# Bohemian Baroque

## Czech Musical Culture and Style, 1600–1750

ROBERT G. RAWSON

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What a fruitful land for the musical observer is Bohemia! Scarcely have I crossed over the border when I stumble upon phenomena that amaze me.

<div align="right">Johann Friedrich Reichardt, 1776</div>

For Lisa, Oscar and Evelyn

# Contents

# Music Examples

# Illustrations

# Abbreviations

## *Austria*

| | |
|---|---|
| A-Wm | Vienna, Minoritenkonvent, Klosterbibliothek und –archiv |
| A-Wn | Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung |

## *Czech Republic*

| | |
|---|---|
| CZ-Bm | Brno, Moravské zemské muzeum, oddelení dějin hudby. Most provincial Moravian collections have been centralised to this archive. |
| CZ-HKm | Hradec Králové, Muzeum |
| CZ-K | Český Krumlov, Statní oblastní archiv v Třeboni, Pobočka Český Krumlov |
| CZ-KRa | Kroměříž, Arcibiskupský zámek, hudební sbírka |
| CZ-MB | Mladá Boleslav, Okresní archiv |
| CZ-OLu | Olomouc, Státní vědecká knihovna (Univerzitní knihovna) |
| CZ-Pa | Prague, Národní  archiv |
| CZ-Pak | Prague, Archiv Pražského hradu: Knihovna metropolitní kapituly, hudební sbírka (sv. Vít), hudební sbírka Kaple sv. Křížě |
| CZ-Pam | Prague, Archiv hlavního města Prahy |
| CZ-Pkřiž | Prague, Rytířský řád Křižovníků s červenou hvězdou, hudební sbírka |
| CZ-Pn | Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea |
| CZ-Pnm | Prague, Národní muzeum, Muzeum České hudby, hudební archiv. Most provincial Bohemian collections have been centralised to this archive. |
| CZ-Pst | Prague, Knihovna kláštera premonstrátů (Strahovská knihovna) (In: CZ-Pnm) |
| CZ-Pu | Prague, Narodní knihovna |

## *Germany*

| | |
|---|---|
| D-Au | Aurich, Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv |
| D-Dlb | Dresden, Sächsische Landesbibliothek Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden |
| D-DS | Darmstadt, Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Darmstadt |
| D-HR | Harburg, Fürstlich Öttingen-Wallerstein'sche Bibliothek, Schloß Harburg (In: D-Au) |
| D-ROu | Rostock, Universität Rostock, Universitätsbibliothek, Fachgebiet Musik |

| | |
|---|---|
| D-SÜN | Sünching, Schloß |
| D-SWl | Schwerin, Landesbibliothek Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Musiksammlung |
| D-WD | Wiesentheid, Musiksammlung des Grafen von Schönborn-Wiesentheid |

## France

| | |
|---|---|
| F-Pn | Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département de la Musique |

## Great Britain

| | |
|---|---|
| GB-Lbl | London, British Library |
| GB-Ob | Oxford, Bodleian Library |
| GB-Och | Oxford, Christ Church |

## Hungary

| | |
|---|---|
| H-Bn | Budapest Országos Széchényi Könyvtár |

## Italy

| | |
|---|---|
| I-Tn | Torino Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria |

## Sweden

| | |
|---|---|
| S-Skma | Sweden, Stockholm, Statens musikbibliotek |

## United States

| | |
|---|---|
| US-Wc | Washington DC, Library of Congress, Music Division |
| US-BE | Berkeley, University of California |

| | |
|---|---|
| *CRM* | Václav Holan-Rovenský, *Capella Regia musicalis* (Prague, 1693) |
| *GMO* | Grove Music Online |
| *MAB* | *Musica antiqua Bohemica* |

# Note to the Reader

I have kept the original spellings of texts and sources in Czech and German, without modernisation. In the body of the text I have standardised the spellings of place names to modern Czech, but have left them unchanged if they appear in the context of an original manuscript, print or map (so, 'Olomouc' in the text, but 'Holomauc', 'Olmütz', and so on, in the source). I have standardised (modernised) names of people in the body of the text. For example, I will write about a work by 'František Brixi' even if the source has 'Frantissek' (the most likely Czech spelling in his day) or 'Francesco' (the most common usage by far). In the body of the text I have modernised diacritics, even when they don't appear in the sources. For example, I write 'Antonín Reichenauer' even if 'Antonin' appears in an early source (or Antonio or Anton). I have tried not to project a Czech name onto composers who do not already have source materials that preserve one. For example, the composer from the German-speaking part of West Bohemia Franz Habermann is left unchanged. I leave all names unchanged when citing early sources. I use English words whenever a useful one is available (which isn't all that often), such as for Prague, Pilsen, Wenceslas and a few others. I have consulted original prints and manuscripts of all sources with a few exceptions, which for various reasons I was not able to see. I have indicated in footnotes those music examples based on later sources.

