the Law of God and indicated te Hussite view that treasuries were dangerous and superfluous human additions to the cult.

The attack on Zbraslav later in the year 1420, when priests with their soldiers together with laymen carried away parts of broken altarpices and images, took the convent's property, and drank the wine, clearly also indicates more prosaic motivations.[873] This attack however, was led by the city's priests so ideological reasons should also be presumed. The report on the destroyed images also confirms the iconoclastic background to the attack. Some pieces were apparently collected by individuals, probably for their memorial or aesthetic value, once they were deprived of their cult context.

After Vyšehrad was handed to Prague, the Prague folk (*lid obecný*) attacked Vyšehrad churches and destroyed their interiors, breaking images, altars, organs, seats, and other ornaments. Vyšehrad, at that time still under direct papal jurisdiction, and with the memory of displays of famous relics embodied, next to the metropolitan church of St. Vitus, at that time still in Sigismund's hands, the papalists and epitomised the riches of the Church. Therefore this attack can be understood in the context of retaliation and vandalising symbols of religious power, or even iconoclasm against venerated images. Only the following day, Prague citizens used the opportunity to enrich themselves by pillaging Vyšehrad churches, houses, and the royal palace. People came in such numbers that

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[871] Laurentius, (1979), 121.
[872] Laurentius (1979), 53.
[873] Laurentius, (1979), 103.

Laurentius likened the pillaging of Vyšehrad to the pilgrimages on the feasts held during the displays.[874]

Similar motivations worked also for the opposing party. Laurentius gives an account on an act of symbolic defamation of the Eucharist (possibly under both species?) from the Catholic side. The exposed Eucharist was the most venerated object of the Hussites and the sources infrom us of its prominent position in the centre of the main altar. At the end of May, 1420, whilst positioned there, the papal legate Fernand and the last pre-Hussite archbishop Konrád of Vechta ordered to pull down a sanctuary with the Body of Christ placed on the main altar in the church of Slané, north of Prague.[875]

On June 10, 1421, three days after the Castle was taken,[876] a Prague mob under the leadership of John of Želiv destroyed important images and altarpieces in the cathedral of St. Vitus and the Castle's churches in an iconoclastic attack. Laurentius gives an account of Želiv's people mocking the cathedral image of Christ on a donkey, which they exhibited on the cathedral's balcony, possibly in the same place where the relics were once shown, i.e. the Golden Gate. By making reference to the "display", they mockingly asked the image to bless the town of Meissen and then threw it down, breaking it into pieces. The attack was primarily aimed at the decoration in the cathedral interior, Laurentius does not mention any destruction of the metropolitan treasury, garments or other pillaging. The relics of the metropolitan treasuries were already hidden in Karlštejn from the mid-1420s (the most important relics of the Passion, and the Virgin)[877] and in Ojvín (mostly the *capita* and relics of the saints, probably from the chamber above St. Wenceslaus), where they were probably brought shortly before the attack, under "eminent danger."[878]

The Chronicle of Laurentius already ended in 1424. It furnishes scholars with much of the available information on Hussite pillaging. For the later period, no such rich source exists. Sometimes, however, a later source does reveal a different point of view. The Hussite military code of Jan Hájek of Hodětín from 1427 issued a ban on pillaging of religious sites. "Churches and monasteries may not be pillaged nor set on fire, unless ordered by the commanders,… sacred objects, chasubles, chalices, bells, books and other church ornaments (may not be taken) and the Corpus Christi may not be moved

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[874] Laurentius, (1979), 167. "*vyšli chudí i bohatí na Vyšehrad, ...a celý den odnášeli do města, kdo co mohl pobrati, takže množství odnášejících bylo takové, jako bývalo v době, kdy se ukazovaly ostatky*..." (both the poor and the rich came out to Vyšehrad, …and the whole day they carried back to the city whatever they could carry. The number of those who carried things away was so large, as it used to be in the time, when the relics were shown…).
[875] Laurentius, (1979), 71.
[876] Laurentius, (1979), 224-225.
[877] They were taken there July 29,…*feria quinta post festum Jacobi* (25.7.).
[878] CPSVP, LXII, LXIII, inventories IX, and X.

or taken under the threat of hand off of their hand. If someone took the Corpus Christi or other sacraments out from their containers and threw them out, he would be burnt. If anyone destroyed an altar or smashed images in churches and monasteries or covered, ripped or damaged (those) on the roads in [columns] he would be punished under martial law."[879]

Already in the early 1420s, royal estates and estates of church institutions were largely pawned or lost to the nobility who saw a chance at personal enrichment. Weakened, if not destroyed monasteries, were often not able to defend themselves from futher alienation of their property. As for the treasuries, libraries and archives, the convents generally managed to save them by sending them abroad or keeping safe in the castles of Catholic nobility. Their fate during the religious wars under George of Poděbrady is less clear.[880] Judging from Pavel Žídek's complaints about the numerous thefts of monstrances and crosses in his time, they occurred frequently.[881] A detailed survey of which monastic treasuries survived is not yet available but the scale of destruction should not be underestimated. Even the monasteries in the Catholic areas were badly hit by these events, first due to economic pressure or when under the excuse of protection, local nobles usurped their property. Some, such as Oldřich (Ulrich) of Rosenberg, did not hesitate to steal liturgical vessels and gold-threaded garments from the church treasury on the property of his Catholic fellow Mikuláš (Nicolaus) of Lobkovice.[882]

In general, the art historians tend to underestimate the effect of iconoclasm and destruction on Prague church interiors. Many quality works of art from the Middle Ages preserved in Prague churches used to be explained by their survival of the Hussite iconoclasm. Recently, however, Bartlová pointed out later dating for some of these works and suggested their creation in the specific conditions of the post-Compactate Utraquism[883] (the following chapter). With the treasuries, the evaluation is more complicated, if not impossible. Medieval objects in the church treasuries were badly affected by a development of taste in the Modern Era, and by unfavourable historical events. It would need a thorough examination of later inventories from Prague churches for the survived

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879 "*Kostely a kláštery nemají být vybíjeni ani vypalováni, leč by k tomu rozkázáno hejtmany,..posvátné věci, vornáty, kalichy, zvony, knihy a jiné okrasy kostelní (nemají být brány) a Tělem Božím nemá být hýbáno ani bráno pod trestem utětí ruky. Když by někdo tělo Boží s puškú nebo jinou svátost vzal a vysypal, bude upálen. Kdyby kdokoli oltář zbořil nebo obrazy v kostelích a klášteřích zbil nebo na cestách v plúpiech [slúpiech?] přikryté ztrhal a zkazil, ten bude potrestán dle vojenského práva.*" "Upravený řád Jana Hájka z Hodětína, about 1427," in Havránek, Hrabák, and Daňhelka, *Výbor z české literatury doby husitské*, 512.
880 Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 4, 12.
881 Tobolka, ed., *Pavla Žídka Správovna*, 23.
882 Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. 4, 16.
883 Bartlová, "The Utraquist church and the Visual Arts," 218.

medieval works to reveal the fate of Prague church treasuries between 1417 and 1434. However even in that case, it will be difficult to distinguish the survivors from the later donations. Comparing the limited number of returned or currently preserved pieces to the content of pre-Hussite Prague church treasuries as shown in the pre-Hussite inventories, large losses can be expected, albeit the situation differed from place to place.

Preserved inventories of treasuries clearly reflect the damage inflicted on monastic treasuries. I found several accounts of the fragments of lost or returned monastic or chapter treasuries among the sources. These include either records of objects given for safekeeping (the Krumlov castle list of objects from southern Bohemian monasteries)[884] and returned (parts of treasuries from the Carthusian monastery in Prague and the Cistercian monastery of Vyšší Brod),[885] or records of losses to part of a treasury due to financial need (the list of gold and silver of Vyšehrad given to Sigismund as war payments, Karlštejn accounts, the sale of the Zbraslav textiles).[886] The first type of inventory listed the most precious objects and relics in the treasury; in this case they were 'kept safe' by the Rosenbergs or in a fellow monastery by the border. The second type of inventory testified to the scale of loss of in the treasuries as late as 1431, listing either reliquaries, crosses etc. of gold and silver to be melted down for metal and used for war payments (Vyšehrad, Karlštejn), or recording the sale of a monastery's garments for money (Zbraslav Cistercian monastery) under economic pressure. Both inventories reflect the difficult economic situation which affected many convents during or after the Hussite wars.

Art objects documenting iconoclasm or church pillaging that have survived down to the present day are very rare and, understandably, they do not include pieces from church treasuries. Interestingly, all three preserved pieces known to me that show signs of an iconoclastic attack, are all *Andachstbilder*. Two convincingly come from a monastic environment – the stone Pieta from St. George church in Prague Castle (**Pl. 48, Pieta from St. George in Prague Castle**), and the stone Pieta from the Franciscan monastery in Český Krumlov (**Pl. 49, Pieta from Český Krumlov with the legs of Christ attached later**). The third piece is a fragment of a knee again from a stone Pieta found during excavations at Prague Castle.[887] An exceptional case documenting an attack against the famous relic of the cathedral's Virgin's Veil is represented by the statue of the Virgin Mary in the Tyne

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[884] Appendix II, no. 10.
[885] Appendix II, nos. 11, 12.
[886] Appendix II, nos. 8, 9, 13.
[887] For the information on the last two I am indebted to Milena Bartlová.

church, where the Virgin's hair and veil was harshly cut off. (**Pl. 50, Master of the Tyne Calvary, Virgin of the Tyne church, around 1440**)

In comparison, parish churches my even have even profited from the surplus of relatively cheap goldsmith works, raw precious material or looted books from monasteries, as in the case of two liturgical missals from Plzeň.[888] They were both written for the Prague St. Vitus church around 1410, but in the mid-fifteenth century, they were recorded as belonging to the altars of St. Andrew and St. Nicolaus in St. Batholomeus church in Plzeň. An inscription in one of them states that it was bought by Margaret Berbet (unfortunately, the note does not state from whom), when she was furnishing the altar she had founded with necessary altar equipment. She may have bought it directly from the St. Vitus chapter when it was exiled in Plzeň.

Destruction of church ornaments became an important weapon in the hands of the Hussite opponents. The university Master Jan Papoušek, a conservative Hussite, and later Catholic convert as well as an acquitance of Aenea Silvio and of papal legates confirmed to the Prague Our Lady at the Týn (Tyne) church in 1437,[889] criticised the (more radical) Hussites: "(they) reject the Sacraments and (the Church's) orders… Item (they) damaged churches, burnt them and pillaged (as well as destroyed) monasteries, chapels, altars, chalices, chasubles and decoration of the churches. Relics of saints were destroyed, and especially the royal relics (!) were taken from us, through which the kingdom was ornamented and Prague greatly profited. Item images of God and saints were destroyed."[890] Papoušek's reflection on the role of Prague relics and the royal (imperial?) treasury corresponded with his active cooperation in restoring artworks and cults to the interior of the Tyne church.

After the ten-year episode of Papoušek's presence in the Tyne church, Rokycana returned there in 1448 and made immediate changes to its interior, furnished by religious art shortly before by Papoušek, in order to comply with his views on piety. He is discredited with removal of the image of the Enthroned Virgin Mary with child from the main altar.[891] Rokycana was probably troubled by the

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[888] Appendix II, no. 29.
[889] This important parish Prague church , located close to the Royal court in the Old Town, was a Hussite counterpart to the St. Vitus cathedral held by the Catholics.
[890] Havránek, Hrabák, and Daňhelka, *Výbor z české literatury doby husitské*, 133. "*(Husité) zamítají svátosti a její (církve) řády… Item kostelové zkaženi, vypáleni a opuštěni, klášterové, kaply oltářové, kalichové, ornáti a okrasy kosteluov. Item svátosti svatých zkaženy, a zvláště královské odňaty skrze kteréž královstvie mělo velké ozdobenie a Praha velký užitek. Item obrazové boží a svatých zkaženi.*"
[891] Boubín, and Zachová, "Žaloby", 29, 52. Milena Bartlová, "Chrám Matky Boží před Týnem v 15. století" (Church of the Virgin Mary on the Tyne in the fifteenth century) *Marginalia historica* 4. *Sborník k padesátinám Petra Čorneje* (Prague, and Litomyšl: Paseka 2001), 121 (ft. 21), 133, (ft.37). The scuplture was returned to the altar before 1519, when sources

way the statue was honoured at the expense of the Corpus Christi, to whom the main altar was also dedicated.[892] He had the statue "placed (the statue) in the corner". The Catholic accusers saw it as humiliating gesture, but the statue was in fact not destroyed; it was left almost untouched (with the exception of the Virgin's veil that too blatantly manifested Papoušek's open propaganda against St.Vitus' most famous relic) and was preserved down to the present day. The sculpture may have been replaced by a sanctuary with the Eucharist. Ironically, such an arrangement would have been closer to its pre-Hussite original equipment, as around 1380 there had previously been a Corpus Christi monstrance on the main altar, at least for some parts of the liturgical year.

2.2 Memory, Politics and the Holy Relics: Catholic Tactics amidst the Hussite Reformation

After the war years, long negotiations and under a peace treaty of the Compactate Agreement compiled in 1434-1436, the Emperor Sigismund and the Council of Basel representatives were reluctant to continue the military measures against the Hussites, but did not give up the idea of Catholic restoration in Bohemia. Once their prospect of return to Prague was accepted by the Utraquist party, the Council envoys resorted to "soft propaganda" embodied in the way they pressed towards a re-introduction of Catholic forms of rituals and piety by manipulating relics, garments, and treasuries. This became a means of Catholic restoration of pastoral care in Prague within the limits of the treaty.[893] Expressions of Catholic piety as we know them from the earlier chapters, appealed to the collective memory of Prague citizens, as the older pre-Revolution generation was still able to recall them as personal memories. The use of such means of persuasion was eased by the fact that although their theologians rejected the more excessive forms of Catholic piety, more conservative Utraquists were far from radicalism of the Taborites in the sphere of religious practice and more open in their acceptance of traditional forms of Christian cult.

The central figure in this chapter presenting an example of the manipulative use of church treasuries in this time of confessional conflict is the French Bishop, Phillibert of Monjeu, Bishop of Coutances. The bishop was an important political figure who became a legate for the Council of Basel in Bohemian matters. In 1433, he was charged with the delicate task of reconciling the "heretic"

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mention a panel altarpiece with older sculpture ("*tabule stará malovaná s Marií řezanou dobrým dílem*", Teige, ed. *Základy starého místopisu pražského (1437-1620)*, vol. 1, 480, no. 72, (ft. 34).

[892] Horníčková, "Eucharistický Kristus mezi anděly z Týna", 223.

[893] František Kavka, *Poslední Lucemburk na českém trůně. Králem uprostřed revoluce* (The Last Luxemburg on the Bohemian Throne. King amidst the revolution) (Praha: Mladá fronta, 1998), 229.

Czechs with the Roman Church. After studying the situation and in agreement with Emperor Sigismund's aims, Phillibert chose moderate pressure as a means to his end and promoted peaceful reconciliation among the Czechs. His actions were documented in the diary of his secretary, Master Jean de Tornis, which recorded his movements around Prague, important meetings and political decisions.[894] In the first phase of his mission, between 1433 and 1436, he led several delegations that were sent to negotiate with the Czechs. As a result of his mission, the Hussite party made concessions to the Council of Basel, which in effect resulted in Czechs returning to Catholic rituals.[895]

The second period of Philibert's mission, from the summer of 1436 until his death in 1439, led him directly to Hussite Prague. From his arrival on August 21, 1436, his stay was marked by great efforts to isolate the radical opposition and return the city to the Catholic faith. He participated in the staging of the arrival of the Emperor Sigismund of Luxemburg in Prague two days later,[896] crowned the Empress Barbara of Celje on February 11, 1437, and probably helped organise the last *ostensio reliquiarum* (display of relics) in its original place at the Corpus Christi chapel in the New Town's Ox Market in 1437. These relics had last been shown on the Feast of the Holy Lance in 1417, before the Hussites rose to prominence. What gave this event a special political flavor was the fact that the showing exhibited not only the imperial and royal relics housed in Karlštejn, but included the official presentation of the stone tablets engraved with the Basel *Compactate* Accord.[897]

To promote his cause, Phillibert turned to conventional Catholic ceremonies and public appearances in his role as bishop during his time in Prague. Between September 1436 and April 1438, he reintroduced monastic orders back into Prague[898] (fifteen of them before his death), ordained priests[899], and held services in pontifical garments in the cathedral, and at least in five other important Prague churches. Jan de Tornis, Phillibert's secretary, recorded the churches that acted as stages for Phillibert's activities: he held four masses on September 9, 1436 at St. Michael's in the Old Town, on September 30, 1436 at the Emmaus Monastery, on November 8, 1436 in the church of Our Lady at the

[894] Ernst Birk, ed., *Monumenta Conciliorum Generalium Saeculi decimi quinti, Concilium Basileense* [Writings of the General Council of the 15th century, Basel Council], Scriptorum tomus I. Vindobonae 1857, pp. 787-867. Blanka Zilynská, "Biskup Phillibert a české země" (Bishop Phillibert and the Bohemian Lands), in *Jihlava a Basilejská kompaktáta*, Dana Nováková, Karel Křesadlo, and Eva Nedbalová, eds., (Jihlava: Muzeum Vysočiny, 1992), 56, 60.
[895] František Palacký, ed., "Artikulové smluvení na držení kompaktát w Čechách 10.3. 1437," 453-455.
[896] Milena Bartlová, "Sigismundus Rex Bohemiae: Royal Representation after the Revolution," in *Kunst als Herrschaftsinstrument unter den Luxemburgen*, Jiří Fajt, and Andrea Langer, eds. (forthcoming).
[897] The stone tablets, later attached to the Corpus Christi chapel on the New Town Market and original place of the displays of relics, are preserved in the Lapidary of National Museum.
[898] Zilynská, "Biskup Phillibert a české země", 91.
[899] Blanka Zilynská, "Svěcení kněžstva biskupem Filibertem v Praze v letech 1437-39"(Ordinations of clergy by bishop Phillibert in 1437-39) *Documenta Pragensia* 9.2 (1991), 361-371.

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Týn (Tyne) church in the Old Town, on March 14, 1437 at St. Jacob's church in the Old Town, and on May 5, 1437 at St. Henry and Cunigunde's church in the Old Town.

It appears that Phillibert concentrated on the strategically important Prague churches, specifically those connected with the recent Hussite revolt or otherwise important parishes (**Map 3**). To some extent these two criteria overlapped. The Tyne church was one of the most important parish churches in Prague.[900] John Rokycana had preached there and it was also dedicated to the Corpus Christi. St. Michael was the first church where the lay chalice was offered to laymen during celebration of the Eucharist.[901] Phillibert also consecrated several altars in St. Michael's, possibly at the invitation of a conservative Hussite priest, Master Křišťan of Prachatice. St. Henry and Cunigunde's church, founded by Charles IV, was an important parish church with an imperial and dynastic tradition. Phillibert also consecrated the chapel of the Corpus Christi, where the display of relics took place, and a chapel at the university.[902] Finally, he consecrated St. Jacob's church, originally a monastic church of the Franciscans, for those who communicated *sub una* (only Body of Christ).

In mid-June 1437, Rokycana fled Prague with the priest of St. Stephen's church. The absence of the priest might have played a role in Phillibert's calculations. On 19th of April, 1438, Phillibert of Coutances consecrated altars in the important parish church of St. Stephen in the eastern part of the New Town of Prague. This consecration, however, is not recorded in the de Tornis' diary. The church was an important New Town parish church and known as a place of Hussite radical excesses in the early stages of the Hussite movement.[903] During the reign of Charles IV, the parish had been enlarged to such an extent that it was treated as a new foundation in some sources.[904] Following its enlargement, a new church was built in the same location and richly endowed. In 1379/80, the administrator called it "well-decorated church" with a treasury under proper care.[905] A silver gilded

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[900] František Eckert, *Posvátná místa král. hl. města Prahy. Dějiny a popsání* (Sacred places in the royal capital city of Prague), vol. 2 (Prague: Dědictví sv. Jana Nepomuckého, 1884), 293.
[901] Holeton, "The Bohemian Eucharistic movement in its European context," 24-27. Idem, "Evolution of Utraquist Eucharistic Liturgy: a textual study," in BRRP 2 (1998), 94-126.
[902] Zilynská, "Biskup Phillibert a české země," 90.
[903] The patronage rights to this ancient church belonged to the Czech hospital order of the Knights of the Cross with a Red Star. The church had been the site of two violent episodes during the early phase of the Hussite revolt. First, a priest was attacked in 1410 when announcing an interdict against John Hus and the radical priest John Želivský led an attack on the church in 1419, which ended in the pillaging of the church and parsonage. Eckert, *Posvátná místa král. hl. města Prahy*, 107.
[904] Eckert, *Posvátná místa král. hl. města Prahy*, 105.
[905] Appendix IV, no. 5.

bust he saw in the church treasury, probably came from the imperial endowment.[906] Charles IV, who held St. Stephen in special esteem, brought his relics from Rome to Prague in 1355 and donated them to St. Vitus' cathedral.[907] It might have been also Charles who initiated an annual procession from the cathedral treasury of St. Vitus to St. Stephen's church carrying the bust reliquary of St. Stephen the Protomartyr and a stone from the stoning of St. Stephen[908] which were then shown in that church on the feast day of the saint, although they were not part of the church treasury.

Phillibert's consecration of altars in St. Stephen's in 1438 most clearly reveals the strategy behind his activities in Prague. It was aimed at the collective public memory of important relics as testimonies to Prague's glorious past as a pilgrimage centre, and reminded the Utraquists of their Catholic origin. The consecration took place on the second Sunday after Easter and the parish church was given truly important relics for the consecration. [909]

A^{o} Dni 1438 die 19 Ap(ri)lis hore(?) Domi(ni)ca Secunda post Pascha Templu(m) hoc Consecrata e(st) per venerabilem in χo patrem et Dominum Philibertum gratia Dei Episcopum Coutancien(sem?) p(ro)vincia(m) Bo(Bohemiam?) a S. Concilio Basiliensi Legatto sc(?) (sacras?) eade(m) reconduntur hac reliquia(s)

1 De ligno S. Crucis
2 De Columna in qua fuit Chrs(Christus) flagellatus
3 De Lapido in quo stetit Crux Sita(m)
4 Reliq Stephani Prothomarty(ri)
5 De Beato Petro *in primo*
6 De Sanguino Beati Pauli
7 SS. Simonis et Juda(m) Ap(osto)lor(um)

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8 S. Venceslai M.
9 S. Laurentii M.

[906] *Protocolum*, 62.
[907] CPSVP, IV, XII, XXVII, XXXI.
[908] Eckert, *Posvátná místa král. hl. města Prahy*, 105-106.
[909] A written record of Phillibert's relics offered to the church is preserved in the archive of the Karlov Augustinian monastery. Appendix II, 28. Inventory of relics in the church of St. Stephen in Rybníček (1438). National Archive, section Dissolved Monasteries, AZK ŘA Karlov, Spisy (unsorted administrative material), inv. no. 2535 fasc. 11. (Holinka no. 1111).Year 1438, appended to Sermon Dominica + Post Pascha *Ira enim viri justitiam Dei non operatur*, 17th century copy.

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10 S. Mauritii Martyris *in 2do*

11 S. Clement(is) Papa(m) Confesoris

12 St(?) (…Ilybros, Hybros?, Ilarie?) Martyri(s?) (sc?)

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13 Ossa ss. 11 Milliu(m) Virginu(m) Mart.

14 S. Catharine V. et M. *in 3tio*

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15 S. Margaritha(e) V. et M.

16 S. Ursula(e) V. et. M. *in 4to*

17 S. Sabrina(e) V. et M. (sc?) 18 Elisabath Vidua(e)

Titulus Vero annotatur S. Stephano Prothomartyrii

[*On April 19, 1438, (…on the second Sunday after the Easter) this church was consecrated by Philibert, Bishop of Coutance, Legate of the Holy Council of Basel to the province of Bohemia, and the following relics were brought there: from the Wood of the Holy Cross, from the Column where Christ flagellated, from the Stone in which the cross was positioned, a relic of Stephen the Protomartyr, of St. Peter, the Blood of St. Paul, St. Simon and Juda the Apostles…for the first [altar?]. Relics of St. Wenceslaus the Martyr, St. Lawrence the Martyr, St. Mauritius the Martyr, St. Clemens the Pope and Confessor, St. Hilarie? the Martyr…for the second [altar]. The bones of the holy Eleven Thousand Virgins, the Martyrs, St. Catherine the Virgin and Martyr…for the third. St. Margaret the Virgin and Martyr, St. Ursula the Virgin and Martyr in the fourth, St. Sabrina the Virgin and Martyr and, (St.?) Elisabeth the Widow. The titular dedication is to the name of St. Stephen the Protomartyr.*]

The inventory is written in four parts, possibly denoting altars in which the relics were enclosed. They included pieces of the True Cross, the column where Christ was flagellated, and the Stone which held the Cross in Golgotha. Relics of the most important saints of Christianity followed, starting with the titular saint, St. Stephen the Protomartyr, followed by St. Peter, the blood of St. Paul, and the Apostles St. Simon and St. Jude. All of these relics were placed in the first altar. In the second group, the main patron saint of Bohemia, St. Wenceslaus, was placed together with the early martyrs Laurentius, Mauritius, and the confessor pope, St. Clement. In the third altar, bones from the Eleven

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Thousand Virgins and St. Catherine were deposited. In the last group were the virgin female saints Margaret, Ursula, Sabrina, and Elisabeth.

Such a composition of consecration relics is surprising for an important, but nevertheless just a parish church in Prague. In agreement with the Christian hierarchy of saints and the tradition of Charles IV, the accent was placed on relics of the Passion and the Apostles. The choice is impressive and, in this ambivalent confessional environment, avoided being too controversial. The Passion relics echoed the centrality of Christ's figure and the Corpus Christi in the Hussite rite. There were no Virgin Mary relics, which can be explained by Phillibert's concession to the Hussites who disputed the role of the Virgin in Salvation History. The composition also aimed at careful promotion of Roman saints (SS. Lawrence, Stephen, Peter, and Paul) and papal authority; two uncontroversial sainted popes—St. Peter and St. Clement—were included;[910] relics of both were previouly also shown in the Prague displays. Finally, the reason for the use of St. Wenceslaus' relics is clear. The main patron saint of Bohemia was there to remind the Protestants of the martyrs of their past and their own saintly tradition.

Phillibert's activity aimed at re-Catholisation was not limited to pontifical masses, processions and displays of relics, episcopal rituals, and manipulation of treasuries. Another opportunity for public promotion of traditional forms of Catholic piety was provided by the practice of inserting relics into images or sculptures, known from the late fourteenth century Bohemia, and popular with the Virgin Mary images under Wenceslaus IV's reign.[911] On March 11, 1439, important Passion relics were inserted into the head of the sculpture of Christ in the famous Calvary standing in the triumphal arch between the choir and the nave of the Tyne church (**Pl. 52 – Christ from the Tyne Calvary**), carved by the master identified after this work.[912] Either the priest, Master Jan Papoušek, an adherent of Phillibert who had earlier been confirmed as priest of the church by Phillibert (on 24 April 1437)[913] or Phillibert himself initiated this consecration of the sculpture in a clear reference to the fourteenth-century practice.

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[910] Churches had been dedicated to St. Clement since Christianity arrived in Bohemia and his cult resonated with Czech-Slavonic feelings. His were the first relics that consecrated churches in Bohemia, as SS. Cyril and Methodius had brought him to Magna Moravia in the 9th century and from there to Prague; later, this saint's relics were included in the annual Prague showing of relics. Kubínová, *Imitatio Romae,* 291-4

[911] Šroněk, "Šlojíř nejistý," 84-5.

[912] Milena Bartlová, *Mistr Týnské kalvárie. Český sochař doby husitské* (Master of the Tyne Calvary. Czech sculptor of the Hussite Era) (Prague: Academia, 2004), 23-25.

[913] Zilynská, "Biskup Phillibert a české země," 90.

The relics inserted in the Tyne Christ's head read as follows: *Infrascriptae reliquiae sacrae continentur in vertice huius crucifixi amarissime: Passionis Christi, primo de ligno domini, de petra in qua stetit crux, de statua circa quam flagellatus est, de panno domini, de lapide ubi Christus predicavit, de operibus misericordiae aliae reliquie his recondite a.d. MCCCCXXXIX m. Xima*. . [*Below are sacred relics that are placed in the head of this crucifix: of the Passion of Christ, first the wood of the Holy Cross, of the stone in which stood the Cross, of the column, at which he was flagellated, of the veil of the Christ, with which his nakedness was covered, of the stone, where Christ preached, and other relics of the deeds of mercy are here inserted in 1439.*] This time, relics of Christ's Passion were used exclusively, and again, they ranked among the most venerated tokens of Christianity. Interestingly, the first three relics were identical with those used in the consecration of St. Stephen's. The blooded *pannum*, the Virgin Mary's Veil, with which Mary covered Christ's nakedness on the Cross, was a clever choice. It was a venerated relic in the St. Vitus Cathedral, and simultaneously a relic referring to Christ's Passion and the Virgin.

When considering Phillibert's fostering of traditional Catholic piety it is notable that two images of the Virgin dating from the second third of the fifteenth century originated from two of the churches Phillibert was associated with (the Tyne, and St. Stephen). In the Tyne church, the panel painting of the Virgin was of the *Beata* type[914] closely following the St. Vitus prototype (**pl. 53, Our Lady of St. Stephen**). Bartlová dates the painting to before the mid-15th century. Another panel painting of the Virgin, this time of the Vyšší Brod type, was created for St. Stephen's church. Both are late, conservative examples of the Beautiful Style, copying famous Bohemian prototypes.[915] The Tyne church had its own Catholic-oriented decoration programme in sculpture by the Master of the Tyne Calvary, designed in the late 1430s to 1440s, whose iconography promoted the most important relics in Prague church treasuries.[916]

A carved Crucifix by the same workshop of the Master of the Tyne Calvary is stil preserved in the Prague church of St. Jiljí (Eligius). Here, in April 1437, Phillibert confirmed and established Master Jan of Příbram, another of his conservative Utraquist allies. Four Utraquist Masters, Jan Papoušek, Prokop of Plzeň, Křišťan of Prachatice, and Jan of Příbram were apparently regarded as reliable supporters of Phillibert's cause, as all of them consequently provided guaranties to the

[914] Bartlová, *Poctivé obrazy*, 389-90.
[915] Bartlová, *Poctivé obrazy*, 389-90, pl. 148, Antonín Matějček, *Ćeská malba gotická. Deskové malířství 1350-1450* (Czech Gothic painting. Panel painting 1350-1450) (Prague: Melantrich, 1940), 154, pl. 254-5.
[916] Horníčková, "Eucharistický Kristus mezi anděly z Týna", 223-225.

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applicants for clerical upgrade ordained by Phillibert in 1437-1438.[917] The sculptures of Crucified Christ by the Master of the Tyne Calvary workshop were ordered at least for two of their four churches.[918] This suggests an interesting link between this workshop and the bishop's activity in Prague and illustrates the claim by Aenea Silvio Piccolomini (later Pius II) that among his other efforts, Phillibert "returned images of saints back" to the churches.[919]

Another church where Phillibert is known to have been active is St. Henry and Cunigunde's. Eckert writes that this church was consecrated by Phillibert the day before St. Stephen's, that is, on April 18, 1438, although he did not report his source for this information.[920] Master Prokop of Plzeň, a conservative Utraquist and ally of Phillibert in the reconciliation between the Czechs and the Roman Catholic Church, was established in this parish by Phillibert on May 5, 1437.[921] Probably soon after that date, but before 1448,[922] he authored a tractate: *De Adoratione reliquiarum et de processionibus (On the veneration of relics and processions)*, where he defended traditional Catholic forms of piety such as public veneration of relics and the processions. He used the argument of the ancient Bohemian origin of their tradition in the translation of the body of St. Ludmila, reminded readers of Charles IV's annual displays of relics, and especially defended the Virgin Mary relics.[923] In his sermons delivered in St. Henry's in 1437 or 1438, that is, before Phillibert's death and possibly under his *aegis*, he preached the traditional Catholic cult to the Prague public. In the outlines for his sermons he promoted the veneration of saints and their images, festive ceremonies, feasts, and pilgrimages, sacraments, prayers to the saints, as well as argued against iconoclasm, destruction of sacred places and vessels, and serving mass outside of churches.[924] Although not explicitly naming church treasuries, objects in them, such as reliquaries, ornaments, precious vessels and decorated service garments held key positions in his views on traditional cult practices and his strategy for persuasion.

At least four of the churches consecrated by Phillibert or where Phillibert held pontifical masses (The Tyne church, St. Henry and Cunigunde's, St. Stephen's, and the Emmaus monastery)

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[917] Zilynská, "Svěcení kněžstva biskupem Filibertem," 366-7, where she argues that Phillibert ordained too few Utraquist priests for Prague, clearly with the intention to limit the number of priests serving under both species.
[918] Another candidate would be the crucifix that was until recently in St. Henry and Cunigonde church, however its link to the church is doubted. I am indebted for this information to V. Kelnar.
[919] Hadravová, Martínková, and Motl, eds. *Aeneae Silvii Historia Bohemica / Enea Silvio Historie česká*, 169.
[920] Eckert, *Posvátná místa král. hl. města Prahy*, vol 2, 7.
[921] Zilynská, "Biskup Phillibert a české země," 90.
[922] Jaroslav Prokeš, *M. Prokop z Plzně. Příspěvek k vývoji konzervativní strany husitské* (Master Prokop of Plzeň. Contribution to the evolution of Conservative Hussite party) (Prague: Nákladem společnosti Husova musea, 1927), 144.
[923] Prokeš, *M. Prokop z Plzně*, 153, 183, 259, ft. 845.
[924] Prokeš, *M. Prokop z Plzně*, 237-8, ft. 628-638.

already had their own historical memories of Charles' IV strategy to make Prague a pilgrimage centre. Phillibert made use of the common memory of the people in support of the contemporary revival of Charles IV-style veneration of relics that could restore Prague church treasuries to their fourteenth-century glory. Prague's forgotten treasuries—the most important relics of Western Christianity—were called on for help in a time of need, when the Catholic case was under threat. Phillibert calculated on the unifying potential and patrimonial value of Christ's relics, which, on the one hand, had a strong persuasive capacity as the most venerated of relics, and on the other hand, seem to have been less controversial for the Hussites.

Where did the Phillibert's relics come from? Although there is no direct source on this question, it is likely that they originated from St. Vitus cathedral. It was a handy resource for Phillibert for several reasons. First, the excellent collection contained the most important Passion relics and a wide range of relics from all over Europe and Rome. Second, Phillibert was able to exercise considerable influence over the Prague chapter as he paid its expenses with his own money after Sigismund appropriated most of its own resources and stopped paying them after he left Prague.[925] Third, the relics of St. Vitus treasury (with remains of the royal treasury?) were present at that time in Prague. In the spring of 1437, they had been brought to Prague from Karlštejn by imperial order for display on the feast of the Holy Lance to provide a respectable context for the Emperor Sigismund's claim to the Bohemian throne.

