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Art and Propaganda in Hussite Bohemia *

Thomas A. Fudge

During the later stages of its assembly, the Council of Constance received the complaint that pictures of Jan Hus were circulating in Bohemia. Táborite manifestos appeared in Basel during the Council and the holy fathers sought in vain for the pernicious culprit who nailed one shamelessly to a church door! At the height of the indulgence controversy in Prague, Voksa of Valdštejn and Jerome of Prague organized a procession in which a person rode on a beast dressed as a whore, bared breasts with bogus papal bulls. She was covered with little silver bells which rang with every movement like the church bells during Mass. Imitating the enticing sales-talk of perhaps both the indulgence vendors and the ladies of the night, the indulgences were offered to the crowd who roared their approval and delight. With wicked leers and lewd gestures the whore blessed the people as if she were pope. As the procession passed the palace of the archbishop the mob, in one accord, shouted that the bulls and indulgences belonged to renegades and heretics. The parade wound its way to the New Town where the bulls were burnt.¹

These three events are all examples of propaganda in the Hussite movement. I am using the term propaganda simply as the deliberate effort to shape perceptions and understandings toward a particular behavior which promotes a pre-conceived idea. The relevant question, then, is: How did the radical Hussites spread their ideas at the popular level? It is too simplistic to assume that Hussite ideas were spread primarily by Hussite preachers. While there was indeed widespread popular preaching and sermonizing during the fifteenth century, there was also a fairly comprehensive propaganda program.²

* The study was presented in the congress *Czechoslovakia, Europe, and the World* held by the Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences, and the Council of Scientific Societies of the ČSFR in Prague (26 June - 2 July 1993).

- 1) Hermann von der Hardt (ed.), *Magnum oecumenicum constantiense concilium*, volume 4, (Frankfurt-Leipzig 1969), cols. 672-673.
- 2) On this see Thomas A. Fudge, "Myth, Heresy and Propaganda in the Radical Hussite Movement, 1409-1437", unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Cambridge 1992, pp. 247-354.

Pictures are the books of the illiterate.³ Jan Hus agreed. He maintained that visual images were retained in the mind longer than words.⁴ Despite the fact that the radicals engaged in iconoclasm⁵ and viewed art with suspicion, it was only natural that the Hussites should employ art as visual propaganda to promote their ideas. While it has been argued that no heretical movement left a legacy in terms of a specific heretical art form⁶ it is indeed possible to argue that the Hussite movement possessed a distinct form of heretical art. Indeed, in the context of Hussite Bohemia art became a means of social conflict.⁷

In the early days of the movement one of the radical factions in Prague was the "Dresden School" *U černé růže* [At the Black Rose]. Around 1412 Nicholas of Dresden, one of its members, produced a highly influential work titled *Tabulae novi et veteris coloris*.⁸ This work which contrasted the primitive church [the old color] with the Roman church [the new color] employed the effective mode of juxtaposing antithetical texts. The original text was illustrated. Unfortunately the pictures have been lost. However, from the text it is possible to determine what the pictures were and in some manuscripts

- 3) "For it is one thing to venerate a picture, and another to learn the story it depicts, which is to be venerated. The picture is for simple men what writing is for those who can read, because those who cannot read see and learn from the picture the model which they should follow. Thus pictures are above all for the instruction of the people. And if anyone should want to make pictures, do not forbid him..." Letter of Gregory the Great to Serenus, Bishop of Marseilles in 600 C. E. This translation together with the Latin text appears in Wladyslaw Tatarkiewicz, *History of Aesthetics*, (ed. C. Barrett, trans. R. M. Montgomery), The Hague-Paris: Mouton; Warsaw: PWN 1970, volume 2, pp. 104-105.
- 4) "Expositio decalogi", in: *Spisy M. Jana Husi* [The Collected Works of Master Jan Hus], (ed. Václav Flajšhans), Prague: Jaroslav Bursík 1903, volume 1, pp. 7-8. Around 1390 Priest Jakub Matějův of Kaplice preached in the Church of St. Nicholas in the Old Town and declared: "It would be better to burn pictures and pay tribute to Christ." cited in Josef Krása, "Studie o rukopisech husitské doby", *Umění* 22, 1974, 17.
- 5) Or as William R. Jones puts it "... wild Bohemian Táborites were fond of knocking the heads off statues of the saints in the churches of Písek and Plzeň ..." "Art and Christian Piety: Iconoclasm in Medieval Europe", in: *The Image and the Word*, (ed. Joseph Gutmann), Missoula: Scholars Press 1977, 75. It should be noted, however, that as time went by some of the radicals became less hostile to art. See Krása, *ibid.*, 29 and Pavel Spunar, "Poznámky k studiu husitského ikonoklasmu", *Listy filologické* 110, 1987, 124.
- 6) P. Francastel, "Art et hérésie", in: Jacques LeGoff (ed.), *Hérésies et sociétés dans l'Europe pré-industrielle 11^e-18^e siècle*, (Civilisations et Sociétés 10), Paris-The Hague: Mouton & Co. 1968, 31-46. I am not arguing that Hussite art represents a particular unique school or that the form was original. Art historians have demonstrated conclusively that Hussite art was neither. However, there was a distinct "heretical" genre of art used for propagandist purposes by the Hussites.
- 7) Essentially this is the sustained argument in Horst Bredekamp, *Kunst als Medium sozialer Konflikte. Bilderkämpfe der Spätantike bis zur Hussitenrevolution*, Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp Verlag 1975.
- 8) This work survives in single manuscripts in Basel, Kraków, Karlsruhe and Herrnhut. There are a number of manuscripts in Vienna and Prague. There is also a critical edition of the work. See note 9 below.

there are picture-titles.⁹ The antithetical "tables" show Christ carrying his cross over against the pope riding a horse. Christ washes the feet of the disciples while monks kiss the pope's feet. This latter picture is titled "The Servant of the Servants of the Lord having his Blessed Feet Kissed." Another picture featured the pope as antichrist attended by a number of whores. In 1415 Rome's supporters protested this crass propaganda accusing the Hussites of painting inflammatory pictures.¹⁰ While no known copy exists, Hussites in Hungary were reported to have depicted the pope celebrating mass being served by the devil while an entourage of demons stood around the altar.¹¹ Howard Kaminsky has noted that the type of propaganda in the *Tabulae* was "... so stark and simple that it could be embodied in pictures to be carried in street demonstrations,"¹² a fact we shall consider below. The scathing texts themselves posited the "true" church against the apostate church of Rome. Jesus says, "the Son of Man does not have where to lay his head" while Constantine says, "we give to Blessed Silvester and his successors the palace of our Empire." Christ, as he is being whipped, says, "I gave my body to the smiters ..." while the pope says, "whoever does injury to the ... priesthood will be sentenced to death." The emperor places a gold crown on the head of the Roman pontiff while Mary wraps baby Jesus in swaddling clothes and puts him in a manger.

