

# Confessionality and Mentality between the End of the 15<sup>th</sup> and the Second Half of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century from the Perspective of Czech Book Culture<sup>1</sup>

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## ABSTRACT

The aim of the article is to characterise for the first time ever the role of book culture in building the confessionality of post-Hussite society and subsequent generations. For such an extensive research goal, it was necessary to choose a broad interdisciplinary approach, making it possible to place social phenomena previously assessed in isolation into the context of the day. The individual passages of the article are therefore devoted to editorial models, to the archaeology of the printed text and the basics of reading, to the history of illustration and book printing, to language and bookbinding. It has been confirmed that book culture – created by the reception of manuscript and printed products – can be understood as a faithful mirror of a religiously pluralistic society. However, where modern historiography ends with the research of confessionality, the study of book culture may begin to reveal the much more general mechanisms of the individual and social mentality in which the religious-political process took place. The mentality of the readers (burghers and partly the lesser aristocracy) for whom the copied and printed books were intended, was negatively impacted by the remnants of Hussitism and by contemporary Utraquism, which coexisted in a dualistic symbiosis with minority Catholicism. These influences, which at the time were commonly referred to as “renaissance”, bound readers to the Middle Ages. The more massive growth of their intellectual potential was made possible only by the cultural restart brought about by the change in the political situation after the Schmalkaldic War of 1547, which met with a somewhat negative response in both earlier and modern historiography. However, through the study of book culture, we are becoming convinced that the bourgeoisie began to compensate for the privileges which the monarch had deprived them of through various forms of self-education and self-presentation, by means of which it revived itself from these medieval residuals and at the same time competed with the aristocracy.

## KEYWORDS

Bohemia · book binding · book printing · Catholicism · confessionalisation · confessionality · copying of books (manuscript) · denomination · humanism · Hussitism · illustrations · mentality · Moravia · Reformation · religious literature · Renaissance · Schmalkaldic War 1547 · Unity of Brethren · Utraquism

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If I identify *confessionality* as the main identifying feature or rather the direction of the historical development of Christian Europe, promoted “from above” and “from below”, then in agreement with Heinrich Richard Schmidt I understand *confessionalisation* as the set of causes and consequences that transform society in the religious-political process in all their spheres, beginning with indoctrination and ending with the way of life, mentality and what can be called the mood of society.<sup>2</sup> It naturally follows that both phenomena must be dealt with by historians of linguistic, literary, artistic and book culture.

The question is how deep the roots of 16<sup>th</sup> century confessionalisation process go and when they began to intertwine with printing. The adhesion of book printing to the religious needs of society does not begin with the appearance of Martin Luther in 1517 and the development of the Reformation current according to his requirements. After all, the Church used printing in many parts of Europe during the 15<sup>th</sup> century to standardise liturgical operations and to provide media support for its campaigns on indulgences. In addition to these places, we also have several domestic documents – the Catholic Hilarius Litoměřický wrote in 1485 against the Utraquists, Catholics Augustin Olomoucký in 1500 and Heinrich Krämer called Institoris in early 1501 attacked the Unity of Brethren with printed treatises, the Utraquist Václav Koranda the Younger published in 1493 his defence of the chalice and so on.

Luther's Reformation was preceded by the Czech Hussites. However, in comparison with the primacy of the domestic confessionalisation process, which was shaped by Hussite ideological currents from the 1520s, perhaps an even more important specific of the Czech Lands between the Hussite wars and the Battle of the White Mountain are – in addition to the highly explosive element of the various estates – doctrinal tolerance and doctrinal plurality.<sup>3</sup> Leaving aside the tolerant, economically moti-

<sup>2</sup> Heinrich Richard SCHMIDT, *Konfessionalisierung im 16. Jahrhundert*, München 1992, pp. 86–105. The term is similarly understood by Jiří MIKULEC, Koncept konfesionalizace a náboženské dějiny českých zemí [The Concept of Confessionalisation and the Religious History of the Czech Lands], *Documenta Pragensia* 33 (Město v převratech konfesionalizace v 15. až 18. století [The City in the Throes of Confessionalisation in the 15<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries]), 2014, pp. 27–31, esp. p. 29.