# Pronunciation Guide

THERE are many Czech names, titles and texts in this book and, especially in the case of musical settings, readers may want to know how to pronounce them. Below is a short and simple table to help with those letters and sounds that differ substantially from their counterparts in English. This issue is further complicated by the fact that since the eighteenth century Czech spelling has been standardised, but readers will encounter many archaic Czech spellings in this book. To that end I have include a column that shows some of the most common archaic spellings next to their modern Czech counterparts and alongside some hints in English as to their sound. For example, in old Czech the name 'Václav' [Wenceslas] was usually rendered as 'Waczlaw'. Apart from 'ch', which is considered a single 'letter' in Czech, all letters are pronounced separately. 'Jsem' [I am] is something of an exception as the 'j' is not really vocalised; it looks like 'gsem' in old Czech.

| Czech | | Old variants | English sound |
|---|---|---|---|
| Á | á (long) | | *f*ather |
| C | c | cz | 'ts' like fi*ts* |
| Č | č | cž | *ch*at |
| Ď | ď | die | d (dental) as in *d*une |
| É | é (long) | | we*a*r |
| | ě | ě, ie | *y*et |
| G | g | | old Czech equivelent of modern Czech 'j', *y*es |
| H | h | | Aspirated |
| Ch | ch | | Soft, like Scottish lo*ch* |
| | í (long) | j | mach*i*ne |
| J | j | g | *y*es or to*y* |
| L | l | | *l*ast, or as vowel, *vl*k (wolf) |
| M | m | | Sometimes as a vowel, *osm* (eight) |
| | ó (long) | | d*oo*r |
| R | r | | rolled, like in Italian, can be vowel like *krk* (throat) |
| Ř | ř | rž | rolled *r* and *ž* (as in pleasure) pronounced simultaneously |
| Š | š | ss | *sh*ip |
| Ť | ť | | *t*une |
| Ú | ú, ů (long) | | m*oo*n |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| W | w | only in old Czech; equivalent to *V* in modern Czech | Like English *v* |
| Y | y (short) | | like short *i* |
| | ý (long) | | cl*ea*n |
| Ž | ž | | plea*s*ure |

# Map of Bohemia and Moravia

T HESE are most of the main cities, towns and villages mentioned in the book. Part of northern Moravia contains a portion of historical Silesia, but as the borders of Silesia shifted over the centuries I have omitted them here. Here and in the body of the text I have used modern Czech spellings for place names in Bohemia and Moravia, unless quoting source materials.



Map 1

# Acknowledgements

Aproject of this size and scope will naturally rely heavily on the assistance and goodwill of others. Several people encouraged and influenced my thinking in the early stages of researching this book, especially Geoffrey Chew and Christopher Hogwood, who saw value in the whole thing and told me to go ahead and do it. The seeds of this book were planted during a conversation with Geoff Chew at the cafe at the The London School of Hygiene & Tropical Medicine in London about 12 years ago (the place was affectionately known as 'The Tropical Disease Cafe' and a regular haunt of scholars seeking refuge from the Music Reading Room at the old British Library). Since that time the project took a different direction and shape, but I continued to discuss many aspects of the book with Geoff and he was always forthcoming with advice, suggesting more subtle and elegant translations, secondary literature or just another way of seeing things. I could never thank him enough for his help. Also in this list is my wife, Lisa, who not only listened to me talk about, perform, record, write and generally go on about this subject for ten years, also accompanied me on many memorable trips to the Czech Republic. May there be many more.

From the time that ideas began to resemble chapters I have been extremely grateful to scholars and friends who have read chapters along the way and have given helpful and frank advice. These include Geoff Chew, Paul Christiansen, Mark Germer, Peter Holman, Erika Honisch, David Irving, Václav Kapsa, Vladimír Maňas, Jon Paxman, Jana Perutková, Derek Sayer, Hendrik Schulze, Jiří Sehnal, Tomás Slavický, Charlotte Sleigh, Janice Stockigt, Michael Talbot, John Tyrrell, and Viktor Velek.

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# Introduction

I𝔫 the context of Bohemia and Moravia, music history has inherited a strange legacy from literary history. I use the plural 'narratives' at the start of the book to highlight the fact that there is no single national narrative, but rather several competing ones, written along linguistic, religious, confessional and, later, geographical lines. These are not stable concepts and the determining factors of 'nation', real and imagined, changed over time. So when eighteenth-century writers describe Bohemian patriotism, it would be anachronistic to apply this to the same idea of 'nation' understood amongst the Hussites, for example. Certainly, up to the second half of the eighteenth century, one common strand in the idea of the Czech nation is language. But even within this stream of historical narrative, there are diverting and competing rivulets. However, a 'Czech' identity was clearly observed in the literature of the time—usually described in contrast to a German one. After the Thirty Years War these identities became even more complicated. It remains possible sometimes to clearly identify one from the other (and this certainly happened in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries), but in other cases the distinction is impossible and-or of little use to the historian. In the context of cities and at many courts, the two, the German and the Czech, were too close together for too long to be easily or usefully separated from one another—especially in Prague. There, the two might be imagined to be like sheets of paper that were, however willingly or unwillingly, pasted together for centuries. Once they are forcibly separated, both reveal something of the experience of having been joined to the other. Both are missing something they had before they were joined and something held in common when they were joined, but also, once separated, evidence of that former union is revealed as a scar.

In this book I want to dispel several myths that are continually repeated, mostly in survey literature, but throughout musicology and history as well. The myths are these: first, that the period after 1618 until the early phases of the national revival at the end of the eighteenth century is a 'dark period' for Czech language literature and arts. Second, that use of the Czech language practically died during this period and was replaced with German. Third, that the notion of a specifically Czech identity was invented in the nineteenth century. For most readers these will hardly seem like myths that need debunking, but nevertheless they are still prevalent enough to warrant being flagged here. These myths were created for particular reasons and often these reasons suited both sides of the national debates that emerged in a new way in the nineteenth century. The revivalist authors invented the idea of the 'golden age' of Czech-language culture and positioned themselves as the architects of a new renaissance. This rebirth, ipso facto, required an intervening 'dark age', and this became the default description of the entire baroque era (in fact, the word 'baroque' itself became a pejorative term amongst revivalist writers). Most anglophone music history books that mention Czech music at all

have tended to accept this explanation and usually dismiss the entire era of Czech music in a sentence or two (and with it overlook a massive body of music and its culture).[1]