More than half a century later and under different confessional conditions, Bishop Phillibert, by imperial order or consent, embraced the memory of Charles IV's effort and put it into the service of the Catholic cause. Making direct reference to Prague (Catholic) history, Phillibert employed methods of persuasion including relics' manipulation, treasuries, ceremonies and processions, and engaged the public by showing relics on special feast days. Phillibert counted on a twofold effect. First, the public ceremony with a procession expressed a point in contemporary polemics on the format of church ritual I have outlined earlier that reflected the key conflicting issue the radical Hussites had had with the Catholics and conservative Utraquists since the 1420s. Phillibert also counted on the emotional effect of these relics on moderate Utraquists in Prague. Utraquists were more likely to tolerate their existence, donations and solemn ceremonies. He might also have played on public resentment over the loss of the prime position of Prague among imperial cities as the seat of the Holy Roman Emperor following the revolt. One cannot be sure of the direct reaction of Prague's public to Phillibert's effort,

[925] Zilynská, "Biskup Phillibert a české země", 67.

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but the harking back to a glorious tradition and the fame of the relics themselves worked well together. No large-scale retaliation is known, and at this time, the first post-revolt endowments to Prague churches are recorded in sources showing that Catholic institutions for a short time managed to attract the attention of the faithful.[926]

Phillibert opted for persuasion rather than more extreme action, but his calculations proved only partially correct. He read the psychology of the people, which balanced between sympathy for the Reformation and inclinations to traditional piety at a time when nothing had yet been decided upon, but which certainly posed the threat of conflict. The rituals must have caused, and did cause, indignation among more radically oriented individuals, but the burghers did not fail Phillibert and partially embraced - or tolerated - a return to what was clearly Catholic practice. This might have been meant as a concession but more likely the conservative Utraquist party which then controlled the religious scene in Prague, had little problem with traditional religious practices. Memory worked for the moment, albeit not for long. Sigismund died in December 1437, followed by Phillibert two years later. Although Phillibert's policy spawned followers who continued his work till 1457, Phillibert's death from plague on June 19, 1439 closed the first phase of the "peaceful" efforts to return the Catholics to power in Prague. George of Poděbrady's siege of Prague and return of Jan Rokycana in 1448 as well as the sudden death of young King Ladislaus Posthumus in 1457 put an end to this strategy of persuasion until the Jagellonians took the throne in 1471.

3. Confessionalising the Objects: Church Treasuries around 1500

3.1 The Utraquist Treasury

Hussite revolt affected the existence and administration of church treasuries on many levels. It caused one-and-half-century of archbishop´s *sedesvacantium*, and weakening of monastic life, as well as brought contempt of Catholic Europe, and international isolation of Bohemia. It speeded the processes leading to laicisation of church administration and involved the faithful in religious matters. In the period of our consideration, Bohemian towns became important players on the political scene

[926] About one fifth of the donations between 1436 and 1448 went to Catholic institutions, however, the first were made only at the time of Phillibert's death. Zilynskyj, "Postavení utrakvistické a katolické konfese na Novém Městě Pražském v letech 1436—1459," 392-394.

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demonstating their strong position through public buildings, churches, and monuments; thus the urban public sphere turned into space, where the citizens manifested their confessional identity.[927] Although the moderate Utraquists, who gained majority in Bohemia during the 1430s, saw themselves as a part of the universal Church and their church organisation copied the Catholic administration[928] with the Utraquist Consistory as the highest Utraquist administrative body, the Catholics inside and outside Bohemia perceived them as heretics. In spite of it the dual confessional system in Bohemia endured during the reign of George of Poděbrady and the Jagiello kings up to the early 17th century. After the death of John Rokycana in 1471, the Utraquist Consistory, which existed already before mid-fifteenth century, showed a remarcable persistence in the complicated situation of the pre-White Mountain period.[929]

In the conditions of the post-Compactate Utraquism, the Protestant communities tried to preserve specific features of their ritual, and reconcile them with formal recognition of the Apostolic primacy of the Roman Church. The existence of Utraquist deviations from the Catholic rite was founded in the articles defining the keeping of the Compactate Accord of 1437, although they represent rather the conservative approach to the rite close to the Catholic practice.[930] In general, however, there were great local variations among the communities in the way the cult practices were conducted. In this situation, church treasury transformed into one of the spaces where the community's religious identity was manifested upon suitable occasions. In spite of their changing role in the cult, the treasuries still played an important role in religious life of the community; regardless of the confessional environment, they served as the source of patriotic pride, attracted visitors,[931] and represented shared community's *memoria*.

The period of the Jagellonian rule in Bohemia is marked by the new effort of faithful to decorate their churches and enriching the treasuries. The number of church ornaments as well as donations to the churches is growing since at least mid-fifteenth century, although more study is needed on the patterns of donations in the different confessional situation. The faithful donate numerous liturgical vessels (*monstrances*, chalices), and textiles: in Kutná Hora parishioners gave the churches no less than thirty-six chalices between 1467 and 1512, reflecting the wealth of the silver

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[927] Kateřina Horníčková, "Enrichment to public presentation of religious identity of Czech (Utraquist) towns," BRRP 7 (2008)(forthcoming).
[928] Zilynská, "Utrakvistická církevní správa a možnosti jejího studia," 40-41, 52. Key works on the topic (by N. Rejchrtová, and Z. Zahradník) remain unpublished.
[929] Zilynská, "Utrakvistická církevní správa," 41.
[930] Palacký, "Artikulové smluvení na držení kompaktát w Čechách 10.3. 1437," 453-5.
[931] Councillors of Kutná Hora show church treasures to important people, Šimek, *Kutná Hora v 15. a 16. století*, 152.

mining town.[932] However, the number of new altar erections never reached pre-Husite level;[933] at the end of the fifteenth century due to lack of priests and costs of keeping an altar priest became expensive, and difficult to arrange. The parish communities reacted to this situation in various ways: Catholic community of St. Jacob' in Brno joined existing altar *beneficia* together to couples, in order to provide financial support for one priest.[934] Some churches, though, were without a priest for several years.[935]

Utraquist religious practice comprised various social, theological and cultural aspects inherited from the Hussite liturgical reform, such as lay participation, and use of vernacular in parts of the service, accentuated Biblical authority over ecclesiastical matters, and practical problems with administering lay chalice; the use of garments in the mass, money collection and feasts remained optional pending the agreement of the parish community. Lay communities emerged as an independent factor in designing local religious practices, where tradition functioned as unifying force securing people's support through the social spectrum, but differences between the places hinder any further generalisation.

The majority of town parishes in Bohemia (over thirty royal towns, for example) in the fifteenth century adhered to more or less conservative Utraquism (**Map 4**), which enforced only one of the four basic Hussite articles—the lay chalice. They also kept the Hussite Communion of children, which was criticised by adversaries of Bohemian Reformation ever since its invention by the Hussite theologians. Compared to the level of resistance to the Catholic traditions in the case of the Unity of Brethens, Calvinists, or even Lutherans, these may seem as minor changes at first; but the communities clinged to the unique features of Utraquism as demonstrations of their confessional, national and local identity.

Given the current state of our knowledge,[936] it is hard to establish precisely how the confessional map of Bohemia developed over the time. In the situation of Utraquist-Catholic co-existence, whether a church was Catholic or Utraquist depended not only on local nobility, power

[932] Šimek, *Kutná Hora a XV. A XVI. století*, 53.
[933] Altars were however erected in some churches; the situation differs from place to place—five altars were erected between 1478 and 1491 in St. Jacob in Brno. Bretholz, *Die Pfarrkirche zu St. Jakob*, 72.
[934] Bretholz, *Die Pfarrkirche zu St. Jakob*, 73.
[935] Zikmund Winter, *Život církevní v Čechách* (Religious life in Bohemia), vol. 2 (Prague: Nákladem České akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění, 1896), 505.
[936] The problem is the complexity of the confessional distribution in Bohemia and Moravia in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. No substantial work has been so far published on the confessional situation in Bohemia that has taken into account the topography and local situations as well as their development over time. Such a project would have to combine vast number of results from current and earlier works with regional focus.

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distribution amongst the community, and choice of the priest, but also on the network of relations between these players. As opposed to the later Augsburg creed, in the Bohemian Lands from the fifteenth to early seventeenth century, Catholic lords could have Protestant subjects and vice versa. It was rather a matter of choice for the community and the priests' position on orthodoxy that defined the form of ritual and amendments to the church interior in each church. The presence of even more radical points of view, however, did not necessarily result in the destruction of the objects in the church treasury.

Bohemian Reformation speeded processes leading to enforcing lay power over the parish matters. When centralising ties weakened, managing treasuries became more dependent on the community that also engaged in administration of endowments. An original point in Utraquist teaching, the request for clerical poverty, and removal of wordly rule of clergy ("*odstranění světského panování kněží*")[937] formed theoretical support for lay overtaking of endowments and administration of church treasuries; during the fifteenth century, lay influence institutionalised[938] controlling the community's presentation and church finances. This process can be best observed in towns, where the patronage rights to the altars and the church gradually passed to the council.[939] The change enforced the position of councils in the decision-making on church matters that, in consequence, influenced the treasuries as well;[940] for example inventoring was organised by the local authorities. Majority of Utraquist church inventories around 1500 I have collected were written in Czech[941] in the town registers.[942] To ease the control, two or more lay sacristans responsible to the council were recruited from the community's elders. Comunity patronage and lay control of endowments are characteristic features of Utraquist church administration,[943] significant for restoration of ecclesiastical treasuries in the post-Compactate Bohemia.

In post-Compactate Prague two confessions lived side by side and had to tolerate each other. As early as in 1430s, donations to the Prague churches re-appear in the sources; the consolidation of power helped to restore donating habits of the Prague citizens. The first results show dual donations to

[937] Zilynská, "Utrakvistická církevní správa," 42.
[938] Zilynská, "Utrakvistická církevní správa," 40-1, 48.
[939] Waska, "Vrchnostenská města," 278.
[940] The towns, and the councils act as patrons in practice; their patronage is often not stated in official documents. Waska, "Vrchnostenská města," 278, Zilynská, "Utrakvistická církevní správa," 48.
[941] Appendix II, 30. The earlier inventories of Chrudim (1465? and 1444) are written in Latin.
[942] Chrudim inventories were written in the Book of transactions, *Liber contractorum*, St. Nicholaus' in Books of Sacristans (church registers), and Vodňany in *Liber memorabilis*, Book of Memory, the book of transactions for eternal memory.
[943] Zilynská, "Utrakvistická církevní správa," 48, 52.

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both Utraquist and Catholic institutions in the early post-war years,[944] however, the New Town testaments show that donations to the Utraquist churches prevail by four fifths. Due to the political development in the second half of the fifteenth century, the donations to the Utraquist churches prevail,[945] although endowments to the Catholic institutions are attested again in the early 1460s. With the exception of Minor Town,[946] the gifts to the Catholic monasteries were in decline until the mid-sixteenth century, plummeting especially after the Prague revolt of 1483. The estimates suggest that lay donations to town parish churches reached pre-Hussite level already before the mid-fifteenth century. It seems that burghers' donations were behind the restitution of treasuries, showing that the confessional abnormality of Bohemia did not anyhow hinder the development of lay piety known from other parts of Central Europe.

Only few objects in the Utraquist treasury[947] are exclusive to Utraquism.[948] The first Utraquist invention was ***chalice with a spout*** (*řepice*), of which the chalice of Kadaň (**pl. 55, chalice of Kadaň, c. 1520**) is the only preserved example and dates around 1520.[949] Its use is first mentioned in the articles against Rokycana of 1461.[950] The chalice, often with a large bowl and a lid to prevent spilling out the Blood, served for the Communion *sub utraque* by the faithful. In 1534, three chalices from the treasury of St. Nicolas in Old Town Prague were replaced by a large silver chalice with a spout, five times heavier than the average chalice and capable to contain large volume of wine.[951] On a woodcut illustration in the Czech "translation" of Aeneas Silvio Piccolomini's *Historia Bohemica* (**pl. 7, Piccolomini's *Historia Bohemica*, Communion under both species from the spout chalice**)

[944] Zilynskyj, "Postavení utrakvistické a katolické konfese na Novém Městě Pražském v letech 1436—1459," 392.
[945] Cf. high support to the Utraquist church in Mělník and only two bequests for the Augustinian monastery in Pšovka 1490-1530, Zuzana Všetečková, "Byla mělnická pyxida s figurální výzdobou v podobě Krista na hoře Olivetské utrakvistická?" (Was the Mělník pyx with figure of Christ on the Mount of Olives Utraquist?) (unpublished offprint of the lecture, June 2008), BRRP 8, 6 (publication forthcoming).
[946] Zilynskij, "Postavení Utrakvistické a katolické konfese na Novém Městě Pražském v letech 1436—1459," 403, ft. 33.
[947] For detailed study see Kateřina Horníčková, "A Utraquist Church Treasure and Its Custodians: A few observations on the lay administration of Utraquist churches," BRRP 6 (2007), 189-208.
[948] There were more in the interior of the Utraquist church. The central role of Corpus Christi in Utraquist devotion fostered the introduction of the new type of altarpieces with central niche for the Eucharist, cf. Pešina, *Česká malba pozdní gotiky a renesance*, altarpieces from Chrudim, St. Catherine's church (c. 1500, pl. 70), Slavětín (1531, pl. 249), or Libiš (after 1500, pl. 94). In the collection of Utraquist exempla from Olomouc, the bees built a chapel with an altar, where the Sacrament was placed. Havránek, Hrabák, and Daňhelka, eds., *Výbor z české literatury doby husitské*, 331. The Utraquists introduced some typical choral books, such as Book of Songs (Utraquist or Brethen gradual).
[949] Dana Stehlíková, "Kalich z Kadaně," in *Z pokladů litoměřické diecéze*, inv. č. 146.
[950] *Žaloby*, 70.
[951] Appendix II, no. 33, Sacristan Book of St. Nicholas, Archive of the City of Prague (AHMP), inv. no. 1669, fol. 34 gives accounting of 1538 with Nicolaus, the goldsmith of Horse market, who made *large chalice with spout* of three chalices from the treasury. The chalice weighted ten pounds of silver and fourteen and half *lot*. Name of the goldsmith appears on fol. 42v.

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published by Mikuláš Konáč of Hodiškov,[952] the priest holds this chalice in both hands and a knight drinks from it through a small spout attached to the lip. The third figure in pontifical gear kneeling in front of the altar with monstrance and chalice is identified as John Rokycana adorating *sub utraque*, which again links Rokycana to the introduction of this practice.

The precise use of the *řepice* chalice in Utraquist liturgy is not without problems. The 1462 report of the Utraquist delegation to the Pope Pius II in Rome hints to the origin of the idea.[953] The delegation relays that the pope mentioned large chalices with spouts as an early Christian practice, and that these large chalices have been found in Rome. These large chalices were thought to have been Consecration chalices, from where the Blood was poured into small chalices for Communication. Such differentiation is so far not confirmed for the Utraquists—in spite of the number of chalices in the Utraquist inventories, there is not a specific mention of small communication chalices, nor does the visual evidence support it.[954] Moreover, the *řepice* chalices are attested in the inventories only after 1500 (St. Nicolus in Prague, Betlehem Chapel); the chalices were apparently still in use at the beginning of the seventeenth century—for example in the governor Slavata's Memoirs we read about children communicating wine from such a chalice.[955]

As the Utraquists recognised only the Communion under both species as valid for the Salvation, the typical form of the Communion chalices was amended in order to prevent spilling out the Blood whilst carrying the Eucharist to the sick people. In the inventories we find chalices with covers for the use at the sicks' bed (*Item kalich strzibrny s przikrywadlem k nemocznym choditi drzi wahy iij hrziwny iiγ lot*), such as in the Prague church of St. Nicolaus.[956] From the Accussation of John Rokycana, we are also informed of the use of bottles for the same purpose; such a piece, however, I have not found in the inventories.

Another new invention was the Communion of children. In practice unique to Utraquism (and heavily criticised by other confessions), infants were brought to Communion by their parents and

[952] Woodcut from Aenea Silvio Piccolomini's *Historia bohemica*, transl. by Mikuláš Konáč of Hodiškov, (Konáč of Hodiškov, c. 1510). [Strahov Monastery Library].
[953] "Relace poselství do Říma," 1462, in *Výbor z české literatury doby husitské*, 248. "*Za časů sv. Petra se v prvotní církvi pod obojí přijímalo za velkých svátků a hodů a se ještě velcí kalichové nalézají, v nichž byla krev Boží posvěcována pro lidi a ty kalichové měli sú u sebe čiepky neb řápky, po nichž krev do menších kalichuov byla nalévána…*" *[…in the times of St. Peter the early Church communicated under both kinds on big feasts and even nowadays we find large chalices where the Blood was consecrated for the laity and these chalices had attached spouts through which the Blood to smaller chalices was poured]*.
[954] Although older research presumed—and it is likely to have happened too—that private donations of chalices were demanded to be used in one's Communion.
[955] Winter, *Život církevní v Čechách*, vol. 2, 911-2.
[956] Appendix II, no. 31.

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served with ***a spoon***. The practice was prone to excesses—Z. Winter records a case when from reasons unknown to us a priest slapped a miller's daughter in face and hurt her mouth while she was communicating from a spoon.[957] This Communion of the minors is confirmed in the Utraquist inventories, where silver spoons for the children are listed. Two spoons are mentioned in the Sacristan Book of St. Nicolas in 1536,[958] others in the inventories of the churches in Kutná Hora. In Hradec Králové, Utraquist ciborium with one silver and one gilded spoon is preserved in the museum (**pl. 56, Hradec Králové ciborium**);[959] the spoons might have been used either for placing the Host on the paten, or—due to their small size—for Communion of minors.

Large ***monstrance*** for Corpus Christi was a standard possession of a Utraquist church and the most decorated piece in its treasury. Carried in processions or exhibited in the interior, these elaborate goldsmith works weighting up to a few dozens of silver pounds reflected the importance of Corpus Christi in the Utraquist doctrine and religious practice, as well as the community's wealth. Among other jewels from treasury of St. Barbara church shown to the members of Bohemian Chancellery in 1569 by the councillors of Kutná Hora, a particular notice was given to a large, life-size silver monstrance, which four men had to carry.[960] From another church in Kutná Hora, St. Bartholomeus, silver monstrance of the tower-type and 60 cm made around the 1500 is preserved until today **(pl. 57, monstrance of St. Bartholomeus, now St. Jacob church)**.

Relics are rarely mentioned in the context of Utraquist treasuries. In the inventory of the Virgin Church in Chrudim of 1463, there is a reference to two large 'monstrances'—probably for Corpus Christi—and another small one with relics (*dwie monstranczii welike, a trzety mala s swatostmi*); the third clearly denotes a reliquary.[961] In the church of the Our Lady na Náměti in Kutná Hora, a cross with a small wooden cross inside is listed among the jewels in the inventory—a reliquary of the True Cross.[962] Even Prague Betlehem Chapel,[963] the centre of Hus' cult and Hussite teaching, kept its relic

[957] Winter, *Život církevní v Čechách*, vol. 2, 913.
[958] AHMP, 1669, 41v. *"Dwie lziczky stribrny pro ditky" (two silver spoons for children)*…
[959] Kateřina Horníčková, cat. no. 66, in *Mysterium. L´Eucaristia nei capolavori dell´arte europea*, ed. Alessandro Geretti (Milano, Skira 2005), 254-55.
[960] Šimek, *Kutná Hora v XV. a XVI. století*, 14-15.
[961] Unpublished. Appendix II, 31.
[962] Karel B. Mádl, "Nádobí a roucha kostelů kutnohorských r. 1516"(Vessels and vestments of churches in Kutná Hora in 1516) *Památky Archeologické* 17 (1896), 334.
[963] Cf. Appendix III. Ferdinand Hrejsa, *Betlémská kaple. O jejích dějinách a zachovaných zbytcích* (Betlehem Chapel. On its history and preserved remains)(Prague 1922), 37. the relic is recorded already in the 1529 inventory of the chapel. In the notes of the priest Jan Mystopol of 1550, the jewels in the chapel were inventoried again. Among them, the chapel kept two relics: the body of the Innocent wrapped in green silk with black cover in a wooden coffin, and the black chasuble of John Hus. The treasury also had a chalice with a spout, and four spoons for Communion of minors.

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of an Innocentum throughout both Utraquist and even Brethen(!) administration in the sixteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Relics were also kept in the altars, as advised by Matthew of Janov, and Nicolaus of Dresden; when the building of the church of St. Laurentius in Kaňk near Kutná Hora was finished in 1506, the community bought a lead casket for relics for the altar consecration.[964] So far I can assume from the Utraquist inventories, relics were kept in the Utraquist treasuries in a modest number in comparison to the earlier period, and in simpler, albeit solemn reliquaries; nothing implies elaborated reliquaries or ceremonies as in the pre-Hussite period. Although they seem to have lost much of their importance in the cult, so far it seems that they were accessible to the faithful, and could have been carried in the processions.

Bohemian Reformation developed its own cults of John Hus and Jeroným of Prague. Betlehem chapel enjoyed a special position among Protestant religious houses in Bohemia and was open to the faithful of all Protestant confessions as the place where John Hus used to preach. On the preachers' pulpit, the decoration showed Hus', and Jeroným's death at stake next to that of St. John the Evangelist. The memorial "relic" of John Hus—his black chasuble—was kept in the chapel's "treasury" in the adjacent room to the nave next to the solemnly wrapped relic of the Innocentum. Both were accessible to the faithful—albeit the question of their veneration will have to be answered yet.

Utraquist treasury of St. Nicolas in Old Town Prague was recorded in the Book of Sacristans now kept in the Archive of the City of Prague.[965] From 1497, the sacristans held detailed accounts of the church matters listing its expenses and incomes, interests on lent property, agreements to exchange of furnishings in the church interior,[966] and donations to the treasury. The church was founded under Přemysl Otakar II originally for German burghers in the Old Town in the thirteenth century. On July 18, 1419, Hussite riots took place here, as a consequence of which a priest was decapitated reportedly for his keen defence of the church's treasury, savaged by the Hussites. Some famous preachers, such as John Milíč of Kroměříž, Mikuláš Puchník and, in the sixteenth century, Jan Mystopol, used to preach here.

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[964] Vincenc Braniš, "Historické poznámky o kostele sv. Vavřince na Kaňku" (Historical notes on the church of St. Laurentius in Kaňk) *Method* 6.10 (1880), 115.
[965] AHMP, inv. no. 1665. The parish priest was named either by Olbramowicz family or Abbot of Strahov monastery. It had sixteen altars at the time: St. Cross, founded by membes of Štuk family already during John of Luxembourg, St. Martyrs, St. Prokop, founded 1377, 2 Virgin Mary altars (one with 3 altar priests), St. Laurentius, and altar of John the Baptist, founded 1409.
[966] E.g., selling stalls was common, AHMP, inv. no. 1665 fol. 31v-33v, 38, 31v.

The first post-war donations in St. Nicolaus church were recorded already in 1450 and 1471.[967] To the contrary of the previous period, Utraquist community of St. Nicolaus can be characterised as conservative Czech town middle class with a substantial proportion of craftsmen and merchants. Administration of the treasury and donations to St. Nicolaus was in hands of the community and the town council that looked after the treasury through elected sacristans; their institution followed a written rule in the town-hall registers and the Sacristan's Book. Always two elder burghers and two younger ones were elected to the office.[968]

The sacristans were responsible for the maintenance and safekeeping of the treasury, and, together with council members, had keys from the well-protected treasury chamber, which was different from the sacristy.[969] Officially, the priest was still accepting donations to the church, such as vestments; however he accounted each contribution to sacristans who approved the receipt.[970] Sacristans kept the items under close scrutiny, ordered chalices or other items, inventoried them and weighted, even handed the priest liturgical vessels needed for the service—similarly like in Církvice, where the priest[971] had to ask the sacristan before the service to issue him relevant vestments.[972] Sacristans were also entitled to buying new vestments or liturgical textiles to the treasury if needed, such as the new cloth bought for collecting money at the altar Corpus Christi in 1528.[973]

Any donation to the church was carefully recorded,[974] often with function and place. For example the donation by Kateřina Swatkowa in 1509 of a white curtain over the front of the altar,[975] an

[967] Teige, *Základy starého místopisu pražského*, vol. 1, 96-97.
[968] AHMP, 1665, fol. 15.
[969] AHMP, 1665, fol. 34v, makes a difference between "upstairs", a chamber in the tower above the singer's choir, where the treasury was kept, and "downstairs" referring to the sacristy.
[970] AHMP, 1665, fol. 120, year 1577.
[971] In 1555, St. Nicolas has two priests (main and younger) and a bell-ringer wearing priestly vestments. Shortly before in 1552, they had to renew the practices of institution of sacristans. In 1553 follows a thorough inventory of archive in three large boxes containing a charter with seals, contracts related to church endowments, extracts from testaments; the inventory mentions five keys from a vaulted chapel above the singers' choir–the treasury, where the jewels and liturgical vessels were kept. First three keys are from large and double door, fourth from the first iron door lock and fifth from the large chest where the jewels were locked. In the second box, a silver longer spoon for children's communion was found. Teige, *Základy starého místopisu pražského*, vol. 1, 106.
[972] Winter, *Život církevní v Čechách*, 2, 515.
[973] 1528 "*na Co(la)tur(u)*", AHMP, 1665, fol 21v-22r. Collected money from all St. Nicolaus altars went to the community, as was recorded in the royal privilege of the king Wladislaw of Jagiello, transcribed on fol. 22v.
[974] Even furniture and vessels for everyday use in the parsonage were under scrutiny of the community. They belonged to *beneficium*, not to the priest - they were only lent to him. 1531 St. Nicolaus' sacristans inventoried 8 large bowls from the parsonage, 6 tin plates, 3 large ewers, 1 candlestick, a bucket, table and tablecloth and counted even a tin washbasin on the wall.
[975] As for the interior of the church, the Czech Annals of 1509 record a story, where the (main?) altar of St. Nicolaus was damaged by shooting by the Hungarians of the king Wladislaus II. Jagiello. Such an attack might have been provoked by a non-Catholic subject, such as image of John Hus, known now only from a few preserved pieces (altars of Roudníky,

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altarcloth with crosses and two brass candlesticks was subscribed with a note that if the particular *beneficium* should cease to exist, her donation would go to another altar "so that Grace would not be lost" and will be accounted at the Last Judgement.[976] Her concern reflects a typical situation around 1500—many endowments were lost or joined together due to the lack of financial means or absence of the priest. Next to the altars of Corpus Christi, and of the Virgin existing there around 1500, at least two altars were founded in St. Nicholaus church during the Utraquist period,[977] both private women's donations. Altogether, women prevail also among the donors of other donations to the treasury—there are ten women and seven men among the largest donors.

The Book lists the content of St. Nicolaus' treasury in 1497, and 1515 (with later corrections). The first inventory has one silver monstrance with a crystal,[978] nine chalices (one copper), two skirts for chalices, seven containers for Corpus Christi, seven containers for the corporal (*corporalnicz*, burse), one gilded cross in a corporal, and twenty-nine altarcloths. Although partly damaged, fifteen service garments, and twelve dalmatics, and capes exceed the number of vestments from the later period (1515).

In 1514, the parishioners were especially proud of two objects in the church treasury: a large, silver monstrance for the Corpus Christi, and large silver gilded cross, which used to stand on the Sepulchre in Easter (weighting more than 39 pounds of silver).[979] Both pieces were mentioned as recipients of financial contributions. Altogether the church owned seventeen to twenty chalices; of that number the sacristans took only five chalices and one ciborium to be kept in sacristy for regular use in service; remaining twelve chalices together with another gilded ciborium were locked in a vaulted treasury in the upstairs in the tower to keep away the thieves.

The inventory of 1515 starts with the monstrance and the cross.[980] Then it continues with fifteen silver chalices with patens (four gilded and one decorated with images of the four Evangelists).

Vliněves).

[976] AHMP, 1665, fol. 21r. (1509).

[977] AHMP, 1665, fol. 12r, 25rv.

[978] Antonín Baum, "Ze "zápisní knihy kostelníkův" chrámu sv. Mikuláše na Starém Městě pražském z XV. a XVI. věku" (From the Sacristan Book of St. Nicholaus in the Old Town of Prague in the 15th and 16th century) *Method* 3 (1877), 51-2.

[979] AHMP, 1665, fol. 21. (1514) "*...monstracyj welika téhož domu Božieho Sv. Mikulasse X (VX???) hriwien wazena a krzyze jeyz byval na hrobie ...wazia XXXVIIII hriwien a 2.5 lotu*. "

[980] AHMP, 1665, fol. 34r, (1515, corrections later, still in 1539) "*...Tyto viecy dole psanie kterez w glenotnych temuz zadussi prilezy spatrivse a coz od strzibra gest i zvazivse pro buduczy toho pamiet tuto gsu znamenati a sepsati rozkazali aby kazdy glenot zejmena byl postaven.*
Item monstrancij welika strzibrna a krzizek kteryz na hrobie bywa podle predesseho roku zwazenij drzie wahy 39 hriwen 2.5 lotu. (…objects subscribed below belonging to the jewels of the soul endowment we have seen and weighted the silver and recorded it for future memory so that each jewel had a separate entry. Item large silver monstrance and cross that used to be placed on Sepulchre were weighted last year 39 pounds and 2.5 lot)…"

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Chalices bore goldsmiths marks copied in the Book and weighted between one-and-half pound to over three pounds. One chalice was described as 'silver chalice and paten in the gilded fence' ('*kalich stribrny s patenou w mrzijzcze pozlatite*'); as the latter often refers in other sources to the tabernacle, this entry may refer to the containers for the Eucharist currently placed in the tabernacle. The list continues with ten corporals and six burses,[981] two silver pyxes for Corpus Christi with a gold spoon,[982] another of tin for everyday use, and two silver ampules. The church textiles consisted of eleven garments, two separate dorsal chasuble crosses,[983] ten dalmatics, five capes, four shirts, one pearl humeral, five large and thirty small altarcloths, two *pendilia*, and thirty-eight altar covers. Three pieces of a cross in a box" probably denotes relics of the Holy Cross. Other items included books,[984] candlesticks,[985] non-sacred vessels and instruments,[986] four bells and organ, eight small banners, two courtains, two ribbons for the monstrance, another one with a bi-coloured cross for covering the monstrance or for holding it, and two cloth covers for the Sepulchre.

The 1515 inventory was regularly revised up to 1539; the notes testify to the use of copper (or brass?) chalice, to the practice of carrying chalice to the sick, and to a number of textiles donated to the treasury.[987] More important donations were handled by the sacristans directly, such as in 1534, when a chalice was donated by Waclaw Mielnicky and handed over to Buryan Pekarz, main curator of the treasury. Upon the request of the sacristans, in the same year, silver from three chalices was used for making one large chalice weighting ten pounds—five times bigger than the average—by Prague goldsmith Nicolaus of Horse Market; a later entry reads that it has a spout.[988] From the number of sources, where this chalice appears, it seems that the use of the spout chalice during Communion was widespread.

[981] One with image of the Virgin Mary made of pearls.
[982] One gilded. Eight old Corpus Christi containers might have been burses, two of them made of pearls.
[983] Chasuble cross with images embroidered in pearls, another one with embroidered images.
[984] Five handwriten missals, one printed, two antiphonaries, a gradual.
[985] Four large tin candlesticks, 14 smaller, 24 brass ones and 3 iron ones, 8 candlesticks or supports ("postavnikuov").
[986] Tin baptistery with a lock, 2 tin ewers, 12 ampules, 2 incense burners, brass lavabo, form for baking hosts and a pair of compasses and "špuléř na comunicanty"(?).
[987] Textiles figure amongst the most prominent acquisitions of the treasury in mid-1530s. In 1535, two large green banners were donated, and in 1536, four parishioners ordered to repair the choir stalls and provided several—mostly textile—pieces used at Easter: a green garment, a censer, two chasubles, three stolas, two small green banners, and two silver spoons for communion of children. On fol. 42v. one chalice for the communication of the sick at Easter was bequested by Kozlowa. In 1537, Václav Šetelka held patronage rights to the altar of Corpus Christi, where the Sepulchre with the gilded cross stood at Easter. He bought a new *palla*, new Easter altarcloth, and a candlestick for the feast of the Trinity (fol. 42v).
[988] AHMP, 1665, fol. 34 (1538), 42v, account with Nicolaus the goldsmith who made the large chalice with a spout of three chalices with some silver added (weights 10 *hriwna* (pounds) of silver and 14 and half lot).

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A series of unpublished inventories of the Chrudim deaconate parish church of the Virgin during the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries[989] provide a good prospective on the development of an urban Utraquist church treasury in the second half of the fifteen century. The first, Latin-written inventory of 1444 lists six silver chalices, and one large gilded chalice; ten other silver gilded chalices were probably held in a separate store. Next to silver Communion vessels, there are also five tin (!) chalices, and a censer. From the textiles, ten garments, two altar covers for the fast (*vela quadragesimalia*), thirty-eight altarcloth (*pallae*), and two textiles (*tegumina*) for the dead.[990]

Twenty years later in 1463, the treasury's inventory is written in Czech. It lists three "monstrances", one of them, however, contains relics (i.e. a reliquary). The treasury grew large since 1444—now it has thirteen chalices with patens, two silver spoons for Communion, six tin chalices, ten festive garments and seven common, two dalmatics, two capes, and fourty-eight altarcloths.[991] There are now six hangings, further altar decoration (*pendilia*), two *stolae*, and four altarcloths for the chapel.

The number of liturgical *paramenta* increased during the next fourty years (inventory 1504). There are still two monstrances for Corpus Christi, silver and copper; however, there is no mention of relics anymore. There are eleven festive and common garments, seven capes, four dalmatics, four textile pyxes for the Corpus Christi, eight corporals in burses, seventeen silver chalices and five tin ones, twenty-three candlesticks, and ten ampules. The processions were decorated with nine small and six large banners, and two processional scepters. Before 1504, the church bought an older horologue.

The inventory of the church of the Birth of the Virgin in Vodňany[992] was compiled in 1511 and offers an example of an Utraquist treasury from the beginning of the sixteenth century. It holds ten chalices, one for the sick, and one made of tin. The inventory record the donors of the most important pieces in the treasury to keep their memory. The church had one new silver monstrance for Corpus Christi and two older made of copper. A chalice with the Sacrament stood on the altar inside the tabernacle niche or in the niche in the altarpiece. The textiles consisted of twenty-seven altarcloths

[989] Appendix II, no. 29.
[990] The collection of choral books is good: four graduals (three they got from the Tyne church?), four antiphonaries, five psalteries, five missals and two agendas. The inventory also mentions recent acquisitions of books, such as missal, or a bible. There was also the theological *summa*, homiliary, Visions of Isaiah, book on vices and virtues, Josephus Flavius, bible, breviary *viaticus*, passional, and possibly writings of Wycliff (Bryton, donated by the priest Laurentius)?
[991] The books added a bible, but two graduals seem to be missing in comparison to previous inventory. Interestingly, about the Josephus volume we learn that it is written in French script (language?) on parchment and it is beautifully decorated. Did it originate from a looted monastic library?
[992] Appendix II, no. 32.