As early as 1417 an anonymous refutation of the *Tabulae* was put forth decrying the blatant heresy of the work. This short rebuttal is important also for its description of a number of the lost pictures.¹³ However, similar pictures or redactions of the originals were also to be seen at the "Dresden School of the Black Rose," *U kos* [At the Scythes] and on the walls of the Bethlehem Chapel and are preserved in the Jena Codex and the Göttingen manuscript.¹⁴ Hence, the *Tabulae* may rightly be considered the prototype

- 9) Howard Kaminsky et al. (eds.), "Master Nicholas of Dresden: The Old Color and the New - Selected Works Contrasting the Primitive Church and the Roman Church", *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 55, March 1965, 34.
- 10) The conclusions of the theologians of the Council of Constance against Jakoubek of Stříbro and his doctrine of utraquism, "De communione plebis sub utraque specie", in: H. v. Hardt, *o.c.*, volume 3, col. 682.
- 11) Article 32 of the *Articuli Hussitarum Hungariorum*, Rome, Vatican Library MS. Vat. Lat. 7307 fol. 23^v.
- 12) Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution*, Berkeley-Los Angeles: University of California Press 1967, 40.
- 13) *Responsiones ad obiectiones et picturas Huss*, Prague Castle Archive MS. O 50 fols. 133^v-137^v. The pictures described in this source are: Christ carrying a cross, the pope riding a horse; the donation of Constantine, Christ with a crown of thorns, Peter crucified; Christ washing the feet of the disciples, the pope having his feet kissed.
- 14) Howard Kaminsky, "Master Nicholas of Dresden: The Old Color and the New...", *o.c.*, 36. The story is told that during the time of Hus two Englishmen, Jacob and Conrad of Canterbury, stayed with Lukáš Velenský in the New Town in Na Příkopě at a house called *U kos* two doors down from *U černé růže*. Allegedly on the wall of this house there was a painting analogous to the aforementioned one portraying a papal entourage riding

of the burgeoning Hussite visual propaganda.

Arguably one of the most important centers of the reform movement in the early years was Prague's Bethlehem Chapel. Built in the Old Town and dedicated to the Holy Innocents, the chapel was founded by two prominent men, Jan of Milheim and Václav Kříž. On 24 May 1391 the foundation charter was issued¹⁵ and authorized by King Václav IV and later by the Archbishop of Prague, Jan of Jenštejn on 27 June 1391.¹⁶ Jan Hus later asserted that Archbishop Jenštejn had also laid the foundation stone.¹⁷ During the years when Jan Hus and Jakoubek of Stříbro were rectors, the chapel became not only a place of reformation preaching and activity, but also a center of visual propaganda.

The interior of the chapel had the interesting feature of contrasting pictures on the walls. Contemporary descriptions indicate that the pictures were much the same as those in the *Tabulae*. That there were pictures on the walls of Bethlehem is not to be doubted. While in prison at Constance Hus dreamed that prelates were seeking to destroy the pictures. Furthermore, visitors to Prague in the fifteenth century noted and described the unusual ecclesiastical decor of the chapel.¹⁸

Both Hus and Jakoubek had texts inscribed upon the walls outlining a Hussite critique of Rome as well as the Hussite justification for *communio sub utraque specie* and infant communion. Later, while writing from exile and expounding upon the same errors Hus admonished his followers: "*Et si non vis credere, disce in Bethleem in pariete* [and if you will not believe it, learn it on the wall in Bethlehem]." Thus the popular song, "If you want to know the Bible you must go to Bethlehem and learn it on the walls as Master Jan of Husinec preached it," and this remark by Hus refer to the same idea - the visual texts and paintings in the chapel.

horses and a barefooted Jesus and his disciples walking. The pope wore a crown of gold while Christ wore a crown of thorns. Many people are alleged to have viewed the painting among them Jan Hus. The latter is supposed to have mentioned the painting from his pulpit. I can find no reference to this statement. The sources for this scenario are all late. See for example, Zacharias Theobald, *Hussitenkrieg*, Hildesheim-New York: Georg Olms Verlag 1981, chapter 3, pp. 5-10. [Facsimile of the 1609 edition.] The historicity of this tale is, at best, doubtful.

- 15) The text appears in *Monumenta historica universitatis Carolo-Ferdinandae Pragensis*, volume 2: *Codex diplomaticus*, Prague: Joannis Spurny 1834, 308-310.
- 16) *Ibid.* The text of the royal authorization is located on pp. 314-316.
- 17) František Palacký (ed.), *Documenta Mag. Joannis Hus vitam, doctrinam, causam in constantiensi concilio actam et controversias de religione in Bohemia annis 1403-1418 motas illustrantia*, Prague: Friedrich Tempsky 1869, 169.
- 18) See Hus' letter of 5 March 1415 to Jan of Chlum in *The Letters of John Hus*, (trans. Matthew Spinka), Manchester: Manchester University Press 1972, 147-149. The three sets of antithetical pictures just described are based upon the account of the Franciscan Matthias Döring who saw them around 1440. See Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek MS. 181. I have been unable to consult this source.

These ideas became popular with the poor people and also among the gentry and burghers both in Bohemia and abroad.¹⁹ Hussite visual propaganda made a concerted attempt to connect the movement to the "authority of the eternal yesterday," to use Weber's phrase,²⁰ and not only couched its agenda in Scriptural terms but also transmuted Biblical characters into Hussites and managed to get some Hussites into the Bible itself! The earliest portrayal of Jan Hus at the stake is found in a Bible from around 1430.²¹ A Czech Old Testament contains an exquisite pencil drawing of a war scene in the bottom margin. The battle is quite obviously depicting the Hussites against the Crusaders as can be determined readily from the unique Hussite weapons and battle formations.²² Such evidence gives further support to the idea that the Hussites thought of themselves as the true people of God and the popular impact of seeing Hussites on the pages of Scripture, as in this instance and others,²³ would certainly have been positive. More interesting is the portrayal of the biblical King David as a Hussite warrior carrying a Hussite shield, emblazoned with a large chalice, sword aloft, standing over his vanquished foes.²⁴ In the same manuscript is an illumination portraying the Hussite chalice beside a monstrance on an altar with a group of people kneeling before it.²⁵ Painted Hussite war shields portraying the encounter between David and Goliath or other themes could be considered visual propaganda. The visual reinforcement of Hussite teaching could further strengthen the Hussite influence at the popular level and make the authority of the eternal yesterday a present reality.

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- 19) A. I. Ozolin, "Ohlas husitství v některých zemích střední a západní Evropy", (trans. Věra Ostrouchová), in: Josef Macek (ed.), *Mezinárodní ohlas husitství*, Prague: Československá akademie věd 1958, 310.
 - 20) "die Autorität des ewig Gestrigen." Max Weber, "Politik als Beruf", in: Johannes Winckelmann (ed.), *Gesammelte Politische Schriften*, Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1971, 507. Men like Hus and Jerome, and certainly the Hussites in general, "... rang a persistent bell of prophecy in the imagination, confirming the future out of the past". Marjorie Reeves and Warwick Gould, *Joachim of Fiore and the Myth of the Eternal Evangel*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987, 84.
 - 21) *Martinická bible* [Martinic Bible], Prague, National and University Library MS. no signature fol. 11^v. This Bible was illuminated for, and presented as a gift to, Petr of Mladoňovice.
 - 22) Prague, National and University Library MS. XVII A 34 fol. 115^f. On the same folio is an illustration of a messenger reporting the death of King Saul to David. David has triumphed over his nemesis and the message is clear that the Hussites will follow suit. On fol. 78^v of the same MS. a group of armed warriors in the book of Joshua appear to be based on Hussites.
 - 23) See for example the *Bible Zámojských*, Prague, National and University Library MS. XVII C 56 fol. 95^v. This Bible dates from circa 1440 and features illuminations of Hussite warriors.
 - 24) *Krumlovský sborník*, Prague, National Museum Library MS. III B 10 fol. 20^v.
 - 25) *Ibid.*, fol. 95^v.