This is not a survey book of music in Bohemia and Moravia and does not attempt to cover either the period or the geography of the region in its totality. There are many excellent composers whose works go unmentioned, but their absence is not a comment upon their quality. The largest group will be those composers who write fine Italianate church music—there are just too many to mention (and will be better served in a book about Italianate church music). The central focus, in terms of the inhabitants, is the Czech-language milieu. While this covers the vast majority of the population during this period, it does not cover all. Having said that, I do not avoid German language or cultural matters in Bohemia and Moravia (which would be folly anyway), but I do avoid issues that are particular to German Bohemians and Moravians for reasons of space and also to maintain some coherence in the material.

The tendency of modern musicology has been to focus on large cities (and the Czech lands had only one, Prague) and the dissemination of repertoire and practices from there. Reading numerous travel accounts from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, several comment on the fact that even Prague's musicians arrive there from villages in the countryside. While this pattern is itself not unique, what is unusual is that these young musicians arrived as more or less finished articles and were already fully abreast of Italian music and style (and had usually styled their names in the Italian way: 'Giuseppe Svoboda' and the like). One area of musicological research that has remained popular (right through the Communist era) is the focus on Czech musical emigres, especially Benda, Gluck and Zelenka.[2] In a similar way that the 'dark period' could be blamed on the political opponents of the revival authors (namely the Austrians), the same nation could also be blamed for the large number of Czech musical emigres, who fled their native land in flight from Austrian persecution (or so we have been told). What has been revealed in ten years of research is much different from the polemic offered in 'the bad old days' and much more culturally rewarding. Perhaps surprisingly, given that it was Czech historians who steered the ship of revivalist culture, this book reveals Czech music and musical culture to be even more broad, more impressive and much less insular than has generally been expressed in the past. In terms of

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[1] The *New Grove* article on Šimon Brixi describes him as being 'unique' in composing works in the Czech language for the entire eighteenth century. Or G. Abraham, in *The Age of Beethoven 1790–1830* (Oxford, 1982), 547, claims that the existence of Czech language operatic works in eighteenth-century Bohemia was 'something impossible'—to name just two indicative examples.

[2] V. Helfert, *Jiří Benda. Příspěvek k problému české hudební emigrace*, 2 vols, vol. 1 (Brno, 1929). Helfert in particular sees this exodus in stark, pessimistic terms. The more likely reason for so much musical emigration is that that the Czech lands produced more talented musicians than her institutions could possibly employ— even Burney recognised as much in the 1770s.

music, I found the opposite of what I had read I might find. Rather than the eradication of the Czech language, I found it in practically every musical genre and circumstance I cared to examine. I also found that not only were villages musically active, they fostered and maintained surprisingly up-to-date Italianate repertoires in addition to teaching composers and performers. As a result, I found music composed for and by villagers to be of high quality and often very innovative—it is no wonder so many found work abroad.

In terms of musical culture, we are still dealing primarily with a culture of *Gebrauchsmusik* and, with such a large volume of Czech language works surviving, a closer look was then needed at the institutions and other cultural phenomena that required music in the Czech language, or, even more obscurely, in the 'Bohemian style'. Finally, I do not keep my considerations of music or even musical culture within the Czech borders. I have already rejected the isolationist standpoint, and several chapters will demonstrate a strong relationship with Italian music, culture and institutions.

This book is not a detailed study of institutions and courts, per se, but rather musical cultures and style. There are a number of detailed studies available of prominent courts in Bohemia and Moravia during this period, detailing issues of courtly culture and the roles of musicians. The most discussed of these must surely be the Liechtenstein court at Olomouc and Kroměříž which, although remarkable in so many ways, is not typical of provincial courts in the decades following the end of the Thirty Years War. The *raison d'être* behind much of the book was to answer questions such as: why does this music sound the way that it does? Why does it do the (often unconventional) things that it does? Those questions cannot be answered though analysis of the music alone and so a great deal of attention is paid to those circumstances of performance and devotion where these less conventional and more often 'Czech' characteristics are heard. While title of the book suggests a chronological sweep from 1600 to 1750, it is intended to provide a rather broad framework within which other studies are placed.

# National Narratives and Identities

## *Bohemians*

T HE traditional lands of the Czech-speaking people are Bohemia, Moravia and parts of Silesia, and it is these provinces that make up the modern Czech Republic (though only part of historical Silesia). The origin of the name 'Bohemia' itself, however, has nothing to do with Slavonic culture at all, but rather the Boii, a Celtic tribe that inhabited that region until around the first century AD.[1] The Boii were driven westward by Germanic tribes from the area around modern-day Bavaria, who were then, in turn, driven back westward by Slavic tribes from the east. These Slavic tribes contributed to the massive Great Moravian Empire, which, during the ninth to tenth centuries, extended from their present borders as far as the Black Sea. The most significant historical importance of this new empire is that its success drew attention from both east and west and resulted in the Christianisation of its Slavic-speaking subjects.