<sup>3</sup> Josef HRDLIČKA, Vrchnostenská města mezi konfesní pluralitou a „šlechtickou konfesionalizací“ (1520–1620) [Governing Cities between Denominational Plurality and “Noble confessionalisation” (1520–1620)], *Documenta Pragensia* 33 (Město v převratech konfesionalizace v 15. až 18. století [The City in the Throes of Confessionalisation in the 15<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries]), 2014, pp. 59–84, esp. 60–63.

vated attitudes of some aristocrats towards their subjects, strategic *tolerance out of necessity* ruled from 1485 onwards only on the surface of the dualistic co-existence of Catholics and Utraquists.<sup>4</sup> The behaviour of the radical Oldřich Velenský, a printer in Bělá/B., can be considered during 1519–1521 as the norm for what was still permissible under the protection of the nobility and still acceptable (the publication of translations of entertaining anti-Papal satires) and of what by now threatened the political stability of this dualistic but essentially unwanted coexistence (the publication of critical evidence of the invalidity of the primacy of the papacy).<sup>5</sup> However, since “in the Czech Lands everyone wants to be a bishop, everyone has the freedom to say whatever he wants”,<sup>6</sup> not even the Utraquist Church escaped an ideological split of opinion (a bon mot circulated in society about the fact that each priest of the chalice maintained his own denomination). Until finally Bohuslav Bílejevský, one of the most prominent conservatives, could confidently revealed to the public in 1537 that “we Czechs who receive under both kinds are the true Romans”.<sup>7</sup> If the Bishop of Vienna Johann Faber appreciated Jan Hus to sharpen the bipolarity of Utraquism in favour of the Conservatives, and if Bílejevský’s successor Pavel Bydžovský – in essence welcoming the Reformation but without the need to follow it – accepted Luther’s and Melanchthon’s

<sup>4</sup> Anna OHLIDAL, Konfessionalisierung: ein Paradigma der historischen Frühneuzeitforschung und die Frage seiner Anwendbarkeit auf Böhmen, *Studia Rudolphina* 3, 2003, pp. 19–28, esp. 25–27.

<sup>5</sup> I have in mind one of the best European satires against the papacy: *Petrus Rhomam non venisse*. Its author, Oldřich Velenský, had his own printing house at his disposal in Bělá pod Bezdězem (albeit without a full-fledged roman typeface), but he sent a Latin text to Augsburg and Basel in 1520 (VD16 V 504–505), because publishing in the Czech Lands was out of the question due to the stability of Compactata dualism. For more details see Antonie Jan LAMPING, *Ulrichus Velenus (Oldřich Velenský) and his Treatise against the Papacy*, Leiden 1975, pp. 212–213.

<sup>6</sup> MKon 33, fol. A1b. Bibliographic items are cited through printer abbreviations in the same way as in two monographs: Petr VOIT, *Český knihtisk mezi pozdní gotikou a renesancí. Sv. I Severinsko-kosořská dynastie 1488–1557* [Czech Printing between the Late Gothic and the Renaissance. Vol. I The Severin-Kosořský Dynasty 1488–1557], Praha 2013 and Petr VOIT, *Český knihtisk mezi pozdní gotikou a renesancí. Sv. II Tiskaři pro víru i tiskaři pro obrození národa 1498–1547* [Czech Printing between the Late Gothic and Renaissance. Vol. 2 Printers for the Faith and Printers for the National Revival 1498–1547], Praha 2017. Bibliographic items of both monographs contain references to the Bibliography of Foreign Language Printed Bohemica. Therefore to save space, I do not repeat them here.

<sup>7</sup> VOus 1, fol. E2b.

work impartially or amicably,<sup>8</sup> how was the ordinary believer to comport himself in this dualistic courtship?