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(further seven currently used on the altars) and three covers fort he pulpits, next to a large number of small pieces of church cloths.[993] Three goldenthreaded garments attest the use of expensive fabrics for the Utraquist vestments.

Among the textiles, profane pieces are recorded, such as red *čepec* (female head gear), which was later turned into a pearl humerale. Although the Utraquists were occasionaly accused of not keeping the fast, blue *velum* from Vodňany was probably used for covering the altar in the fasting period. Interesting item is a small stone portable altar that could have been carried with the priest when visiting the sick and used for consecration of wine on the spot.[994] The inventory is followed by the entries of donations to the church. With only thirteen years between 1515 and 1528, the burghers of Vodňany gave to the church seven (!) chalices, one silver Eucharist pyx, four garments and one (emboidered?) dorsal cross.[995] The intensity of the burghers‘ donations was linked to the outbreak of the plague in the town in 1518.

In Kutná Hora, the second most prosperous town in Bohemia in the Late Middle Ages, we find a series of inventories for their four churches from 1515 and 1516, St. Barbara, St. Jacob, Virgin Mary na Náměti, and St. Bartholomeus. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, their treasuries contained altogether more than one hundred silver and gold vessels – a sign of the economic might of the town stemming from nearby silver mines. Out of these and unaccountable number of garments marked in inventories, only one piece is preserved today, a monstrance originally made for St. Bartholomeus church around 1500 (**pl. 57, monstrance from St. Bartholomeus**).[996] In St. Barbara—that time still under construction, there were two monstrances, one of them (called “of the miners’s”) a life-size monstrance for Corpus Christi reportedly weighting 121 pounds(!), the smaller 42 pounds, and 29 chalices in 1516, all in silver. In St. Jacob church, we find a silver monstrance for Corpus Christi, a monstrance reliquary for the Holy Cross, thirteen chalices (alphabetically numbered) and two “pro infirmis”, a chalice with spout of weighting 11 pounds, two pyxes (four other made of textile), a silver cup, four spoons, a crism container, and a censer, all in silver. Among the textiles, there were eleven full garments, six capes, nine *pallas* (frontals), altarcloths for the Lent and monstrances, stolas,

[993] Appendix II, no. 32. The inventory shows the movements of textiles in the treasury. Out of eight garments, one was buried with the deceased priest Stanislaus, and therefore crossed from the inventory.
[994] Next to the special large candles, the treasury contained fifteen tin candlesticks, four iron and five copper ones. The choral books comprised nine missals, a gradual, antiphonary, special chants book, and three psalteries. The procession in Vodňany could have carried up to eight banners.
[995] *Liber Memorabilis* of the town of Vodňany, State regional archive Strakonice—the Town Archive (SokA Strakonice, Archiv města (AM Vod) Vodňany) no. 527, vol. 1, page 747 and 749.
[996] Mádl, “Nádobí a roucha,” 329. Appendix II, no. 32.

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courtains, a set of liturgical books including a large gradual, and notated antiphonary. An interesting mention is made of four sacks for chalices used when brought to the sick. The church of St. Batholomeus had one monstrance, five chalices and one with spout, two pyxes, and many textiles, although less than in St. Jacob. Finally, the Virgin Mary na Náměti church had twenty-seven chalices alphabetically numbered, six silver and five textile pyxes, reliquary cross, five spoons, two monstrances and twenty-seven full garments next to a great number of other liturgical textiles and altarcloths; a part of them were kept in a vaulted treasury of the church.[997]

The overview of the four Kutná Hora treasuries outlines their unusual richness reflecting the importance of the town in the period.[998] Kutná Hora workshops made also the whole set of episcopal jewels for bishop Filip de Villanova among 1504 and 1507, which were minted already in 1532, when the council was collecting money for restoring the roof of St. Barbara church; next to episcopal gear, they minted also thirty-seven chalices, two pyxes and a monstrance to pay for the work, most from the Virgin Mary church.[999] The priest of the church was therefore asked to explain the parishioners the taking away of the chalices; he responded that one well-known family was against it and threatened that if the jewels donated by their ancestors would be taken away they "would not want to give to the church anything anymore".[1000] Already in that time and more in the course of the second half of the sixteenth century, mining in Kutná Hora weakened and its power dissolved; the losses were ofthen compensated from the rich treasuries of its churches.

Although the composition of Utraquist treasuries reveals combination of practical (liturgical), decorative, representative, and memorial functions, its use in liturgy still seems to be the main factor defining the content of Utraquist treasury. On the other hand, lay piety demonstrated through donations created a surplus of certain groups of objects in the treasury, mainly chalices and textiles, such as garments, and altar decoration; high intensity of donations may sometimes signify a special incentive, such as spreading of a plague, or uncommon economical strenght of the community. Symptomatically, nor the inventories, nor the donations testify to the cult of saints, or the level of devotion comparable to the situation before the Hussite wars. This, however, does not at all mean that

[997] Mádl, "Nádobí a roucha," 332-336, 607-613.
[998] Kutná Hora was apparently famous for its church treasuries. Still in 1572, chancellor Vratislav of Pernštejn asked the relics of St. Barbara church to be brought to the townhall and shown to him. This—otherwise not unusual— query scared the councillors of the town and they resisted in fear that the relics would be taken from them. Upon other occasions they, however, showed them. Šimek, "Kutná Hora v 15. a 16. století," 152.
[999] Šimek, "Kutná Hora v 15. a 16. století," 148.
[1000] Šimek, "Kutná Hora v 15. a 16. století," 148. "*…jestliže totiž by se ty klenoty měly bráti, kteréž jich předkové nadali, ze by oni nic k záduší činiti nechtěli…*"

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the treasuries or the church interiors looked poorer than in the Catholic areas of Bohemia. Although Utraquism may occassionally, and rather in theory, be more sceptical to the Catholic excesses in the church ornaments, in practice, the Utraquist churches were apparently no less decorated than the Catholic ones (**pl. 54, interior of a Utraquist church, possibly St. Michal in Prague**), with a number of chalices, garments and monstrances, occasionaly, albeit more rarely, even with reliquaries. In the complicated confessional situation of Bohemia, church interior with its painted altars, epitaphs, textiles, and illuminated choral books, vestments or vessels was suitable space for manifestation of unity, and common patrimony, as well as accentuated the community's confessional identity, wealth and social status.

3.2 Catholic Treasure amidst the Reformation

The confessional map of Bohemia would not be complete without the Catholic *dominia* in Southern, and Western Bohemia, and other smaller Catholic regions scattered over the country (**Map 4**). Also Moravia remained mostly Catholic throughout this period. The three church treasuries (from Boskovice, Kájov near Český Krumlov, and Znojmo) to be dicussed below come from the areas either ruled by the Catholic nobility (the Rosenbergs in South Bohemian Kájov) or from Moravia. I will discuss one example from the royal town of Znojmo a second one from the vassal town of Boskovice and a third from Catholic pilgrimage site of Kájov. Although these treasuries were compiled over a span of forty years, each inventory was written in a diferent language: the inventory of Znojmo in German, of Boskovice in Czech and, that of Kájov in Latin. Two inventories (Kájov and Znojmo) were written in separate booklets an only the inventory of Boskovice was included in the town registers. The Boskovice and Znojmo inventories were initiated by the local town councils, in Znojmo the inventory was even written by the town's notary. In Kájov and Znojmo we know the compilers. The Kájov inventory was written by the church priest, Michael Pilz of Chvalšiny, while the Znojmo inventory was compiled by Stefan Niemtzitzer of Vyškov, the notary of Znojmo.

In comparison to the Utraquist treasuries, the confessional distinctive features are lesser in the Catholic treasuries. The inventory may however, hint at the church's Catholic administration when the relics were presented with more attention. For example in Boskovice, the priest donated his own pectoral with a relic to the church, and in Kájov "*aliquas tabulas et reliquias*" were bequeathed to the

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church while one altar displayed "*tabula de ossis facta ad modum monstrancie*". Scholars studying the position of the treasury in the life of the religious community then need to consider the whole composition of the treasury as well as the historical situation to be able to evaluate the religious context of these objects.

The urban Catholic treasuries at the end of the fifteenth century display a high level of burghers' piety manifested in donations to the church treasury. The parish church of St. Jacob in Brno had its treasury inventorised in 1487. In additon to to the twenty-eight gilded and six silver chalices, the treasury possessed twenty-five gold and five silver patens, five gilded crosses (of which two were set with precious stones), and twelve monstrances. Among the outstanding pieces, there was a silver gilded panel with relics, and four silver and gold images (statues) of saints, two of the Virgin Mary, one of St. Jacob and one of St. Sebastian.[1001] Apart from the liturgical vessels,[1002] the treasury contained a number of priestly vestments, decorated with precious stones, gold and silver.

A few of the inventories I have collected imply the existence of a market for church treasury objects in the second half of the fifteenth century in Bohemia. Vessels and images circulated among treasuries, were sold for money to renovate the church, or bought to be donated.[1003] Objects from religious institutions were bequeathed by the middle class, such as a missal of St. Vitus in Prague donated to the altar in St. Bartolomeus church in Pilsen by a burgheress, Margaret, in 1452-1453.[1004] Already in 1431, Cistercians in Aula Regia in Zbraslav sold the vestments from their treasury under financial pressure to the merchant Jakub of Jindřichův Hradec,[1005] probably one of the subdealers, who were selling and pawning valuables and treasuries from Bohemian monasteries. The monks got fifty *sexagenas* for the sale of eleven garments for the mass including expensive "silk from Lucca" (apparently a pre-Hussite acquisition). Each vestment would therefore have been worth less than five *sexagenas* on average. The money was intended to sustain the monastery that had suffered harsh economic losses or even to get some of the treasury pieces back.[1006] Although the effort of the monasteries to get some of their treasuries back was supported by a decree of Ladislaus Posthumus in

[1001] Bretholz, *Pfarrkirche zu St. Jakob in Brünn*, 73-74.
[1002] Bretholz, *Pfarrkirche zu St. Jakob in Brünn*, 73-74. a censer, two ampules, and three pyxes for the Corpus Christi.
[1003] Appendix II, 35. Valentin Schmidt, "Ein Gojauer Pfarrinventar aus dem Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* 44 (1906), 186-7.
[1004] Appendix II, no. 30.
[1005] First, two items came from St. Vitus cathedral treasury. Appendix II, no. 14.
[1006] Aula Regia got their six-volume Bible back in 1447. It was sold by the Karlštejn administration under Zdislav Tluksa z Buřenic when under safekeeping there. Ferdinand Tadra, "Listy kláštera zbraslavského," 248, no. 309.

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1454,[1007] the economic and political pressure (together with later dissolution of monasteries and the state fiscal collapse of 1809) limited preservation of medieval monastic treasuries in Bohemia.

The entries of the inventory of St. Jacob in Boskovice were written from 1484 over several years to the end of the fifteenth century. The reason for inventorising was to maintain the memory of the donations, and especially donations by the church's patrons, the lords of Boskovice.[1008] The number of donations between the lords and the priests (four times) was the same. The priests bequeathed chalices, books and a cross to the church. However, the noble donations were more representative and included a monstrance, a large illuminated bible and a processional canopy.

In spite of these few expensive gifts, the liturgical equipment of St. Jacob church in Boskovice was rather poor in comparison to St. Jacob in Brno.[1009] The Boskovice filial church of All Saints was equipped even more basically. It possessed somewhat later, in 1505, only three garments, two silver chalices and a silver cross, three corporals and a new altarcloth. The filial churches were poorly equipped and show what was deemed sufficient to fulfill the basic needs of the liturgy. In this comparison, parish treasuries stand out as rich and complex collections of obejcts, a showcase for the wealth of the community.

Towards the end of the fiftenth century, the Boskovice parish church owned one silver monstrance donated by Václav of Boskovice, seven chalices, and one made of tin, and one silver cross. The sons of Václav of Boskovice, Albrecht and Ladislav, followed their father and donated a red vestment and a large Bible to the church. The bible is today identified with the manuscript in Olomouc State Research library. Priest Jan, who died 1491, bequeathed the church his silver chalice and his pectoral with a relic inside. The composition of donors is different here. Although the introduction of the inventory mentions "other good people" who donated to the church, the lords and the priests were the only ones mentioned.

Written separately as a booklet, the inventory of Kájov (4 km from Český Krumlov) church of the Assumption of the Virgin captured the state of the treasury shortly before and after completion of

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[1007] Tadra, "Listy kláštera zbraslavského," 249, no. 311, "*bona mobilia vel immobilia*" should be returned.

[1008] "Valuables from our church in Boskovice that were donated by our hereditary lords and other good people (are listed)" Lipka, "Starší inventář kostelní v Boskovicích," 551.

[1009] There were a number of vestments: sixteen mass vestment sets and four simple ones, and three capes. Altars were covered by twenty-three altarcloths. There were three frontals for the main altar (*palle*), and five frontals for the Virgin Mary altar, although in each case only one was used. A canopy for the procession with the Corpus Christi with textiles was donated by Václav of Boskovice. The church had twelve, mostly choral, books, and three other were donated by a priest. The inventory mentioned seven candlesticks, two banners, and a censer. Lipka, "Starší inventář kostelní v Boskovicích," 551, Appendix II, no. 33.

the new building in 1485-1488. The entries are mainly from the period between 1485 to the beginning of the sixteenth century. The church is among one of the most ancient pilgrimage sites in Bohemia (first mentioned in 1263 under Přemysl Otakar II). It was supported first by the Cistercians of Zlatá Koruna and had a new heyday in the second half of the fifteenth century.[1010] The author of the inventory, parish priest Michael Pilz, was the figure behind the renewal of the pilgrim's site and rebuilder of the church after it lay in ruins for almost fifty years following an earlier Hussite attack in 1422. The priest, a well-known personality, influential Catholic and a good organiser was, moreover, an active supporter of the cult of saints. His translation of the popular cult of St. Wolfgang to Kájov shows him to be a defender of traditional forms of Catholic piety, an anxious guardian of orthodoxy, and a cunning strategist pushing a popular cult back under the *aegis* of the Catholic Church. Under his care, Kájov church grew into an important local pilgrimage centre, a stronghold of Catholicity in the close neighbourhood of Krumlov.

The altars of Kájov church built by Pilz were consecrated to the Virgin Mary, St. Wolfgang, and Sts. Peter and Paul. The inventory provides information on objects in the treasury, providing not only detailed descriptions, but also the donors of these valuables. It also provides a remarcable insight into the economy and commercial exchange in the objects. The supporters of the church included personages from the household of the Rosenbergs, especially the wives of the Rosenberg brothers (Agnes of Schaumburg, Anna Hlohovská), burghers from Jindřichův Hradec (Neuhaus) and Nové Hrady (Gratzen), lower aristocracy from Rovná (Ruben), Sonnenberg, Vlhlavy (Wihlaw), clergy from Ktiš (Tisch), Chvalšiny (Kalsching), Kájov, and burghers from České Budějovice and Krumlov as well as to a lesser extent the Rosenbergs' servants and the parishioners. The topographic distribution of these treasuries indicate the extent of the southern Bohemian Catholic dominium.[1011] A majority of the donations (cf. list of sold chalices from the inventory) were sold and the money used for the new building of the church. This might have been the primary reason for commemorating donors in the inventory even though their objects were no longer available.

Before the construction of the new building of the church in 1474, the treasury in Kájov possessed eight gilded and silver chalices (six gilded, two silver), three with patenas, of which six were sold for the new building. Another silver chalice was turned into a monstrance (a reliquary?),

[1010] The main heyday of Kájov was in Baroque times from the mid-17th century. Unfortunately, the treasury was confiscated in 1793 (dissolution of Zlatá Koruna) and in 1809 (war reparation).
[1011] Schmidt, "Ein Gojauer Pfarrinventar," 186.

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with "empty" oculus (*monstranciam cum pulcerrimo cristallo longo interius vacuo*) while only one gilded chalice was left to be used in the church.

In 1481, corrections to the list were again made by Michael Pilz. Probably in order to replace the sold items, two more chalices arrived somewhat later and entered the treasury. These comprised a small silver chalice from a groom of Rosenberg's, and one gilded chalice with paten decorated with a Crucifixion scene. The latter was acquired and given to the church by Michael himself, although it probably belonged originally to another person named on the chalice as Wurs Urban. Michael's selling of chalices and acquiring new ones from another donation shows a remarkable business in the exchange of chalices in the fifteenth century markets of Bohemia. Together with the chalice, Michael donated a beautiful pectoral in a form of five-petalled rose with a rock crystal in the middle and five scenes in the petals of the Man of Sorrows (?), the Virgin, St. Dorothy, S. Michael, and St. Barbara. Another round pectoral was ornamented with a sculpted figure of the Virgin, probably carved from rock crystal and was donated by Michael's predecessor Nicolaus. On the whole, Michael accounted for four (although the inventory mentions only three) chalices altogether while the chaplain accounted for one more.The inventory also listed crosses and images: three gilded crosses with figurative decoration (Virgin Mary, crucifixion), all donated by clerical persons, and the gilded painting of the Virgin with child with a gilded cloak brooch, donated by "*quedam vetula de Mezipotoczi nomine Moystrin*". The origin of the Madonna painting cannot be established, but the description of the acquisition suggests it may have been part of the spoils of war.

Of the two Corpus Christi monstrances that follow in the inventory, only one was left to the church, the second was sold along with the chalices. Two dalmatics were sold to the church in Krumlov. In 1485 and 1489, new donations of chalices and vestments[1012] were recorded. These objects were already surely meant to be used in the new church. Available books were divided into the service books (missal, graduale, antiphonary, special services—speciale, viaticum, psalterium, agenda, bible, *speculum humanae salvationis*) and the group of books bequeathed by chaplain Nicolaus.

The bequest is interesting for understanding growth of treasuries from the point of view of the role individuals played.. In the bequest, Nicolaus the Hermit, chaplain of Kájov, donated a chalice, two pectorals, three garments, "*et aliquas tabulas et reliquias*" and a number of books, resp. pasionale in Czech, sermons, *Peregrinus de sanctis*, tractates, the lives of fathers and saints, postilla of Milíč (!),

[1012] The ornaments of the church record five humerals and six vestments. In 1490, Henry (Henricus) de Nova domo (Jindřichův Hradec) donated a full garment. Schmidt, "Ein Gojauer Pfarrinventar," 192.

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Speculum Humanae Salvationis "cum pictura", and many other objects to the church. These items were all intended to remain in the chaplain house (*capellania*).

A special entry in the inventory was written on the equipment for the altar of Sts. Peter and Paul at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The things directly pertinent for the altar included a small gilded chalice, one complete good garment, another simple garment, a panel with a depiction of the Virgin with the child[1013], a panel with relics (*tabula de ossis facta ad modum monstrancie, in medio crucifixus cum pluribus ymaginibus*), other images, and a bursa for the corporal. The prominence of this altar in the inventory suggests a hidden anti-Hussite agenda.

The inventory of St. Nicolaus church in Znojmo ends our period of interest. It was written in 1524 by the city's notary, Stefan Niemtzitzer of Vyškov (Wischau). It is a detailed inventory describing objects first in the treasury and then those pertinent to each altar. Each altar description was introduced by the list of donors with their donations. From this it appears that the commemoration of the benefactors was the primary reason for inventorising the treasury.

The inventory started with the most precious objects in the treasury (and not at the individual altars) and those exhibited during feasts. These objects were considered the common patrimony of the community as opposed to private donations of objects to each altar. The church owned a large silver gilded monstrance with its lunulla held by two angels, and two other monstrances, one may be a reliquary of St. Nicholaus as it bears his silver gilded image. The inventory then listed five silver crosses and images or statues of the Virgin, St. Nicholaus and St. Barbara, three monstrances, a silver censer, a rectangular pectoral with an image of the Virgin, an ivory tablet, two ampules, small silver cross reliquary with a relic, and another gilded pectoral. This part of the treasury is reminicient of pre-Hussite times when ornaments merged with cult objects, for example, silver statues, reliquaries, reliquary pectorals and silver crosses.[1014]

The treasury contained a large number of textiles, some very expensive. As the title of the section in the inventory suggests they were regarded as ornaments (*Czir*) for the church. There were twenty-four humerals, often embroidered with images of saints, the Virgin, and with the names of Christ, seven capes, a stole, seventeen complete garments, four dalmatics, a chasuble, two priestly skirts (*tzwen levitten röck*(?)), and a silk cover for the Christ's Easter Grave.[1015] The inventory finished

[1013] "*quam depinxit Jindra*", a painter from Český Krumlov, Schmidt, "Ein Gojauer Pfarrinventar," 193, 206.
[1014] Raimund M. Kobza, *Kleinodienverzeichnis der St. Niklaskirche in Znaim im Jahre 1524*. Beilage zum Bericht des Staats-Reform-Realgymnasium mit deutscher Unterrichtsprache im Znaim Series (Znojmo: M. F. Lenk, 1928), 6.
[1015] Uncertain reading "drey kharrekl"? Kobza, *Kleinodienverzeichnis der St. Niklaskirche*, 8.

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with mention of four missals, and twenty-five chalices.[1016] Another gilded chalice and two ampules "*auff welische art gemacht*", i.e. in the Renaissance style, were donated by the Lord of Svojanov together with two garments.

The inventory then continued with a list of the objects pertinent to the chapels and altars. Each of the thirty-one altars had basic liturgical equipment, on average a chalice, a pacifical, and two complete garments although sometimes a missal or corporal was also mentioned. These objects were clearly private donations to the altars representing families and their quests for Salvation. The sumptuous decoration on these garments and images was related to the fact that they were donations and represented their donors in the eyes of the community.[1017]

The three inventories compiled around 1500 in Bohemia and Moravia epitomise the functions of Catholic Church treasuries. Unlike their Utraquist counterparts, they still preserved their role in the cult of saints. The treasuries possessed the objects of cult, images and relics, and listed even silver statues reminicient of fourteenth-century treasury riches (Znojmo). It is also likely that they were taken out on feast days and for processions. Among the donations we also find privately owned relics in the reliquary pectorals donated by their owners. Where the economic power of the community and patrons allowed, the churches boasted many altars and rich decoration. The emphasis was different compared to the Utraquists since cult objects still preserved their position in the inventory and within the church. It was considered that collection of chalices was, similarly to the Utraquists, designed to bolster the memory of donors and their Salvation, or was intended as a financial reserve.

Selling objects was now a legitimate means for the priest or the community to find money for the church. This buying and selling resulted in the development of a busy market in treasury objects, above all chalices. Secondly, representation through public presentation of lay piety became more and more important for burghers, nobility and even the lower classes. The treasuries from around 1500 show that there has been a shift in the way they functioned, that church treasuries were used pragmatically as a financial reserve when the church needed repairs (Kájov) while their importance in representational space also grew. Whereas Catholic treasuries were good examples of merchandized Grace and individual efforts to participate in it, the Utraquist church, continuing processes on-going since around 1400, responded to the dangers represented by the way these Catholic treasuries were

[1016] In 1524, four chalices was taken from the treasury to be sold: one gilded weighing together with the paten, 25 lots (for 14 golden and VI gr.) and two silver chalices together with patens weighing 45 lots, and the last broken chalice weighing with paten 14 lots, one lot is equal to 14 gr. Thus, they received for four chalices, 41 golden florens 9 *grossi* (silver coin). Kobza, *Kleinodienverzeichnis der St. Niklaskirche*, 8.
[1017] Kobza, *Kleinodienverzeichnis der St. Niklaskirche*, 12-13.

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consituted by becoming more concerned with liturgical practice. Nevertheless, in the sixteenth century, Grace became "fragmented" by personalised interests and, thus, church space becomes "fragmented" as well. Around 1500, mercantile piety and private interests won their battle against the scepticism of the Hussites and filled the interiors of the churches with altars and the treasuries with objects independent from the confessional environment. Catholic and Utraquist churches competed among themselves in the decoration and richness of their treasuries. Personal motivations for the donations were the same, but the Hussite heritage had still taught the Utraquists a lesson. Occasionally and under the close scrutiny of more radical individuals, exaggerated riches and devotion to the content of church treasuries should be closely watched.

VII. Conclusions

My work has aimed at understanding the transformations of concepts and functions of the Bohemian medieval church treasury and the manners in which the meaning of treasuries were manipulated and the objects themselves were physically manipulated in time and space. In a particular microcontext, each treasury, and even each object represents a narrative evolving over time and exposed to interpretations, manipulation, varying contexts, and alterations.

It is logical that the public "life" of treasuries can be better followed than their hidden existence in the sacristy. These object biographies mainly concern two kinds of objects—relics and liturgical equipment including the Eucharist vessels—as they were often removed from the treasury during ceremonial or ritual performances. These objects in treasuries were subjected to political strategies, events, public demonstrations, and private interests. They served as particular communication media, memory stores, and symbols in their own right. On-going social and religious processes in evolving late medieval Bohemian society provided a network of events that objects participated in, were formulated and in which their meaning shifted, in turn transforming the meaning of the objects. When writing such a narrative, the historian needs to respect the individuality of the collection and limit his or her generalisations although without a broad repetoire, a narrative on this scale would not be possible.

The medieval church treasury is a unique historical source. A preserved treasury is a living record of its own history and the cultural and political contexts through which it passed. An inventory

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of a lost treasury is a "dead" record, frozen at a particular moment in time. It is a repository of a collective memory bound to relics, silver, gold objects, and textiles, and of the actions that put them in their place. The memory they embody was demonstrated in public rituals and collective re-enactments of the original contexts or in the active denial of those contexts.

I have examined Bohemian church treasuries in their political, religious, and cultural contexts from the Přemyslids, through the Luxemburg to the Jagellonian rule. I followed the implementation of policies transforming the treasuries in the fourteenth century to their re-definition in the context of Protestant Bohemia. I looked at those aspects that revealed the concepts behind the *mis-en-scene*, growth and decline of ecclesiastical treasuries in Bohemia. As emotionally charged groups of objects with religious meaning, they were manipulated, and underwent re-definition, both in their concept and in their content. I have shown that these treasuries were not only silent witnesses of the turbulent religious and political events in the fourtenth—sixteenth century Bohemia, but they that they played active roles in developments and became objects of inquiry on the true biblical tradition. Treasuries in Bohemian late medieval religious culture were constructed and manipulated in order to communicate the meanings religious masterminds wanted them to communicate. The capacity of treasuries to construct memory and put it to the service of political and religious agendas made them vehicles that carried specific meanings for each intepreter or group at different points in time. Twice – once in Charles' IV fourteenth-century imperial concept and again in the context of the Hussite critique of Catholic cult in the 1420s – they became objects of ideas and interpretations, even conflicting ideas and interpretations. Nevertheless, **the later discourse on the position of treasuries in the cult was firmly rooted in the first discourse**. General biblical concepts and their moral implications were the foundations for both discourses: one was Charles' IV attempt to carry out religious reforms and the other its later materialisation in the Bohemian Reformation set in the wider context of Early Modern Reformation efforts.

With such a complex problem it is understandable that many aspects of medieval treasuries had to be left out. Due to the extent of the subject and insufficient state of current research, many questions remained unanswered unavoidably. Due to the different focus of my research and a lack of space, no deeper analyses could be made concerning the problems surrounding the continuation of the tradition of individual treasuries assembled from the earlier periods, the development of individual pilgrimage centres, or the economic aspects of the treasuries. Although broadly sketched, this work represents only one of many possible narratives on the problems of ecclesiastical treasuries, which, arguably is

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heavily dependent on my choice of data, and sources. I fully acknowledge the plurality of possible approaches to the problem of the development of medieval treasuries in Bohemia.

Historical developments in Bohemia meant that certain processes in society's religious attitudes were catalyzed and took different paths from other parts of Europe. Treasuries represent only one small field of research where confessional changes were manifested. Ironically, it was the area of art and cultural production which paid for these events. In the Bohemian context, treasuries became an object of controversy at a certain point. Treasuries, when they emerged from the religious conflict of the fifteenth century, had turned into different structures with different meanings and partly content as well. In the fourteen century, treasuries helped to shape the devotion customs of people now that they themselves had become objects to be manipulated.

Church treasuries with relics played a major part in Christian cults in Bohemia. The process of promoting dynastic goals through the display of royal piety started with the last Přemyslids. From the second decade of the fourteenth century, a new kind of patronage related to developing forms of devotion and their public (as well as private) manifestation appeared. Among the proponents of this new devotion were the last Přemyslids offspring —outliving the heirs of Wenceslaus II and III— and high church officials. Female members of the royal dynasty were especially keen to re-kindle the memory of Přemyslid piety and initiated the growth of public cults in Prague before Charles IV. Thus, they helped to reenforce a deeper public religious experience. The last Přemyslid queens, especially Elisabeth of Přemyslid, were avid collectors of relics which they distributed to religious institutions, and presented in new cult manifestations (*translationes*, the Eucharist) to the public. A desire to commemorate the dynastic lineage (re-institution of the Přemyslid treasury) and be commemorated, lay behind the efforts of Elisabeth. Her activities pre-dated those of her son, Charles IV, who became one of the most important collectors of relics of the time.

Biblical reading inspired the understanding of the role of treasuries of the young Charles IV. He later used his position to translate these moral concepts to the real world. This attempt to institue religious reform with a broad public impact was based on his support of specific forms of public veneration of relics with twofold effect. The first effect aimed at constructing an image of good governance and royal or imperial representation. The second effect was a public religious reform aiming at intensification of religious life in Bohemia, which still suffered from the complexes of a country that had been Christianized relatively late, a country void of important religious centres and cults. At the core, there was a desire to morally elevate of Czechs and all of Charles' subjects to an

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ideal Christian society, a reflection of Augustin's *Civitas Dei*, the community of those chosen for Salvation. Charles IV's active policy of making Prague a pigrimage centre and centre of religious life offered a path to the City of God for all social groups and individuals.

As part of his religious concepts, Charles used the cult of relics to organise religious life through religious topography. The church treasuries received their most important components, the relics of the saints. They shifted the paradigm of church "treasury", which before was an integral part of the service, but limited to it, to become the object of cult. The relics draw attention in public displays, in processions, through manipulation and ceremonies. The organisation of the treasury was subordinated to them. These objects held pride of place in the inventories. They they were proportionally well cared for with reliquaries being created for them permitting their solemn presentation. Finally, new sets of rules were developed related to their handling and guardianship.

Charles' religiosity and support for the cult of saints was in keeping with trends in the spiritual deepening of faith in Western Christianity in the late thirteenth and first half of the fourteenth centuries. Implementation of cultural and religious policies in the second half of the fourteenth century in Bohemia has, however, particular features. Nowhere in medieval Europe was the religious situation in the fourteenth century more prone to the exaggerated forms of piety later criticised by religious thinkers, and nowhere else did there develop such a network of local cults protected by the authorities so rapidly, within the course of one generation. Nowhere else was the political and religious, as well as the educational situation so intertwined in efforts to reform the Christian Community. Finally, nowhere else was the abstract universal ideal of Christian rule implemented in such a detailed manner as in Prague.

The whole Prague community of faithful was employed in a religious experiment, later exported to the countryside. The presence of relics, and *Andachtsbilder* images inspired the growth of devotion. By distributing these material memories of the saints' lives around the city, the faithful were reminded almost at their every step of moral qualities leading to Salvation and of those individual who could help along the way. The cults which evolved around these treasuries or miraculous images composed the complex religious topography of late fourteenth century Prague, a topography that eventually extended further out to other areas of Bohemia. Prague became a pilgrimage centre, where annual and septennial showings of relics, in its extent and degree of public impact itself a new medium of piety, drew thousands of Bohemian and foreign pilgrims. The masterminds of the policy also counted on disseminating sacred treasuries to the rest of the country (Český Krumlov).

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During the course of the second half of the fourteenth century, religious life in Prague intensified. Donations to churches grew and the donors included a broader spectrum of the city community. Burgers began to make donations and the production of cult objects grew accordingly. The treasuries and interiors of churches filled up with religious art; manipulation of relics achieved a level never attained before. Moreover, around 1400, art production culminated in the development of the Beautiful Style, a Bohemian variety of the International Style, whose attractive appearance and elegant features drew the attention of the faithful.

There were large differences between Prague and the countryside in terms of distribution of the cults. Preserved inventories of churches show on the one hand, the content of town churches. These churches were richer than the average (St. Gall in Prague 1390, Holy Spirit in Hradec Králové) reflecting the growth of their cults and on the other hand, the poor church equipment of countryside village churches. The key position was held by Prague, which encompassed a cluster of religious institutions that competed amongst themselves to attract pilgrims. Before the Hussites, countryside monasteries and their fillial churches maintained their position as religious centres. Towns, however, began to slowly appear on the religious map due to their ecoconmic capacity to support the growth of cult.

Charles' policies spured this deepened devotion to particular religious media. They were manifested in distribution of indulgences, extensive devotion of relics and miracle-making images and, in frequent donations to the treasuries. Criticism of the "trade" in indulgences and *mercantile* (object-related) devotion appeared at the end of the fourteenth century. It is closely related to the growth of cult objects and altars in churches and coincided with an unusual number of papal and episcopal indulgences distributed under Archbishop John of Jenštejn. This exaggerated devotion was described in Matthew of Janov works written shortly after 1390. It may have already begun to intensify around 1380 due to an outburst of pestilence in Prague.

Janov and his followers turned their attention to the internal mechanisms behind the growing cults. They criticised the superficiality of cult practices, their external format bordering on idolatry, and the behind-the-scenes motivations of greedy clergy in misleading people. There was a model in Christian eschatology for this kind of clandestine activity: the coming of the Antichrist, who was prophesized to come to fool the faithful of weak faith before the second coming of Christ. Parallelisms between the moralist views of treasury in Charles IVs and John Hus' thinking reveals the central place that moral philosophy played in the perception of medieval treasuries. In the eschatology of Milíč, his

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contemporaries were living the last moments of Christian time, and their morals were being tested by the Antichrist, who was capable of reversing Christian values, hiding them under the cover of Christian practice. Thus,exaggerated, ostentatious piety was considered a manifestation of the Antichrist's activity.

The criticisms of Janov, Jacobellus of Mies, and Nicolaus of Dresden created the theoretical framework for the Hussite destruction of treasuries. As an important part of the moral reform of the Church, iconoclastic ideas and critiques of luxury aimed at the elimination of unhealthy cults and improper objects (human inventions—*traditiones humane*) from churches. Their ideas echoed in the Hussite discourse on the format of ritual (critique of piety, the chasuble question); the actual *implementation* of liturgical reform developed into one of the important achievements of the movement.