Representations of Jan Hus at the stake began appearing in liturgical books sometimes in connection to the Feast of St. Jan Hus or simply as an independent illumination. There are a number of examples.²⁶ The apotheosis of St. Jan Hus, in the Litoměřice gradual, is certainly a fine example of what must have been an entire genre of visual propaganda which has now almost entirely disappeared. Even Jan Žižka can be found in liturgical books.²⁷ Anti-Hussite sentiment could neither ignore such glaring propaganda nor tolerate its presence. Manuscript illuminations and drawings became easy targets for selective private iconoclasm²⁸ especially in the context of Hussite Bohemia where in most places it would have been virtual suicide to publicly attack Hussite iconography. While it would be too tedious and in the end impossible to discuss all examples of this private iconoclasm, it will suffice to mention only a few representative examples. One Hussite liturgical text [*i.e.*, an antiphony] from the fifteenth century has been preserved although a number of the illuminations have been removed.²⁹ This could be due either with regard to their value or the illuminations may have been explicitly Hussite and thus someone wanted to expunge an otherwise clearly orthodox text of some objectionable visual aids. This latter possibility is most certainly valid in the case of another Hussite antiphony also dating from the fifteenth century. Where the Office of the Feast of St. Jan Hus would have occurred, at least ten pages have been crudely cut out of the text.³⁰ In other instances, a later hand has crossed out part of the text, or a marginal notation, and affixed a contradictory note to the original passage.³¹ This sort of thing can be regarded as private propaganda or private iconoclasm depending upon the perspective.

During the early days of the revolution when challenges from within Bohemia threatened the movement,³² the radicals engaged in propagandist

26) For example *Malostranský graduál* [The Graduale of the Lesser Town], Prague, National and University Library MS. XVII A 3 fol. 263^r and *Litoměřický graduál* [Litoměřice Graduale], Terezín, Regional Archives MS. IV C 1 fol. 43^r. (Deposited in Litoměřice, Okresní vlastivědné muzeum).

27) See for example the *Jistebnický graduál* [Jistebnice Graduale], Prague, National Museum Library MS. XII F 14 fol. 61^r where a small drawing of the Hussite commander appears in the lower right margin. The drawing is badly damaged and almost illegible though Žižka is recognizable holding a battle club in his right hand and a banner in his left.

28) Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1989, 18-19.

29) *Husiské antiphonale*, Prague, National Museum Library MS. XII A 21. Of course the Roman Church in Bohemia had its own distinctively anti-Hussite liturgical books. See for example *Protihusiská postila*, Prague, National Museum Library MS. I E 6 fols. 152^r-175^r.

30) Prague, National and University Library MS. IV H 12.

31) See for example Prague Castle Archive MS. D 48 fol. 91 and Prague, National and University Library MS. III G 16 fol. 73^r. This latter example has this Czech comment added to a Latin text: "Take care, you little monk, don't go running all around the world telling lies about Czechs!"

activities all the more and went as far as to tear down the regent banner of the Lord High Burchard, Čeněk of Vartenberk, from the Old Town Hall and put it in the pillory.³³ The effect was more than superficial though the radicals would have to wait a few days for their victory. From the days when the radicals carried belligerently the antithetical pictures of the *Tabulae* through the streets of Prague to when they showed up, enroute to the Council of Basel, with propagandist banners displaying offensive emblems and slogans,³⁴ the revolutionary movement engaged in promoting visual propaganda and also in destroying Roman images under the influence of Wyclif whom some have regarded as a source of Hussite iconophobia.³⁵ The adherents of Rome were also quite capable of formulating their own response. In 1417 the priest Lénárt Fuchs in Šopron Hungary built an altar in his parish church for the suffering souls in purgatory in direct opposition to the Hussite heresy.³⁶ A classic example of anti-Hussite visual propaganda occurred in Silesia around 1471. After the "King of Heretics", Jiří of Poděbrady, died the abbot of the Monastery of the Virgin in Breslau ordered a new chapel to be erected. In the chapel the abbot had a mural painted which depicted the last great judgment. Among those cast out of the kingdom of God and delivered to the fires of hell was King Jiří, shown being sent to hell carried downward by two demons.³⁷

The ultimate surviving source of Hussite visual propaganda is the Jena Codex.³⁸ While it dates from the later fifteenth century it is based upon

- 32) There were more than 300 letters of challenge from opponents of the Hussite movement. See František Palacký (ed.), *Archiv český*, Prague 1846, volume 4, pp. 378-381.
- 33) Frederick G. Heymann, *John Žižka and The Hussite Revolution*, New York: Russell & Russell 1969, 119.
- 34) Gerald Christianson, *Cesarini: The Conciliar Cardinal, The Basel Years, 1431-1438*, St. Ottilien: EOS Verlag 1979, 75.
- 35) Jana Nechutová, "Traktát 'De ymaginibus', připisovaný Petru Paynovi (Pražský univerzitní kodex IX E 10, ff. 210^v-214^r) [The Tractate 'On Images', Attributed to Peter Payne]", *Husitský Tábor* 9, 1986-7, 325.
- 36) György Székely, "Husitství a maďarský lid" (trans. Jan Průcha), in: Josef Macek (ed.), *Mezinárodní ohlas husitství*, 29.
- 37) "Hir muss ich setzen ein sonderlich Ding. Als wir von Glaz von dem obgenanten Fürsten solten abscheiden, da sagte er uns, wir solten dem Abte zu unser liben Frauen zu Bresslau sagen: dass derselbe Herzog Heinrich ime und seinem Closter alle Dörfer wolte lassen abbirnen, es were dan, dass er seinen Vater aus der Helle tun würde. Wan der Abt hatte in der Kirchen in einer neuen Capellen das jüngste Gerichte lassen malen, und einen König uf einer Tragen trugen zweene Teufel in die Helle. Da wir diss den Abbat lissen wissen, von Stat an in derselben Nacht lisse er den König ausleschen, uf dass ime nicht seine Dörfer würden abgebrant." This is the account given by the Breslau town secretary. *Peter Eschenloer's Geschichten der Stadt Breslau, 1440-1479*, (ed. J. G. Kunisch), Breslau 1828, volume 2, p. 274.
- 38) So named the Jena Codex because from 1548-1951 it was housed in Jena despite having originated in Prague. Since 1951 it has been kept in Prague in the National Museum Library under the manuscript signature IV B 24. The Jena Codex has not been reproduced and published. Some of the pictures have been reproduced and published in Karel

Hussite motifs, albeit redacted forms, and demonstrates the strength and vitality of the Hussite revolution long after the end of the magnificent ride. Rather than a simple historical artifact, this source is a powerful witness of Hussite propaganda compiled and preserved from a broadcasted agenda which was echoed throughout Bohemia. The Jena Codex as the summation of Hussite heretical art and propaganda performs two exceptionally important functions which in general terms have been admirably explicated by Michel Vovelle. For example, "a painting of the crucifixion is both a kind of message which conveys information and a collection of stimuli designed to provoke reactions."³⁹ As propaganda, the Jena Codex fulfils the functions of conveying the Hussite myth and heresy and also, in its basic design, provoking a reaction.