Thanks to these generally opaque strategies *plurality*, starting with the dualistic model and growing especially in non-conformist religious communities, led to a certain “failing” of the faith and to religious chaos.<sup>9</sup> Each of the communities (including Catholics and in particular the Utraquists) considered themselves the true saving Church of Christ and almost denied their brethren and competitive denominations the right to exist.<sup>10</sup> The ideological leaders of these communities swore by their willingness to dispute with their opponents, but on the proviso that, after a proven victory, it was their truth that everyone else would accept.

Although only a few communities (Catholics, Utraquists, the Unity of Brethren, Anabaptists and Habrovans) found their way to book printing for financial or intellectual reasons, religious chaos in the regions was also increased by “popular” reform groups, agitated by older methods,

<sup>8</sup> Zdeněk V. DAVID, *Nalezení střední cesty. Liberální výzva utrakvistů Římu a Lutherovi* [Finding the Middle Way. The Liberal Challenge of the Utraquists to Rome and Luther], Praha 2012, pp. 206–208, 213–214, 231.

<sup>9</sup> Martin NODL, Česká reformace [The Czech Reformation]. In: Kateřina HORNÍČKOVÁ – Michal ŠRONĚK (eds.), *Umění české reformace 1380–1620* [The Art of the Czech Reformation 1380–1620], Praha 2010, pp. 17–33, esp. 26.

<sup>10</sup> MKon 9, fol. A2a “by divine permission it is the custom of these times for there to different faiths or rather sects among Christians (and especially in Bohemia), each of which guided by the same custom and habit, rejects, represses, and sends the others to hell”. This observation by Konáč from 1511 did not become obsolete even later, when religious intolerance was confirmed by Jan Dubčanský, Jan Augusta, Vilém II of Pernštejn and others. On the contrary, Jaroslav PÁNEK, *Soužití z nezbytnosti a jeho meze. Česká náboženská tolerance na přelomu středověku a novověku* [Coexistence of Necessity and its Limits. Czech Religious Tolerance at the Turn of the Middle Ages and the Modern Age], *Dějiny a současnost* 19/4, 1997, pp. 13–18, esp. 15 considers that “the followers of these denominations lived side by side and had to deal with the problem of mutual tolerance”. For example, Petr HLAVÁČEK has a similar view, „Velký inkvizitor“ v soukolí české reformace aneb Heinrich Institoris v českých zemích [“The Great Inquisitor” in the Gears of the Czech Reformation or Heinrich Institoris in the Czech Lands]. In: Petr HLAVÁČEK (ed.), *Via media. Studie z českých náboženských a intelektuálních dějin. K počtům Zdenka V. Davida* [Via media. Studies in Czech Religious and Intellectual History. In Honour of Zdeněk V. David], Praha 2016, pp. 62–73, when he formulates the conclusion on pp. 72–73 that “the Czech Lands belonged to the real European islands of denominational and religious tolerance, which is certainly not some new postulate of the Enlightenment”. Long before these studies, Josef VÁLKA rejected any specific Czech tolerance, *Metodologické poznámky k předbělohorské kultuře* [Methodological Notes on pre-White Mountain Culture], *Folia historica Bohemica* 13, 1987, pp. 265–285, esp. 272, where he prefers the term “religious co-existence”.

and therefore without book printing (e.g. the Mikuláš sect).<sup>11</sup> However, only those communities associated with book printing grew stronger. It is worth mentioning that in terms of the number of texts published in print, religiously non-conformist authors occupy leading positions among contemporary writers in the Czech Lands: the protagonists of the Unity of Brethren Lukáš Pražský (1st place), Jan Augusta (4) and Jan Černý (13) and the Anabaptism defender Balthasar Hubmaier (8). The unwavering position of the Unity of Brethren – unlike other non-conformist communities – thus de facto shifted the state dualism of Catholics and Utraquists towards an unofficial trialism.