The reform of religious life authored by Charles IV and his circle and based on universal Christian concepts created a fertile ground for the evolution of Hussite thoughts, based too on universal moral Christian concepts and thorough biblical reading. In other words, the Emperor's policy supporting the cult of saints created conditions for the growth of the Reformation. Although I do not want to enter into a discussion of whether the Hussites represent the first Reformation movement in European history or not, I would like to point out that the movement grew from general Christian concepts, and especially its moral concepts whose theoretical foundations and implementation were already pursued by Charles IV. In the fourteenth – early fifteenth century Bohemia, the drive to reform religious life was thorough; it was deeply ingrained in the people and in their performance of faith. Even when in reality as opposed to theory, the Utraquists later followed a ritual that was formally close to the Catholics, the Bohemian Reformation was not able to return to contemporary Roman piety; this path was closed to the Czechs.

Undeniably, pre-Hussite treasuries accured huge losses in the Hussite wars. The extent of these losses is hardly imaginable today, especially since a comprehensive study of iconoclasm at this time in Bohemia is not yet available. What can be inferred is the fact that some of the losses may have been inspired by the extensive *role* of treasuries in contemporary cult, and that the motivations for their destruction also became the factors behind the shifts in the meaning and function of Bohemian church treasuries following the Hussite wars.

Monasteries were the main target of pillaging, bringing the flourishing cults bound to them to an abrupt end. Some monastic treasuries may have survived the destructions by the Hussites in the

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1420s as many were safekept outside Bohemia or in Catholic dominia. There were important attempts to restore them from the 1430s or even as late as at the end of the fifteenth century. Monastic culture was never however, restored to its original splendour, nor it could have been, the political situation simply did not allow for it. The situation was further excacerbated by owners of estates who exercised economic and political pressure to constrain the restoration of monastic treasuries. I could detect in these later inventories the fight of religious communities to survive economically and the treasuries often fell victim to this struggle. Some of their objects found their way to parish churches (Pilsen). In some cases, the local nobility was responsible for usurping a treasury and the monasteries were not able to provide financing to effect the return of pawned objects nor were they able to buy them back. Some monasteries even sold the garments in their treasuries for cash to support themselves.

By the late 1430s, in Prague, donations to churches re-appear in the sources, showing the gradual consolidation of the position of Catholic monasteries at the end of the decade. However, the donations to Utraquist churches soon prevailed. The growth of treasuries from the mid-fifteenth century now mainly concerned the parish churches in towns. This trend continued until the end of this period. The treasuries can be traced in written inventories from the late fifteenth century. As elsewhere in Central Europe, both the late medieval piety of individuals and the construction of collective memory and local patriotism lay behind the growth of late medieval Bohemian treasuries in town churches where the inventory sometimes recorded the donor of the object for their eternal memory. The administration of treasuries was now fully in the hands of the parish community and supervised by the council or local nobility, something that may be seen in their inventorisation, donations to them and their protection. The negative stand of the Hussite and Utraquists towards clerical possessions resulted in the concession of church treasuries to laymen.

The fate of relics during the Bohemian Reformation represents the most problematic issue in my study. Whereas relics lost their prime position in the cult and the Hussite and Utraquist texts often implicitly reject their use in cults, in reality their position was probably more ambiguous. On the one hand, Laurentius of Březová was critical of the way relics had been desecrated and thrown away by the Taborites. On the other hand, in Hussite discourse on religious practices, relics never attracted the attention of authors in the same way as images and garments. Relics were once more employed by Bishop Phillibert of Coutance in his efforts to make Utraquists return to Roman rituals. Occasionally, their role in Bohemian history would be remembered. Surprising, albeit rarely in comparison to the earlier period, the occurrences of reliquaries in the treasuries of Utraquist churches suggest that,

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similarly as was the case with garments, it was the level of tolerance of the community that set conditions for preservation (and possibly to some extent the veneration) of relics in treasuries.

One special feature of the Bohemian treasuries from this period reflected religious identity into the content of the treasury. Although Utraquist inovations to the ritual made relatively a minor impact on the composition of treasuries in Utraquist churches, new objects (the chalice with a spout, spoons for the Communion of children, and chalices for the sick) entered the treasury following these Hussite amendments to the rite. Their significance lies in their identification with Utraquist liturgy and they therefore became important means of identity construction, as they communicated community adherence to Utraquism not only within the community (like elders of St. Nicholas community ordering a large chalice with a spout), but also to visitors (showing the treasury of Kutná Hora).

The change in the function and position of treasuries in Bohemian Utraquist (and to some extent also Catholic) churches in the fifteenth century I see as being even more important than Protestant additions to treasuries. As a result of the Hussite wars, both the content and functions of Bohemian church treasuries changed. The Bohemian Reformation acted as a catalyst in the development of religious practices and administration. As a result, the community controlled matters related to cults, as well as church endowments and finances. Under the lay administration, the treasury became rather a financial reserve for the community and a repository for its memory rather than an independent body radiating sacred power.

The church treasury thus became more a stage for the display of a community's collective memory, rather than the centre of cult practices as had been the case in the fourteenth century. The treasury's sacred dimension was surpressed. The process leading towards a more secularised notion of church treasuries had already begun. The multiple cultural functions and significance of the pre-Hussite church treasury is over. With a weakening of the cult role for the medieval church treasury, its "practical" functions in liturgy, economy and representation were accentuated. By striping off the sacred and cultural meanings of treasury of the fourteenth-century, the sixteenth-century parish treasury became a *modern* construct with defined, utiliarian functions in liturgy and the community.

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VIII. Appendices

Editor's marks:

( ) shortening spelled out

[ ] my notes, and corrections

(….) indistinct, unreadable

… continuation

Appendix I: Aspects of Medieval Treasuries in Bohemia and Moravia

1. The first church inventory in the region: early medieval inventory of St. Peter in Olomouc, Moravia

Until 1131, the church of St. Peter (later of St. Peter and Paul) in Olomouc was the seat of the Bishop of Olomouc, before the bishopric moved to the cathedral of St. Wenceslaus. In 1038, after the military expedition to Gniezno (Gnezen) in Poland for the relics of St. Adalbert, prince Břetislav donated to the St. Peter the body of St. Christinus of the Saint Five Brothers, who died together with St. Adalbert. The inventory describes the cathedral possessions (using the word *thesaurus*) shortly before 1130, before it ceased to be the bishop's cathedral.

Ed. Gregor Wolný. "Inventarium der Olmützerdomkirche vom Jahre 1435, oder Verzeichniss aller Kostbarkeiten derselben in Gold und Silber, Reliquien von Heiligen, Bücher, Mess und Chorgewänder u.a.m." *Oesterreichische Geschichtsquellen III. Notizenblatt 2 - Beilage zum Archiv für österreichische Geschichtsquellen* (1852): 231 (Latin edition).

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Gregor Wolny. *Kirchliche Topographie von Mähren meist nach Urkunden und Handschriften*, vol. 1, I abt. Olmützer Erzdiocese. Brünn: Selbstverlag des Verfassers, 1855, 268, footnote 2 (German edition[1018]).

Reportedly transcribed from a 12th century MS codex in the Chapter archive, Olomouc, Wolny cites so-called Anton Boczek's registers (s.Slg. im Landesarchiv zu Brunn, No. 2642). Original is lost. Due to occurrence of forgeries among Boczek's material, some scholars maintained that it could be a forgery.[1019]

Transcription:

Quattuor decr.(?) pallia, que super altaria ponuntur et duo que super mortuos ponuntur. Et septem casule, due earum cum aurifrisio. Quattuor dalmatice, et quattuor subtilia. Tres cappe et una paruula. Octo calices argentei. Triginta et quattuor manutergia. Albe cum necesariis septem et decem. Manutergia tria de serico ad cooperiendum crisma quando conficitur. Scrinium cum cruce quod super altare ponitur. Ampule due argentee, et ouum strutionis argento fabricatum. Tres missales. Tres orationales. Quinque gradales. Plenarium. I omilie II Regule monachorum. II Epistole Pauli. Liber prophetarum. I Vita Sancti Adalberti. Quattuor nocturnales. Tres Ymnarii. Et duo sequenciales. Psalteria IIII. Crux aurea, quam Eufemia mater Ottonis ducis dedit beato Petro. Tres cruces eree deaurate. Tapecia VII meliora.

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[1018] 4 altartucher und 2 tucher, womit verstorbene bedect wurden, ferner 7 Kaseln, vovon 2 mit Gold durgewirkt, 4 Dalmatiken, 4 subtilia, 4 kappen (Chornherrnuberkleider), 8 silberne Kelche, 34 Handtucher, 17 Alben mit zugehor, 3 seidene Handtucheln zum bedecken des zuweihenden Chrisma, 1 Altarkreuz (im Kastchen bewahrt) , 2 silberne Messkanneln, 1 Straussenei [ostrich egg] aus Silber, 3 Missale, 3 Messgebetbucher (orationales), 5 Gradualien, 1 plenarium, 1 homilienbuch, 11 Monchregeln, 11 [sic – 2 in the Latin version] Briefe des Heiligen Paulus, 1 Buch der Propheten, 1 Leben des Hl. Adalbert, 4 Nachtgebetbucher (nocturnales), 3 Hymnen-, und Sequenzebucher, 4 Psalter, 1 goldenes Kreuz, Geschenk der Mutter des Hrzg. Otto, Euphemia, 3 vergoldete kreuze von Erz [iron?], und 7 bessere tap(e)ten ausweist.

[1019] The transcription gives the impression of an original. For the information on Boczek I am indebted to Mgr. Štěpán Kohout of the Land Archive Opava, Olomouc branch.

2. Collecting relics in Prague before Charles IV.

Inventory of relics collected by Andreas of Prague (Oldřich of Paběnice) of 1330

Ed. *Testimonium de reliquiis sanctorum ab Andrea jurisperito de Praga collectis*…no. 1722, year 1330, p. 672-673. In Joseph Emler, ed. *Regesta Diplomatica nec non epistolaria Bohemiae et Moraviae*, vol. 3, Annorum 1311-1333. Pragae, 1890.

Account of Andreas of Prague (Oldřich of Paběnice, St. Vitus canon, and administrator of Prague bishopric, and since 1327(?) monk and abbot (since 1330?) of Cistercian monastery in Sedlec)[1020] personal collection of relics, compiled between 1326-1328.

Thirteen Prague churches donated relics to Andreas: the metropolitan church of St. Vitus, the collegiate church of St. Peter and Paul in Vyšehrad, the monasteries of St. Thomas of Augustinian Hermits, St. George of the Benedictine Nunnery, St. Peter of Cruciferous Knights with the Red Heart in Zderaz, St. Cross the Bigger of Cruciferous Knights with the Red Star, St. James of the Minor Brothers, the Virgin Mary in Strahov Premonstratian Monastery, and the parish churches of St. Gallus, St. John the Baptist Na Zábradlí, the Our Lady Na Louži (in Lacu) and Our Lady at Tyne. The relics are identified by their origin, the saints' names, and parts of their bodies.[1021]

Inventory of relics owned by Elisabeth of Přemysliden and bequested to the Cistercian monastery in Waldsassen in 1330.

Ed. *De ordinacione testamenti inclite Elizabeth, quondam regine Boemie.* In Zdenka Hledíková. "Závěť Elišky Přemyslovny" (Testament of Elisabeth of Přemyslid), in *Královský Vyšehrad* 3, ed. Bořivoj Nechvátal (Kostelní Vydří: Karmelitánské nakladatelství, 2007), 137-140, the inventory on page 139-140.

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[1020] For identification see: Zdenka Hledíková, Závěť Elišky Přemyslovny (Testament of Elisabeth of Přemyslis), in: Královský Vyšehrad 3, ed. Bořivoj Nechvátal (Kostelní Vydří: Karmelitánské nakladatelství, 2007), 132.

[1021] In the mid-fourteenth century, bans were introduced on keeping treasures in lay houses. The practise was frequent in Bohemia still in the second half of the fourteenth century. As no reason for the act is given, its purpose is unclear – it may have been, for example, intended for a person of a rank.

Elisabeth of Přemyslid, the recently deceased queen of Bohemia, donated her personal collection of relics to the Cistercian monastery in Waldsassen. The bequest included a priest's garment, relics of the Apostles in a crystal nave reliquary, twenty good mares (horses), 5 reliquaries with relics of the Apostles, St. George, and St. Valentine, a crystal pyx, a bare relic of St. Bartholomeus, and other numerous relics in three boxes. In the first there were mostly relics of saintly virgins as well as of St. Peter and St. John the Baptist. The second and third contained numerous martyrs and Apostels' relics, and memorial relics of Christ and the Virgin (*manna*, *pannum*, cradle, column, tunics, bed, and the Sepulchre of Christ, the Holy Cross, stones from the Calvary and Mount of Olives, and milk, hair and bloodied Veil of the Virgin).

3. Reasoning donation after the Hussites: The proper cause and the proper keeping

Charter of Viktorin of Opava of 1482 on the donation of silver monstrance to the Dominican church of St. Wenceslaus

Ed. Gottlieb Kürschner. *Das Buch der Stiftungen zum ehemaligen Dominikaner-Kloster in Troppau*. Opava: Verlag des Stadtmuseums, 1903. Edition on page 15-16.

Donation charter for the monstrance by Viktorin of Münsternberg (son of King George of Poděbrady) referred to losses of objects in the church treasury of the monastery. The treasures lost were used for the "right" cause by his predecessors as financial means against the Hussites during the Hussite wars (eg. for the release of prisoners). Viktorin felt sorry when he saw the Corpus Christi exposed in a wooden monstrance and decided to donate a silver monstrance for it. The new treasure was under no circumstances to be alienated from the church. "What once was blessed and intended for God´s use, shall not serve any human use any more."[1022] Shall there be any trespasser, he will fall under the curse of eternal perdition. According to the text, the charter should be kept next to the monstrance.

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[1022] Gottlieb Kürschner, *Das Buch der Stiftungen zum ehemaligen Dominikaner-Kloster in Troppau* (Opava: Verlag des Stadtmuseums, 1903), 16.

4. Administration and protection of a Catholic treasure after the Hussites: Inventoring of the church treasure in nobility-owned town of Bavorov in 1468, and account of its stealing before 1500

Unpublished.

State Archive in Třeboň (SOA Třeboň, branch Český Krumlov, Archive of the Superior Office (Vrchní úřad), sign. VÚ II B 3 K^{α} 2n

Edition:

a) ***The burgrave of Helfenburg reports to his lord on his inventoring of the church treasure in Bavorov and carrying it away for safekeeping.***[1023]

15.6.1468. Letter of Adam of Draho, burgrave of Helfenburk, to Jan Zkozka [z Roz()ka? John of Rosenberg?]

Urozeny pane mog milostiwy sluzba ma… jakoz mi wasse milost psala abych w wieczi poczel kostelnie w Baworovie, a to abych sepsal a nahoru wzal. Y to gsem uczinil (…) s Johannessem ty wieczi sepsal a opatrzil s swrchky a nabytky fararze Baworowske^{o} y také obylee to g(es)t wsse opatrzeno …

b) ***The burgrave and council of Bavorov attest, how paramenta and precious objects were carried in procession and how they were returned to the treasure chamber and kept locked. They did not take anyone there (but the treasuries were stolen).***

25.7.1500 Letter of lost valuables from Baworow (lost between 1496 and 1500)[1024]

Purgmistr y plna Rada miesteczka Baworowa znamo czinie tiemto listem zie gsme podali [požádali] wssieczki Susedy swy / przi kteremžto swolani pan Purkrabie nynieyssi gest.

Tu gsme sie wsiech tazali czo by gim v pamieti bylo aby každý pod swu przisahu powiediel , czo sie Ornatu a tiech klenotuow doticzie, kteryz straczeni gsu / i wiznali gsu zie sie w tom dobrzie pamatugi zie kniez Petr toho czasu gsa u nas za fararze chodil tu nedieli po Boziem tiele w tom Ornatu s krzizi perlowymi mezi perlami bylo drahy kameni a przitom neseni gsu klynoti ku okrassie swatosti

[1023] Bavorov was a town in the Southern Bohemia that belonged to the Rosenberg Catholic dominium.
[1024] Seal of the Rosenbergs attached.

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a tomu gest czryrzi lyta, když to bylo w nediely když jarmark bywa y taky sie w tom pamatugi zie ty klenoti prwie nikdi Bráni doluow nebyli Bez wiedomie [Baworoweho] purgmistra a starssich a zasie obycziege tiem nahoru nesieni.[1025]

A kdiz namisto miely byti polozieny Przitomi purkrabie s kliczem swym kteryz miel od pokladniczie a fararz druhy Otewrziely a do truhly schowaly. Y toto nam taky pamatno kteryz urziednik na zamku bywal. Tu klicz od ty pokladniczie k sobie vzal. A když zasie z zamku stupowal [laid down the office] Tu ginymu urziedniku zawolagie Starssiech od tý pokladniczie klicz zdawal. A kyz fararz každý kteryz faru przigimal wedly Registra gy[1026] zassie stupowal y s kliczem od tý pokladniczie. A czoz sie farzie doticzie kazdyho ziadnyho sme swywolnie neprzigimaly nez zkozkam [z Kozka?, from Rosenberg?] pana geho milosti. A to prawie kswe wieczie / kdiz by potrzieba toho byla ustnie geden každý seznati. Tomu na swiedomie a ku prozbie Obecznich dali gsme poczet miesteczka nassieho przitisknuti k tomuto listu a gich wiznanie z temz gest dan a psan letha Buozieho Tisiecziehopietisteho Ten patek na den swateho Jakuba Aposstola Bozieho.

5. Matters in administration of a Utraquist treasure: St. Nicholas in the Old Town of Prague

Unpublished.

Book of sacristans (Book of *záduší*) of St. Nicolaus, starts from 1497, Archive of the city of Prague, AHMP 1665 sv. 551 (microfiche)

Edition:

Election of sacristans, 1531

Fol. 15 [excerpt from town council registers – agreement on election of sacristans writen by Jindřich de Wlkanow in 1531]

..co se dotýče ouřadu kostelnický(h)o a jak by přito(m) rziditi se mielo…

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[1025] Valuable from the church treasury used to be carried in the Corpus Christi procession. Customarily, the burgrave and council members consented to it and carried these itemsthemselves (the procession did not take place in 1496).

[1026] According to the charter, the treasury ("pokladniczie") is "upstairs" possibly in the tower. Every priest when accepted for work in the parish had to compile an inventory of *res ecclesie*. This practice originated in provincial statutes when the priest was obliged to inventory the treasury after obtaining the parish.

[after releasing sacristans from the last year] ..na to místo aby povoláni byli dva ze staršich sauseduow a ~~dwa~~ čtyři[later correction] z mladšiech a to z toho důvodu aby jedni sausede mimo druhé obtiežowani nebyli…

Transfer of patronage to the town, Jagellonian period, no date

Fol. 22v [Vladislaus of Jagiello passes on revenue from altars (*collacio*) to the parishioners]

Wladislaw uhersky Czesky ze kral kolaturu wssech oltarzuow u swte(h)o Mikulasse w Starem miestie prazskem dawa osadnim.

Inventory (poczet) of equipment of the parsonage(?)

Fol. 30v [the inventory of objects accepted by a sacristan, probably from parsonage]

6 mís větších obyczejnych a 2 železné a talířuw czynowych

konwe veliky dwie a trzety (…)

a umywadlo czynowy na stienie

a geden svzen zielezny

a staudew k wodie drzewenie

a stoly trzi dobry a ii (…) geden przed kuchyni a druhy (…)

ubrus na stuol ponie nedobry

a rosst sem dal nowy udielati prito(m) czasu

Recording of the value and weight of objects

fol. 21r [account from probably 1514 of a large Utraquist *monstrance*]

…monstrancyi welika téhož domu Božieho s. Mikulasse (…)wazena a krzyzek jenz bywal na hrobie a to wsse wazia xxxviiii hrziwien a 2,5 lotu a ještě kousek zuostal newazeny od pana Rzazima Ssimona sie dalo…

Commercial transactions inside the church: buying pews

fol. 32r[1027] Item w patek przed swatym Martinem letha mcxxxvii Anna Zubowa matka z domu Jany nebožky Zwirzednicze na ten czas a Dorothea Mrzenkowa sauseda zadussi nasseho przedstaupili

[1027] Similar transaction on fol. 31v, 32v, 33r

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tu zadagicze gim zapis uczinie Stolicze kteruz predala ona Anna Zubowa Dorothie Mrzenkowy za xxx gr? (…) tu ja na zadost gich (…) to mocz mage sobie na ten czas dam s ginymi pomcníky Girzyk Bacs, matieg woyssek a matieg od Kotczow chlebnych.

Takowa stoliczy kteraz hned u mrzizie naprzed stogi g dnes k welikemu woltarzi po prawe rucze u same(h)o kuru. Zapis sem gi uczinil na mistiewssy osady aby ona mohla dorotha y gegy budouczy gi uzivati gi měli a drzeli gi…diediczne…

Appendix II: Late Medieval inventories: Their catalogue and editions

A: Metropolitan churches

1. Inventories of St. Vitus‘ metropolitan treasure

Inventories of St. Vitus' treasure from 1354-1420

Ed. Antonín Podlaha, and Eduard Šittler. *Chrámový poklad sv. Víta v Praze. Jeho dějiny a popis*. Praha: Nákladem dědictví sv. Prokopa, 1903.

History of the treasury is described on p. 3-111, the sequence of pre-1420 inventories is edited on p. III-LX: 1354 fully (p. III), 1355 fully (p. XII), 1365 only differences from 1355 (p.XXV), 1368 only differences from 1355 (p.XXVI), 1374 only differences from 1355 (p.XXIX), 1387 fully (p. XXX), 1396 only differences from 1387 with additions of 1413 (p.LVII).

Archive of Prague Castle, Archive of the Metropolitan Chapter of St. Vitus (KA sign. 260/1-7, text-fiche inv.no. 5187)

Inventories of St. Vitus‘ treasure in the fifteenth and early 16th centuries

Ed. Antonín Podlaha, and Eduard Šittler. *Chrámový poklad sv. Víta v Praze. Jeho dějiny a popis*. Praha: Nákladem dědictví sv. Prokopa, 1903.

History of the treasury is described on p. 3-111, the sequence of inventories charting the division of the treasury at the beginning of the Hussite wars starts with the inventory of the chapel of St. Wenceslaus 1420 (p. LX), a list of objects taken to Karlštejn 1420 (p. LXII), and Ojvín 1421 (Oywin, p. LXIII). List of things returned to Karlštejn in 1438 (p. LXIV), inventory of 1441 (p. LXV), revision of things in Ojvín (p. LXVIII), and Karlštejn (p. LXVIII), and the list of things brought to Prague 1454 (p. LXIX), inventory of things kept in Krumlov 1465 (p. LXX), and Plzeň 1476 (p.

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LXXII), inventory of 1480(?) (p.LXXIX), and of 1483 (p. LXXXVIII), 1496 (p. XC), 1503 (p. XCII), and 1512 (p. XCV).

Edition in CPSVP

Inventories of the ornaments pertinent to the altars in St. Vitus' cathedral from 1397

Ed. Josef Pelikán. "Inventář oltářů kostela sv. Víta v Praze z r. 1397 (Inventory of altars of st. Vitus from 1397)" *Památky archeologické* (1946): 123-131.

Edition – in Pelikán

2. Charter inventories of metropolitan treasure of St. Wenceslaus in Olomouc from 1413, 1430 and 1435[1028]

a) **The inventory from 1413**

Ed. Vincenc Brandl. "Inventář náčiní kostelního, rouch, skvostů a knih velechrámu olomouckého (Inventory of church vessels, garments, jewels and books of the Olomouc cathedral)" *Method* 15 (1889): 115-117, 127-129, *Method* 16 (1890): 7-9, (edited without additions).

Extracts in Gregor Wolný. *Inventarium der Olmützer Domkirche vom Jahre 1435 oder Verzeichnis aler Kostbarkeiten derselben in Gold und Silber, Reliquien von Heiligen, Bücher, Mess- und Chorgewänder u.a.m.*, in: *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen, Notitzenblatt* 2 (1852), heft 10, p.140-151, heft 11 p. 168 – 172, heft 15, p. 225-231, on p. 145-148, (includes additions of 1415 and 1421).

Land Archive in Opava, branch Olomouc, Archive Archbishopric Olomouc (AO, sign. MCO A III d 2, of 1413), written in Latin on both sides of parchment 47 x 66 x 3, with seal.

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[1028] Codicological analysis Miroslav Flodr, "Exkurs 1. Olomoucká kapitulní knihovna a její inventáře na počátku 15. stol." (Excursion 1. Olomouc chapter library and its inventories at the beginning of the 15.c.) in: *Scriptorium Olomoucké. K počátkům písařské tvorby v českých zemích*. Spisy Univerzity v Brně – Filosofická fakulta 67 (Prague: SPN, 1960), 162-182.

24.3.-27.3. 1413 Ondřej Stojslavův of Jevíčko, canon of Vyšehrad and custos of Olomouc cathedral, compiled an inventory of liturgical vessels, relics, textiles, and books upon the order of Jan, deacon of Olomouc chapter.

Edition of additions from 1415 and 1421 (following a separate edition of extracts in Wolny, 145-146)

[upper part of *recto*]

Nota Anno domini Millesimo ccccxv^{o} die sanctae Cecilie dominus Johannes iuvenis Rassculus de Mladyeyowicz perpetuus vicarius Ecclesie Olomucensis presentavit dominis in Capitulo unum Calicem cum patena deauratum habentem pedem sculptum et nodum argenteum circumquaque divisum dans et deputans ipsum pro missa mane semper beateae virginis qui cottidie in dicta Ecclesia Olomucensi solempniter decantatur.

Item Anno Domini M^{o} ccccxxi die sanctae Tyburcij Reverendus in Christo pater et dominus Johannes Episcopus Olomucensis dedit ecclesie monstranciam argenteam deauratam pro Corpore Christi et cappam koralem de aksamito viridi coloris quas dominus Rex eidem domino episcopo donavit Item idem dominus noster serrenissimus Romanorum Vngarie Boemie etc. Rex donavit eodem die et hora dicte Ecclesie Olomucensi unum ornatum viridi coloris cum duabus dalmaticis eiusdem coloris auro mixtum.

b) Inventory of St. Wenceslaus in Olomouc from 1430

Unpublished.

This inventory is almost identical with the inventory of the Olomouc cathedral treasure of 1435, published by Wolny (cited in Appendix II, no. 4). I have thus, edited the beginning with the identification of the authors, and the first part containing he vasa sacra as a whole. In the paramenta section of the inventory, I have compared it to Wolny's edition and edited only those parts that differ from the inventory of 1435.

Land Archive in Opava, branch Olomouc, Archive Archbishopric Olomouc (AO, sign. MCO A III d 2 (1430), written in Latin on both sides of parchment 52 x 77 cm x 4.

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Ondřej Stojslavův of Jevíčko, custos, Lukáš of Slavkov, Magister Ctibor of Radeč, Michal of Jevíčko canons, Petr of Příkazy and Matyáš of Tršice vicars, Jan Campanator and Ondřej deputy sacristan of Olomouc church compiled an inventory of liturgical vessels, textiles, valuables, relics and books in the sacristy.

Edition: [1029]

Anno domini Millesimo quadringentesimo trecesimo die secunda mensa? aprilii? cum aliebus diebus sequentibus facta est Visitacio sacristie et aliarum (?) Ecclesie de mandato Venerabilium Viris dominorum Johanis de Dubczan decani et Capituli Ecclesie Olomucensis in presentia honorabilis virorum dominorum Andree Stoyslay de Gewicz custodi Luce de Nawsedlicz magistri Cztibori de Radecz Michaelis de Gewicz can[onicorum] Petri de Pricaz et Mathie de Trssicz perpetuorum vicariorum Ecclesie Olomucensis Johanne Campanatore et Andrea subsacristano ecclesie predicte Ubi singule res inferius conscipte sunt invente

Item primo viginti calices inter quos tres sunt argentei solum et alii argentei deaurati Item thuribulum Argenteum paruum

Item duo plenaria argentea deaurata

Item due Ampule argentee deaurate In uno futro Item alie due Argentee

Item infula magna cum margaritis et monilibus preciosis cum pendilibus argenteis deauratis quam donavit Dominus Nicolaus Magarensis(?) Episcopus Ecclesie.

Item due cirothece episcopales. Item infula alba monilibus decorata.

Item unum pectorale argenteum quadrangulare in kathenula.

Item aliud pectorale sive parva crux de puro auro[1030] in kathenula aurea

Item alia crux parva sive pectorale argentea cum tribus lapillis parvior

[1029] The text of the inventory is almost identical with that of 1435 (cf. Appendix II no 4), published by Wolný (Gregor Wolný, "Inventarium der Olmützer Domkirche vom Jahre 1435 oder Verzeichnis aler Kostbarkeiten derselben in Gold und Silber, Reliquien von Heiligen, Bücher, Mess- und Chorgewänder u.a.m." *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen, Notitzenblatt* 2.10 (1852), 149-151, 2.11, 168 – 172, 2.15, 225-230) with few diversions, partly due to incorrect reading. I edited only the first part (reliquaries, goldsmith works) *in toto* due to more significant changes in the content of the treasury; in the remaining parts (textiles, and other things in the care of bell-ringer) are only corrected against Wolny's edition. The close relationship between 1430 and 1435 inventories can be explained by close copying of the earlier inventory when compiling the new one.

[1030] Inventory 1435 has: *cum zaphiris et diversis lapidibus preciosis*.

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Item duo anuli magni episcopales de puro auro cum zaphirem et diversis lapidibus preciosis Item duo anuli minores aurei quilibet cum uno lapide

Item anulus episcopalis aureus cum lapide topasion admodum oui galinie habens in circumferensiis xiiii lapillos parvos rubei et viridi coloris

Item alius anulus argenteus magnus cum lapidibus et vitris

Item duo Calices argentei fracti deaurati

Item crux argentea deaurata in longitudine unius ulne pragensis cum pede habens in se de vero ligno domini magnam peciam

Item alia crux de Onichino in pede cristalino habens crucifixum aureum

Quatuor zaphiros bonos cum margaritis in quatuor partibus et alias plures gemas

et retro in dorso ilius crucis fuit una Spina de corona domini quam dedit dominus Robertus episcopus huius Eclesiae qui etiam Tumbam sancti Cristini fecit

Item quinque capita Primo caput sancti Cristini argenteum deauratum

Item caput sanctae Cordule cum lapidibus preciosis ab infra Incrinali vero habens

octo lapides preciosos argenteum dearatum

Item caput sancti Candidi argenteum deauratum superius incrinali lapidibus

Pretiosis decoratum habens in pectore monile cum lapidibus pretiosis facies vero argentea

Item caput sancte Cunegindis argenteum deauratum sub corona a parte anterior habens arma ecclesie adlatus vero dextrum arma Ioannis archiepiscopum pragensis et a sinistra arma ecclesie pragensis

Item caput sancte Ursule argenteum deauratum cum corona habens a parte anteriori arma domini Woytiechii de Othasslawicz Pragensis et Olomucensis canonici

Item brachium sancti Bartholomei argenteum deauratum in cuius medio plures Sanctorum Reliquie continentur In superiori vero parte tenens articulum sancti Bartholomei

et in medio xii lapidibus pretiosis decoratum

Item brachium sancte Dorothee argenteum deauratum tenens articulum suum ad infra vero corona circumdatum pluribus lapidibus infra et super ornatum

Item ymago sancti Wenceslai argentea deaurata cum lapidibus pretiosis ornata tenens ossa in argento deaurato in quadam kathenula

Item alia ymago sancti Wenceslai quasi armis bellicis induta argentea deaurata sub pedibus habens lapides pretiosos cum reliquiis suis

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Item ymago sancte Catherine pulchra argentea deaurata subtus(?) continens oleum in vitriolo parvo et in pectore reliquias

Item ymago sancti Sigismundi argentea habens in pectore reliquias ipsius tenens in manu Sceptrum argenteum deauratum in sinistra vero pomum cum cruce similiter argenteum deuratum

Item monstrantia pulcra argentea deaurata et magna continens in medio cristallum magnum plenum reliquiis cum tribus cimboriis superius decorata

Item monstrantia sancti Jeronimi doctoris cancellata continens in se pluribus reliquias sanctorum in cuius tergo sculpta est ymago ipsius in superficie leo cum catulis que monstrancia caret pede suo proprio

Item due monstrancie rotunde argente deaurate

Item alie due monstrancie Cupree deaurate cum Reliquis sanctorum

Item spina domini in Cristallo adlongitudinem unius digiti

Item articulus sanctorum Innocentum in argento inclusus cum ymagine lignea in cuius capite continetur Reliquie eorundem

Item crux cuprea oblonga deaurata cum ymaginem Crucifixi

Item peplum beate virginis in tabula circumdata argento per modum canceli

Item tabula cum velo sancte Clare Item tabula cum manica sancte Elisabeth et camisia sancti Oswaldi Item pecies de virga Moysi ad modum digiti

Item thabula cum Caliga sancti Petri Item clavus de compedibus sancti Petri

Item brachium sancte Anne in ferius et superius deauratum

Item reliquie sancti Berhardi deargentate inferius et superius

Item crismarium argenteum in futro Item sagitta sancti Sebastiani

Item baculus sancti Egidii circumdatus argento perditus est

Item globus cupreus deauratus ad calefaciendum(?) manuum

Item due flascule parve cupree deaurate per balsamo conservando

Item cyphus de ametisto habens patenam de cristallo

Item berillus ad modum pomi magni aquo insenditur ignis in vigilia pasce

Item trio ova strucionum Item baculus curvature ligneus circumdatus argento

Item quatuor Candelabra tria cristallina unius cupreum de pulcro opere

Item unum Candelabrum cupreum de pulcro opere antiquo habens tres lactas circa pedem Item viaticum altaris circumdatum argento de rubeo marmore

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Item racionale pulcrum margaritis et imaginibus ornatum quod dedit dominus Wenceslaus patriarcha anthiocenus ecclesie olomucensis

Item infula imperfecta cum margaritis et diversis lapidibus preciosis ornata

Et in una pecie eiusdem duo zaphiri et unius smaragdus cum aliis lapidibus preciosis pluribus

Item clipeus unius margaritis et auro ornatus in uno futro continens imagines dominice resureccionis Item alia pecies cum margaritis aparte anteriori eiusdem clypei cum ymagine ornata

Item tabula parva argentea pro pace in missa danda plena reliquiis sanctorum quam nunc habens dominus Jacobus Cantor ad vitam suam dumtaxat

Quam domina Marle donavit per seniori prebendario

Item unum lilium de tumba sancte Cordule argenteum deauratum

Item cena domini in vitro cum pluribus imaginibus

Item ciphus ligneus sancti Adalberti martyris(?)[1031]

Item sepulcrum sancti Cristini circumdatum argenteum et in toto deauratum

quod habet abante septem ymagines ultra sepulcrum extense etiam deaurate

similiter a retro tottidem(?) et ad quo libet latus unam imaginem consimilem argenteam deaurata et qua libet illarum lapidibus preciosis ornata et decorata et ab abante super media imagine plures lapides preciosi videlicet zaphiri cum aliis diversis lapidibus Etiam in capite in medio sepulcri in cimboriis sunt xiiii lapides preciosi albi fusci coloris et ubi quatuor lapides deficiunt Secundum(?) longitudinem vero sepulcri superius in quatuor ciboriis sunt xiii lapides similiter preciosi et etiam quatuor deficiunt qui prius fuerunt

Item sepulcrum sancte Cordule sive Tumba cum ossibus et reliquiis plurimorum sanctorum que circumdata est argento abante et in duobus lateribus tantum et deauratum Retro vero nichil habens etiam abante imagines quatuor extensas et im medio ipsorum crucifixum similiter argenteum deauratum et xi cymboria et superius in s(?)itate tria et aliud latus retro solum duo cymboria omnia pulcre ornata et deaurata et diversis pretiosis lapidibus totum sepulcrum superius et inferius ornatum Item ad quod libet latus una imago argentea deaurata una videlicet sancti Cristini alia vero sancti Wenceslai cum gladio lancea et clipeo et ilud sepulcrum factum est de Clenodiis argenteis domini Fridrici prepositi Olumucensi eclesie per ipsum pro remedio anime sue deputate

[1031] In 1435 new acquisitions: "*Accreverunt item tres calices*"

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(recto, 2. column)

(Sequitur inventarium librorum eclesie Olomucensis)

….