Though the codex contains some interesting non-visual features such as a Hussite hymn and a satirical letter from the Devil to Lev of Rožmitál,⁴⁰ it is the pictures with which we are concerned here. As noted above, many of the pictures are based upon Hussite motifs and indeed can be traced back to lost visual propaganda from the second decade of the fifteenth century especially the *Tabulae* of Nicholas of Dresden. The codex features in a number of places carefully juxtaposed pictures articulating what fol. Calls the "*Antithesis Christi & Antichristi*." It is these antithetical pictures which function as the most powerful Hussite propaganda. One portrait shows Christ on the cross with another figure approaching the crucified Christ carrying a cross. The message is quite clear: pick up your cross and follow the narrow road to Christ. Its counterpart shows nine figures - a pope, cardinal, bishop, Holy Roman Emperor, king, a female religious and three nobles - all riding horses along a road. Again the message is clear: the wide road to damnation.⁴¹ The solemn "Last Supper" of Jesus and his disciples is offset by the "*Nová mše* [New Mass]" which features monks dancing merrily with girls. A little demon on the roof of the church encourages the activity.⁴² In the former all eat and drink, while in the latter the people kneel to gaze merely at the elevated host. While the apostles pray together a sinful woman is crowned pope by a

Chytil, *Antikrist v naukách a umění středověku a husitské obrazné antiitese*, (Rozpravy české akademie věd a umění 59), Prague: Nákladem české akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění 1918; Václav Husa, "O dobé vzniku Jenského kodexu", *Sborník historický* 5, 1957, 71-108, and Zoroslava Drobná, *The Jena Codex Hussite Pictorial Satire From the End of the Middle Ages*, (trans. Eleanor Wheeler), Prague: Odeon 1970.

- 39) Michel Vovelle, *Ideologies and Mentalities*, (trans. Eamon O'Flaherty), Cambridge: Polity Press 1990, 57.
- 40) *Jena Codex*, Prague, National Museum Library MS. IV B 24 fol. 8^r-8^v and fols. 57^r-65^r. Hereafter, references shall be abbreviated to Jena Codex followed by the folio number(s).
- 41) *Jena Codex*, fols. 4^v-5^r.
- 42) *Ibid.*, fols. 67^v-68^r and Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek MS. Theol. 182 pp. 18-19.

cardinal,⁴³ an allusion to the legend that once there had been a female pope. The patriarch Joseph in Egypt is shown spurning the advances of Potiphar's lecherous wife even though she has already grasped hold of him. The prior antithesis portrays a monastic community in a village where the central object is a woman upon whom the brothers gaze raptly. However, the facing antithetical portrait is even more stark in its contrast. Traces of sexual indulgence are everywhere. Again, the setting is a cloistered abbey. Two monks have climbed up into a tree while two nuns below are either attempting to climb up and join the brothers in contemplation, or they are attempting to shake the monks down. Another tree has a monk starting up to join two nuns. Another couple are embracing while several others are making sport with each other. At the bottom of the page is the statement, "Where Jesus is, there is no childish play."⁴⁴ The Göttingen manuscript portrays another interesting scene. A bishop outside a church holds a thurible. Inside, a monk, with a woman, tries to hide his face with his habit. Outside the church door, a woman holds onto the stole of a cleric while another priest covers the mouth of another woman.⁴⁵ This tradition has deep roots. The merchant's apprentice, Rubin, tells his associate Pusterpalk in the *Mastičkář* that his "aunt Vavřena was shut in a barn with a certain monk-commendator just below his estate." More than that, Rubin says, "my Aunt Jilka and the other one, Milka, they wander the world over but they know all the monks around Prague. And my sister Běta and the other one, Květa, catch crabs with their petticoats." Pusterpalk is unimpressed and makes this boastful rejoinder: "My mother is called Havlice, she has seduced all the monks in Prague."⁴⁶

The Ethiopian eunuch, in the canonical Acts of the Apostles, is baptized by the Apostle Philip. The counterpart here shows a monk stabbing what appears to be a new-born baby while a woman looks on. A recently dug grave can be seen in the foreground, shovel still in place, along with a baptismal font. The propaganda is clear. The monk is slaying his own illegitimate child after having baptized it. The woman is obviously the mother of the child and the participant in this wickedly immoral affair.⁴⁷ Other sources confirm that

43) *Ibid.*, fols. 69^v-70^r and Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek MS. Theol. 182 pp. 62-63.

44) *Ibid.*, fols. 72^r-73^r. See also Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek MS. Theol. 182 pp. 67-69. In this latter manuscript the woman says, "come, visit me."

45) Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek MS. Theol. 182, p. 71.

46) Jarmila F. Veltruská, *A Sacred Farce from Medieval Bohemia*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan 1985, 355, 371. The first quotation is from the Prague fragment, the second and third from the Schlägel fragment.

47) *Jena Codex*, fols. 76^v-77^r and Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek MS. Theol. 182 pp. 76-77. In the Göttingen manuscript a little devil, standing behind a pillar, edges the monk on in his insidious activity. The woman cannot be seen in this picture probably because 1/3 of it is missing. The murder is portrayed more graphically here with the monk holding the bloody knife in his left hand and the child by an arm in his right. The child has been stabbed at least four times and there is blood spilling all over.

this illumination was not merely an allegorical Hussite comment on the morality of the monastic community. Indeed, this portrait finds historical basis in the crime committed in the town of Brožany in 1458. The incident was related by Zdeněk Kostka in 1463 before King Jiří of Poděbrady and the assembly of the Diet of the Nobles in Prague. "A priest from the castle, on land owned by Boreš of Osek, got his cook pregnant. He was the child's godfather, he baptized it, killed it, buried it and said the prayers for the dead."⁴⁸

In the context of Hussite Bohemia, however, it is interesting to note that even conservatives like Jan Příbram accused Tábórite priests of indulging in promiscuous sex. The implication being, though not clearly stated, that they were not married to the women.⁴⁹

The antitheses continue with the apostles in stocks in one portrait, one already beheaded, while on the other hand other apostles are held in a pillory and subjected to the whip of the magistrate. Between these two pictures a priest of the "new" church is shown interfering in civic affairs, wielding his own power, with his own people.⁵⁰ While St. Lawrence is martyred torturously on a bed of hot coals, two monks recline in a bathhouse attended by four seductive women. One monk, in the bath, is embraced by one of the women, whose thigh he caresses, while the other two ladies wash the monk's body. The second monk reclines on a couch to allow his female attendant to rub his stomach while he fondles her breast.⁵¹ The City of Antichrist is juxtaposed to the City of Christ in the same manner. The earthly city of Rome is countered by the heavenly city of Jerusalem. In the former, antichrist rules with his demonic friends while in the latter, Christ reigns with all the angels and saints. The tower of the *civitas diaboli* is being built by devils, while the tower of the latter is constructed by angels. A beast wearing a tiara sticks his head out of the tower window in the City of Antichrist, while in the City of Christ, Jesus sits holding a book, probably symbolizing the Bible.⁵² While Christ invites the faithful into heaven, two large horned demons with protruding red tongues shove people into the jaws of hell.⁵³ As St. Peter hangs

48) *Jena Codex*, fol. 77^r.