In around the year 860, Louis the Germanic King of the East Franks tried to get involved with the conversion of the Bulgarians with the hope of having leverage on the other side of the vexatious Moravians.[2] His action had the important, though unintended, result of pushing the Moravians into the arms of Constantinople. In 863, at the request of Prince Rastislav of Moravia, Patriarch Photius sent two brothers, Cyril and Methodius, to preach Christianity in the Slavic tongue to the Moravians.[3] Cyril and Methodius took with them Slavonic versions of the New Testament as well as service books. By most accounts the mission was a great success and the two brothers succeeded in popularising both the Christian faith, and especially popular was the conduct of worship in the local language.[4] Beyond this, the earliest written sources of Czech history are in Latin or Old Church Slavonic (OCS). In the latter category are the important *vitae* of Saints Cyril and Methodious

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[1] The Boii were mentioned by a number of Roman authors, including Tacitus; see M. Teich, ed., *Bohemia in History* (Cambridge, 1998), 26–28. For an eminently readable Czech history in English see D. Sayer, *The Coasts of Bohemia: A Czech History* (Princeton, 1998).

[2] H. Mayr-Harting, 'The West: The Age of Conversion (700–1050)', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity*, ed. J. McManus (Oxford, 1990), 93.

[3] K. Ware, 'Eastern Christendom', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Christianity*, ed. J. McManus (Oxford, 1990), 151. Note that Cyril was actually born Constantine and took the monastic name of Cyril shortly before his death. In Czech they are sometimes known as Cyrha and Strachota.

[4] Despite the widely held popular belief that one or both of the Saints introduced the Cyrillic alphabet, they did not, but rather used the Glagolitic alphabet.

as well as of Wenceslas I.[5] A continuous literature tradition in what is considered as a distinctively Czech language begins in the late thirteenth century.

Notwithstanding the initial success of the mission of Saints Cyril and Methodius, in other ways the mission was a failure. German missionaries (mostly from Bavaria) were also at work in the same area, and due to their industriousness and zeal the region eventually passed into the orbit of Latin Christendom. The Slavonic Rite did not survive the death of Methodius in 855, when it was forbidden by Pope Stephen V. Although the Slavonic Rite was periodically revived, Czech singing mostly endured in non-liturgical settings. From 995 Otto I headed the missionary organisation amongst the Slavs east of the Elbe and insisted on vast land rights and tithes of silver and other goods from his Slav subjects.[6] Curiously, many lands where Cyril and Methodius had not actually preached fell into the orbit of the Orthodox Church, namely Russia, Bulgaria and Serbia.

Despite the apparent long-term failure of the missions of Cyril and Methodius to keep the Czechs in the permanent fold of Eastern Orthodoxy, the use of vernacular language in devotional and even liturgical settings would persist even when the region fell under Western influence. Unlike much of the rest of central Europe under the influence of Rome, the Czechs continued to use their vernacular at Mass and also in other, less formal, devotional settings. The use of the Slavonic tongue was troubling to Rome for many reasons, but primarily for reasons of hegemony. Nevertheless, the use of Slavonic for the Mass and other other liturgies was approved at an early stage by Rome (though later rescinded), and this persistence became the rallying cry for countless non-conformist pamphlets, sermons, books and so on, right to the present day.[7]

With the arrival of Christianity came the advent of a new type of hero—the saint. It did not take long for the martyrdom of first Czech saint. Raised in an essentially Orthodox environment by his father Duke Vratislav I of the Přemyslid dynasty, Wenceslas I would become Christianity's first ever 'national' saint, martyred in AD 935. Over the course of the next few centuries the divine intervention of Wenceslas was credited with numerous military victories over neighbouring factions such as the Hungarians, Germans and eventually even the Hussite victories against the Catholic forces.[8] By the twelve and thirteenth centuries images of Wenceslas frequently included various arms (especially the sword, lance, helmet and standard),

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[5] These three (with two others) are reproduced in facsimile with parallel English translation in M. Kantor, *Medieval Slavic Lives of Saints and Princes*, vol. 5, Michigan Slavic Translations (Ann Arbor, 1983), 215–30.

[6] Ware, 'Eastern Christendom', 151.

[7] A good survey of such early pamphlets and sermons in English is R. Wellek, 'Bohemia in Early English Literature', *Slavonic and East European Review. American Series*, 2, no. 1 (1943): 114–46.

[8] G. Klaniczkay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe*, trans. E. Pálmai (Cambridge, 2002), 165–68.

the 'arms of the Bohemian lands' according to the fourteenth-century chronicler Beneš z Veitmila.[9]

Within the context of medieval literature, rural metaphor and the celebration of rural life were commonly associated with Czech culture.[10] By the seventeenth century, symbols of the countryside permeated all kinds of literature and the arts; from altar paintings and music for the Mass, drama, music for the stage, satyrical tracts, devotional texts and songs and even extending to musical instruments themselves. On one hand this pattern was a natural consequence of the later stages of medieval life more generally, but in the Czech context the rural ideal was deliberately cultivated amongst the educated classes.

Many of the earliest chronicles and poems written by Czech authors emphasise the stereotypical tensions between rural and urban—often equating them with Czech and German. In the Czech national narrative they represent themselves with lives close to nature, rural and peaceful; and the Germans are represented by cosmopolitan and urban lives spent in pursuit of the trappings of courtly culture and materialism. The new wave of German immigrants to Bohemia and Moravia during the twelve and thirteenth centuries resided primarily in urban areas where, for a variety of reasons, the German language was most commonly found. Much of the nobility and the rural population for the most part spoke Czech. The first important chronicle of the Czech lands is the *Chronica Boëmorum* (1110–25) by Cosmas, the Dean of the Prague Chapter from 1045 to 1125. His chronicle is probably the first major work of its type to define the Czech nation by contrasting it with the neighbouring Germans and Poles. The *Chronica* is something of a piece of propaganda written to uphold and flatter the ruling Přemyslid family, and most of his anti-German barbs are delivered via witty rhetorical devices, such as the outburst that 'asini merdam' [donkey shit] would be a better alternative to having a German bishop.[11] The *Chronica* is written in Latin, through which Cosmas reveals the level of his education by making reference to classical authors such as Vergil and Ovid. Alfred Thomas has pointed out that 'in spite of his international learning, Cosmas was very much a Czech', translating well-known Czech proverbs into Latin and even correctly declining Czech names according to their grammatical context, but following the conventions of the Czech language.[12]