(recto, 3.column)

(Sequitur ornamenta Ecclesie)

Item capa flavea cum animalibus aureis et avibus viridibus et floribus albis viridi subductura

Item capa flavea cum aureis flavibus et cedulis literis grecorum per totum inserta habens pretextam cum imaginibus xiiii rubea subductura

(recto, 3. column)

(Secuntur cappe Vicariorum)

…

Item cappa brunatica colore diversis coloribus per totum contexta cum flavea subductura lineis albis inserta

Item cappa flavea albis animalibus et floribus de super per totum contexta ab ante in pretexta aurea sanctus Jeronimus et aquila habens variatum subductura

(verso, 1.column)

(Sequitur Inventarium Casularum etc.)

…

Item due dyalmatice albe et(?) conottate in fimbriis et manic(?) aureis pretextis in quibus(?)

…

Item (?) casula rubea cum viribus avibus et arboribus et foliis aureis subtili rubeo subducta alba humerali et(?)

Item casula rubea cum cingulis aureis et animalibus et alia varia textura viridi subductura alba etc in humerali littere Ave Maria littere argenteis deauratis in nigro axamito cum strictis pretextis[1032]

…

Item casula rubea auro de super contexta pertotum cum flavea variis lineis subtilis subductura

…

[1032] The folowing item is missing from the inventory of 1435.

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Item tres albe detenui tela cum plici quasi subgriseis de varia textura

Item (quatuor?) albe detenui tela de plicis quasi griseis desuper deauratis textura pulchra

…

Item alba subtilis cum plicis de Axamit rubeo…Item plures albe feriales novem

…

Item velum rubeum cum imaginibus faciebus leonum turribus et floribus ? viridibus sub quo corpus dominicum portatur

Item due texture sive cortine una canonicorum et alia vicariorum

Item tectura que super sepulcro sancte Cordule

Item stamen flaveum quibus animalibus leonibus et aliis auro intexta

Item aliud stamen vide? diversis floribus eiusdem materie? intextum cum marginibus albis

Item stamen aliud rubeum cum floribus diversis viridibus intextum ?[1033]

(verso, 3.column)

(Infrascriptae Res habet Campanator in cura)

Item tectura super sepulchro sancti Cristini nigra cum aurea majestate que ponuntur super selchrum in vigiliis sollempmibus

…

Item tecrura rubea auro intexta quam dedit dominus Laczko episcopus et cum flavea subductura

…

Item alia tectura dominicalis de pano albo brunatico et nigro que ponitur diebus dominicis in adventu et in quadragesima[1034]

…

Item una palla nova cum cruce in medio viridi et ruffi coloris de novo data per dominum Andreum Stoislai olim custodis et canonicum olomucensis

…

Item cortine tres arte que ponuntur super scampna

…

[1033] In the inventory of 1435 acquisitons are added here.
[1034] In the inventory of 1435 the editor Wolny uses XL for *quadragesima*.

CEU eTD Collection

Item una cortina flavea cum alba tela subducta circum laniata[1035]

c) Inventory of St. Wenceslaus in Olomouc from 1435

Ed. Gregor Wolný. "Inventarium der Olmützer Domkirche vom Jahre 1435 oder Verzeichnis aler Kostbarkeiten derselben in Gold und Silber, Reliquien von Heiligen, Bücher, Mess- und Chorgewänder u.a.m.," *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichtsquellen, Notitzenblatt* 2 (1852), 2.10, 140-151, 2.11 168 – 172, 2.15, 225-231. [edited with mistakes, and only text, without structure]

Land Archive in Opava, branch Olomouc, Archive Archbishopric Olomouc (AO, sign. MCO A III d 2, of 1435) written in Latin on six parchment folios 27 x 39, with seal.

After 30. September 1435 Pavel, bishop of Olomouc in the presence of chapter deacon Petr of Račice, canon Ctibor of Radeč and custos Martin z Dobřan compiled an inventory of liturgical vessels, relics, textiles, books, and charters of Olomouc cathedral.

Edition – in Wolný

B: Monastic Churches in pre-Hussite period

3. Objects alienated (*res nobis ablate*) from the convent of Augustinians Hermits in Sušice in 1339

Ed. Jaroslav Kadlec, ed. *Codex Thomaeus. Das Augustinerkloster Sankt Thomas in Prag*. Würzburg: Augustiner Verlag 1985, edition on pages 201-202, no. 60.

Listed *res ecclesiae* were stolen or destroyed in the fights between the convent and the parish clergy in 1339 supported by Bohuta, archdiacon of Kuřim, and John Paduanus, canon of Vyšehrad.[1036]

CEU eTD Collection

[1035] In the inventory of 1435 folows the description of St. Cristinus tomb.
[1036] Next to loss of the treasury, the attack left one of the monks deadly hurt, and losses counted books, domestic animals, grain, food, vestments and money. *Codex Thomaeus*, 201-202.

Edition – in Kadlec

4. Inventory of the treasure of the Dominican monastery in Plzeň from the second half of the 14th century

Ed. Joseph Neuwirth. „Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kloster und der Kunstübung Böhmens im Mittelalter," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* 34 (1896). 39-42.

Edition – in Neuwirth

5. Fragment of the inventory of the church of St. Benedict, Bonifacius, and Alexios in Břevnov, after 1390

Ed. Josef Emler, ed. "Zlomek inventáře klášetra břevnovského z let 1390 – 1394," *Sitzungsberichte der königl. böhmischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Philos. – Histor. – Philol. Classe*, Jg 1888, Prague 1889, 280 – 305.[1037]

Prague Chapter Archive (KA APH box Varia-Různé, sign. XVIII-18, fol 1r-4r). The beginning of the Břevnov church inventory is missing, also inventories of parishes in Liboc, Svrkyně and Zvíkov (if there were) are missing.

The source and the edition contains also inventory or *res ecclesiae* (including the farm equipment and animals) of the **parish churches in Nezamyslice**, **Kostelec**, **Chcebuz** and **Břístvi**, and the property of **priories** in **Police** and **Broumov**, which all belonged under the jurisdiction of Břevnov monastery. The inventories were compiled under abbot Diviš in the 1390 – 1394 as a part of large inventorying project of all property of the monastery.

Edition - in Emler

[1037] Sekyrka, "Inventáře kostelních pokladů v předhusitské Praze" 157, no. 162. Summary in Zoubek, "Nový důležitý pramen k poznání starožitností církevních," 50-1.

CEU eTD Collection

6. **Inventories of the churches of the Teutonic knights between 1400 and 1411**

Ed. Josef Hemmerle, ed. *Die Deutschordens-Ballei Böhmen in ihren Rechnungsbücher 1382-1411*, Quellen und Studien zur Geschichte des Deutschen Ordens 22. Bonn: Verl. Wiss. Archiv, 1967.

Inventory of churches: **St. Benedikt in Prague** (1402-1411), **Plzeň** (1402, 1408, 1411), **Hostradice** (1408), **Havlíčkův (Německý) Brod** (1411).

Edition - in Hemmerle

7. Pre-Hussite inventories of St. Thomas in Prague of the Augustinian order from the turn of the fourteenth to the fifteenth centuries

Ed. *Codex Thomaeus. Das Augustinerkloster Sankt Thomas in Prag*, ed. Jaroslav Kadlec. Würzburg: Augustiner Verlag, 1985, 357-380. Tomáš Sekyrka. "Inventáře kostelních pokladů v předhusitské Praze (Inventories of church treasuries in pre-Hussite Bohemia)." Unpublished MA thesis. Prague, Charles University 1991, 154, no. 157.

Compilation of extracts from registers of the turn of the fourteenth to the fifteenth centuries in* Codex Thomaeus*, beginning of the 15th century.

Inventory after 1415, Codex Thomaeus, part 2, Quarta pars, pag. 233/CXIIIr-258/CXXVv (edition p. 357-375). Continuation, Codex Thomaeus, part 2, Quinta pars, pag. 259/CXXVIr-262/CXXVIIv (edition p. 376-380)

Paramenta 233/CXIIIr-253/CCXXIIIr (357-372), 258/CXXVv (375)

Images, utensils (sacra supellex) 255/CXXIIIv)(372-373)

Choral books (libri corales) 256/CXXIVv –257/CXXVr (374-375)

Reliquaries (monstrantiae et reliquiaria) 259/CXXVIr -262/CXXVIIv (376-380)

CEU eTD Collection

Edition – in Kadlec

8. Inventory of the Augustinian Monastery in Třeboň of 1415

Ed. Ivan Hlaváček. "Studie k dějinám knihoven v českém státě v době předhusitské (Study of the history of libraries in Bohemia in the pre-Hussite period)" *Sborník historický* 12 (1964):46-51.

Edition - in Hlaváček

C: Fate of monastic and chapter treasuries in the Hussite wars

9. Inventory of relics and jewels from collegiate chapter of St. Peter and Paul in Vyšehrad sent 1. 8. 1420 from Karlštejn[1038] to Vyšehrad

Ed. Tomáš Sekyrka. "Inventáře kostelních pokladů v předhusitské Praze (Inventories of church treasuries in pre-Hussite Bohemia)." (MA thesis, Prague, Charles University 1991), 72-74, cat. no. 12. (transcript of a list of 1.8.1420)

Relics and jewels from the collegiate chapter of St. Peter and Paul in Vyšehrad sent 1. 8. 1420 from Karlštejn to Vyšehrad to cover Sigismund of Luxembourg´s war expenses.

Archive of Vyšehrad chapter, National archive, sign. KVš (NA Prague III), manuscript RKP no. 27, f. 191r, fol 45r-47r. National Archive Prague, Archive of Collegiate Chapter Vyšehrad KVš (NA Prague III)). Copy of 1470 written by Vyšehrad´s dean Jan of Kaplice.

Unpublished

Edition following T. Sekyrka[1039]

[1038] On 5.5. 1423, large reliquary cross of the Vyšehrad chapter was destroyed and the gold used to pay the war, Pelikán, *Účty hradu Karlštejna z let 1423-1434*, 14, cat. no. 13..

CEU eTD Collection

Anno domini Millesimo CCCC XX^{o} Feria quinta. In die s. Petri ad Vinculam Infrascripte Reliquie sancte sunt de Castro Carlsstein ad Ecclesiam Wissegradensem per venerabilem virum dominum Jacobum Decanum Eclesie predicte et dominum Johannem Canonicum eiusdem Eclesie

Caput Sancti Vitalis cum Corona aurea
Caput Sancti Johannis Baptiste in disco
Caput s. Gereonis
Caput s. Mauricij
Caput s. Laurecij
Caput s. Cristofori
Tres ymagines argentee et deaurate videlicet
Sancti Petri
Sancti Pauli
Sancti Nicolai
Quatuor Monstrancie argentee Argentee et deAurate
Sex Manus Argentee
Duo Turribula argentea quorum vum [unum?] erat deauratum
Duo Candelabra deaurata
Pulpitum argento circumdatum
Una pyxis pro Thure
Item due Cruces una tota Aurea habens in pondere XXX Marcas Auri
Alia tota ab ante aurea et attergo argentea
Hec omnia abstulit Sigismundus Rex Ablato que auro et argenteo
Reliquias perlas et lapides remisit in Carlsstein
Que tandem omnia obligavit in Wratislavia pro Quatuor Milibus florenorum

Benedictus olim prepositus Albe Regalis in Vngaria Episcopus Jauriensis alias in Rab Scit res ecclesie Wissegradensis.

Item de Registris Eclesie et Nonnullis rebus fuit in monasterio Melkch in Austria bonum esset sciscit …de eis et repetere.

[1039] As this record is not easily accessible, I transcribe the inventory with permission of the author.

CEU eTD Collection

10. Karlštejn Accounts

Ed. Josef Pelikán, ed. *Účty hradu Karlštejna z let 1423 – 1434*. Prague: Státní historický ústav, 1948. Rostislav Nový, "Doplňky k „Účtům hradu Karlštejna z let 1423-1434" (additions to the Accounts of the Karlštejn Castle)" *Folia Historica Bohemica* 10 (1986): 193-202.

Includes an inventory of Zbraslav vestments including 27 full sets, 109-110.[1040] Records breaking and selling via specialised merchants precious material from important pretiosa from Vyšehrad (large gold cross), Zbraslav (altar panelling, and statues), reliquaries from Ostrov monastery, equipment of St. Palmatius chapel, as well as from the metropolitan church (panelling from St. Wenceslaus tomb). In 1434 it also reconds selling books (even to Jan Rokycana), and vestments. One of the last records (1434) mentions *quedam mulier de Egra* (Cheb) that bought for herself a cape from the possession of St. Vitus. Another private acquisition of vestments by Procopius of New Town (Prague) follows (p. 164).

Edition - in Pelikán, Nový

11. Inventory of Krumlov – safekeeping of the treasuries during the Hussite wars

Ed. Antonín Baum. "Inventář Krumlovský (Inventory of Krumlov)" *Method* 4 (1878): 10-11, 23-24, 43-44, 70.

Matthias Pangerl, ed. *Urkundenbuch des ehemaligen Cisterzienserstiftes Goldenkron in Böhmen*. Fontes Rerum Austriacarum 2. Diplomataria et Acta bd. 37. Vienna 1872.

Matthias Pangerl, ed. *Urkundenbuch des Cisterzienserstiftes B. Mariae Virginis zu Hohenfurth in Böhmen*. Fontes Rerum Austriacarum 2 Diplomataria et Acta bd. 23. Vienna 1865

Edition – in Pangerl

[1040] In 1431, ten vestments of Zbraslav monastery were sold in financial need, cf. no. 14.

CEU eTD Collection

12. Handing over part of the objects from the treasury of the Carthusian monastery in Prague 1425

Ed. Tomáš Sekyrka. "Inventáře kostelních pokladů v předhusitské Praze (Inventories of church treasuries in pre-Hussite Bohemia)." (MA thesis. Prague, Charles University 1991), 187-187, no. 222.

National archive Prague, Archive of Prague Archbishopric, box Varia, manuscript without signature, fol 14r.

Inventory of a part of the treasury of the Carthusian monastery in Újezd, Prague, which was returned to the monastery from the convent of Ojvín near Zittau.

Edition following T. Sekyrka

fol. 14r. Hec capi(t)a fratrum d(omi)norum de Carthusia

Anno domini etc. XXV Sabbato ante dominicam Reminiscere sive ante Translationem Sancti Wenceslai 3.3.1425, quia fuit ipso die dominico frater Albertus ut supra Carthusiensis procurator recepit a me res eorum monasterii videlicet octo ornatus meliores et 2 monstrancias preciosas et 4^{or} cruces et 3 omeralia cum perlis et duas mappas cum antependilibus et cum pretextis 2 presentibus ibidem in Oywen domino priore Johanne, fratre Iodoco, fratre Vlrico, fratre Marthino senioribus.

13. Return of the pawned jewels to the Cistercian monastery of Vyšší Brod

Ed. Matthias Pangerl, ed. *Urkundenbuch des Cisterciensерstiftes B. Mariae V. zu Hohenfurt in Bohmen*. Diplomataria et Acta XXIII Band, Fontes Rerum Austriacarum / Oesterreichisches Geschichtsquellen. Wien 1865. (charter from 1462 in Czech)

1462, 30.12. Krumlov

John of Rosenberg returned the jewels and the relics of saints to Vyšší Brod monastery. They were pawned in Austria by his father Ulrich of Rosenberg in the time of the Hussite wars (1420, 1439)[1041]

[1041] The source mentions 39 years long stay of jewels in Austria, which would correspond with year 1423. However, we know only of pawns to Reinprecht von Waldsee and bishop of Passau in 1420, and Reinprecht alone in 1439. Anton

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Edition following Pangerl CCXLII, p. 300-1:

...Oldrich zastavil nektere klenoty v nebezpecnych a valeczne casech...klenoty a swatosti byly zastavene bez jednoho 40 let v Rakusich. ...ze cti a hledeni is tech bozich domouv od kterych ta swatost a klenoty odnaty byly a chteje ze sluzba bozi by se na nasem panstvie rozmnozovala radeji nez umensovala, ty klenoty ...vyplatili jsme.. klenoty a swatosti dolepsane zlate a stribrne y pozlacene smluvu radnu s ctihodnym otcem knezem Pawlem opatem klastera Wyssebrodskeho a conuntem (conventem) tehoz klastera toto uciniwse wedle milosti klastera penieze vzali jsme a temuz klasteru nassemu vysebrodskemu ty klenoty a swatosti zasie dali jsme a nawratili.

item nejprve kriz weliky zlaty 9hriven[1042]

item druhy kriz maly take zlaty 2 hrivny a 11 lotuov

item kalich vsecjken zlaty & hriven bez lotu

item tabula swate marzie Magdaleny 12 hriven a 8 lotu

item tabula s ruozemi 19 hriven

item kalich s ruozemi 4 hrivny a 12 lotuov

item monstrancia 12 hriven a 19 lotuov .

item kalich prevoruv 2 hrivny a 7 lotuov

item kalich bratra Thuomy 1 hrivnu a 14 lotuov

item kalich opatuov tri hrivny a 3 loty

Slibujice ctne a verne u prawie za se i za swe dedice a buduezie Panu Bohu a Najslavnejsej matze pane marii i vsem swatym tiech svrchupsanych klenotuov a swatosti nikdy viecze od teho klastera neodlucovali ani brati zadnym obycejem, ani kterou mieru.

CEU eTD Collection

Mörath, "Kleine Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutchen im südlichen Böhmen und insbesondere Krummau VII. Ein Kleinodienverzeichnis des Zisterzienserstiftes Hohenfurt und der Rosenberger vom Jahre 1439," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* 44 (1900), 336-7, the edition 337-340.

[1042] Possibly the Záviš' cross, a golden reliquary cross with the Wood of the Holy Cross. Cf. Pangerl, 383. *Nota fundatores monasterri Altuadensis: MCCLXXXX (died) Zawissius de Falkenstayn qui donavit huic monasterio lignum sancrosanctae crucis domini preciose ornatum ...*

Latin confirmation of the receiving of the relics by Abbot Thomas of Vyšší Brod.

1.8. 1464

Edition following Pangerl, CCXLIV, p. 303-4.

...acceptis reliquiis infrascriptis a monasterio ea cum aliis cleinodiis generoso domino de Wolse (Walsee v Rakousku) reisdente in Austria pignoravit ubi per quadraginta annos minus uno sic extra terram Bohemie et monasterium nostrum alienata fuerunt ,...dominus johannes subscripta cleinodia cum aliis suis cleiodiis exsoluit:

tabulam argenteam et deauratam cum cri(a?)nibus sancte Marii Magdalene et monstranciam cum dente sancti Benedecti, tabulam cum rosis, que ob remedium anime nobilis domine Katherine de Sawnberg matre nobilium dominorum Petri J(o)doci Vlrici et Johannis monasterio nostro donata sunt cum calice aureo infrascripto. Item magna(m) crucem auream, quam legavit dominus Zawissius . Item calicem cum rosis, quem voluntate domini Johannis tunc monasterio Budweis vendidimus. Item tres calices quos ab eo de novo emimus, pro quibus omnim(b?)us dedimus sexi(a?)gentos florenos Vngaricales .(*that is:*) item in speciali pro parua cruce aurea quam donavit nobilis dominus Henricus primus pater domini petri de Rozmberk , et pro uno calice aureo, de quo supra mentio facta est , ducentas sexagennas grossorum excoluimus . et ultra predictas summas super addidimus steuram a nostris subditis perceptam 125 kop gr....

(in the following he reminds that John promised for himself and his ancestors never to take away the monastery's cleinodia again)

14. **Inventory of sold church vestments of Zbraslav cloister (1431), and the notes about the treasury in the fifteenth century**

Ed. Ferdinand Tadra. *Listy kláštera zbraslavského* (Documents of Zbraslav monastery). Historický Archiv 23. Prague: Nákladem České akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění: 1904. p. 240, no. 187 (includes also inventory of 1522, see below no. 17).

CEU eTD Collection

The list of church vestments of Zbraslav monastery[1043] sold to the merchant Jakub of Jindřichův Hradec, 28.5. 1431. It includes vesments of the metropolitan church of St. Vitus (the first two items).

Edition – in Tadra

Transcription:

Anno XXXI secunda feria ante f.s. Trinitatis

Ecclesie Prag. zlatohlaw bialy cum ollis, ornatus.

Ornatus atlas czrweny vyražovaný cum dalmaticis cum floribus.

Ornatus Zbraslawsky, Lúcký rubeus vyražovaný.

Aksamit flaveus cum crucibus, albis, ornatus Zbraslaviensis altaris s. Silvestri.

Item ornatus Zbraslaviensis ermolai festivalis flavei coloris atlas.

Item ornatus Zbraslaviensis, ornatus tafat blankytný.

Ornatus Zbraslaviensis omnium sanctorum viridi coloris antiquus, Lúcký contextus.

Ornatus Zbraslaviensis b. Bartholomei, Lúcký..antiquus.

Ornatus Zbraslav. Marte festivalis contextus cum serico.

Ornatus Zbraslav. b. Iohannis Bapt. viridi coloris, Lúcký.

Ornatus Zbraslav. s. Venc. festivalis viridi coloris, Lúcký.

Ista vendita sunt Jacobo mercatori de Hradecz Gindrzich. pro L sexag.

D: Inventories of monastic churches in the Post-Hussite period

15. Dominican monastery in Cheb, inventory from 1474

Ed. Richard Basel. "Das Sakristei Inventar und der Bibliothekskatalog des Dominikaner Konventes in Eger vom Jahre 1474," *Die Kultur* 7 (1907): 354-356.

[1043] Cf. list of Zbraslav vestments of 1429?, written in Karlštejn registers, Pelikán, *Účty hradu Karlštejna z let 1423 – 1434*, no. 10.

CEU eTD Collection

Edition – in Basel

16. Inventory of Poor Clares cloister in Český Krumlov from 1502

Ed. Jan Tříška. "Středověký literární Krumlov (Medieval literary Krumlov)" *Listy filologické* 84 (1961): 94-99.

Edition - in Tříška

17. Inventory of Zbraslav cloister in 1522

Ed. Ferdinand Tadra. *Listy kláštera zbraslavského* (Documents of Zbraslav monastery). Historický Archiv 23. Prague: Nákladem České akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění 1904. p. 274-5, no. 355.

Inventory of 1522 written by the abbots of Sedlec and Žďár after resignation of Zbraslav abbot Wenceslaus. Account reportedly found in the chapter archive written on small piece of paper.

Year 1522, inventory of Zbraslav monastery

Transcription:

..Sequuntur ornamenta et res ecclesie. Primo calices XV, ornamenta deaurata duo, de axamito casulas cum albis, humeralibus, stolis, manicis ac cingulis sex, ornamenta communia et pro usu quotidianno cum singulis ac sacerdotem requisitis numero quindecim, dalmaticarum tria paria et non ultra, mitre pontificales tres, pastorales baculi tres, annuli V, cirothecarum paria quattuor, cappe corales tr(r)es sericee de axamito et opere polimito, capsa pro corporaliuna(m) gemmis et argento ornata, et aliarum XV cum corporalibus communes, pectoralia quinque, crux argentea deaurata cum particula crucis Christi, monstrancia argentea deaurata una, item monstrancia continens de brachiis s. Ursule et Cordule, imago ducis habens pollicem s. Wenczeslai in manibus, tabula continens de peplo b. virginis Marie, parva imag(g)o preferens imaginem episcopi, crux parva aurea cum pede argenteo

CEU eTD Collection

deaurato plures continens reliquias, corona parva aurea continens spinnam de corona dom(i)ni. Item manus argentea deaurata continens de brachio s. Adalberti, manus lignea deaurata continens plures relliquias. Altaria portatilia quattuor, antependium unum margaritis ornatum cum pulchris imaginibus opere polimito, antependia communia decem cum pallis, candelabrorum de auricalco paria octo, duas ampulas argenteas. Libri ecclesie viginti tres, libri conventuales centum nonaginta quinque.[1044]

Item sequntur res domesticae....[1045]

18. Visitation inventory of the monastery of the Barefoot Augustinians from 1524 and restoration of the objects in the treasury

Unpublished.

National Archive, Archive of dissolved monasteries AZK ŘA sv. Václav, inv. no 2544 fasc. 6 (Archive of the Barefoot Augustinians at St. Wenceslaus in the New Town of Prague)

Three paper folios

Edition:

Ornamenta Ecclesie Zderasen(sis) [St. Wenceslaus in the New Town Prague] recepta su(n)t de domo d(omi)ni decani: ex ma(n)dato d(omi)ni Administratoris: [*and given*] a d(omi)na priorissa Dorothea de Daupow Anno D(omi)ni 1524 : 22 mens(e) Maii –

Item Wornat Czerweny Aksamitowy na Krzizy Swata Trogicze s czelym apparatem

Na omieralu místo perel kostiene zrnka Ave Maria

Druhy Ornat niekolika Barew krziz starodawny / Bez Apparatu

Trzeti Ornat s ptaczky zelenymi a Bilymi / Bez Apparatu

Cztwrty Ornat stareho zlatohlavu prosteho krziz naniem s proroky / bez Apparatu

Paty Ornat Modry s kwietky czerwenymi bylymi promiessenymi / bez apparatu

Ssesty Ornat pul zlatohlawo^{o} prosteho stareho a strhaneho / bez app^{tu}

Sedmy Ornat Czerweny Tykytowy krziz gesty zlaty a dwa sstiti Bez appa^{tu}

[1044] Zbraslav library is not among the largest, cf. the number in the Augustinians - around 250.

[1045] *Res domesticae* are not part of the treasury. Among domestic things also: *tapetie diversi coloris quattuor cum mensis tribus* ..as well as weapons (four handguns – *rucnice*).

CEU eTD Collection

Wousmy Ornat Czerweny ssamlatowy od mol wsseczken sgedeny Bez Appa[tu]
Dewaty Ornat Stareho zlatohlavu prosteho pruhateho / Bez Appa[tu]
Desaty Ornat Bily damasskowy od mol zgedeny wsseczken / nez krziz piekny stary / Bez

Item dwie dyalmatyky byle damasskowe fleky nanich s obrazky / bez Appa[tu]

Item dwie dyalmatycze modre tykytowe s fleky pieknymi
Dwie dyalmatyky tez modre damasskove gedna bez rukawu
Dwie dyalmatyky zlute nepodssite Stare zle wsse bez
Gedna dyalmatyka Czerwena Aksamitowa przedek wyparany apparatu
Dwie dyalmatycze zelene Aksamitowe s pruhy harasem podssite czerweny
---
Dyalmatyka zelena zlatohlawu p(ro)steho stara / bez appa [tu]

Item kapie stara s ptaczky / Item druha stara Tykytowa Trzeti zelena
Stara modrym platnem podssita
Ornat Czerweny stary s dwima Erby gich zakona
Item korauwiczky dwie wieczy a dwie menssii stare profte
Item An(te)pendile s krzizky proste stare

Item Trzy kalichy Geden Strzibrny pozlaceny maly wnoze spod wyrito Nicolag
Mayznar me fecit / Druhy strzibrny mali nepozlatczeny toliko yablko pozlaczene
zespod wolowa nalito do nohy Item Trzeti Stribrny piekny pozlatczeny
na noze ma dwa Erby geden toho zakona, a druhy s sstrychy czerwenymi a
Strzibrnymi A ten gest prwe byl klasstera Swieteczkeho to gsu dokazaly
Item pacem maliczke Strzibrne a strzibrny rzetizek przyniem s obu stran krzisstal
Druhe pacem Male Strzibrne nepozlatzene s krzisstalem
Item Omieral perlowy se dwima obrazy S[e] Barbory geden druhy S[e] Dorothy
A trzy slowa perlowa .A.M.G. pod korunami s granaty a gynymi kamenky pro[-]
stymi ozdobeny Item dwie kapselli gedna zlatohlawowa czerwena bez Corporalu
druha czerwena Aksamitowa zespod IHS nani zlate:

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Item dwa omerali proste stare / Item alby cztirzi dwie magi fleky a dwie
nemagi hubene gsu.

[second folio]
Item ysta (Toto gest – supr.) gtnientyz(?) w male truhliczcze kteraz gest wlozena do Truhly welike
Item Trzi kalichy Geden piekny Strzibrny ~~wssechen~~ pozlaczeny na
noze ma dwe Erby geden toho zakona druhy sstrychy strzibrne
a czerwene ma / Cruczyfix wykyty a Matka boży Swatym Janem
podkrzizem a dwie S^e^ panny z kazde strany cruczyfixa wykyte
Item druhy kalych tez Strzibrny pozlatczeny menssi wnozie zespod wykyty ta[-]
kowy / Nicolag Mayznar me fecit
Item Trzeti také maly Strzibrny nepozlatczeny nez yablko toliko
pozlatczene zespod wolowa nalito do nohy
Item paczem maliczke strzibrne a Strzibrny rzetizek prziniem subu
stran krzisstal
Item druhe paczem maliczke Strzibrne nepozlatzene s krzi-
stalem
Item dwie kapselli gedna zlatohlawowa czerwena a wni Corporal [*sic*!]
Zgedeny molami Item druha ~~kapsella~~ czerwena yaksamitowa
zespod IHS zlate nani
Item perlowy Omieral se dwima obrazy geden S^e^ Barbory a
druhy S^e^ Dorothy / a trzy slowa perlowe .A.M.G. ~~wsse perlo-~~
~~we~~ pod korunami perlowymi / s granaty ~~perliczkami~~ a ginymi
kamenky prostymi ozdobeny

[third folio]
Ornamenta Eccl(esi)e

Item wornat Czerweni yaksamitowi na krzizi Swata trogice a appostole s czelym apparatem Item omieral místo perel kostiene zrnka Ave Maria

Item druhy Ornat niekoliku Barew / krziz starodawni bez apparatu

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Item Trzeti ornat s ptaczky zelenymi a bilimi bez apparatu
Item Cztwrty ornat Stareho zlatohlavu krziz naniem s proroky bez apparatu
Item paty ornat modry s kwiety czerwenymi bylymi promissenymi bez apparatu
Item Ssysty Ornat Bili damaskowy kwiety lilii zlate s krzizem pieknym bez app^{tu}
Item Sydmy Czerweny ornat Tykytowi krziz zlaty a dwa sstiti
Item Ornat wusmy Czerweny samlatowy ~~krziz naniem zeleny~~$^{od\ mol}$ wsseczken zgeden
Item Dewaty Stary zlatohlav pruhowaty
Item desaty ornat pul zlatohlawowe^{o} Stareho a strhane^{o}
Item dwie dialmatyky bile damasskowe s fleky s obrazky bez
apparatu
Item dwie dyalmatycze modre Tyketowe s fleky pieknymi
Item dwie dyalmatyky tez modre damasskove gedna bez rukawu
Item dwie dyalmatycze zlute Stare nepodssite zle
Item gedna dyalmatyka Czerwena yaksamitowa przedek wyparany
Item dwie dyalmatycze zelene yaksamitowe s pruhy harasem czerweny(m)
podssite
Item dyalmatika zelena zlatohlawowa stara ~~harase(m) czerweni(m) podssita~~
~~Item kapie stara s ptaczky Item druha kapie stara tykytowa~~
~~Item trzeti kapie zelena stara modry(m) platne(m) podssita~~
Item Ornat czerweny stary s dwima Erby gich zakona
~~Item dyalmatika stara strhana~~
Item dwie korauwiczky wieczy a male take dwie / navieczych obrazky na gedne
resur(r)ecc(i)o na druhe petr(us) et paul(us)
~~Item dwa Omierali proste stare~~
~~Item Alby cztyrzy dwie magi fleky a dwie nemagi hubene gsu~~
Item an(te)pendyle s krzizy prosteho zlata
Item vobrus stary a Tkanicze prziniem Item pally dwie male pod kor-
Poral
Item Cztyrzi stuly a geden manipul

To wsse Zetlele roztrhane a Za gedno dobře czele nestogi

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Poruczie^{o} to Panie Przeworze tehdaz Dorothee de Daupow
Mohlaliby czo z to^{o} polepssiti Neb gmacz to^{o} k sobie a k k(on)w(entu) [k tomu?]
domu Swieteczke(mu) przygati niechtiela. (…) Administrator s(an)ctae
eccl(esi)e Prag(ensis) (…)

E: Inventories of the parish churches

19. Inventory of the parish church in the queen's dowry town of Mělník around 1276-7

Ed. Ferdinand Lehner. *Dějiny umění národa českého* (Art history of Czech nation). Vol. 1.3, 1907, 499, and 558, ft. 1.

Inventory of res ecclesiae written under provost Budislav.
Edition – in Lehner

20. Inventory of the parish church in the royal town of Louny (1348-9)

Ed. Jaroslav Vaniš. "K otázce patrocinia děkanského kostela v Lounech (To the question of *patrocinium* of the deaconate church in Louny)" *Sborník okresního archive v Lounech* 1 (1985): 42. (with mistakes).[1046]

Town (Court record) book of Louny, sign. SOA Louny 1 C 1, fol. 6v-7r.

Inventory compiled by a commission of the town of Louny headed by (the burgrave?) Wernher Ottonis, around 1348 (dated according to other inscriptions in the book, first part of the book, where pre-1351 debts were written following a several large fires of Louny).

Edition – in Vaniš

[1046] Hlaváček, *Středověké soupisy knih a knihoven*, 50, cat. no. 61.