49) Jan Příbram, "Život kněží tábořských", in: Josef Macek (ed.), *Ktož jsú bojovníci. Čtení o Táboře v husitském revolučním hnutí*, Prague: Melantrich 1951, 283-284. Since Tábórite priests did marry legitimately, it seems doubtful that Příbram could be referring to that. The implication is clearly in terms of illicit sex.

50) *Jena Codex*, fols. 74^v-75^v. Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek MS. Theol. 182 p. 72 shows three apostles in stocks while a fourth has been decapitated by the executioner.

51) *Jena Codex*, fols. 78^v-79^f.

52) *Ibid.*, fols. 10^v-11^r. The coming of the antichrist is portrayed vividly in the Velislav Bible from the mid-fourteenth century in the antichrist cycle. A pen-drawing shows a couple embracing while an angel, having clawed hands and feet with a monster's head, announces the birth of antichrist. The second half of the picture shows a woman reclining on a couch while an angel and two demons dance gleefully around a newborn baby - the antichrist. Prague, National and University Library MS. XXIII C 124 fol. 130^v.

53) *Krumlovský sborník*, Prague, National Museum Library MS. III B 10 fol. 47^r.

upside down in the agony of crucifixion, the Emperor Ludwig gives the pope world dominion. This set of illuminations can also be found in the antithetical drawings of the Göttingen manuscript.⁵⁴ The contrasting portraits allegedly in the Bethlehem Chapel are also repeated here with Christ carrying his cross while the pope rides a horse. Later Christ washes the feet of his disciples humbly, while the papal "*servus servorum Dei* [Servant of the servants of the Lord]," arrogantly has his feet kissed by two monks.⁵⁵

According to the Hussites, the ship of Rome had sailed into the eye of the storm and in the tempest had begun to founder and was now being scuttled by its own crew. The Jena Codex shows a church building falling over. Two monks have placed two support beams up against the building in an attempt to save it. However, two other monks, holding a large saw, have begun to cut one of the support beams in two.⁵⁶ This conundrum exists, according to the Hussites, because a wolf has come in amongst the sheep and the church has turned away from truly following after Christ.⁵⁷ All of this reflects in visual manifestation what the Hussites were teaching in theory. Jan Hus had written to Křišťan of Prachatice and articulated the "abomination of desolation" in terms of the debauched papacy. Instead of "... the holiest, most pious, gentlest, humblest, poorest, most untiring, most patient, most chaste man ..." occupying the See of Rome, there is "... the worst, cruellest, most vindictive, proudest, richest in the world, laziest, most impatient, and most unchaste ..." monster sitting "in that holy place ..." ⁵⁸ This "abomination of desolation," a term itself extracted from the apocalyptic literature of the Hebrew Bible, is aptly portrayed in the Jena Codex. "Today, poison is poured into the church," says a voice from heaven, as Emperor Constantine makes his "Donation" to the church and to "Mr. Pope."⁵⁹ The pope is no longer the vicar of Christ, but is rather the emissary of antichrist. While the holy father cavorts with whores his true identity is revealed by the claws protruding from beneath his pontifical robes.⁶⁰ This association of Rome with antichrist is strengthe-

54) *Ibid.*, fols. 14^v-15^r. Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek MS. Theol. 182 pp. 37-38.

55) *Jena Codex*, fols. 12^v-13^r, 34^v-35^r. Göttingen Universitätsbibliothek MS. Theol. 182 pp. 34-35 and p. 79. Another interesting antithetical variation appears in the *Velislav Bible*, Prague, National and University Library MS. XXIII C 124 fol. 149^r where "the good shepherd" is juxtaposed to "the bad shepherd". Christ, the good shepherd, holds a lamb while a monk is accompanied by two winged monsters. As one of the monsters rubs the monk's tonsure, a wolf attacks a lamb.

56) *Ibid.*, fol. 3^v.

57) *Ibid.*, fol. 4^r.

58) Dated April 1413 in *The Letters of John Hus*, (trans. Matthew Spinka), Manchester: Manchester University Press 1972, 100.

59) *Jena Codex*, fol. 28^r. See also Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek MS. Theol. 182 p. 21. A manuscript from c. 1350 shows the great red dragon of the Apocalypse. Its seven heads are labelled with the names of seven powerful rulers including Constantine the Great. Prague, National Museum Library MS. XIV B 17 fol. 3^r.

60) *Ibid.*, fol. 35^v.

ned further by the illustration of the seven-headed dragon of the Apocalypse pursuing the woman of the sun. However, the "Whore of Babylon," who sits upon the dragon's back in the Apocalypse, is here portrayed as a basilica marked with three papal crosses!⁶¹ The idea of the corruption of the church is clear. In both the Jena Codex and the Göttingen manuscript antichrist is portrayed prominently.⁶² The intended equation of Rome = antichrist is not to be missed. Instead of apostolic poverty and simplicity, the papacy have indulged in wealth and affluence. "Naked, they follow a naked Christ."⁶³ This designation of the medieval Waldensians could in no wise be applied to the papacy. The apocryphal, but instructive story of Thomas Aquinas' visit to Rome is worth repeating here as it reflects expressly the Hussite view of Rome. When Aquinas was shown the great papal treasure-houses in Rome he was told, "Peter can no longer say, 'silver and gold have I none,'" to which Thomas supposedly replied, "neither can he any longer say 'in the name of Jesus Christ, rise up and walk!'"⁶⁴ In the Jena Codex this motif is vividly displayed in the picture of the priest moving all of his many belongings, including his mistress, in several large wagons.⁶⁵

According to Hussite teaching, the papacy was completely in the clutches of the forces of darkness which have brought about the "night of antichrist" over the entire world. A seven-headed dragon, symbolizing antichrist, is devouring the pope, along with his cardinals and bishops in a deadly embrace.⁶⁶ This particular picture may indicate a distinctive contribution of Hussitism to the antichrist tradition. The papacy is both associated with the antichrist as well as the victim of antichrist. Another portrait shows a warrior (possibly a Hussite) stuffing a little monster and the pope headfirst into the