Amongst the most illustrative examples of these early tendencies is the story of the eleventh-century Bohemian Abbot, Prokop (d. 1053). The most elucidative

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[9]  A. Merhautová and D. Třeštík, 'Ideové proudy v českém umění 12. století', *Studie Československé akademie věd*, 2 (1985): 82–105; Klaniczkay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 166.

[10]  This is persuasively argued, at least in the medieval context, in A. Thomas, *Anne's Bohemia: Czech Literature and Society, 1310–1420*, vol. 13, Medieval Cultures (Minneapolis, 1998).

[11]  *Capitulum vicesimum tercium* [1.4.23]. English translation in L. Wolverton, ed., *The Chronicle of the Czechs: Cosmas of Prague*, Medieval Texts in Translation (Washington DC, 2009).

[12]  Thomas, *Anne's Bohemia*, 25.

early source of Prokop's life is the Czech version preserved in the *Legenda o sw. Prokopu* [The Legend of Saint Procopius].[13] The various versions of the story generally follow these lines: Prokop is a pious and introvert peasant from Český Brod who devotes himself to the church and at a young age become canon at Vyšehrad, but who soon joins the Benedictine order. Following their vow of poverty he retreats to the countryside in his native region and lives in a cave on the Sázava river. Here he performs miracles, including banishing devils from his cave, where he makes a chapel and dedicates it to the Virgin Mary. One day, Duke Oldřich [Ulrich] is hunting nearby and becomes separated from his hunting party, and, spotting a deer with a cross appearing between its antlers, follows it to Prokop where the hermit monk hears the Duke's confession. The Duke asks for water and when Prokop draws a cup from the river the Duke discovers upon drinking it that it has been turned into wine. Seeing Prokop's saintliness, he then determines to build a monastery on the site with Prokop as its Abbot. Prokop prophesies his own death and also that the Slavonic monks will be driven from the monastery to be replaced by German monks, who will then replace the Slavonic liturgy with the Latin Rite. He then further foresees that the Slav monks will eventually return and restore the Slavonic Rite. Prokop's ghost returns to the monastery three times and tells the Germans that if they do not leave they will be punished by God. On the third and the final visit he drives the monks away with his staff; in the end Prokop's prophecy is fulfilled and the German monks are driven 'back to Prague'. Of the surviving versions of the Prokop story, *The Younger Czech Prose Legend* (early 1400s) is the most emphatic in its expression of the Czechness of the 'nation'. In this version of the legend the typical story of good versus evil is cast with the Czech and German struggles for control of Bohemia:

> Let us request him [Procopius] to defend us, drive our enemies from the land, and afford us peace and quiet, for he is our defence and the patron of the Czech land. Close to the German lands, Bohemia would have perished long ago if Saints Procopius and Wenceslas had not protected it.[14]

In this version the Germans are repeatedly referred to as adversaries—'o you unfaithful rivals, you are the Devil's messengers!'[15] For his success in driving out the German monks from the Sázava monastery Prokop is commemorated by the narrator as 'the glory of the Czech land'.[16] A brief word of caution: from a twenty-first-century perspective, we see these medieval ideas of 'nation' through a glass

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[13] H. Birnbaum, 'The Vernacular Languages of East Central Europe in the Medieval Period', in *The Man of Many Devices: Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak*, ed. B. Nagy and M. Sebők (Budapest, 1999), 377–78. There are three extant versions in Latin, the oldest of which is the *Vita s. Procopii antiqua* from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, purported to be based on an earlier version in Old Church Slavonic (OCS) (now lost); OCS had been the official language at the Sázava Monastery at the time.

[14] Thomas, *Anne's Bohemia*, 81.

[15] Ibid., 86.

[16] Ibid.

darkly and such concepts, though surely not without meaning, do not represent a stable or uniform concept.[17]

The medieval tensions between Czechs and Germans eventually exploded in the unrestrained anti-German expression of the *Dalimil Chronicle* (c.1314)—the first such work in the Czech language.[18] It is here where the most enduring ideas and myths of Czech antiquity are portrayed so vividly. For example, the advice for Czech noblemen to favour Czech women over German women irrespective of their station is illustrated in the rhymed verse of *Dalimil*. It describes how, while out hunting, Duke Oldřich comes upon the peasant girl Božena. Her beauty is so captivating that he marries her at once, only to be chided by other nobles for marrying a commoner. His anti-German reply (surely aimed at Czech nobles who took German wives) is typical of *Dalimil*.[19]

> I would rather laugh with a Czech peasant wench than take a German queen to wife. For a man's heart yearns for his native tongue, and a German wife would care little for my people. A German wife would have German retainers and would teach my children German, and so there would be a divorce of our tongues, and certain ruin for our land. My lords, you know not what is good for you, if you taunt me about my marriage. Where would you find interpreters, if you were to stand before a German princess?[20]

The nationalist tone of *Dalimil* would later be united and reinforced in the Czech-centred zealousness of the Hussites.[21] Naturally, these patterns do not continue unchanged into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but some of the assumptions made in numerous medieval narratives are either transmitted unaltered, rehabilitated or even challanged in some way. In short, medieval

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[17]  L. Storchová, 'Nation, Patria and the Aesthetics of Existence: Late Humanistic Discourse of Nation and Its Rewriting by the Modern Czech Nationalist Movement', in *Whose Love of Which Country? Composite States, National Histories and Patriotic Discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe*, ed. B. Trencsényi and M. Zaszkaliczky (Leiden and Boston, 2010); R. Pynsent, *Questions of Identity: Czech and Slovak Ideas of Nationality and Personality* (New York, 1994).