CEU eTD Collection

21. Inventory of the parish church of St. Gallus (Havel) in Prague (1390)

Ed. Klement Borový. *Libri erectionum archidiocesis Pragensis saeculo XIV. et XV*, IV, 345, cat. no. 485. *Inventarium de rebus Ecclesiae parochialis as S. Gallum Pragae a Joanne Pomuk plebano consriptum registro cancellariae Aepalis inseritur.* 19 August, 1390.[1047]

Inventory of St. Gallus (St. Havel) church in Prague written by Jan of Pomuk, archbishop vicar and rector of the St. Gallus church.

Edition - in Borový

22. Inventory of the parish church in Divišov, 1406-7

Ed. Ferdinand Tadra, *Acta Iudiciaria*, vol. 5, 414, no. 423.[1048]

Edition – in Tadra

23. Inventory of the parish church in Řeporyje, 1406-7

Ed. Ferdinand Tadra, *Acta Iudiciaria*, vol. 5, 396, no. 361.[1049]

Edition – in Tadra

24. Inventory of the parish church in Sluštice, 1406-7

Ed. Ferdinand Tadra, *Acta Iudiciaria*, vol. 4, 332, no. 77.[1050]

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[1047] *(Fr.J.) Zoubek,* "Bývalé klenoty kostela sv. Havla v Praze (Former jewels of St. Gallus' church)" *Method* 9 (1883), 1-4, 7-9, 115-117, (Czech translation)
[1048] František (?) Stejskal, "Inventáře kostelní v Čechách r. 1406-7 (Church inventories in Bohemia from 1406-1407)," *Časopis katolického duchovenstva* 54 (1913), 625. (Czech translation)
[1049] Stejskal, "Inventáře kostelní v Čechách r. 1406-7," 625. (Czech translation)
[1050] Stejskal, "Inventáře kostelní v Čechách r. 1406-7," 625. (Czech translation)

Edition – in Tadra

25. Inventory of the parish church in Vrbice, and Podmokly 1406-7

Ed. Ferdinand Tadra, *Acta Iudiciaria*, vol. 5, 129, no. 486.[1051]

Edition – in Tadra

26. Inventory of the church of Holy Spirit in the queen's dowry town of Hradec Králové (1407)

Ed. Carl Josef von Bienenberg. *Geschichte der Stadt Königsgrätz*. Prag: Franz Gerzabeck, 1780, 239.

28.5.1407 There was a great fire in the town of Hradec Králové, which burned down the parish church of Holy Spirit, Franciscan church of St. John and the royal castle. After the fire, two days before the feast of St. Thomas, an inventory was written down into a parchment book of the ornaments of the Holy Spirit church. (Bienenberg p. 239)

Transcription following Bienenberg:

Anno domini M^{o} CCCC^{o} VII proxima feria secunda ante Thomae apostoli infra Scripta Clenodia et ornamenta Ecclesie Sancti Spiritus in Grecz presentibus sunt inscripta.

Primo ornatus XXVI.

Item Dalmatice sex, quattuor sine apparatibus et due cum pleno apparatu

Item Cappas chorales majores sex

minores III.

Item Calices deauratos IIII.

Item Calices argenteos V.

Item Calix Jodoci

[1051] Stejskal, "Inventáře kostelní v Čechách r. 1406-7," 625. (Czech translation)

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Item patenas deauratas III.

Item patenas argenteas VI.

Item plenaria IIII.

Item corporalia V.

Item missalia antiqua III.

Item plebani missale quartum

Item unum Missale a plebano emptum

Item unum Speciale

Item due partes matutinales estivale et hyemale.

Item octo libros sed Inocinales unus, liber Jacobus de Voragine de sanctis Combustus est (was burnt down) sicut Civitas exusta (exufta???) fuit circa jacobum pretorem Boemorum.

Item unum antiqum matutinale

Item duo antiphone *Crem.*

Item pars hyemalis antiphone; *Cremata.*

Item unum antiquum antiphonale *Cremat.*

Item unum novum antiphonale *Crem.*

Item duo Gradivalia.

Item tercium.

Item duo nova psalteria. *Vnum.*

Item duo psalteria Chori. *Vnum.*

Item unum cancionale in parvo. *non est.*

Item monstrancia III.

Item monstrancia fracta cum ovo.

Item una monstrancia pro pace

Item una crux argentea deaurata

Item paria ampularum VII.

Item Cantra pro vino IIII. (cautra????)

Item thuribula II.

Item Caldaria II.

Item vexilla pro Corpore Christi IIII.

Item vexilla Ecclesie VIII. *duo*

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Item vna tunice pro ymagine resurreccionis.

Item vnum vmerale pro Missa beate virginis in adventu

Item Candelabra maiora XVIII. *non sunt*

Item octo paria ampularum minora.

Nota pallas altaris Ecclesie Sancti Spiritus

Item pro magno altari festivales pallas IIIIor. *V.*

Feriales II.

Item pro Cena domini et pro ascensione II.

Item Tapecia IIIIor.

Item ad parietes pendilia III. *Crem.*

Item pretextas II.

Altare Sancti Bartolomei habet pallas festivales II.

I. ferialem.

Altare Sancti Viti dominicales festivales feriales III.

pallas

Altare beate Virginis festivales apostolorum dominicales feriales .V.

et superfluas Curtinas II.

Altare Sancte crucis festivales III.

Dominicales et feriales III.

Altare Sancti Andree festivales et feriales III.

Altare Sancti Joannis baptiste III.

Altare Sancte Barbare III.

Altare Sancti Mathie fest. apostol. ferial. III.

Altare S. Agnetis fest. domin. ferial. IIII.

Altare S. Margarethe fest. apostol. domin. ferial. IIII.

Altare S. Jo. Evangeliste III.

Altare S. Catharine fest. apostol. dom. ferial. IIII.

Altare S. Sigismundi fest. apostol. domin. fer. III.

Altare S. Leonhardi fest. Domin.fer. III.

Altare omnium Sanctorum I.

Altare Sancte Dorothee II.

CEU eTD Collection

F: Gains of relics and books in parish churches during the Hussite period

27. The list of bishop Phillibert's of Coutances consecration relics for the church of St. Stephen in Rybníček in Prague in 1438

National Archive, section Dissolved Monasteries, AZK ŘA Karlov, Spisy (unsorted administrative material), inv. no. 2535 fasc. 11. (Holinka no. 1111)

Year 1438, appended to Sermon Dominica + Post Pascha *Ira enim viri justitiam Dei non operatur*, copy of 17th century

Unpublished.

Edition:

A^{o} Dni 1438 die 19 Ap(ri)lis $^{\text{hore(?) Domi(ni)ca Secunda post Pascha}}$ Templu(m) hoc Consecrata(m?) e(st) per venerabilem in χo patrem et Dominum Philibertum gratia Dei Episcopum Constancien(sem) p(ro)vincia(m) Bo(…)?(Bohemiam?) a S. Concilio Basiliensi Legatto rc? (sc? sacram? sacrae?) eade(m?) reconduntur ha(n)c reliquia(m?)

18 De ligno S. Crucis
19 De Columna in qua fuit Chrs(Christus) flagellatus
20 De Lapido in quo stetit Crux Sita(m)
21 Reliq Stephani Prothomarty(ri)
22 De Beato Petro in primo
23 De Sanguino Beati Pauli
24 SS. Simonis et Juda(m) Ap(osto)lor(um)

---

25 S. Venceslai M.
26 S. Laurentii M.
27 S. Mauritii Martyris in 2do

CEU eTD Collection

28 S. Clement(is) Papa(m) Confesoris

29 St(?) (…Ilybros, Hybros?) Martyri(s?) (sc?)

---

30 Ossa ss. 11 Milliu(m) Virginu(m) Mart.

31 S. Catharine V. et M. in 3^{tio}

---

32 S. Margaritha(e) V. et M.

33 S. Ursula(e) V. et. M. in 4to

34 S. Sabrina(e) V. et M. (sc?) 18 Elisabath Vidua(e)

Titulus Vero annotatur S. Stephano Prothomartyrii

28. *Ornamenta ad altare pertinentia* (the list of objects pertinent to one altar) in four missals from St. Bartolomeus' church, Plzeň[1052]

Ed. (incomplete extracts) Michal Dragoun. "Vybavení kostela sv. Bartoloměje v Plzni (Equipment of St. Bartholomeus in Plzeň)" *Kuděj* 1(1999), 3-13, on p.11. [1053]

Missal of Markéta (Margaret), widow after Jan Berbet, originally the donation for the St. Andrew altar in St. Bartholomeus

Library of the National Museum, KNM, inv. no. XVI A 9, f.1v.

The missal was originally written around 1410[1054] *for a Prague church, probably St. Vitus. Most likely, it got into the possession of the widow Margaret when sold by the metropolitan chapter*

[1052] A later inventory of the church of 1588 preserved in the Archive of the Town of Pilsen with several records of medieval works. *Inventarium rerum ad cultum divinum dedicatorum*, Archiv města Plzně, inv. no. 390, 11 folia, sign. 1e35, s. 3-5. There as well earlier records of donations.

[1053] Donations to the church: Strnad, Josef, *Listář královského města Plzně a vesnic druhdy poddaných*, vol 1, 1300-1450, V Plzni 1891. Extracts from testaments also in Dragoun, „Vybavení kostela", 6-9.

[1054] Dragoun, "Vybavení kostela", 3. May be even a bit earlier?

CEU eTD Collection

during its first exile in Pilsen after George of Poděbrady seized Prague. Margaret's donation possibly date to 1452-3.[1055]

Unpublished.

Edition:

„Item hu(n)c librum co(m)p(ar)avit p(er) eod(em) altar(um)
calice(m) argenteu(m) valente(m)
iiiior casulas cu(m) appellatu [sic] um(eral)i exillis de axamite rubeo que(m) apportavit de Venetiis i(n) collo suo i(n) peregrinat(i)o(n)e an(n)i Jubilei anno dni m^{o} cccc^{o} xxxxx^{o} ii [1452] et alia atine(n)tia…
[follows account of her death in 1453 and census]

Missal of Jan Strniště of Jablonné donated to the St. Nicolaus altar in St. Bartholomeus, Pilsen

Library of the National Museum, MS KNM, inv. no. XV A 8, f.227v.

The missal was written sometime before 1410 for a Prague church, probably St. Vitus. Most likely, it got into the possession of Jan Strniště, when sold by the metropolitan chapter during its first exile in Pilsen.

Unpublished.

Missal of Vitus the Draper (Vít Soukeník), originally the donation for the Virgin Mary altar in St. Bartholomeus

Library of the National Museum, KNM, inv. no. XV A 5, f.1r (year 1486).

Unpublished.

[1055] Liturgical books from Prague St. Vitus chapter may have got to Plzeň with the Metropolitan chapter escaping the Hussites and hiding there in 1467. However, according the inscription, this book was bought by Markéta before that date (a war *spolia*?).

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Edition:

Vitus pannifex civis plznensis…ad honore gloriose Virgine Mariae…Ideo hab infrascriptas reb(us) et ornamenta pro in hu(n)c libru(m) inscribi instit et procuravit, ne … dispercant.

It Primo Duo Calices un(um) trium marca(rum) arge(n)teum deaurat(um)

It Alter Calix [file?] argente(um) [imnoz] duar(um) marca(rum)

It Ornatus flave(us) cum toto apparatu, humerale de margarit(is)

It Ornat(us) alb(us) cum toto apparatu, humerale arge(n)teu(m) d(e)auratu(m) (sic!)

It Ornat(um) Rube(us) cum toto apparatu, humerale cum margarit(is)

It Ornat(um) feriale cu(m) toto apparatu

It Pectoral crux argentea

It Missale maius i(n) rubea cute emptu(m) [C?]Liiiii florenis ungaricae monete 1486

It missale min(or) [fili?] i(n) cute rubea

It quattuor candelabra de Ore

It pallas duplices festiviset feriales

It Ampule due

[follows census in Czech and list of Mas for the Dead for 33 people]

Missal of Martin Mertlík, originally the donation for the St. Felix and Adaukt altar in St. Bartholomeus

Library of the National Museum, KNM, inv. no. XII B 17, f.1r (the missal written around 1470-80, the inventory of ornaments from 1503)

Unpublished.

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G: Inventories of parish churches after the Hussites: Utraquist (Town) churches

29. Inventories of the deaconate church of the Virgin in Chrudim 1444, 1463, and 1504

Incomplete ed. Antonín Fr. Rybička, "Seznamy klenotů a úročních platů děkanského chrámu Páně v Chrudimi v druhé polovině XV. a na začátku XVI. století (The lists of jewels and rents of the deaconate church in Chrudim in the second half of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries)" *Věstník královské české společnosti nauk* (1895): 1-6, esp. pages 1-4.[1056]

Liber contractuum I of 1439, fol. 42-47. SokA, Archiv města Chrudimi (Archive of the Town of Chrudim) (Latin, Czech). Contains also inventories of 1457 and 1465 (not transcribed).

Unpublished.

Edition:

Inventory from 1444

Anno domini Mll^{mo} CCCC^{o} x(xxxiv)[1057] … sunt … cleinodia eclesie beate Marie virginis in muro civitatis nostri … comissa sunt per magistrum … Andream Cudele, et ceteros consules Wenceslao… super notem una cum… filio Nickonis…

Item calix argenteus deauratus […] Conthorali Mathisonis …

Primo tres calices argentei

Item unus calix noviter datus a manuss ie

Item unus calix argenteus deauratus et calix Mathiae

sunt sex iii minores argentei et septimus calix magnus deauratus

Item v calices stagnei iii minores et unius in Cotczie sextus

Item x ornatus et ix albe ex hiis unus in Cottczie cum toto apparatu

Item cappa festivalis

Item vela quadragesimalia duo

[1056] *Edition of content, headings with names are missing.*

[1057] Paper damaged, the date provided by later hand

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Item palle xxxviii

Item tegumina mortuorum duo

Item superllecia magna iiiior

Item superllecia parwa quinque exilia

Item quatuor gradualia unum Trzebicz et iii z leta curia pragense (added: calices argentei cum deauratum x in ?)

Item quatuor antiphonaria

Item psalteria quinque

Item tria missalia et unum quartum: unius noviter emptum, in Cottczie v

Item due agende

Item volumen in quo continentur omnia viciorum et virtutum et compendium Theologie veritatis

Item legendarium qui incipit Visio Isaie profete (added:Item biblia in papyro et Bryton etiam in ? per Laurentium datum ? pro eclesie beate Marie virginis in mura civitatis)

Item volumen omeliarum

Item byblia pergamena

Item passionale, viaticus per C gr

Item Iosephus antiquitatus

Item candelabra nova stagnea x et cuprea xx

Item Turribulum unum

Item nolas iii parvas ? vo maiores ?

Item ferrum in quo ablata pistantur

Item biblio in papiro empta a consulibus infrascriptis Paulo arcufice Johane Teleczki Witkone Sartore Blasio Raiman Mathiassone Andrea Cudele Hawrankone ? Wenceslao Zak Johane Wlcnowecz Paulo Sutore Wictorino Gregorio Anno Domini MCCCCxliiii feria sexta post Dorothe

Manutergia iii

(Anno Domini M^{o}CCCC^{o}xliiii^{o} conscripta sunt cleinodia eclesie beate Marie virginis in muro civitatis nostre ? dem comisa sunt per magistrum civium Mathiam et ceteros consules ? dicta rotunda ? data campanatori et notatur superius ? per Johane supranotate Petrus Scriptor magnus Gira Hlinski Matheus Wawrinecz pellifex

Item coltra Ampule vii Agenda Item pendilia iiii^{or}

CEU eTD Collection

Item coberecz

Item postawecz na Archu geden zeleny Item staly iii

Item postawecz druhy plawy

Item postawecz ? bily na monstrancii

~~Sstola nowa pruhata Item iii sstoly zelene nove~~

Cant[enei?] duo […]

Inventory from 1463

Anno domini M^{o}CCCC^{o}lxiii^{o} trente ff(eria) vi ante Sophie conscripta sunt klenodia Ecclesiae beate virginis marie in muro Civitate nostre per Scabinos eo tempore constitutos videlicet Johanes Bezchlebie Machkonem Raumani, Stankonem Jasno ? Crucem per? vitum et eo tempore notarium civitatis Stankone presidente ? quadem clenodia comissa sunt Matheo Campanatori fidem ? per eodem sub pena l sexagenas Sacerdos Petrus plebanus in Chrudim et sacerdos Wenceslaus plebanus in Tyniecz

Hac sunc percepta Mathiss? a dominibus plebanis assisste

Dwie monstranczii welike, a trzety mala s swatostmi Item iiii fefliky, dwa ii zla

Kalichuow strzibrnych xiii, mezy nimi bylo osm pozlatitych, a nawseech pateny tiez

Dwie lzicze strzibrne,

Item ssest kalichuow czynowych, a w Kotssim sedmy

Ornatuow x swatecznich a ~~(osm)~~ vii wssednich a každý ma k sobie wsechny przipravy kromie trzii, to w miestie

Item w swateho Jana Geden ornat a w Kotssim druhy se vssim przisslusenstwim kromie swrchnich

Item dwie dialmatice et z Swidnice,

Itep dwie kapi, gedna swateczni, a druha wssedni

Item ubrusuow l kromie zlych dwu geden na krztidlnicy a druhy na lucernie

Item dwa przykrowy s ? kterez kladu na zakowske pulpity item dwie oponie

Item komzij piet

Item mssalowe cztyrzi zde, a w Kotssim paty

Item hradaly dwa,

Item antifonarze dwa we cztyrzech swazczyech

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Item zaltarzuow piet

Item knihy gedny w nychz jest suma virtutum et viciorum, a compendium theologie veritatis

Item legendarz gesto se poczina visio Izaie a druhy de sanctis

Item trzi biblii gedna wielika stara na pergamenie a dwie na papirze na arku

Item Briton na papirze

Item omeliarz weliky czistym pismem na pergamenie

Item gedem wiatyk

Item agendie dwie

Item Josephus antiquitatum parzizskym pismem na pergamenie krasne volumen

Item swicnuow czynowych xii a mosaznych osm

Item osm zwoncuow iii maly a ostatek wietssich

Item kadidlnice miediena gedna

Item zelezo iako oplatky peku

Item ampulii desset

Item trzi konwe welike

Itel cztyrzy koltry,

Item geden kobererzecz kteryz kladu w swatky przed oltarz,

Item okrzidle iako bywagii okolo oltarzuow, pendilia, cztyrzy, gedno welike postawcowe a druhe kmentowe promiessowane czerwenym harasem, a dwie menssii

Item dwie kortinie patroniovane na platnie

Item iiii ubruszy w kaple

Item coopertoria s. corporis Christi quibus utuntur infirmos visitantes subque defferentes sacramenta

Item ii sstole ssylherzowe a gedna swateczni a gedna wsedni

Item iiii kladki od dwerzii kostelnich a paty zamek w kaple od ampuli a od konwi gesto gimi zamykagy

Item specialnik od knieze Sstiepana

Item psalterie e epistole

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The list of liturgical objects from 1465(?)[1058]

Inventory of things kept separately, possibly at the priest, written among the rents of St Catherine(?) Church

It clenodia ecclesie ad Johanem que sunt aspecta per Hanacek ? quobus ? rebus? videlicet dominum Petrum Pessatam et dominum Johanem Hospodnieczek et ? anno domini M^{o} CCCC^{o} lxv^{o}

Item iiii^{or} palle

Item vexila dua

Item una monstrancia

Item calix unius argenteus deauratus

Item v ….clum [velum?]

Item candelabra iii stanea

Item due nole?

Item ii^{o} ampule

Inventory from 1504

Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quarto feria secunda in die Marie Magdalene conscripta sunt Clenodia Ecclesie Beate Virginis Marie civitate Chrudimensi per ? videlicet Johanem dictum Soldan Johanem Rospek Thob Venceslai carnificem.

Que quidem clenodia dicta sunt in manum? Ballo braseatori civi Chrudimensi et Jacobo dicto Canturek suburbano subplebano domine Bouslao et sunt ista

Item ornatow ffestiwalnich xi

Item fferialnich xi

Item capi pět a dwie male

Item kalichow xvi piet pozlattitych a ? strziebrnych a czynowych piet.

Item cztyry pussky gedna z strziebrneho zlattohlawa a druha aksamitowa a trziety atlasowa czerwena cztwrta bez strzibra perlowa

Item dwie pussky strziebrne u kostelníka

Item ampuli x

[1058] From this year, there is another (unoublished) inventory in the book, but its is largely damaged. Another inventory of the church comes then from approximately mid-sixteenth century (date missing), where an interesting mention of seven tin chalices is made.

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Item zwonczow sedm

Item dialmatiky cztyrzi

Item palla atlasowa

Item pendilia dwie

Item Corporalnicz i Corporalow osm

Item koberecz cerweny geden przed oltarzem

Item komze dwie

Item ffefliky trzi na monstrancii

Item koruhwicz malych dewiet a welikych vi a scitre dwie

Item swicznow xxiii

Item mssalow sedm

Item dwa gradaly

Item antyfonarze cztyrzy strany

Item zaltarzow cztyrzy dwa nowa a dwa stara

Item ffeflik na pulpit

Item kadidlnicze dwie

Item zeleza oplatkowa trzi

Item orlojik stary skupil sa

Item dwie monstrancii gedna strziebrna a druha miediena

Item na knihy gyni gest registrum zwlasstnii

Panii poruczniczy po nebozcze Marketie Czianakowe oddali kalych strziebrny pozlaczeny na pondieli przed Bozi Wstaupenim letha ?MLXLIX

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30. Inventory of the church of Birth of the Virgin in Vodňany (1511)

Liber Memorabilis města Vodňan (Liber memorabilis of the town of Vodňany), SokA Strakonice, Archiv města (AM Vod) Vodňany 527, 1st vol. , fol 27r-v, 26v (list of chalices of 1511) (pages 748-749)[1059]

[1059] Vodňany - royal town in the Taborite union of towns (fought on Taborites side in Lipany battle 1434), conservative Utraquist town, but "tolerant", where people of other religions (Catholics, Union of Brethens) also lived. Rather a colourful mixture under Calixtine (Utraquist) leadership..

Unpublished.[1060]

Edition:

27r

An(n)o d(omi)ni Millesimo Quingentesimo Vndecimo[1061]

Feria Secunda (Carnispruij?) Ita Suppellectilia

Domus dei Civitate inWodniana Ex

Jussu D(omi)norum Eiusdem Civit(ate) / Hoc in libro

Ordinarie asignantur

Monstranczij Nowa Strzibrna druha Miedienna pozlatcena[1062]

Kalich Kuchtowsky naywietssi Kalich od Credasowee Druhy od teez ktery

od knieze Jana kaupila Kalich od pana Oldrzicha Malowcze s puol koniem

Kalich s Ssiroku Czessi pozlatceny Kalich od Ssymka diewcziczkeho s +^{em}

Rukowiet pozlatcena Kalich Strziebrny s rukowietij pozlatcenu a na vzlu text

Ihesus Giny Strziebrny rukowiet pozlatcena s textem nad vzle(m) Maria Kalich Strzie-

Brny rukowiet pozlatcena na vzlu littery a na patene krziz pozlatceny Kalich

Pro nemocznee od Waczlawa Sladka Kalich maly wssiczek pozlatceny **Kalich**

Cu(m) Sa(c)r(a)mento w Arsse Kalich czinowy krziz pozlatceny #

Item ~~Czepecz Axamitowy czerweny~~ Omiral za Ssest kop s perlami[1063]

~~Lziczky Strziebrnee~~ ~~trzi~~ kadidlnicze dwie pussek Corporaluow

Ornat kanichowy s omiralem a se wssemi potrzebami

Ornat perzasty s kwiety od pana Oldrzicha Malowcze se wssemi potrzebami

Ornat Atlasu modreho od pana Oldrzicha se wssemi potrzebami

[1060] Extracts Václav Mostecký, *Dějiny bývalého královského města Vodňan (History of former royal town of Vodňany)*, vol. 1 (Prague, Zemědělská knihtiskárna 1940), 133-135 [with other endowments]. Fragments also in Jiří Louženský, *Děkanský kostel Narození Panny Marie v Vodňanec (The Deaconate church of the Birth of the Virgin in Vodňany)* (Vodňany: Městské muzeum a galerie, 1996), 10.

[1061] In 1511 new priest, Stanislav (1511-1522) accessed to the parish. The inventory might be related to his entering the office.

[1062] Later hand: *Trzeti z hole miedi* (the third of pure copper).

[1063] In places, profane things were inventoried. Crossed out later, they were donated to the treasury to be changed into a liturgical object or as payment. These profane objects (red headdress) were probably not inventories in the list of liturgical objects in treasury, but were noted when turned into a new object (omiral).

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~~Ornat tykytowy brunatny se wssemi potrzebami Omiral wnie(m) s gedenaczti Litterami pozlatcenymi Strziebrnymi~~[1064]

Ornat zlattohlawowy Sstrauchowee se wssemi potrzebami

Druhy zlattohlawowy s krzižem Crucifixem[1065]

Ornat trzetij zlattohlawowy se wssemi potrzebami

Ornat czerny s + - Ornat czerne[o] Pfendrsstatu s krzizem[1066]

~~**Pally neb koltry** se trzemi krali dwie~~ **Trzij patronowanee** Zelena s Ihus

Velum modre na archu Palliczek malych pod monstranczij piet ffeflikuow osm

Sywy a Czerweny Taffath / palla zelena podssita Taffath zeleny a czerweny –

Spolu / palla Czerwena na weliky oltarz / Camisia cu(m) infirmos visitant

~~Trzi komže kniezske / Zwonikowa komze cztwrta~~

Vbrusuow Na oltarze xxiiii a na pulpity Trziie Vbrusuow na oltarziech Sedm

Oltarzik kamenny / Malowczowa dwa postawniky / Swieczni Zieleznij cztyrzij

Postawnikuow vi a Cztyrzi malij / prowigenych vi Swiecznuow Czynowych xv[t]

Miediennych s malymi piet Ampulek viii Zwonczuow osm Sstanda (pnta?)

Trzetnia / postawniczkuow pozlatce[ch] vi[t] lucerny dwie /

Missaluow osm pargameno[ch] dewaty papierowy do Sspitala

[Dgmaty[k]?[l] weliky druhy maly a trzetij zly [hazelsky?] Antyffonarz Gradual

Specialnik zaltarze dwa pargamenowa geden papie/ koruhwi osm

Fol. 27v

Item vbrus nowy kmentowy od Pysarzowee

Item druhy vbrus od Barthy lampy

Item Trzetij od Sedlaka a a negmenuge se od ktere[o]

[follows donations to *záduší*, between 1515 and 1528 the townsmen of Vodňany gave to the church 7 chalices, one silver Eucharist box (puška), four garments (ornatus) and one chasuble dorsal cross, on page 747 and 749[1067]]

[1064] By later hand: *kniez Stanislaw v niem lezi* (priest Stanislaus is buried in it).
[1065] By later hand: *dan kniezi Janowi na pohrzeb* (given to priest Jan for burial).
[1066] By later hand: *kniezi Jeronimowi dan na pohrzeb* (given to priest Jeronym for burial).
[1067] The entry of 1518 reads that Jiří Kolouch with his wife Anna are donating a chalice to *záduší* of Vodňany as memory of their child twins who died of plague in the city: *ke czti a chwale Bozii jako pamatku Ditek sweych dwoczastku kterziz tutoranu morowu Leta toho[?], ktera w miestie wodnianskych se rozmohla a mnoho dobrych muzuow a Miesstieniow*

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31. Inventory of St. Nicolaus of the Old Town Prague 1515

Incomplete edition in Josef Teige. *Základy starého místopisu pražského (The foundations of historical topography of Prague)*. Vol. 1.2. Praha, Nákladem obce král. hl. města Prahy , 1915, p. 97, no. 12, 13, 23.[1068]

Book of sacristans (Book of Endowments) of St. Nicolaus, starts from 1497, Archive of the city of Prague, AHMP 1665 sv. 551 (microfiche)

Unpublished.

Inventory[1069] of the church jewels from 1515 with inserted corrections from 1538

Edition:

Fol. 34r-35r

Leta od porodu Panenskeho Tisyczeho pietisteho pietimeztnieho w pondiely o krzizowych dnech z poruczenye wosadnych kostela sv. Mikulasse pan Benes Roh z Vlkanowa, Waczlaw of rukavicz, Waczlaw bakalarz z do(mu) Motyowskeho, Pessek Konwarz, Martin Ssilhaczek (…) w przitomnosti knieze Waczlawa Satule tehdaz fararze svého. Tyto wieczy dole psanie kterez w glenotnych temuz zadussi przilezy spatrzivše a coz od strzibra gest, zwazivše pro buduczij toho pamiet tuto gsu znamenati a sepsati rozkazali aby kazdy glenot zegmena byl postaven.

Item mostrancij welika strzibrna a krzizek kteryz na hrobie bywa podle predessiho roku zwiaženij držije wahy xxxix hrziwen iiγ [two and half] lotu.

---

zemrzelo. Jan Kopenecz toho czasu starssi miesta ten mor zaczal z dopusstieni Bozieho na [??], hrdelni nemocz. (…To the honour and glory of God as a memory of our twin chidren that (died) on the plague this year. On this plague that hppened in Vodňany many of good men and burghers died. Jan Kopenec, the councillor, started the plague…).

[1068] Extracts in Kateřina Horníčková, "A Utraquist Church Treasury and its Custodians: a few observations on the lay administration of the Utraquist churches," *BRRP* 6 (Prague 2007), 189-208, Antonín Baum, "Ze "Zápisní knihy kostelníků" chrámu sv. Mikuláše na Starém městě pražském" (From the 'Book of Sacristans' of St. Nicolaus church in the Old Town of Prague) *Method* 3 (1877), 51-54.

[1069] On fol. 3v-4v short Czech inventory of objects, no date, around 1500: two skirts for chalices, 7 silver chalices, 29 good and bad altarcloths (*palli*).

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~~Item kallich weliky strzibrny y s patenau drzij wahy iiii hrziwny xii lotu ma toto znamenij~~ ♀[sign upside down]

~~Item kalich střibrny s patenau drzij wahy dwe hrziwny xiiii lotu, ma toto znamenij~~ ~~A~~

[next to crossed lines] místo giny weliky udielan yakze g(es)t radne znamenan napsan (…) su trzi w nii (…)

Item kalich strzibrny s patenau w mrzijzcze pozlatite drzi wahy ii hrziwny xiii lotuow (…) ma toto znamenij Martha X

Item kalich strzibrny s patenau drzij wahy trzi hrziwny / ma toto znamenije C

Item kalich strzibrny s patenau drzi wahy ii hrziwny ixγ lotu / ma toto znamenij Joh(a)n(e)s Petronella

Item kalich strzibrny s patenau / drzi wahy ii hrziwny x[?] lotuow / ma toto znamenij m

~~Item kalich strzibrny s patenau drzi wahy i hrziwnu xiiii lotuow / ma toto znamenij~~ *

Item kalich strzibrny s patenau drzij wahy iiiγ hrziwny / ma toto znamenije V

Item kalich stribrny s patenau / drzi whay ij hrziwny / ma toto znamenije W

Item kalich strzibrny s patenau / drzije wahy ij hrziwny / msas toto znamenije XX

Item **kalich** strzibrny **s przikrywadlem k nemocznym choditi** drzi wahy iij hrziwny iiγ lot(u)

[*inserted durning inventoring in 1538:] Item kalich od pana Waczlawa Mielnczk(e)h(o) przigal gest Buryan Pekarz (za moru?) ma ko(runu?) waczy iiγ hrziwny a vγ lotu. Stalo se we stredu na Štědry den Letha (MCCCCC) xxxiiij [1534]

Item kalich maly pozlatity s patenau drzije wahy I hrziwnu / menie γ lotu / znamenije mage ctyrzi ewangelisty

Item kalich stribrny wcy wietssii pozlatity s patenau drzi wahy iij hrziwny puol lotu

Toto ma znamenije Z

Item kalich pozlatity stribrny s patenau / drzi wahy ij hrziwny xv lot(u) / toto ma znamenij

We gmeno bozij B

CEU eTD Collection

Item kalich stribrny pozlatitys patenau / drzi wahy ij hriwny / i γ lotu / ma znamenij obrazky na patie

[**][1070]

Item kalich strzibrny pozlatity s patenau drzij wahy ij hrziwny γ lotu / od Adamky

Item kalich Buriana Ssmayderze strzibrny pozlatity y s patenau / puogczeny

Item kalich **mosazny** pozlatity y s patenau.[1071]

Item Corporaliow deset

Item Corporalnicz piet

Item Corporalnicze i perlowi obraz Matky Bozij

Item pusska strzibrna pozlaczena, a przi nije lziczka zlata wazy obec xi lotuow

Item pusska strzibrna drzij wahy xii lot(uow) bez cztwrtcze

Item krzizek kteryz przi monstranczij zwazen strzibrny pozlatity drzii su wahy ij loty krom cztwrtcze[1072]

Item dwie Ampule strzibrnee drziie wahy i hrziwna ii loty

Item pusska **Czynowa** wssednij[1073]

[*** later insertion in the upper start of the fol. 35r, from inventoring in 1438:] Suma wssech kalichu y s welikym y s tim jak k nemoczny chodij y s tim miediennym xvij, zustawa na horze xii, a gedna pusska strzibrna pozlaczena na horze, dana druha dolu k potrziebie kostelnikuow w rucze. [1074]

[** insertion in the lower bottom of the fol.35r, account on inventoring in 1438:]

Letha M^{o} V^{c} xxxviii w auterý na den S^{o} Rzehorzie stal se poczet, s asistiem Mikulassem zlatnýkem s Konske^{o} trhu to^{o} czasu ze kalich weliky **s rzapkem** kteryz on dielal ze trzy kalichuw geden a k tomu y stribra nieczo przidano gest.[1075]

[1070] Insertion (finishing). I attached it to the first part of the inserted entry text, which starts at the bottom of the fol. 35r. (see later).
[1071] Brass gilded chalice with paten.
[1072] Thus the monstrance alone weighted over 39 pounds (*hrziwna*).
[1073] Tin box for the Eucharist.
[1074] "Na horze" means in the treasury. The place where the treasury was kept was a separated vaulted room (from this come another name for treasury room - *gewölb, kvelb, sklep*), generally in upper levels of the church (above sacristy or in the tower, as in the case of St. Nicolaus). The access was made as difficult as possible with many keys and firm doors to prevent theft. Similarly as in St. Gallus inventory in the pre-Hussite period, the division of chalices for direct use (here 5) and in treasury (here 12) proves the existence of large number of vessels hoarded for its economic value.