If I want to study confessionality and confessionalisation, the main field of research will logically be religious literature – not yet evaluated separately as a whole, as far as I know. Past generations of paleo-bohemists have elevated this segment into the literary canon (I leave aside the question of whether the legitimacy of this promotion is appropriate), but they have remained so far as a selection. Thus, by order of the communist regime, Hussite literature of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and some Brethren texts of the 16<sup>th</sup> century received increased attention. However, even the following lines do not resolve the problem exclusively from a literary-historical point of view, but from the point of view of book culture. Nevertheless, right at the beginning of the article, it will be necessary to create a guide scheme of religious literature, which, however, must not get hung up on the ideas of classical book history. The latter would probably be satisfied with finding out what percentage of titles was created for moderate Utraquists, how many for Lutherans, Catholics, Unity of Brethren and other communities associated with book printing. They could possibly look for what type font or blocks of illustrations were used. However, bibliometric and typometric data are useful only for a basic overview, they tell us little about the thin tissue of book culture.

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<sup>11</sup> The Mikuláš sect did not invest in setting up a printing house even during the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, as earlier researchers had assumed, nor later. Its most widespread literary work – the anti-Catholic *Disputation* by Mikuláš Vlášnický, on the Eucharist, from 1471 – was copied for more than seventy years. The first printed editions (in German and Czech) were made without reference to the Mikuláš community as late as 1547. For more details see Emma URBÁNKOVÁ, *Soupis prvotisků českého původu* [List of Incunabula of Czech Origin], Praha 1986, pp. 180–182 and Petr VOIT, *Knižní pozůstalost olomouckého tiskaře Jana Olivetského z Olivetu jako literárněhistorický a bibliografický pramen* [The Book Legacy of the Olomouc Printer Jan Olivetský of Olivet as a Literary-Historical and Bibliographic Source], *Sborník Národního muzea v Praze C* 29/4, 1984, pp. 197–214, esp. 204.

Moreover, we need to suppress the impression that between 1476 and 1567 book printing contributed to confessionalisation only with religious literature (396 bibliographic items will be presented in six tables and another 18 items will appear in a passage on the more universal study of the Church Fathers). After all, at the same time, 132 moral and Christian educational writings also became a hefty part of the original Czech and translated literature, quoting the Bible and ecclesiastical authorities in quantity and relying on New Testament examples to suppress sin and lead people to life eternal. The titles of some literary works, for example the *Česká kronika* [Czech Chronicle] 1510 of Pius II (MKon 8) or even more clearly Bilejovský's *Kronika česká* [Czech Chronicle] 1537 (VOus 1), gave the impression of historical prose, although their printed form essentially strove for a purification and apologia for Utraquism. Kuthen's *Kronika o založení Země české* [Chronicle on the Founding of the Czech Lands] from 1539 (PSev 42), represented by a pictorial-textual catalogue of pagan princes and Christian rulers, expanded its modest historiographical subject with portrait medallions of Jan Hus, Jeroným Pražský and Jan Žižka, and thus again drew attention to the ongoing question of the chalice. At the time being discussed in these lines, school spelling books using the Hus alphabet, a Protestant doxology in the Lord's Prayer, and other basic prayers were printed that brought the textbook for reading closer to the catechism. Printed prophecies also foretold the future of some churches, thus sidelining one, another, or third religious communities. Finally, we also know that due to the limited supply of thematically requisite spiritual songs, the hymnographic repertoire of hymn books overlapped between Catholics and Utraquists, and between Utraquists, Habrovans, and the Unity of Brethren.

These and other facts of a bibliographic nature, so far assessed in isolation, can be placed in a macro-historical perspective, or viewed in an interdisciplinary context. Interdisciplinarity will make it possible even in the small area of an article to squeeze in side-by-side the developmental parallels and disproportions of the various professional branches of book culture, which – just like facts of a bibliographic nature – have so far been studied mostly in isolation. I find this comparative method more effective because it allows the historical context sometimes to be interpreted with tantalising differences and in some cases even suggests how misleading the doctrinal labelling of book goods is. However, this revision cannot be carried out without a knowledge of the strategy of promoting the denominational indicator in individual spheres of linguistic, literary, artistic and



book culture and without considering how much everyday religious issues moved the aristocracy and bourgeois society towards a Renaissance way of life or on the contrary continued to tie them to the Middle Ages. The result, to which the interdisciplinary method will contribute, will therefore be neither bibliographic nor literary analysis, but a synthesis which tries to capture the social mentality which marked language, text, image and ornament most strongly in the sphere of production and reception.