[18]  A revisionist approach in A. Thomas, *The Labyrinth of the Word: Truth and Representation in Czech Literature* (Munich, 1995), esp. 33–37. Thomas argues that Cosmas deliberately withheld certain details about the war of the maidens—details that the author of *Dalimil* felt the need to provide. This approach was queried in Robert Pynsent, 'Review: The Labyrinth of the Word: Truth and Representation in Czech Literature', *Slavic Review* 57, no. 1 (1998): 182–83.

[19]  The employment of the beauty of Czech peasant women is a thread that runs through patriotic narrative from the medieval times right through the national revival of the nineteenth century.

[20]  Translation in H. Schulze, *States, Nations and Nationalism: From the Middle Ages to the Present (Making of Europe)*, trans. W. E. Yuill (Oxford, 1996), 109.

[21]  On the anti-German tendencies in *Dalimil* see K. Zernack, 'The Middle Ages', in *The Germans and the East*, ed. C. W. Ingrao and F. A. Szabo (West Lafayette, 2008).

anxieties and prejudices were repeatedly resurrected to serve contemporary purposes.

The underlying fear of having a foreign monarch would soon become a reality with the election of John of Luxembourg (reg. 1310–46). While John's reign has often been characterised by his general lack of interest in the internal affairs of the Czech lands (preferring to spend most of his time abroad), in the Domažlice Agreement of 1318 he dismissed all of his foreign advisors and formally agreed that he would never bring any foreign troops into the Czech lands. This agreement significantly weakened the role of the monarch and left the power largely in the hands of the most powerful noble families. As one contemporary put it, 'during his absence the Czech kingdom enjoys greater peace than during his presence'—complaining that the King only visited the Czech lands 'in order to extract money by force from the whole population of the Czech kingdom, take it away with him, and fruitlessly waste it in foreign countries'.[22] While the Czech nobility were happy to (re)gain their power and influence in the region, John's son Charles would recover many of the powers forfeited by his father.

During the Papal Schism of the fourteenth century the largely mercantile and clerical elite German-speaking population of Bohemia and Moravia favoured the Avignon pope, whereas the Czech-speakers overwhelmingly adhered to Rome.[23] In turn, the Avignon popes also favoured Germans for high-ranking appointments which further vexed the Czech nobility and contributed to greater separation of the two groups.[24] By now patterns of language and diocese were also appearing, with the wealthy German-speaking priests in the cities and the impoverished Czech-speaking ones in rural areas.[25] Charles IV went some distance to restore some balance to this scenario.

Charles favoured his mother's culture and language (she was of Přemyslid ancestry) and made Prague his home, transforming it into one of the most important cities of late-medieval Europe. Although he had been raised abroad, when he ascended the throne in 1347 he revived his flagging Czech-language skills and enthusiastically embraced his Czechness. In 1355 he became Holy Roman Emperor as Charles IV. No longer a provincial kingdom, Bohemia—and Prague in particular—had now been placed by Charles IV at the centre of the Holy Roman Empire.[26] When speaking about national revivals in the Czech lands, the tendency is to think first of the nineteenth century, but the reign of Charles IV witnessed a flourishing of Czech-language literature and arts, and restored Prague as the

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[22] Z. Fiala, ed., *Zbraslavská kronika-Chronicon Aulae Regiae* (Prague, 1976), 356–60.

[23] C. D. Attwood, *The Theology of the Czech Brethren from Hus to Comenius* (University Park, 2009), 35–36; D. Wood, *Clement VI* (Cambridge, 1989), 140–55.

[24] P. G. Wallace, *The Long European Reformation: Religion, Political Conflict, and the Search for Conformity, 1350–1750* (New York, 2003), 60.

[25] Ibid.

[26] In fact Charles saw his task nothing short of turning Prague into a new Jerusalem. See D. C. Mengel, 'Bones, Stones, and Brothels: Religion and Topography in Prague under Emperor Charles IV (1346–78)' (Notre Dame, 2003).

locus of Czech intellectual life. However, Charles followed a different path from many of his predecessors, for he did not encourage Czech as part of an aim to deprecate German, but rather artistic and creative life of all sorts were encouraged. Nevertheless, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the Czech language remained the main language of urban and rural populations as well as the language of municipal administration.[27] Charles' incompetent and bloodthirsty son Wenceslas IV (1378–1419), however, went to considerable lengths to agitate tensions between Germans and Czechs in Bohemia. In love with himself, power and money, Wenceslas IV favoured wealthy German burghers and mine-owners, forcing the Czech nobility (i.e. the Bohemian Estates) to fight for concessions. The Bohemian church, which had previously flourished, fell into disarray. This was only compounded by increased demands from Rome and the influx of foreign priests. The timing could not have been worse, and Wenceslas' catastrophic reign set up Bohemia and Moravia for a series of crises of colossal proportions.