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Ten naywietssij kalich ma wahy deset hrziwen strzibra a puol patnaczta lothu. Tak se nasslo przi waze tehoz kalichu ale prwnie gest poznamenamy tiech trzi kalichu tuto w tiechto registrzich ma se giz przetrhnuti tak aby si buduczy na to(m) nemaylili kam by se ti trzy starzii kalichowie dáti mieli // [continues as insertion in the mid-page, here marked **] tak aby se to vykonalo przi przito(m)nosti pana Buryana Pekarze kteryz klenoty wladne a przed kostelniky niniegssimi [?letaw xxxix – year 1539?]

fol. 35v
Item wornaty dwa aksamitowa zelena se wssi przipravau
Item wornat i czerneho aksamitu Adamczim se wssi przipravau
Item wornat i czerweneho aksamitu se wssi przipravau
Item wornat i damassku bileho se wssi przipravau
Item wornat damassku brunatneho z sklepu[1076] bez przipravy
Item wornat i zeleny s ptaczky se wssi przipravau
Item wornat / kanichu czerweneho se wssi przipravau
Item wornat / kanichu czerneho se wssi przipravau
Item wornat / bileho kanichu z sklepu bez przipravy
Item wornat brunatny z starych wornatuow

fol.36r
Item krzirz k wornatu s obrazy perlowymi
Item krzirz zlatohlawowy k wornatu s obrazy
Item humeral, s perlowymi kwiety
Item dyalmatyky dwie bileho Aksamitu
Item dylmatyky dwie wssech barew Aksamitowe
Item dyalmatyk , modry aksamitowy
Item Item dylmatyk, modreho damassku
Item dylmatyky dwie bileho kanichu

[1075] A note on the final accounting with the goldsmith Nicolaus from the Horse Market for his making of the (silver) chalice with a spout from three silver chalices and some more silver added.
[1076] Sklep, se ft. 14. Two garments (chasubles) were kept in the treasury (*sklep*) as a resource. They were not in use as they did not have any accessories.

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Item dylmatyk geden czerweneho Aksamitu
Item dylmatyk geden Pilhyrzowy [Silhyrzowy?]
Item kapie welike Trzi
Item kapie malee dwie

Item pally k oltarzuom welikych x [?]
malych wseech xxx^{ti}

fol.36v
Item ubrusuow na oltarze wssech xxxviii
Item komze dwie kniezske a dwie zwonikowy

Item missaluow pergamenowych piet
Item missal geden, imprimowany
Item Antyfonarze pergamenowe^{o} straha gedna letnij, a druha zymnij
Item knihy k zpiwani Venite p(er)gameno(w)^{e}

Item krztitedlnicze Czynowa a zamek k nij
Item Swiczny cztyrzi czynowe welike na nohach
Item Swicznuow czynowych menssijch xiiii^{ti}
Item Swicznuow mosaznych xxiiii
Item Swiczny Trzi zielezne na nohach
Item dwie konwe Czynowe
Item Ampulek xii

fol.37r
Item dwie kadidlnicze
Item vmywadlo mosazne

Item ctyrzi zwonce a geden czymbal
Item forma gedna na oplatky, k tomu kruzidlo na hostij a sspulerz na communicanty

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Item postawnikuow viii

Item koruhwiczek malych viii

Item dwie Cortyny nowee

Item dwa fefliky k monstrancy

Item prostieradlo zeleneho tafatu k hrobu

Item prostieradlo popelaweho tafatu

Item feflik tafatowy s krzizem poul zelene^{o} a puol czerweneho

32. Inventories of four Kutná Hora churches in the 15th – 16th centuries

Ed. Jan Kořínek. *Staré paměti kutnohorské (Old memories of Kutná Hora)*, ed. Alexandr Stich, and Radek Lunga. Prague: Lidové noviny, 2000. Pages 312-370 (reedition of 1675 edition). (Contains extracts from inventory shortly after 1420 (St. Jacob, p. 313), another of fifteenth century (St. Jacob, p. 313), registers of st. Barbora (1449, p. 339), St. Jacob donations (p. 355-6), among other testaments and bequests.

Inventory of St. Barbara, St. Jacob, the Virgin Mary in Náměť, and St. Bartholomeus in 1516: Karel B. Mádl, "Nádobí a roucha kostelů kutnohorských r. 1516 (Vessels and garments of Kutná Hora churches)" *Památky archeologické* 17 (1896), 3-329.[1077] Booklet form, Town Archive of Kutná Hora (Archiv města Kutné Hory), no. 177 (Contains jewels of the following Kutná Hora churches: St. Barbara, St. Jacob (Jakub), the Virgin Mary, and St. Bartolomeus).[1078]

Inventory of the church of Virgin Mary in Náměť in Kutná Hora of 1515: Jiří Zach. "Chrám Matky Boží na Náměti v Hoře Kutné (Church of Our Lady on Náměť in Kutná Hora)" *Method* 12.1 (1886): 1.

Josef Šimek. *Kutná Hora v 15. a 16. století. Řada obrazů, pojednání a črt z kulturních a politických dějin kutnohorských (Kutná Hora in the fifteenth and the suxteenth centuries. A number of*

[1077] Mádl gives the following reference: Státní Okresní Archiv Kutná Hora (State District Archive), inv. no. 177. On 16 folios, 8 of them written. Extracts also in Emanuel Leminger, „Umělecké řemeslo v Kutné Hoře." *Rozpravy České akademie věd a umění*, I (Prague 1926), 71, and Šimek, *Kutná Hora v 15. a 16. století*.

[1078] Only one piece from the inventories is preserved to our days – a monstrance from the small, now destroyed church of St. Bartholomeus. It is a silver monstrance of the tower type with a statue of the saint, and two miners with coats of arms, 63 cm high. Helena Štroblová, and Blanka Altová, *Kutná Hora* (Prague: Lidové noviny 2000), 375-6.

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images and notes from the cultural and political history of Kutná Hora). Kutná Hora: Karel Šolc, 1908, pages 53-56. (Contains extracts from 1492 inventory of St. Jacob (15 chalices, two silver monstrances, one silver pyx, three pyxes (embroidered) with pearls and four (textile) without pearls, three silver spoons. He also summarises the 1516 inventories, and gives edition of 1505 inventory of the church of the Virgin Mary in Kaňk (p. 254-5)).

Edition – in Kořínek, Mádl, Zach and Šimek[1079]

H: Inventories of parish churches after the Hussites – Catholic churches

33. **Inventory of the parish church of St. Jacob in Boskovice**[1080] **(from 1484, corrected in 1491), and the inventory of All Saints filial church in Boskovice from 1505**[1081]

Ed. František Lipka ed. "Starší inventář kostelní v Boskovicích (Older church inventory in Boskovice)" *Památky archeologické* 20, (1903), 551-556 (edition 551-554).[1082]

[1079] The sources suggest existence of series of inventories for Kutná Hora churches from 15-16th centuries in the town registers, from where the editors extracted them.

[1080] The records for the church of Boskovice name also non-Catholic priests, but Catholic creed was probably prevailing. The lords of Boskovice were Catholic.

[1081] Another full inventory of the church ornaments is preserved from 1670, with additions 1687-91.

[1082] *Translation from Czech following Lipka's edition:*
(St. Jacob's Church 1484 with additions)
Year of the God 1484, the Monday before the new summer, the jewels of our Boskovice church are noted, which our hereditary lords have donated together with other good people.
Silver monstrance, which our lord Václav [of Boskovice] of good memory and grace gave our church.
Two silver gilded chalices, three silver ones and priest Pavel chaplain has a fourth silver one, who is now in Račice, and one chalice made of tin.
Good chalice, gilded, which belonged to deceased priest Jakub, our parson of good memory.
Good silver cross with one image and a second gilded cross; this one is lost and was from the same parson.
On the day of St. Peter and Paul, 1491, our priest Jan died and gave to our church a silver chalice and a pectoral with a relic.
His Grace lord Arkleb [Albrecht of Boskovice, son of Václav], of a noble birth, gave us an ornate of red aksamit for the church of St. James and we thank His Grace for this.
Great Bible,[1082] which our graceful lord Ladislav ordered to be made and gave to the parson so that the Bible would stay with the church eventhough the person would like to leave one day or die.
Here, church vestments are noted:
There are three aksamit ornates, one with white flowers with pearl omusal, second deep purple with pearl omusal, third green. Two ornates made of golden-thread, one green with birds, second red.
Two ornates damascene, white and blue.

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34. Inventory of the church of St. Jacob in Brno in 1487

Ed. Berthold Bretholz. *Pfarrkirche zu St. Jakob in Brünn*. Brno: Rudolf M.Rohrer, 1901, 73-74.

Edition – in Bretholz

35. Inventory of the Assumption of Our Lady church in Kájov from the end of the fifteenth century

Ed. Valentin Schmidt. "Ein Gojauer Pfarrinventar aus dem Ende des 15. Jahrhunderts," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen* (MVGDB) 44, (1906), 193.

Edition – in Schmidt

Green ornate, another green, third bluish green, fourth old aksamit, old red, fifth blue….., sixth white, two black made of linen, two ordinary ornates, ornate white damascene with all accessories, which has been bought by Bílková from Lhota. Black velvet ornate with all accessories that belong to it.
Three capes: 1 red with white flowers, 2 old.
Canopy that our deceased lord Václav, lord our graceful, gave our church, further three silk covers [hedvábníky] and ...two other covers [ffefflíky].
Altarcloths for the high altar, one new and two old, one new and four old for the altar of the Mother of God, all tablecloths 23.
Here, church books are noted:
1 good missale, second old and 1 vesperale [sperálník Gradal], 2 antiphonaries of parchment, 2 psalters, one shabby agenda.
6 candlesticks of brass [čistec] and one small made of copper.
2 old banners, incence burners.
Three books were given by priest Adam Mašinka to our church: rubrics, small books, and they are at the parson's.
A good missale, new, on a paper [davený].
New agenda, [davená].
Psalter on parchment, new, ordered by Prokop Zapagrava.
Bible, as stated above.

(All Saints Church, 1505)
The Year of the God 1505, jewels in church of All Saints are noted:
Three ornates, one green, second deep purple, third white old.
Two silver chalices, good, and a little silver cross.
Two corporals, third new.
A new tablecloth.

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36. Inventory of the church of St. Nicolaus in Znojmo 1524

Ed. Raimund M. Kobza. *Kleinodienverzeichnis der St. Niklaskirche in Znaim im Jahre 1524*. Beilage zum Bericht des Staats-Reform-Realgymnasium mit deutscher Unterrichtsprache im Znaim Series. Znojmo: M. F. Lenk, 1928.

Edition - in Kobza

Appendix III: The treasury of the Bethlehem Chapel in the sixteenth century

Three inventories documenting the development of the Bethlehem Chapel (Utraquist) treasury in the sixteenth century

1. Bethlehem Chapel inventory from 1529

Ed. Ferdinand Hrejsa. "Betlém od r. 1516 (Bethlehem Chapel since 1516)", in *Betlémská kaple. O jejích dějinách a zachovaných zbytcích*. V Praze 1922, pages 22-106

The inventory was made following the death of the priest Master Vavřinec z Třeboně in 1529.

The treasury contained twelve chalices, monstrances, silver pyx, four silver spoons for children, fourteen garments (and one in which Master Vavřinec was buried), books in a cupboard, the body of the Innocent, a hanging? (*feflík*), the Bethlehem privileges, tinware, six ewers, six bowls, six plates, and ampules.

2. Bethlehem Chapel treasury in 1550

Ed. Ferdinand Hrejsa. "Betlém od r. 1516 (Bethlehem Chapel since 1516)", in *Betlémská kaple. O jejích dějinách a zachovaných zbytcích*. V Praze 1922, pages 22-106.[1083]

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[1083] Rewritten by Hrejsa reportedly from *Acta in Academia Pragensi sub praepositum et Directura diversorum collegiorum item decanatu quintuplici Mr. Marci Moravi Bydzovini ab ao 1567 ad annum 1584*, in MS no. 310, Lobkowicz Library, f. 286, identical in MS no. H h 25, f. 152 and 153 in SOA (MZA) Rajhrad.

On p. 37 description of the chapel's Utraquist treasury compiled by Jan Mystopol, the main priest of the chapel between 1550 and 1568. Upon the occasion of his introduction in 1550, this inventory was compiled.

The treasury contained the relic of the body of the Innocent wrapped in green silk and covered with black textile that was placed in a wooden coffin, then a silver monstrance for Corpus Christi, twelve (11 silver) chalices partly gilded with patens (among them one large tin chalice with a spout (*cum ducillo*), one big fully gilded with an image of the Innocent, another with the inscription 'Chalice of Bethlehem', three silver gilded with 'Jesus', one with 'Maria', another with images, and yet another with the name of the donor). Then it lists two silver ciboria, four spoons for children, five *bursae* (corporal containers), ten corporals, one portable altar made of the black stone and set in wood, twelve garments including one that used to belong to Master John Hus, several humerals (three ornated with pearls), and a chasuble embroidered with the image of the coronated Virgin Mary. Then the other textiles follow: a humeral with an image of the Virgin, three capes, and a number of other altar textiles (fourteen *pallae*-frontals?, fifteen altarcloths, three shirts, two green hangings on the altar (*feflíky na archu*) with image (face?) of Christ (*veronica*?) and five other pieces for the monstrance, five stoles. It finishes with liturgical equipment of twenty-one brass candlesticks, four tin candlesticks, two incense burners, four bells, two cymbal, two silver ampules, two tin ampules, and two small ampules.

3. **Inventory from 1590**

Ed. Ferdinand Hrejsa. "Betlém od r. 1516 (Bethlehem Chapel since 1516)", in *Betlémská kaple. O jejích dějinách a zachovaných zbytcích*. V Praze 1922, pages 22-106

An inventory compiled by Tomáš Nigell of Jemnice, the priest of the Bethlehem chapelin 1590

In an inventory of 1590, the treasury decreased - it held only nine chalices (five silver, three gilded), with five patens. Large tin chalice with a spout is still present in the inventory. The number of ciboria increased to three and corporals to eleven. Further on there are five ampoules, and three spoons for the children Communion, one silver monstrance, and two brass ones. The fashion of the altar decoration meanwhile changed, and the inventory includes seven *pendiliis* for the altar. Thirteenth chasubles and three full vestment sets were recorded, together with one black of John Hus. Surprisingly, no mention is made of the Innocentum relic in this inventory.

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Since 1609, Bethlehem Chapel was administered by the Unity of Brethen. The furnishings stayed throughout this time, as an agreement was made with Reformation confessions to provide free access to the chapel, and keep the treasury, altars, and decoration as it was during the Utraquist administration. Shortly later, the relic of the Innocetum was given to Anna, the king Matthias' wife upon request, and left Betlehem.

Appendix IV: Church treasuries in the Visitation Protocol of 1379 - 1380

MS Access Table (on CD)

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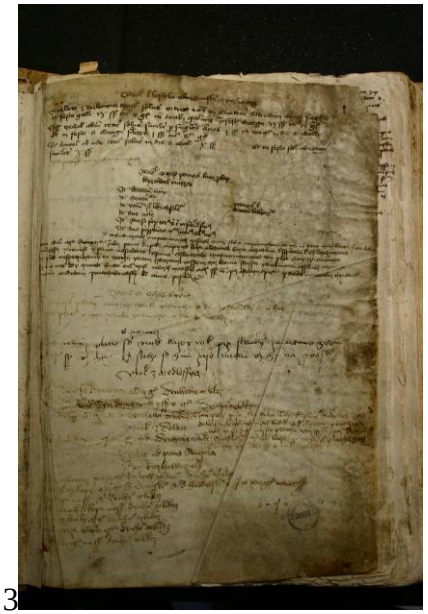
3 

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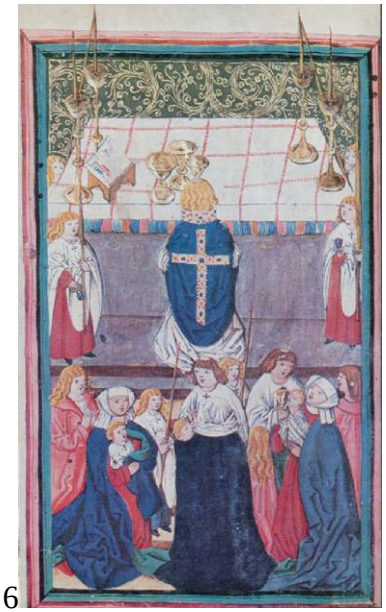
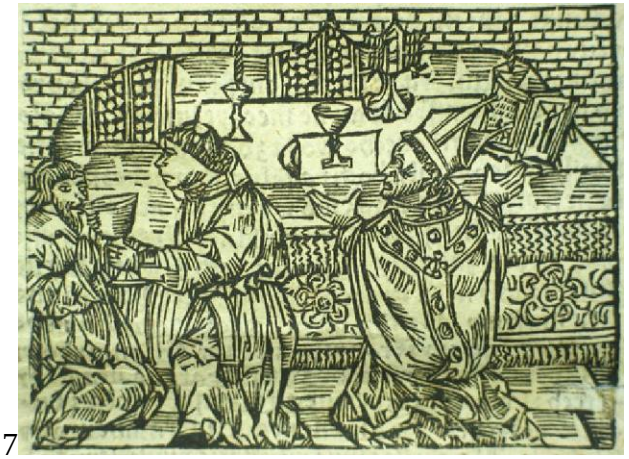
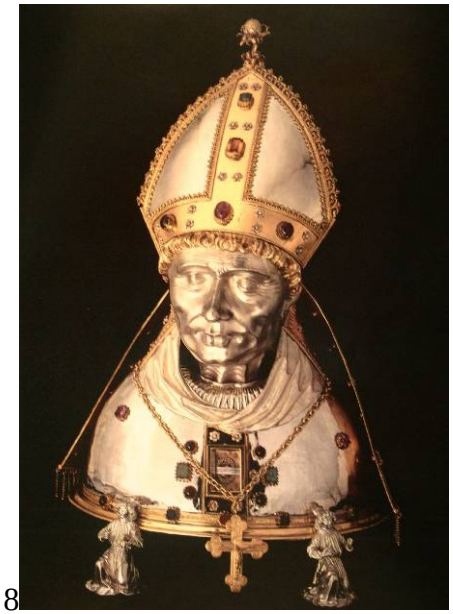
6 

7 

8 

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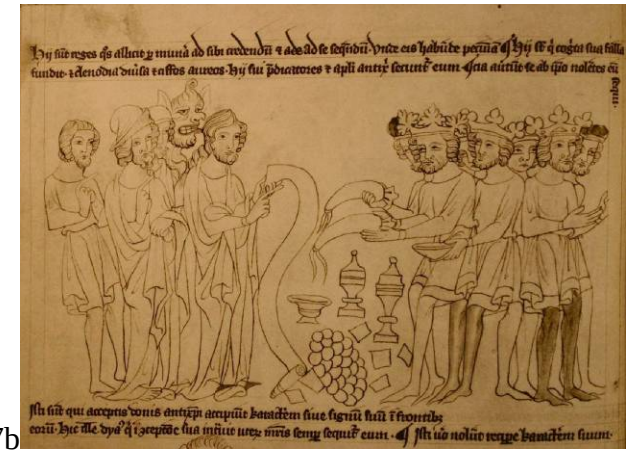

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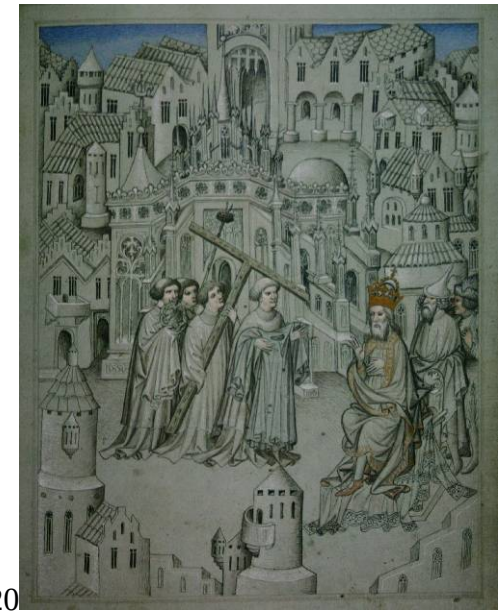
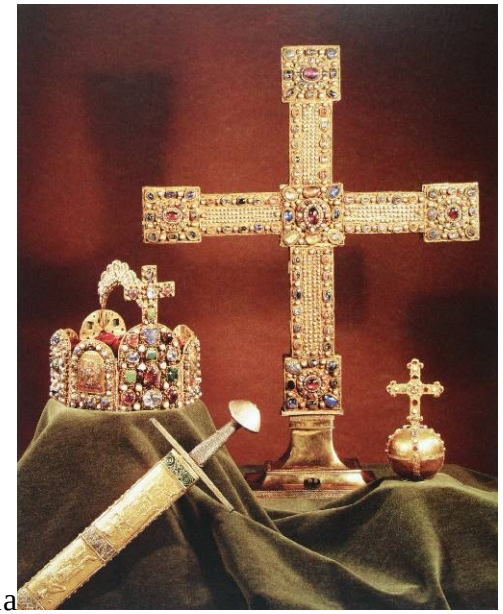
20 

21a 

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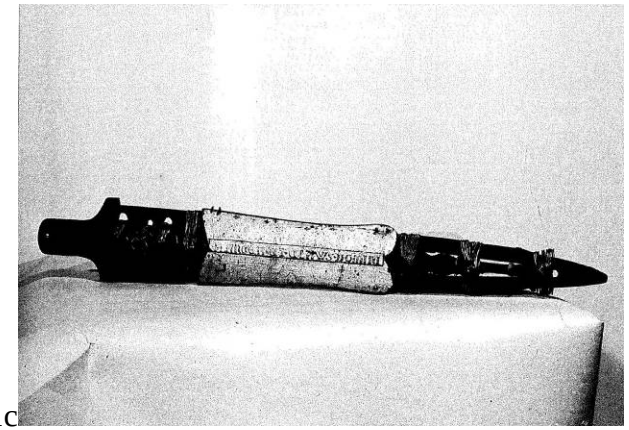
21c 

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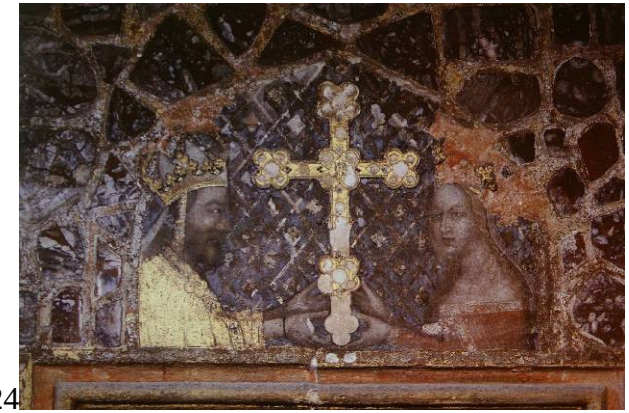
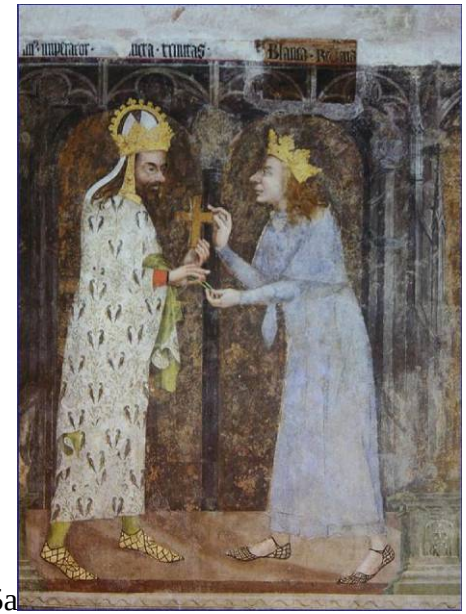
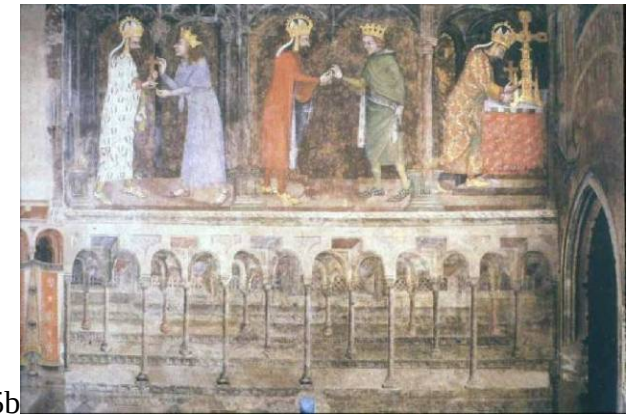
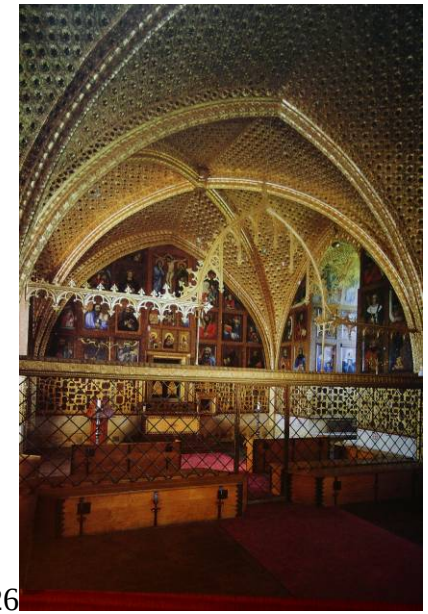
24 

25a 

25b 

26 

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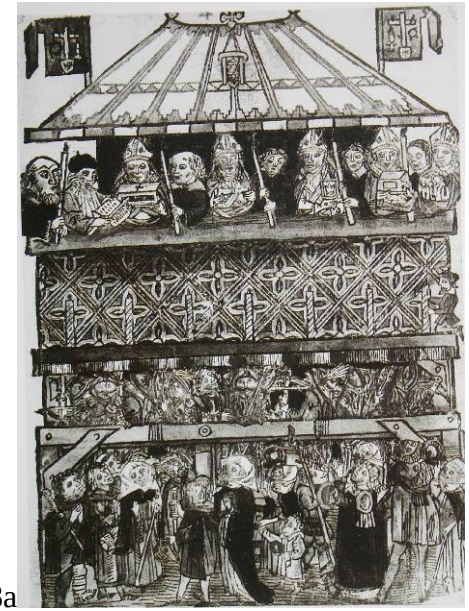
28a 

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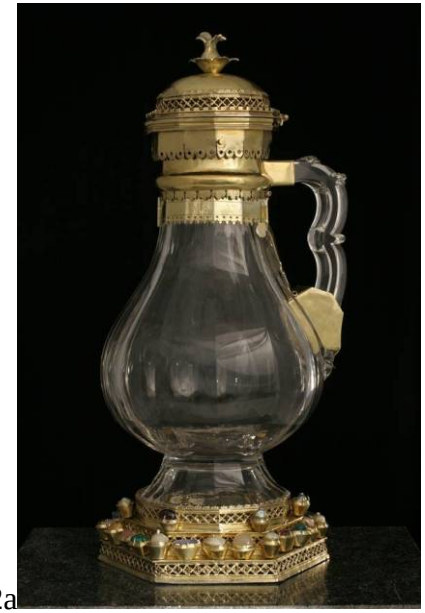
32a 

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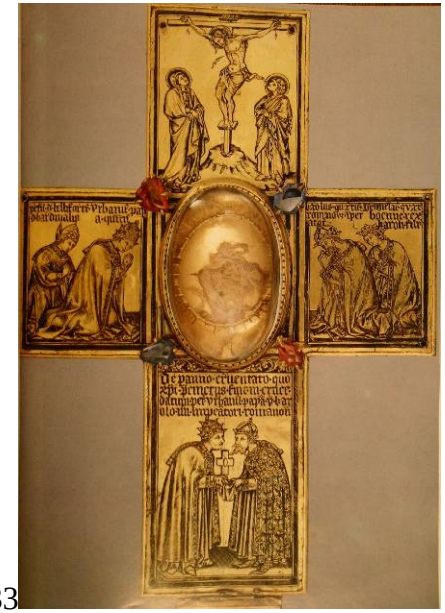
33 

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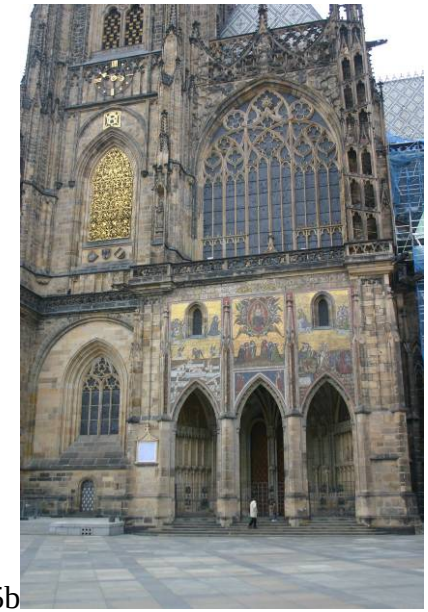

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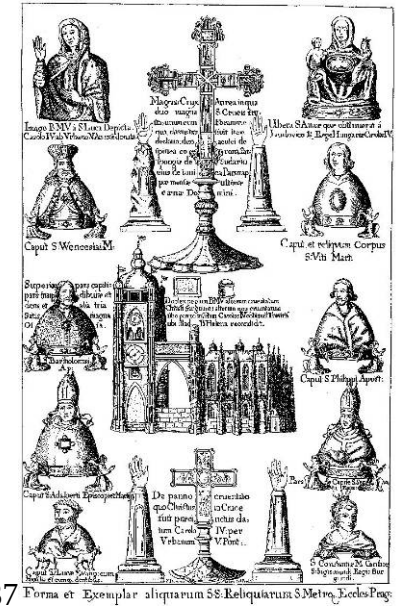

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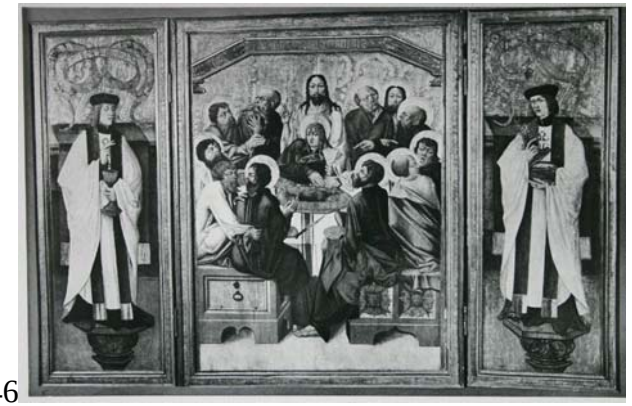
46 

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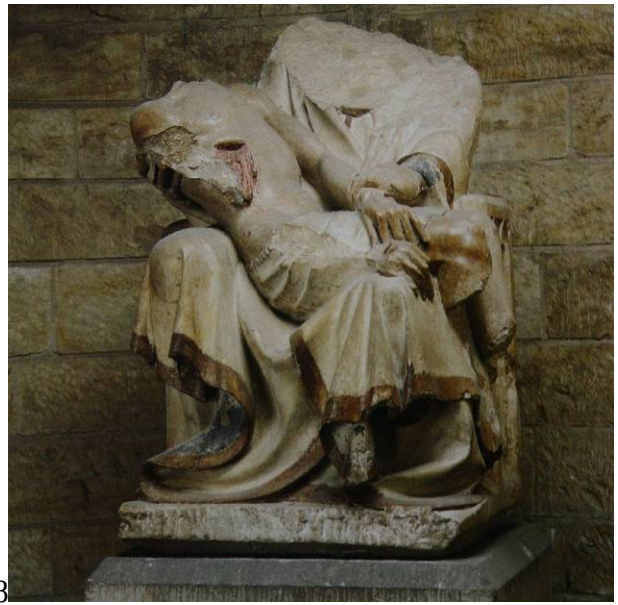
48 

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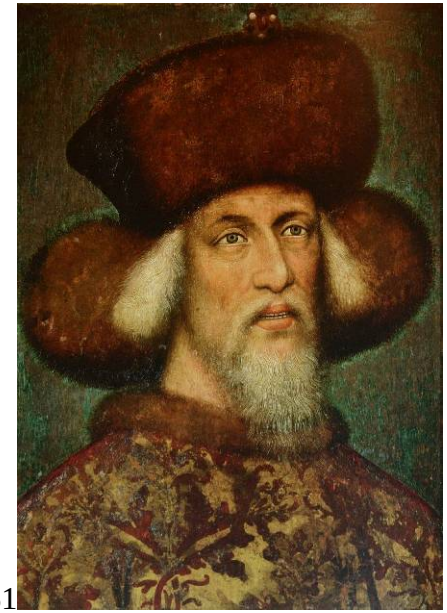
51 

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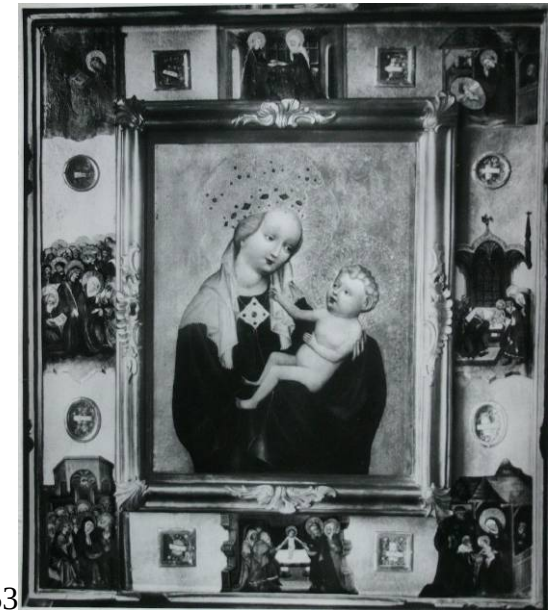
53 

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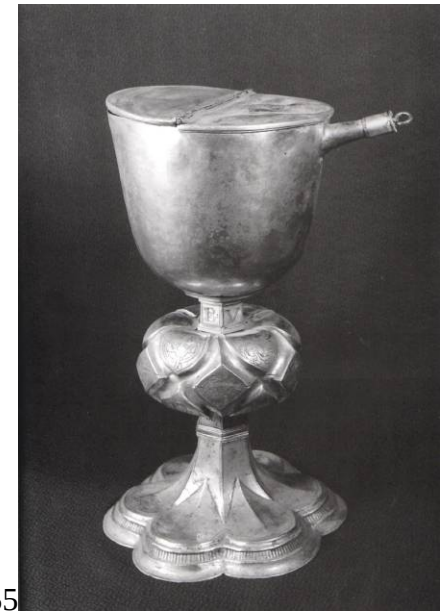
55 

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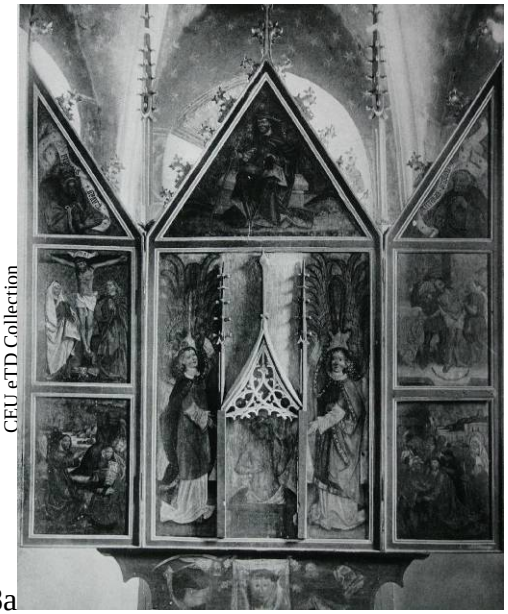
58a 