- 61) *Velislav Bible*, Prague, National and University Library MS. XXIII C 124 fol. 163^r. Bernard McGinn does not agree with this. He claims the church is not actually on the dragon's back, but above it hence indicating the heavenly realm. See his, "Portraying Antichrist in the Middle Ages," in: Werner Verbeke, Daniel Verhelst and Andries Welkenhuysen (eds.), *The Use and Abuse of Eschatology in the Middle Ages*, (Mediaevalia Lovaniensia 15, 1988), p. 18 n. 81.
- 62) *Jena Codex*, fol. 71^r and Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek MS. Theol. 182 p. 66.
- 63) "nudi nudum Christum sequentes." Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, chapter 31, in: Montague Rhodes James (ed.), *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Oxford: At the Clarendon Press 1914, 61.
- 64) Cited in the introduction to the English translation of Hus' *De ecclesia*. John Huss, *The Church*, (trans. David S. Schaff), New York: Charles Scribner's Sons 1915, xviii n. 1.
- 65) *Jena Codex*, fol. 67^r. The same drawing appears in Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek MS. Theol. 182 p. 17. Also in the Göttingen manuscript is the antithesis of Jesus and a disciple standing barefoot teaching while the pope reclines on his throne. See pp. 40-41. This critique of ecclesiastical wealth and indulgence is stated well by Jakoubek in his satire against clerics who wear vestments more suited for "parties" than worship and who strut about in search of carnal delights. "It is a shameful reproach to preach Christ crucified with fat bellies and to admonish to fasting with red lips and double chins!" "Apologia pro communione plebis sub utraque specie", in: H. v. Hardt, *o.c.*, volume 3, col. 605.
- 66) *Jena Codex*, fol. 69^r and Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek MS Theol. 182 p. 33.

open jaws of a huge dragon. Marginalia, commenting on this picture, is fully in line with Hussite theology in the remark - "caught by the peasant."⁶⁷ With his moneybag hanging from a waist-belt, Judas kisses Jesus as armed hoodlums move in. The companion portrait shows the pope kissing a woman as two others look on.⁶⁸

The rider of the Apocalypse, seated on a pale horse, sounds very much like the description of Jan Žižka in a fifteenth-century chronicle.⁶⁹ However, the rider of the Apocalypse who appears in the Jena Codex is based upon the horseman who emerged when "the third living creature" opened "the third seal." "And I saw, and behold, a black horse, and its rider had a balance in his hand."⁷⁰ The Roman church is weighed in the balances and found wanting.⁷¹ The Hussite alternative, of course, is far superior. Matthias of Janov and Milč of Kroměříž demanded apostolic poverty, Jan Želivský denounced priests as thieves and the result of this tradition was the radical Hussite-Táborite communism⁷² - the true community of Christ.

There are a number of explicit Hussite illuminations in the Jena Codex. First, there is a cardinal holding scales weighing the law of the pope against the Law of God. The Roman law is represented by the papal tiara while the Law of God is represented by the Hussite chalice. In the Göttingen manuscript several onlookers are identified including the Hussite Archbishop Jan Rokycana. In the Jena Codex the cardinal says to a monk standing near the tiara: "Priest Havel, give me your bag so that you can get my law." This means "help me weigh the tiara down." Already, the chalice has won the test. Notwithstanding, a little devil has latched onto the tiara side of the scale in a hopeless attempt to help Rome prevail. He plaintively says, "I'm getting tired and my legs are hurting." The triumph of the chalice over Rome is expressed most vividly.⁷³ Elsewhere, a drollery of a monk beneath a capital

67) *Ibid.*, fol. 80^r and *Ibid.*, p. 13. The parallel in the Göttingen manuscript is damaged. Here, an unidentifiable body wearing a tiara, is shown being thrown into the jaws of hell by a woman.

68) Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek MS. Theol. 182 pp. 80-81.

69) "Then I saw heaven opened, and behold, a white horse! He who sat upon it ... judges and makes war. His eyes are like a flame of fire ... He is clad in a robe dipped in blood ... From his mouth issues a sharp sword with which to smite the nations ... he will tread the winepress of the fury of the wrath of God the Almighty." Revelation 19:11-15. *Kronika velmi pěkná o Janovi Žižkovi, Čeledína Krále Václava* [The Very Pretty Chronicle of Jan Žižka, the Servant of King Václav], (ed. Jaroslav Šůla), Hradec Králové: Nakladatelství Kruh 1979, xxiii.

70) Revelation 6:5b RSV.

71) *Jena Codex*, fol. 24^v cf. the same illustration in Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek MS. Theol. 182 p. 58.

72) Vladimír Denkstein, "Husitský kodex z Jeny", *Časopis národního musea* 120, 1951, 8.

73) "Kněze Havle přilož viatík tvůj, ať zíšťe zákon můj." *Jena Codex*, fol. 25r. More than one scholar has suggested that this "Priest Havel" could be Havlík, Hus' successor at the Bethlehem Chapel who opposed utraquism. "Již tiehnu, až mne pazúči bolejší", *Ibid.* cf. Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek MS. Theol. 182 p. 59. However, Rudolf Urbánek has

letter in a Hussite influenced Latin graduale bears this inscription: "*Ha ha, Monachus, Veritas Vincit.*"⁷⁴ With the slogan "Truth Conquers" hailing the victory of the chalice the Hussites could then denounce easily some of Rome's leading personalities. The "monk of Satan," John Capistrano, appeared in a polemical caricature in 1451, evidently by request of Hussite priests in Kroměříž as a counter-attack against Capistrano's mission into Bohemia to preach against the heretics.⁷⁵ In a Czech Bible published in Venice in 1506, the obdurate enemy of the Hussites, the pope himself, provides an illustration for the sixth chapter of the Apocalypse by appearing in the fires of hell!⁷⁶

Theological propaganda is also starkly evident in the Jena Codex in another set of antithetical pictures. In one portrait is shown a Hussite celebration of the eucharist. In this setting children are being communed *sub utraque specie*. Infant communion had become a feature of Hussitism in the second decade of the fifteenth century despite strong Roman opposition.⁷⁷ Its counterpart portrays a battle scene between the Hussite armies and the Crusaders. The Hussites hold a large red banner with a gold chalice which says "*veritas vincit*". The Crusaders obviously are intended to be seen as adherents of Rome as may be evidenced from the monks amid their troops. The common theme, in what might otherwise appear to be an incongruent set of pictures, is children. One child is trampled under a Crusader's horse, another has been run through by a Crusader's spear, while a third has been decapitated with its head impaled on the spear of a Crusader and held aloft

declared that the "Havel" in the Jena Codex is not Priest Havlík. "Starší obdoba rukopisu Jenského, rukopis Göttinsky", *Věstník české akademie věd a umění* 61, March-April 1952, 27.