<div align="center">HUSSITES</div>

The next phase in Czech history would also reinforce—partly by design, partly by accident—the close proximity of Czechness and rural life. In order to circumvent the papal provision during the fourteenth-century schism, a number of Czech nobles privately funded preachers whose religious and political ideals echoed their own non-conformist leanings.[28] Among the more notable examples of such preachers was the charismatic Jan Milič of Kroměříž (d. 1374), who seems to have been responsible for the earliest copy of the hymn *Hospodine, pomiluj ny* [Lord Have Mercy on Us].[29] According to the Prague synod of 1406 it had been sung publicly since around 1050.[30]

For all his shortcomings as a monarch, Wenceslas IV's marriage to an English princess helped create new links between the universities of Prague and Oxford. Popular among the new class of endowed priest that appeared as a result of this were the controversial writings of Wycliffe. The most enthusiastic advocate of Wycliffe's

[27] J. Miller, *Urban Societies in East-Central Europe: 1500–1700* (Farnham, 2008), 61. Miller points out that the towns and cities in the northern and western border areas retained their Germanness. The cultural and administrative life of some cities, like Olomouc, for example, remained dominated by German—but even then not at the exclusion of Czech.

[28] Wallace, *The Long European Reformation*, 61. Hussitism had still earlier precedents, in particular regarding charismatic preachers such as the Augustianian friar Konrad Waldhauser (1326–69). See J. Macek, 'Bohemia and Moravia', in *The Renaissance in National Context*, ed. R. Porter and M. Teich (Cambridge, 1992), 197.

[29] CZ-Pu III D17, f. 15v A. Škarka, ed., *Nejstarší česká duchovní lyrika* (Prague, 1946), 67.

[30] K. Konrad, *Dějiny posvátneho zpěvu staročeského* (Prague, 1881), 27. A version of this hymn survived in oral traditions as well, as is attested to in T. A. Kunz, *Böhmische Nationalgesänge und Tänze, České národní zpěvy a tance*, vol. 1 (Prague, 1995), 33.

theology was a popular professor and eventual rector at Prague University, Jan Hus (1369–1415).[31] As Hus preached Wycliffe's teachings (in Czech) from the pulpit of Prague's largest endowed church (Bethlehem Chapel), yet another Czech–German divide emerged—this time at the university. In a gesture of protest, nearly all of the German students and professors abandoned the Bohemian capital and set up a rival university at Wittenberg. The Germans may have left Prague University, but a German archbishop remained, who soon excommunicated Hus.[32] Nevertheless, Hus kept preaching to packed congregations in Prague. He and his followers pursued a radical path of reform that not only included translations of the Bible, devotional texts and even the Mass itself into Czech, but some priests also said Mass in barns or even outdoors without vestments or precious vessels for the Eucharist. Part of the reason for the rustic venues may be due to that lack of a greater number of endowed churches, but more often the rural idiom was cultivated in what the Hussites believed to be in imitation of the primitive church. One of the more enduring Hussite causes was to bridge the gap between laity and clergy, with all who attended Mass taking communion 'in both kinds' [*sub utraque specie*]—and this latter practice would eventually give rise to the Hussite offshoots, the Utraquists.[33] By the time of Hus's execution, the cultivation of various rustic idioms resonated with both religious and political overtones.

The situation in Prague had become extremely volatile and further poor judgement from Wenceslas IV and the Emperor finally lit the touch paper. Sigismund, the Holy Roman Emperor (reg. 1410–37) was Wenceslas's half-brother, and the Bohemian king soon capitulated to Rome's pursuit of Hus. The troublesome priest had been summoned to a gathering of Catholic reformers at Constance in Switzerland, and the Emperor gave his personal assurances of Hus's safe return. The outcome was a forgone conclusion and Hus was burnt alive at the stake for 'heresy' on 6 July 1415.[34] The central concern of the council had been the use Wycliffe's banned teachings, but there were also a raft of fabricated accusations—including defecating on the cross—clearly aimed at turning public opinion against

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[31] Thomas Fudge has recently argued that Wycliffe's influence on Hus is greatly exaggerated. Although Hus was influenced by some of Wyclif's writings, he scarcely adhered to the central tenets of Wyclif. T. A. Fudge, *Jan Hus: Religious Reform and Social Revolution in Bohemia* (New York, 2010).

[32] A little caution is needed here in assuming that the Archbishop's Germanness was a main driving force for his excommunication of Hus. It is practically impossible to parse the situation in such terms because, in this case, confessional and linguistic splits were along similar lines.

[33] In English see Wallace, *The Long European Reformation*, 60–61; Fudge, *Jan Hus*; E. Molnar, 'The Liturgical Reforms of John Hus', *Speculum*, 41, no. 2 (1966): 297–303. Also see A. Molnár, ed., *Provolání k boji na obranu pravdy*, vol. 15 Husitské manifesty (Prague, 1980); J. Kouba, 'Od husitství do Bílé hory', in *Hudba v českých dějinách* (Prague, 1989); J. Fojtíková, 'Hudební doklady Husova kultu z 15. a 16. století', Miscellanea musicologica, 29 (1981): 51–142.

[34] A recent, detailed history of the legal documents relating to Hus's trial can be found in J. Kejř, *Husův proces* (Prague, 2000).

Hus.[35] Together with making martyrs of Hus and his friend and fellow preacher Jerome, the council also banned the communion chalice for laity—this short-sighted action further solidified the position of the Czech reformers and focussed their anger on Rome. As for Wenceslas, his string of inept decisions had left him with a population who now blamed him personally (together with the Emperor and the Pope) for the death of their national and spiritual leader. The resulting armed rebellion not only gripped Prague, but, more worryingly for the royal and imperial forces, it consumed the countryside as well.