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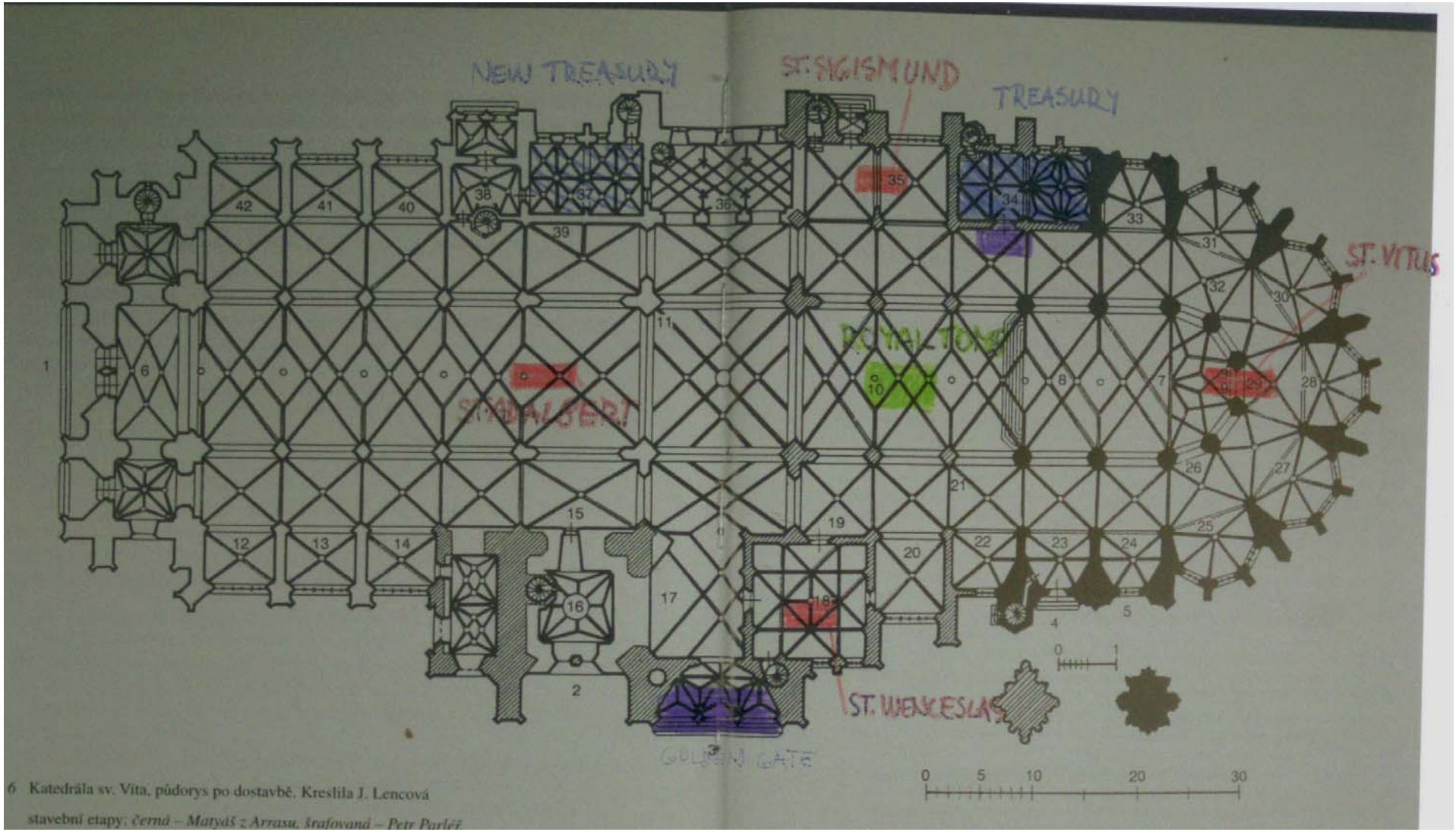
Map 1

Cathedral



6 Katedrála sv. Víta, půdorys po dostavbě. Kreslila J. Lencová

stavební etapy: *černá – Matyáš z Arrasu, šrafovaná – Petr Parléř*

Map 2

1 Visehrad
2 St. Apolinaire
3 Brevnov (Benedictines)
4 St. Thomas (Augustinians)
5 St. Benedict (Teutonic Knights)
6 Carthusians in Ujezd

A St. Gallus
B St. Stephen in Pond
C St. Stephen (the Minor) in the Old Town
D St. Leonard
E St. Martin the Minor
F St. Martin in the Wall
G St. Gastulus

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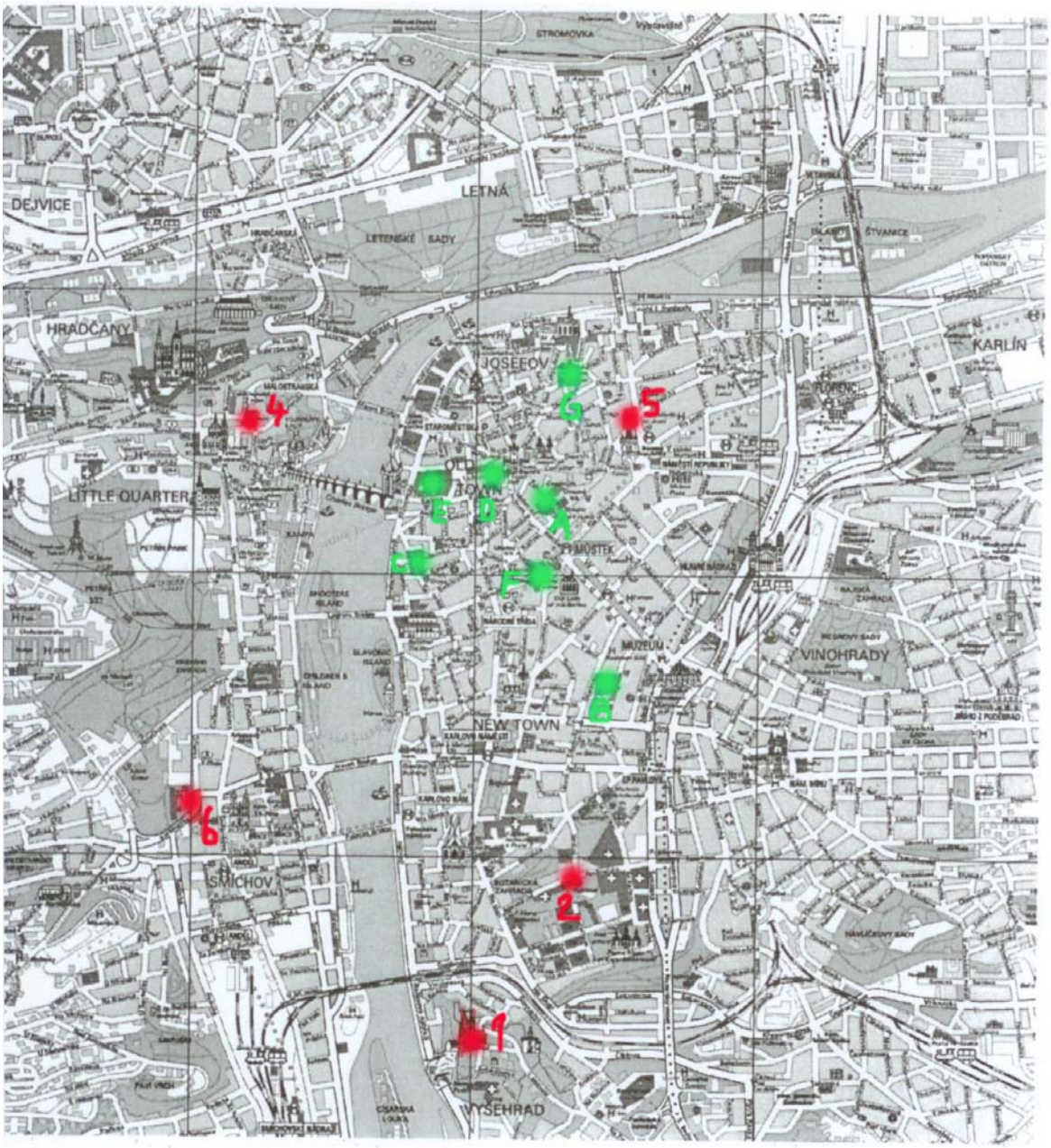

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Map 3

Phillibert's Activity

A St. Vitus

1 St. Eligius
2 St. Michael
3 Our Lady Tyne
4 Corpus Christi
5 St. Stephen
6 St. Jacob
7 St. Henry and Cunigunde

Map 4

Treasuries 15-16 centuries

Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Ecclesia	Page	Location	State of church ornaments
1	sti Michaelis in Opathowicz	45	Prague, NT,Opatovice	Ecclesia bene stata et ornata
2	sti Egidii	53	Prague, OT	Ecclesia inhordnata
3	sti Clementis in Porziecz	56	Prague,NT,Poříčí, Prague	Eccl. bene ornata, orn. Sub bona custodia
4	sti Wenceslai in Zderasio	61	Prague, NT,Zderaz Prague	Eccl. bene ornata
5	sti Stephani in Ribniczka	62	Prague, NT,Rybníček, Prague	Eccl. bene ornata, sacram. sub bona custodia
6	sti Crucis minoris in Maiori civitatem	64	Prague, OT	Sacramenta sub bona custodia
7	sti Stephani in Muro	65	Prague, OT?	Eccl. bene ornata, sacramenta sub bona custodia
8	sti Martini in Muro maioris civitatis	67	Prague, OT	Eccl. bene ornata, sacramenta sub bona custodia
9	sanctorum Jacobi et Filipi	68	Prague, OT?	sacramenta sub bona custodia
10	sti Andree Maioris civitatis	71	Prague, OT	sacramenta habens sub bona custodia
11	sti Johannis in Vado prope pontem Pragensem	74	Prague, OT	
12	ste Marie in Lacu (Maioris civitatis Prag.)	75	Prague, OT	
13	st Leonhardi in foro pullorum (Linhart)	94	Prague, OT	ornamenta ecclesie non sub tal custoda velud prius
14	st Leonardi in f.pullorum-altaristae	92	Prague, OT	pertinet ad altarem/altaristam
15	st. Leonardi in f. pullorum-res repon. ad tutelam	95	Prague, OT	
16	st Martini minoris in maiori civitatem Prag.	81	Prague, OT	
17	sti Walentini	82	Prague, OT?	
18	sti Gastuli (Walentini)	86	Prague, OT	
19	s. Crucis maior., domus s. crucis ordinis, hospita	96	Prague, OT	
20	s. Spiritus	98	Prague, OT	
21	s. Benedicti	98	Prague, OT??	

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Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Ecclesia	Page	Location	State of church ornaments
22	s. Marie ante Letam curiam	101	Prague, OT	
23	sacristia s. Marie ante Letam curiam	101	Prague, OT	
24	in comodo plebani s. Marie ante Letam curiam	101	Prague, OT	libri in comodo plebani
25	s. Michaelis Maioris civ. Prag.	113	Prague, OT	
26	s. Nicolai in Podskalo	113	Prague, NT?	ecclesia bene ornata de ymaginibus et tabulis
27	s. Johannis in Podskalo	114	Prague, NT?	
28	s. Adalberti in Podskalo	116	Prague, NT?	
29	s. Nicolai in minori civit. Prag. sub castro Prag.	117	Prague, MT	
30	s. Michaelis sub castro Pragensi	119	Prague, MT	
31	s. Benedicti in hradczano ante castrum Prag.	120	Prague, Castle	
32	s.Jacobi ante carthusarum	121	Prague, Castle???	
33	sancti johannis in orto melnicensi	124	Prague,	
34	s. Johanis Baptiste in Ugezd	125	Prague, MT	
35	s. Johannis in obora	126	Prague	
36	s. Adalberti in pohorelec	127	Prague, MT	
37	Ecclesia Strahoviensis	127	Prague, MT	
38	s. Laurencii su monte petrino	128	Prague, MT	

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Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Ecclesia	Page	Location	State of church ornaments
39	s. Marie Magd. in Ugezd	130	Prague, MT	
40	S. Benedicti in Brewnow	131	Prague	
41	Ecc. in Podol	132	Prague	ecclesia bene ornata
42	s. Pancracii prope Wissegradum	132	Prague	
43	eccl. in Psarz (Psaře)	133		
44	eccl. In Lhota bavari	156	Dec. Podbrdensis	
45	eccl. in sacro campo	158	Dec. Podbrdensis	
46	Mnissek	160	Dec. Podbrdensis	
47	Kytyn	160	Dec. Podbrdensis	
48	eccl. in Rzewnicz	161	Dec. Podbrdensis	
49	Networzicz	164	Dec. Benessowiensis	
50	eccl. filialis, Bratronicz	186	Dec. Rakonicensis	
51	eccl. In Strasseczi	189	Dec. Slanensis	
52	eccl. In Zlonicz	214	Dec. Slanensis	
53	eccl. In Howorczowicz	247	???	
54	eccl. In Nehvizd	256		
55	Lhota		???	
56	Bohemicz	264	Dec. Kluminensis	
57	Chrabr	264	Dec. Kluminensis	
58	Zdib		Dec. Kluminensis	
59	Odolena Voda	270	Dec. Kluminensis	
60	Bukol	274	Dec. Kluminensis	
61	Doniczek	274	Dec. Kluminensis	
62	Semilkowicz	276	Dec. Kluminensis	
63	Obrzistwie (Obříství)	277	Dec. Kluminensis	
64	Lybeznicz (Líbeznice)	281	Dec. Kluminensis	
65	Pakomilicz	281	Dec. Kluminensis	

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Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Ecclesia	Page	Location	State of church ornaments
66	Wrssowicz (Vršovice)	283	Dec. Rziczanensis	
67	Zabiehlicz (Záběhlice)	284	Dec. Rziczanensis	Ecclesia bene ornata
68	Petrowicz (Petrovice)	287	Dec. Rziczanensis	
69	Prohonicz (Pruhonice)	288	Dec. Rziczanensis	
70	Seslicz (Čestlice?)	291	Dec. Rziczanensis	
71	Lypan	292	Dec. Rziczanensis	
72	Kolowrat	293	Dec. Rziczanensis	
73	Whrzinawess (Uhříněves)	294	Dec. Rziczanensis	
74	Kralewicz	297	Dec. Rziczanensis	
75	Cunicz	299	Dec. Rziczanensis	
76	Otticz	300	Dec. Rziczanensis	
77	Rzyczano (Říčany)	300	Dec. Rziczanensis	
78	Jazlowicz	301	Dec. Rziczanensis	
79	Popowicz	302	Dec.Rziczanensis	
80	Oleska	303	Dec. Rziczanensis	
81	Popowicz Ade	303	Dec. Rziczanensis	
82	Kamenicz	305	Dec. Rziczanensis	
83	Kostelecz	305	Dec. Rziczanensis	
84	Lyberz	306	Dec. Rziczanensis	
85	Wrany	308	Dec. Rziczanensis	
86	Zlatnik	311	Dec. Rziczanensis	
87	Girczan	312	Dec. Rziczanensis	
88	Hrnczierz	314	Dec. Rziczanensis	
89	Modrzan	315	Dec. Rziczanensis	
90	Zlechow (Zlíchov)	316	Dec. Orziechoviensis	
91	Chuchel (Chuchle)	316	Dec. Orziechoviensis	

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Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Ecclesia	Page	Location	State of church ornaments
92	Radotin	318	Dec. Orziechoviensis	
93	s. Galli in Aula Regia	319	Dec. Orziechoviensis	
94	Trnowa	322	Dec. Orziechoviensis	
95	Mokropes	323	Dec. Orziechoviensis	
96	Dobrziechowicz (Dobřichovice)	324	Dec. Orziechoviensis	
97	Orziech	326	Dec. Orziechoviensis	
98	Rzieporyg (Řeporyje)	327	Dec. Orziechoviensis	
99	Krtna	328	Dec. Orziechoviensis	
100	Tachlewicz	328	Dec. Orziechoviensis	
101	Horzelicz	329	Dec. Orziechoviensis	
102	Lodyenicz	330	Dec. Orziechoviensis	
103	s.Johannis in Spelunka alias in Skala (sv. Jan pod Skalou)	331	Dec. Orziechoviensis	
104	eccl. filialis in Wracz (de Spelunka)	332	Dec. Orziechoviensis	
105	Zelezna	332	Dec. Orziechoviensis	
106	Chwinawa, filia eccl. in Zelezna	333	Dec. Orziechoviensis	
107	Whonicz	334	Dec. Orziechoviensis	
108	Swarow	331	Dec. Orziechoviensis	
109	Unhoscz	336	Dec. Orziechoviensis	

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Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Ecclesia	Page	Location	State of church ornaments
110	Strziedokluk	337	Dec. Orziechoviensis	et alias ecclesia bene ornata
111	Czrnomicz	339	Dec. Orziechoviensis	
112	Tuchomirz	340	Dec. Orziechoviensis	ecclesia bene ornata
113	Kopanina	341	Dec. Orziechoviensis	
114	Libocz	341	Dec. Orziechoviensis	
115	Czrnocz	373	Dec. Rakonicensis	
116	Czista	343	Dec. Rakoniensis	
117	Rusnow		Dec. Rakoniensis	
118	Wseslow		Dec. Rakoniensis	
119	Ostrawicz		Dec. Rakoniensis	
120	Strogelicz		Dec. Rakoniensis	
121	Lukow			
122	Turzan			
	*church has only a few objects. Here it may refer to wall paintings or similar.			

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Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Monstrancie et capse cum reliquiis	Calices	Ornates Festivales	Ornates Feriales	Special vessels	Missale	Casulae	Dalmatices, Albae, Stolae, Humerale	Cappae	Pallas
1		3	6	1		4				2x
2										
3		3	3	2		2				3
4		3	3	2						24
5	3	5	2	7		2			1	5
6	2	2	2	4		3	6		1	11
7	1	2	2	3		2				5
8		4	7			3	1			6
9		2	2	2						8
10	1	3	3			1	1			6
11		2	5							4
12	1	5	8	5		3			4	16
13	2	8	17		17	7		6+, 7+, 6+, 4	6	7+2
14		3	9			3			1	
15	2	1	6				1	1,1,1,1	5	1+2
16	3	2	3							
17										
18	6	5	8	7	2	2				
19		4	2			2				3
20										
21	9	5	18		2	3		8,1,-, 1	4	

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Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Monstrancie et capse cum reliquiis	Calices	Ornates Festivales	Ornates Feriales	Special vessels	Missale	Casulae	Dalmatices, Albae, Stolae, Humerale	Cappae	Pallas
22	2	2	21		7				11	1
23		6	18		2	6		6,-,-,-	6	12
24										
25										
26		2	4			2				
27		1	1					-,1,-,-		
28	1	3	3	2		1		-, 1,-,-		
29	2	5	3	7		4		4,-,-,-	4	26
30		2	1	1		2				
31		2	1	3		2				10
32		2	2	2		2	1			5
33		1	3			1				8
34		1	3			2				
35										
36										
37										
38		2		3		2				16

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Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Monstrancie et capse cum reliquiis	Calices	Ornates Festivales	Ornates Feriales	Special vessels	Missale	Casulae	Dalmatices, Albae, Stolae, Humerale	Cappae	Pallas
39										
40										
41		1	3			1				5
42			2			1	1			
43		1	1			1				
44										
45		2	2	2		1				
46		2				3	4	-, 2,-,-		7
47		1	3			1				6
48										
49		5	12	5						
50		2	2			2				
51			4			2				
52		1	3			2				
53		1				1				7
54			5			1		-,1, -,-		1
55		1	1			1				1
56		1	2			1				3
57		1	1			1				
58		1	3			1				
59		2	4	1		2				8
60		1	2			1				2
61		1	2			2				2
62		1	2			1				4
63	1	2	3			1				4
64		2	3			1				6
65		1	3			1				4

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Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Monstrancie et capse cum reliquiis	Calices	Ornates Festivales	Ornates Feriales	Special vessels	Missale	Casulae	Dalmatices, Albae, Stolae, Humerale	Cappae	Pallas
66		2	2			3	1			
67		2	2	3		1			4	
68		1	3			1				
69		1	2			1	1			3
70		2	3			1				12
71		1	2			1				2
72		1	1	2		1				8
73		1	5			2			1	10
74		1	2			1				2
75		1	2	2		1				
76		2	2			1				
77			2	2		1				
78		1	1	2		1				
79		1	2			1	1			
80			1	1		1				4
81		2	3			1				4
82		2	4			1				3
83		2	3			2				
84		1	2			1				
85		1	2			1		-,1,-,-		2
86		1	3			2				8
87		2	3			1				
88		1	2	1		1				7
89		1				1	3	-,1,3,3		2
90			1	1		1				
91		1	2			2				6

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Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Monstrancie et capse cum reliquiis	Calices	Ornates Festivales	Ornates Feriales	Special vessels	Missale	Casulae	Dalmatices, Albae, Stolae, Humerale	Cappae	Pallas
92		1	2			1				
93		1	2			1				
94		1	1			1				3
95		1	1	2		1				
96		2	1	2		2				6
97		2	1	4		1				
98		1	2	2		2				14
99		1	2			1				
100		2	2	2		2	1			
101		2		1		1				
102		1	2			1				6
103	2	3	6	4		2			2	
104	1	1	2			1				6
105		1	1	1		1				7
106		1	2			1				6
107		2	2			2				
108		1	5			1				6
109	2	3	2	4		1			1	6

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Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Monstrancie et capse cum reliquiis	Calices	Ornates Festivales	Ornates Feriales	Special vessels	Missale	Casulae	Dalmatices, Albae, Stolae, Humerale	Cappae	Pallas
110	1	2	1	1		1				10
111		1		3		1				12
112	1	4	2	4		3				
113		1	2			1				6
114		2	5			1				
115		1	3			1				6
116		1	3			1				4
117		1				1				4
118		1				1				4
119		2				1				
120		2	2			1		-,-,-,2		7
121		1	2			2				
122		1	2			1				

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Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Other objects of interest 1	Other objects of interest 2	Statutes	Agendas	Choral books (anti- phonary, gradual)	Psalter	Viatici/breviarii/libri alii	Missal for special services	Altars
1								1	x
2									x
3							0	1	3
4		19 cereos magnos		2	2	1	5	1	4
5		caput sancti Stephani argenteum deauratum	P ita, S non	1	2	2		1	3
6					1	1	1	1	3
7		caput sancti Stephani argenteum deauratum		1	2	1		1	4
8		ymago sive statua s. Martini argentea deaurata	P ita, S non		1	2			5
9				1		1	1		4
10				1	1	2	1	3	
11				1	1	1	1	2	4
12		una crux circa aurifabrum, que preparatur de novo		1	5	2	1	1	6
13	caput Leonardi ligneum deauratum habet fibula cum cristallo et reliquiis, 6 Czetkas, lavatorium staneum, 2 angulares (pallae?)	ymagines magni alt., 2 turribula terr., 7 p.ampul.	ita	2	4	2			
14									4+
15	2 angularia								
16		caput beati Martini ligneum							
17									
18		due ymaginis Sti Sigismundi et ste Margarethe			3	5		2	
19	campanae	una crux argentea mediocris deaurata	P ita		1	1	1		0
20									
21	unus calix de gemmis, due ampulae	monstrancie cum reliquiis, ornate, pulchre							

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Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Other objects of interest 1	Other objects of interest 2	Statutes	Agendas	Choral books (anti- phonary, gradual)	Psalter	Viatici/breviarii/libri alii	Missal for special services	Altars
22	4 ampulae, 2 canne argentee pro communicantibus, thuribulum argenteum, palla cum antependilii et angularibus, alique cappe de pannis, III panni sericei peo ministrantibus et quando communicant homines	una crux argentea deaurata							
23	2 ampulae			2	4	3	1	1	
24	velum quadragesimale	4 libri sermocionales, 2 viatici		1			9		
25									
26	imagines et tabulae			3		1	1	1	
27									
28				1				2	
29	6 antependilia, tria co(o)pertoria sepulcrorum de sindone. una crux parva argentea deaurata sine subpede (crux pectorale?), crux erea deaurata magna cum crucifixo	monstranc. cum subpedibus cum cruces supra (reliq)		1	2	3	2	1	
30	corpus dominicum vidit ante altare iacere in matta	altare viaticum			2			1	
31	4 antependilia						1	2	
32	2 antependilia (due palle festivales cum antependilibus et tres feriales)	copertorium unum super funus		1	1		1	2	
33	Baptisteriium, VIIIo palle super altaria			1			1	1	8?
34						1	1	1	
35									
36									
37									
38	2 superpelice, crux erea deaurata			1	1			2	

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Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Other objects of interest 1	Other objects of interest 2	Statutes	Agendas	Choral books (anti- phonary, gradual)	Psalter	Viatici/breviarii/libri alii	Missal for special services	Altars
39									
40									
41	5 antependilia							1	
42					1				
43				1				1	
44									
45					1				
46					1				
47				1					
48									
49					3	2	1		
50		unus calix plumbeus est alter argenteus		1					
51					1	1			
52							1		
53					1			1	
54		tria angularia, duo corporalia	ita					1	
55						1	1		
56	unum superpelicium	una cortina			1	2	1	1	
57							1		
58							1		
59	8 palle cum 4 antependilibus	una crux argentea cum subpede cum nodis deauratis		1	2		1		
60	due palle duplicate!, una cortina rupta				1		1		
61	collectaruis antiquus			1			2		
62	liber missalis et matutinale de antiqua litera			1	1	1			
63				1	2	1			
64	liber missalis de antiqua littera			1		1	1	1	
65	liber missalis de antiqua littera			1		1	1		

CDUD Collection

Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Other objects of interest 1	Other objects of interest 2	Statutes	Agendas	Choral books (anti- phonary, gradual)	Psalter	Viatici/breviarii/libri alii	Missal for special services	Altars
66	unus calis plumbeus datus plebano	9 mappe (humeral, manipul)			1		1		
67			P ita, S non		1	1		2	
68				2	1	1	2		
69	1 velum quadragesimale								
70				1			1		
71				1					
72			P,S ita		2	1	1		
73	sex palle feriales, 4 festivales cum antependilibus			1				1	
74			P,S ita		1	1	1		
75					1	1			
76					2	1		1	
77	velum quadragesimale sericeum viride				3	2		1	
78					1	1			
79				1	1	1			
80									
81					1	1			
82	tria superpelicia, unum diurnale				1	1		1	
83				1	2	1			
84				1	2		1		
85							1		
86	8 palle cum tribus antependilibus			1	2	1			
87					1		1	1	
88				1		1	1		
89	coopertorium funeris	hic matutinale est ecclesie in Lipan			1	1			
90				1			1		
91						2			

CEU eTD Collection

Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Other objects of interest 1	Other objects of interest 2	Statutes	Agendas	Choral books (anti- phonary, gradual)	Psalter	Viatici/breviarii/libri alii	Missal for special services	Altars
92	1 crux de iaspide argenteo in iuncturis circumdata, habens in finibus cristallos				2	1			
93					1				
94				1					
95			P,S ita		1	1	1		
96				1	1	3		1	
97			P,S ita	1	1	1			
98				2		1	1	1	
99				1		1			
100			P,S ita	2	2	3			
101					1	1	2	1	
102	sexta palla pulcra et duo antependilia						1	1	
103	3 superpelicia, unum passionale, libelus sermocinalis dictus Piper, Compendium theologicae veritatis, libellus Summa viciorum, liber Peregrinus de sanctis						1		
104	palle sex cum antependilii, una monstrancia erea								
105	pluri libri sermocionales				1	1	1		
106									
107	libri aliqui			1	2				
108	6 palle et unum antependile pulcrum						1		
109	palle duplices super tria altaria	due monstrancie cupree deaurate cum reliquiis	P,S ita		4	2		1	3

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Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Other objects of interest 1	Other objects of interest 2	Statutes	Agendas	Choral books (anti- phonary, gradual)	Psalter	Viatici/breviarii/libri alii	Missal for special services	Altars
110	una monstrancia argentea deaurata cum reliquiis sancti Procopii et efigies faciei Christi pulcra						1		
111					2	1	1		
112	quodlibet altare habet tres mappas et unum antependile	unum humerale est cum perlis	ita		2	3			
113				1	1		1		
114							1	1	
115	superpelicia tria				1				
116	una cortina quadragesimalis				1	1			
117	2 superpelicia					1	1		
118									
119	3 aparatus ad missam sive ornatus				1		1		
120	duo omeralia de aksamito				1				
121	4 ultres et alios canes venaticos quamplures cum quibus venatur				1				
122					1				

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Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Res Furta et obligata	Notes	Noteworthy donation
1	Pyxis - subtracta (per furta?)	res ornamenta duplice pro quodlibet altari	
2	monstrancie, homiralia, calices et alia, multtudo non numerat		
3	libros, calices, ornatus et alia ornamenta		
4		antea missale notatum erat	
5		2 pallas festvales 3 feriales, cappa corale, 3 monstrancias ligneas deauratas	
6		4 pallas ferial. et 7 fest., cappa corale	
7	caput sancti Stephani obligatum	caput obligatum prepositо Chottiessovinesis	
8		unum altare non est confactum, 3 pallas feriales, 3 fest.	
9	plebanus Mattheus alienavit calicem		
10		3 pallas ferial., 3 fest.	
11			
12	ornatus et calices circa Clementorum	8 pallas feriales, 8 festivales, 4 cappas corales	
13	15 Czetkas, velum, palla cum antependilii concrematae, 4 corporalia et calix deperditi, psalterium alienatum	una de monstranciis crucifixus est; plebanus eccl. valde inornatus	dominus Procopius plebanus
14			
15			
16	unus calix de duo et unus ornatus de tra obligati	2 monstrance cupree et una argentea satis pulcra	
17		baptisterium non seratum	
18	pes monstrancii obligata	2 ampullae argent. Una monstrancia cum crucifixum deauratum estimacionis XVIII sexagenas, alia portans coperturam kristallinam, due monstrancie argentee cum subpedibus ligneis late ambe admodum peralmaterii, una parva deaurata,ultima de lapide akstaynino	Mater episcopi moderni donaverit duas ymagines
19		thesaurarius clenodiorum in quarto anno	
20			
21	due humerale (unum de perlis et margaritis), pallae, una monstrancia per Nicolaum, predessorum plebanum, alienata, etiam calix, pulvinar	monstrancie quasi cum manibus, corona imperiale cum zafiris, gemmis et perlis, spinam de corona domini spinea, alia continens ymaginem deauratam sancte Juliane in cristallo, alia continens crucem magnam desuper, in qua diverse reliquie et lignum domini	

CTU eTD Collection

Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Res Furta et obligata	Notes	Noteworthy donation
22		monstrancia magna argentea deaurata pro corpore Christi. Iste res reservantur in dote plebani per plebanum.	
23		iste res reservantur i sacristi ecclesie S. m . Predicta	
24			
25	ornatus		
26			
27			
28			
29	unus calix obligatus pro campana		
30			
31	vendidit unum librum missalem		
32			
33		secundus ornatus non scriptum	
34			
35			
36			
37		they lack wax for candels, thez don't get from parishioners anymore, also do not allow funerals exposed in the church	
38	unus librum missalis perdita, unum psalterium, unum sudarium ecclesia, 2 psalteria, unus viaticus		

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Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Res Furta et obligata	Notes	Noteworthy donation
39			
40			
41		eccl. bene ornata*	
42			
43			
44		catolica lignea , sacramenta clausa in ligneis	
45		*the only mentioning about* res ornamenta *in the deaconate* podbrdensis	
46			
47			
48	unam cortinam valoris XXX grossorum alienavit		cortina data per abbatissam s. SpiritusPrag.
49		duo calices deaurati, ex quibus unus 14 sexag. gr., reliqui 3 argentei, viaticum pro 7 sexag. emitit et vult relinquere pro ecclesia	
50		sacramenta non clausa corporis Christi et baptisterii	
51		d.a. mandavit vitrico, consullibus et iudici, ut vendidis aliquibus vaccis ecclesie emant viaticum bonum	
52	viaticum, missalem, ornatum et monstranciam alienavit ab eccl.		
53			
54	tres pallas feriales per plebanum recepta et diverta pro utilitate sua	unus ornatus sine stola et una alba	
55		palla bona ad unum altare	
56			
57		d.a.mandavit plebano, ut liget libros, quorum plures sunt laniati…	
58			
59			
60			
61			
62			
63			
64			
65			

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Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Res Furta et obligata	Notes	Noteworthy donation
66			
67			
68			
69			
70	ornatus vendidit plebanus, quod d.a. mandavit restituere	ut petant pecuniam a plebe pro baptisterio lapideo comparando	
71			
72		Eccl. non pavimentata	
73	1 missale et 1 missale de specialibus missis proposouit obligare		
74			
75		plebanus habet proprium diurnale quod relinquet circa ecclesiam	
76			
77			
78		columba (patronorum?) inmundat ecclesiam	
79	viaticum vel matutinale et pannum sericeum vel subductura casulae		
80	perdicio calicis, duo vel tres ornatus, bine palle et unum matutinale ante 4 annos	Johanees presbyter coadiutor plebani habet ornatum et librum viaticum et librum de specialibus missis sibi concessum	
81			
82			
83			
84			
85			
86			
87			
88			
89		acrarium non seratum	
90			
91	unus ornatus est obligatus pro media sexagena data sufraganio pro consecratione altarium	d.a. mandavit ut amoveat columbos de ecclesia	

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Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Res Furta et obligata	Notes	Noteworthy donation
92			
93	plebanus omnes cereos ecclesie concremavit in domo sibi, 1 calicem alienavit, vestimenta (ornatum et alia) recepit de sepulcro predessoris sui	alius calix est per plebanum prepositus et est non consecratus, nunquam claudit sacramenta et ipsa permittit stare in altari et crizmarium usque tercium diem	
94			
95			
96			
97	pars matutinalis obligatum		
98			
99			
100			casula de atlas quam imperatrix dedit pro ecclesia
101			
102	missale obligatum		
103		[pilgrimage site outside Prague, sv. Jan pod Skalou]	
104		habent 6 vaccas ecclesie et pro censu, quem recipiunt de dictis vaccis, convertit Merklinus vitricus in usu ecclesie	
105			
106		utraque sacramenta non serata	
107			
108			
109			

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Appendix 4

Treasuries in Prague from the Visitation Protocol

Number	Res Furta et obligata	Notes	Noteworthy donation
110			
111		plebanus didit quod in municione circa dominam (castri Okorz?) servatur unus calix arg.deaur., duo ornatus boni cum apparatibus et due monstrancie argentee deaurate	
112			
113			
114			
115			
116			
117		scribit unum bonum viaticum quem disponit pro eccl…nisi paupertas impediat	
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