- 74) *Latin graduale*, Mladá Boleslav, Regional Museum MS. 1/70a olim II A 1 fol. 115^v.
- 75) The term appears in the Hussite manifesto titled "The Open Letter of Martin Lupáč to Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa," dated 14 July 1452. Published in Amedeo Molnár (ed.), *Husitské manifesty*, Prague: Odeon 1986, 223. On the caricature see Noemi Rejchrtová, "Czech Utraquism at the Time of Václav Koranda the Younger and the Visual Arts", *Communio Viatorum* 20, Winter 1977, 239.
- 76) The Prague burghers Jan Hlavsa, Václav Sova and Burian Lazar helped to produce this Bible. See the description in Ferdinand Hrejsa, *Dějiny křesťanství v Československu*, volume 4, Prague: Husova československá evangelická fakulta bohoslovecká 1948, 171.
- 77) On this subject, see David R. Holeton, *La Communion des tout-petits enfants. Étude du mouvement eucharistique en Bohême vers la fin du Moyen-Age*, (Bibliotheca Ephemerides Liturgicae Subsidia 50), Rome: CLV Edizioni Liturgiche 1989, and also his "The Communion of Infants and Hussitism", *Communio Viatorum* 27 1984, 207-225 and "The Communion of Infants: The Basel Years", *Communio Viatorum* 29, Spring 1986, 15-40. Jakoubek of Stříbro was an ardent defender of infant communion. His defence of this tenet appears in Prague, National and University Library MS. VIII E 7 fols. 104^f-116^v. Jan of Jesenice presented the first, and the most important, argument against the practice. See his rebuttal in Prague, National and University Library MS. VIII E 7 fols. 37^f-48^f. See the splendid study by Jiří Kejř, "Auctoritates contra communionem parvulorum" M. Jana z Jesenice", *Studie o rukopisech* 19, 1980, 5-19. Undoubtedly, Václav Koranda was the first to implement the practice. Kejř, *ibid.*, p. 5 and Holeton, *La Communion des tout-petits enfants*, 113-118.

as if in triumph. The message is powerful in its propagandist orientation: the Hussites admit children to commune in the sacrament of the body and blood of God - the Romanists kill children!⁷⁸ The wickedness of Rome functioned perennially as a commonplace in Hussite propaganda as well as in general Hussite sentiment. According to the charges against Jerome of Prague at Constance, this zealous disciple of Hus on numerous occasions confronted the evil-doers. In August 1412 Jerome burst into the cleric's residence in Jindřichův Hradec and accosted the priests Beneš of Opatovice and Jan of Vysoké Mýto. Denouncing both the clerics and the pope as "liars, heretics and usurers" Jerome, together with armed accomplices, drove the beleaguered priests out of the house and out of the town altogether.⁷⁹

According to the pictorial representations in the Jena Codex the chalice had been given to the Hussites directly from heaven. One particular picture, showing a hand holding a chalice appearing from heaven to a group of people, is the visual representation of Jakoubek's answer to Ondřej of Brod that traquism came as *revelatio*. Indeed, even at the birth of Christ a chalice is present.⁸⁰ If the Roman church would not accept this *revelatio* of truth but insisted upon opposing the Law of God, the Hussites were prepared to take action against them. The caricature of a monk bound in fetters and shrieking in pain in a manuscript illumination⁸¹ indicates in theory what the Hussites pledged to do in practice. The illumination of Jan Žižka at the head of the Hussite warriors of God, following a priest carrying a monstrance containing the body of Christ, demonstrates the historical significance of the radical Hussite movement. According to the text, the Hussites were forced to defend the Law of God. "In the year of the Lord 1419 the people arose against the clergy in the Kingdom of Bohemia on account of their evil deeds..." Led by "Žižka, bratr náš věrný [Žižka, our faithful brother]" the Hussites broke away from the stale-mated wagon of fools and began *spanilá jízda* [a magnificent ride] through the "night of antichrist" to defend the Law of God.⁸²

We have noted earlier the presence of Hussite symbolism on banners, armor, Bibles and churches. These include the chalice, a goose, and Jan Žižka. The Jena Codex does not fail to bring the most powerful of these Hussite symbols together in an exceptional propagandist statement. In this particular illumination, the heavenly court has assembled. Saints and angels alike join the divine presence. However, on the right hand of Christ, St. Peter

78) *Jena Codex*, fols. 55^v-56^r.

79) H. v. Hardt, *o.c.*, volume 4, col. 671.

80) *Jena Codex*, fols. 93^r, 28^v.

81) *Latin graduale*, Mladá Boleslav, Regional Museum MS. 1/70a olim II A 1 fol. 109^v. In another illustration St. Prokop punishes a wicked monk. The monk kneels and Prokop thrashes him with a club. *The Opatovice Breviary*, Kraków, Wawel Metropolitan Chapter Archive codex fol. 132^v.

82) *Jena Codex*, fol. 76^r. A similar drawing appears in Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek MS. Theol. 182 p. 75.

has disappeared and in his place appears none other than the blind Jan Žižka! In Žižka's left hand is a red Hussite banner displaying a gold chalice and in his right hand are the keys of the kingdom! Standing next to Žižka is John the Baptist and beside the Baptist is a figure holding a chalice who iconographically could either be St. John the Evangelist or St. Jan Hus! At the doorway stands Christ accompanied by the words of the Gospel, "I am the door ..." ⁸³ The Hussite community of Christ as God's chosen people, who rescue the righteous and destroy the sinners, are both the defenders of the Law of God and the porters of the heavenly gate. This illumination is a significant example of the Hussite myth expressed in visual propaganda. As an antithetical alternative to Žižka as St. Peter the porter, one could find Sigismund portrayed as King David in the Cloister of St. Margaret in Mainz! ⁸⁴ The remaining examples of direct Hussite materials show Jan Hus preaching in the Bethlehem Chapel, suffering at the stake in Constance in a number of representations and one final small portrait of Jerome of Prague being martyred. ⁸⁵

The visual propaganda of the Hussite movement both aimed to show that the Roman church was depraved and that the Hussites were on God's side. "The Mirror of all Christians" represents this conviction. ⁸⁶ The sin of the church requires Christ to drive the proverbial money-changers from the temple - in the Hussite context these money-changers are the simoniacs illustrated here by the presence of a cardinal - an act which only leads Christ to the pillory for a sound thrashing by two men, one carrying a large club, the other a whip and small club. ⁸⁷ Throughout the Jena Codex the propagandist use of color is to be noted especially in the antithetical portraits. To use the terminology of Nicholas of Dresden in his *Tabulae*, the old color of the true church is modest and subdued while, on the other hand, the new color of the church of antichrist is bold and glistening. In this way the "*antithesis Christi & Antichristi*" is even further underscored. ⁸⁸

- 83) *Ibid.*, fol. 5^v. See fig. 26. It seems a bit strange that it should be Jan Žižka at the right hand of Christ. In Hussite thought the position may have been better filled by St. Jan Hus. However, the selection of Žižka as the holder of the keys to heaven may suggest the conviction that while Hus was the founder of the movement it was Žižka who carried out its implementation.
- 84) František Šmahel and Jarmila Vacková, "Odezva husitských Čech v evropském malířství 15. století", *Umění* 30, 1980, 309.
- 85) *Ibid.*, fols. 37^v-38^v, 41^v, 48^r. It is odd that Hus does not appear in the Göttingen manuscript.
- 86) *Ibid.*, fol. 9^v.
- 87) *Ibid.*, fols. 27^r, 18^v. The portrait of Christ clearing the temple is duplicated in the drawing in Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek MS. Theol. 182 pp. 60, 46. In this latter manuscript, Simon Magus holds up his bag of money to St. Peter, p. 70.
- 88) This idea is illustrated further in the Göttingen manuscript where the apostles - Matthew, Paul and Luke - stand opposite the pope, a cleric and a clown. Göttingen, Universitätsbibliothek MS. Theol. 182, pp. 56-57.