Hus's followers drew up The Articles of Prague in the autumn of 1419, which insisted on the freedom of vernacular preaching, communion in both kinds and the removal of clergy from secular offices and demanded that clergy should be subject to civil law the same as everyone else. Within months Wenceslas IV was dead and the Bohemian kingdom passed to Sigismund—but the Hussites refused to recognise him. When the Hussites met with the Emperor's representatives in Prague, the latter were summarily thrown from a window of Prague Castle. With the first defenestration of Prague, as George Wallace has put it, 'religious and political rebellion merged'.[36]

Like his half-brother, Sigismund greatly underestimated the unity, power and organisation of the Hussites, and he responded to the defenestration by declaring a crusade against the Czech reformers and invaded Bohemia with the Holy Roman Army. The first crusade against the Hussites was issued by Pope Martin V on 17 March 1420.[37] Under the inspirational leadership of the Hussite general Jan Žižka (c.1360–1424) all five attempts of the Holy Roman army to subdue the rebellious sect met with failure. The stories of Hussite victory on the battlefield must be explored elsewhere, but vernacular song was closely associated with them as well. At Domažlice on 14 August 1431, the Roman crusaders took to headlong flight supposedly just from hearing the assembled troops singing the Hussite war hymn *Ktož jsú boží bojovníci* [You Who Are Warriors of God].[38] So quick and comprehensive was their rout that Cardinal Cesarini, who organised the crusade on behalf of the Pope, abandoned all his baggage on the battlefield, including his cardinal's hat and the Pope's proclamation of the crusade against the Hussites.[39]

A number of princes from the German states also joined in the anti-Hussite crusades, which would only contribute further to tensions between the two groups within the Czech lands. By 1422 nearly all of Bohemia and Moravia was under

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[35]  Thomas, *Anne's Bohemia*.

[36]  Wallace, *The Long European Reformation*, 62.

[37]  T. A. Fudge, *The Crusade against Heretics in Bohemia, 1418–1437: Sources and Documents for the Hussite Crusades*, vol. 9, Crusade Texts in Translation (Aldershot, 2002), esp. 45–48.

[38]  Kouba, 'Od husitství do Bílé hory'; Z. Nejedlý, *Počatky husitského zpěvu* (Prague, 1907). The melody gained considerable popularity in nineteenth-century orchestral works, including Smetana's tone-poem *Tábor* (1878) and Dvořák's *Husitská ouvertura* (1883).

[39]  H. Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Palo Alto, 2004), 47.

Hussite control (with Pilsen one of the most notable Catholic strongholds to withstand the Hussites), but in 1423 the divisions within the Czech reform movement undermined their military successes. The primary division was between the radical Taborites and the more moderate Utraquists (whose agenda remained limited to the Articles of Prague). By 1436 the moderate factions agreed a settlement at Basel that brought both the Hussite and Utraquist churches back into the fold and permitted communion in both kinds—but Pope Eugene IV refused to endorse it. There was also brief hope in the *Compactata* of Jihlava of 1436, which aimed to provide a legal framework for Catholic and Hussite bi-confessionalism throughout the Czech lands.[40] In the end it was a less formal agreement between the Emperor and the Bohemian nobility that allowed certain non-conformist elements to survive.

The protracted violence of the Hussite wars contributed significantly to the isolation of Bohemia and Moravia from the rest of Europe, after which the Utraquist and Roman-Catholics were both operating officially, though the Bohemian Brethren continued without legal protection. The Utraquist church was essentially Roman Catholic in its doctrine, but operated independent of Rome and maintained its own clerical system and differed substantially in devotional and liturgical practice. However, the supreme authority of the Utraquist church lay with the estates of the realm, consisting of members drawn from the upper and lower nobility.[41] Even within parishes, it was the lay community that determined the fate of church property and the appointment of priests.[42] The accession to the throne in 1458 of Jiří [George] of Poděbrady brought a certain degree of peace. Pope Pius II personally visited Bohemia to negotiate with the Hussite king, and the Pope later commented that Bohemian peasant women knew their Bibles better than most Italian priests.[43]

There were a number of important mid-century gains made by the Catholic side, but even these revealed a remarkable level of toleration. The long-vacant seat of Prague's archbishop was finally filled in 1561, with the installation of Antonín Brus z Mohelnice (reg. 1561–80).[44] Brus was a delegate to the Council of Trent, and he and his successor Martin Medĕk z Mohelnice (reg. 1581–90) were both Moravians and maintained moderate stances towards the non-conformist sects.[45]

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[40] M. Crăciun and E. Fulto, *Communities of Devotion: Religious Orders and Society in East Central Europe* (Farnham, 2011), 9. The Compactata granted Catholics and Utraquists equal legal status and each was guaranteed the right to establish and maintain its own ecclesiastical hierarchy and the maintenance of independent jurisdictions.

[41] Macek, 'Bohemia and Moravia', 197.

[42] Ibid.

[43] H. Louthan, *Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation* (Cambridge, 2009), 219.

[44] The ageing, but still unsurpassed work on Brus is K. Borový, *Antonín Brus z Mohelnice, arcibiskup Pražský: Historicko-kritický životopis* (Prague, 1873).

[45] K. Borový, *Martin Medĕk, Arcibiskup Pražský: Historicko-kritické vypsání náboženských poměrů v Čechach od roku 1581–1590* (Prague, 1877).