The present lines are loosely connected to an article which, using bibliometric and typometric indicators, examined the contribution of literature and book printing to the intellectual level and education of Czech bourgeois society between the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> and the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>12</sup> At the same time, the present lines try to respond at least in part to several questions currently posed by contemporary medieval studies.<sup>13</sup>

## I.

Some time ago, Bořek Neškudla was the first to try a test-illustrative probe into the stocks of manuscripts preserved in large and historically important libraries in the Czech Republic.<sup>14</sup> An analysis of Czech, Latin, and German manuscripts from 1450–1550 surprisingly showed only a slight predominance of religious texts (3,121) over secular ones (2,114). In the field of written religious literature, professional dogmatic, exegetical and polemical texts (2,046), homiletics (527) and liturgy (252) were very frequent. I will deal separately with the study of the Church

<sup>12</sup> The present article is a loose continuation of Petr VOIT, *Knihtisk a knižní kultura jako zrcadlo české měšťanské společnosti poznamenané husitstvím* [Book Printing and Book Culture as a Mirror of Czech Bourgeois Society as Impacted by Hussitism]. In: Marta HRADILOVÁ – Andrea JELÍNKOVÁ – Lenka VESELÁ (eds.), *Paralelní existence: rukopisy a tisky v českých zemích raného novověku* [Parallel Existence: Manuscripts and Prints in the Czech Lands of the Early Modern Period], Praha 2020 (at the printer).

<sup>13</sup> Ondřej JAKUBEC – Tomáš MALÝ, *Konfesijnost – (nad)konfesijnost – (bez)konfesijnost: diskuse o renesančním epitafu a umění jako zdroji konfesijní identifikace* [Confessionality – (Over-)Confessionality – (Without) Confession: Discussion of the Renaissance Epitaph and Art as a Source of Denominational Identification], *Dějiny – teorie – kritika* 7/1, 2010, pp. 79–112, esp. 85–86.

<sup>14</sup> Bořek NEŠKUDLA, *Rukopisná produkce v Čechách a na Moravě od poloviny 15. do poloviny 16. století* [Manuscript Creation in Bohemia and Moravia from the Middle of the 15<sup>th</sup> to the Middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century], *Folia historica Bohemica* 35/1, 2020, pp. 29–52. I thank the author for the opportunity to get acquainted with his research at the manuscript stage.

Fathers (373), which outgrew a narrow theological framework by emphasising Christian morality.<sup>15</sup>

However, specific numbers are not as important as a tendency to balance and abandon the manuscript record in favour of emerging book printing. More than 80% of the preserved manuscript fund was created before 1500, and this is a truly dramatic decline in copying (for example, 92 biblical codices have survived to the present day, and only 6 of these were created during the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>16</sup> when the market was already taken up with five successively printed editions – this does not mean, however, that the older manuscript bibles had disappeared from the readership!). However, the technological advantages of book printing, which created serial book goods due to rapid mechanical duplication, were applied differently in different Central European regions depending on how literary operations were subject to religious and cultural requirements and how consumers were prepared intellectually and mentally to work with the communication potential of the new medium.

The constrained spread of book printing in Bohemia during the 1470s and 1480s had nothing to do with the denominational profile of the royal cities. Book printing reached Catholic Plzeň more or less by accident in 1476, thanks to the *sede vacante* of the Prague archbishopric. It was established permanently in Prague's Old Town, mostly inhabited by Utraquists, by 1488, supported by the economic foresight of the merchant Severin. This is not changed by the efforts of Martin from Tišnov to break through with the new craft a year earlier. How Martin of Tišnov felt as a Catholic in Prague Old Town in 1487 can no longer be ascertained, but he left for Kutná Hora probably because even the Czech capital did not yet offer the conditions for two workshops operating in parallel.