In the visual propaganda of the Hussite movement contemporary themes abound, and no less so in the Jena Codex. Even the elements of popular belief and superstition are present though the overall thrust of the Jena Codex is the suggestion that superstitions are an instrument of antichrist.⁸⁹ Despite a general aversion to art in the radical sectors of the Hussite movement it is erroneous to cling to the oft-repeated assertion that the Hussite period was not a fertile cultural era.⁹⁰ It is true that during the revolutionary period the development of art in Bohemia was largely curtailed. However, the Bohemian style of art was developed in other neighboring areas such as Moravia, Silesia, Austria, Tyrol, Salzburg, Franconia and Bavaria. In this sense the revolution had some good cultural results.⁹¹ It is now possible to both establish the influence of Bohemian art abroad and to document the exporting of Czech art.⁹² A lesser known form of art in the Hussite age, but no less important for bearing the Hussite message, was the widespread stove-tiles. These tiles were designed with portraits of Hus, chalices, Hussite priests holding chalices, Hussite warriors going into battle, and the warriors of God displaying banners and weapons.⁹³ Indeed, Czech panel painting is very similar, in the sense of genre, to the propagandist orientation of literary satires, pamphlets, manifestos and the antitheses which pervaded the Hussite movement.⁹⁴ The influence of these stove-tiles may be considered analogous to the broadsheet of the sixteenth century though of course they would not have been as widely distributed.

While the overall question of the use of images continued to rage in Hussite Bohemia⁹⁵ the propaganda campaign continued well into the six-

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- 89) František Šmahel, "Silnější než víra: magie, pověry a kouzla husitského věku", *Sborník vlastivědných prací z Podblanicka* 30, 1990, 31. The intermingling of sacred and secular themes essentially was commonplace in the later Middle Ages. For example the thirteenth century Bohemian psalter, "The St. George Abbey Psalter", contains calendars showing the signs of the zodiac side by side with the apostles and various biblical scenes. Prague, National and University Library MS. XII G 8. On this whole subject see Ewa Śnieżyńska-Stolot, "Christian Interpretation of the Zodiac in Medieval Psalters", *Umění* 37, 1989, 97-110.
- 90) See for example Ferdinand Seibt, "Die Hussitenzeit als Kulturepoche", *Historische Zeitschrift* 195, August 1962, 21-62 for an excellent rebuttal and rejection of the long-standing *communis opinio*. See also Antonín Novák, "The Master of the Třeboň Altar and the Czech Reformation", *Communio Viatorum* 25 1982, 235-246.
- 91) Otto Pächt, "A Bohemian Martyrology", *The Burlington Magazine* 73, November 1938, 204.
- 92) Mojmír S. Frinta, "The Master of the Gerona Martyrology and Bohemian Illumination", *The Art Bulletin* 46, September 1964, 288.
- 93) As least nine representative tiles are reproduced in Jiří Kejř, *The Hussite Revolution*, (trans. Till Gottheinerová), Prague: Orbis 1988, 7, 18, 28, 74, 78, 82, 84, 98 and 102.
- 94) Noemi Rejchrtová, "Czech Utraquism at the Time of Václav Koranda the Younger and the Visual Arts", 241.
- 95) Among other treatments see William R. Cook, "The Question of Images and the Hussite Movement in Prague", *Cristianesimo nella storia* 3, October 1982, 329-342.

teenth century. In December 1538 when Nicolas Specht, the schoolmaster at Bautzen, got married, Martin Luther sent, as a wedding gift a picture of the "saintly Jan Hus."⁹⁶ A picture which appeared both in a house near the Týn Church in the Old Town and in the vicarage of the Church of St. Stephen in the New Town later served as an illustration for the oldest independently published map of Bohemia which appeared in 1518 and was the work of the Hussite Mikuláš Klaudián of Mladá Boleslav.⁹⁷ Even children, whose position in society was somewhat revolutionized in the Hussite movement, figured in Hussite visual propaganda. An illumination on a music sheet shows two Hussite children holding battle flails.⁹⁸

With the warriors of God roaming around Bohemia and this barrage of Hussite propaganda trailing in their wake, it is no wonder the conciliar fathers at Basel regarded the Hussite movement as a wild horse prancing dangerously at will. "That base fellow" Žižka was in heaven holding the keys of the kingdom, pictures in Hus' Bethlehem Chapel caricatured and denounced Rome, monks were punished for their wickedness, clamped in chains and left to scream, the forbidden chalice had appeared from the heavens and then had triumphed over the tiara, even little children were rebelling boldly. These pictures, strengthened by the authority of the eternal yesterday, both conveyed powerfully the Hussite myth and provoked an irrepressible reaction. It all added up to the propaganda of heretical art - "art in the service of an idea."⁹⁹

96) *D. Martin Luthers Werke, Briefwechsel*, volume 8, Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1938, p. 335 (no. 3281).

97) See Karel Kuchař (ed.), *Early Maps of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia*, (trans. Zdeněk Šafařík), Prague: Ústřední správa geodézie a kartografie 1961, 11-15.

98) *Latin graduale*, Mladá Boleslav, Regional Museum MS. 1/70a olim II A 1 fol. 200^v. On the subject of children in the Hussite movement see especially the work of Noemi Rejchrtová, "Dětská otázka v husitství", *Československý časopis historický* 28, 1980, 53-77 and her shorter "Hussitism and Children", *Communio Viatorum* 22, 1979, 201-204.

99) Zoroslava Drobná, *Gothic Drawing*, (trans. Jean Layton), Prague: Artia, n. d., p. 57. See also the brief article by Noemi Rejchrtová, "La Réforme en Bohême et son expression artistique", *Conscience et liberté* 21, 1981, 78-80.

RESUMÉ

Umění a propaganda v husitských Čechách

Přestože táborité odmítali náboženské umění jako prostředek či předmět zbožnosti, využili je ve prospěch svých idejí. V revolučním kontextu první reformace mělo husitské umění také význam propagační. Je třeba říci, že šlo o promyšlený pokus utvářet vnímání a postoje lidí a směřovat je k jednání, jež by nakonec podporovalo požadovaný ideál. Ačkoliv husité po sobě nezanechali žádný zvláštní druh "heretického umění", je otázkou, zda se v kontextu husitských Čech nestalo umění výrazem sociálního konfliktu. Od počátku radikálního hnutí okolo roku 1412 a po vzniku díla *Tabulae novi et veteris coloris* Mikuláše z Drážďan působilo umění až do konce 15. století (např. *Jenský kodex*) jako mocný propagandistický nástroj k šíření husitských ideálů. Vztah mezi husitským uměním a husitskou propagandou byl velmi úzký.

Předmětem této studie jsou formy propagandy a umění v kapli Betlémské (v době působení Jana Husa a Jakoubka ze Stříbra), v husitských biblích, liturgických knihách ovlivněných husitstvím, v Jenském kodexu a příbuzném rukopisu z Göttingen, stejně jako v dochovaných zprávách o dnes již ztracených obrazech. Autor také čerpá z husitských rukopisů v Římě, Praze, Litoměřicích, Mladé Boleslavi, v Göttingen a Vídní.

Studie se též zabývá přežíváním husitských motivů v uměleckých projevech evropské reformace 16. století. Z hlediska dějin myšlení není možné plně pochopit husitství, aniž bychom předtím pronikli do jeho myšlenkového obsahu a způsobů, kterými o něm sami husité promlouvali.

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