Since the importance of Kutná Hora in the development of the printed book and reading soon declined (after several months in 1489, book printing returned to the city only in 1713), a comparison of the publishing programmes of Plzeň and Prague will be extremely instructive. While Catholic workshops in Plzeň, with the unmistakable support of Nuremberg, supplied the domestic (mainly borderland) market with dictionaries,

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<sup>15</sup> For comparison, I present the results obtained from the secular literature section: civil law and notaries (288 bibliographic units), philosophy (295), medicine (284), current affairs (242), religious and moral education (240), history (147), astronomy (142) etc. For more details see B. NEŠKUDLA, *Rukopisná produkce ...* [Manuscript Creation], p. 40.

<sup>16</sup> B. NEŠKUDLA, *Rukopisná produkce ...* [Manuscript Creation], p. 39.



grammars and conversational guides, Utraquist printers in Prague maintained a clear distance<sup>17</sup> from secular material – and school textbooks in particular – until the 1540s and they searched with greater energy for moral and religious education literature, strengthening the irenical character of Utraquism. It is only by an irony of fate that book printing in Plzeň had to end in 1533 due to poor management and perhaps as a result of an unstable readership, and that the monarch's ban on the craft outside Prague in 1537 paradoxically relieved the Plzeň city council of its worries about closing the printing shop (this inactivity only came to an end in the 18<sup>th</sup> century).

The councillors of Brno also remained indifferent to book printing throughout the 16<sup>th</sup> century, after a promising beginning (1486–1499). However, the German Konrad Baumgarten settled in Olomouc in 1500, enticed by the idea of reproducing Renaissance and humanist fiction from a circle called the Societas Maierhofiana. However, the diocese, together with the Olomouc Dominicans, demanded mainly anti-Brethren engagement from Baumgarten, so after two years the printer went first to Wrocław and then to Frankfurt an der Oder, where, as university printer, he established himself as a major publisher of ancient and Renaissance literature. After Prague, we also observe the situation in Moravia in which book printing is shaped both “from below” and “from above” according to current religious needs, which overshadowed the intellectualisation of publishing models. Just as book printing disappeared in Plzeň, it survived an even shorter time – only during 1504 – in Olomouc (a permanent revival, which is, however, tied to a different, namely reformation atmosphere, did not take place until 1538).

The domestic image of weak and fundamentally unstable conditions for the craft is quite reminiscent of the network of printers in the Aus-

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<sup>17</sup> As the situation appears today, the first conversational handbook was not printed in Prague until 1540 (BNet 3), a spelling book in 1541 (JHad 22), a grammar in 1542 (JHad 24) and a dictionary in 1546 (KHad 18). Uwe NEDDERMEYER, on the other hand, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch. Bd. 2 Anlagen*, Wiesbaden 1998, p. 695 shows that in Germany from 1450 to 1529, the publication of grammars (Aelius Donatus and Alexander de Villa Dei) peaked as early as 1490–1499 and only then declined slightly. However Renáta MODRÁKOVÁ – Zdeněk UHLÍŘ, *Zákon a Písmo. Rukopisy české reformace 14.–16. století* [The Law and Scripture. Manuscripts of the Czech Reformation 14–16<sup>th</sup> Century], Praha 2009, p. 55, believe that “the Utraquist Church by its non-theological nature allowed its members to focus more on the practical matters of life”. The development of Prague book printing, in the exclusive hands of the Utraquists until the 1540s, does not confirm this optimism.

trian Lands, because even in this region one cannot speak of the significant acceleration which took place in the early 16<sup>th</sup> century in Silesia and the German Empire. However, a significant difference can be noted if the immature attitudes of Czech Utraquist producers towards book printing<sup>18</sup> are compared with the universalist conception of the craft of Johann Winterburger and his Viennese successors Hieronimus Wietor and Johann Singriener. Their joint programme in Vienna coincided in terms of time and content with the Catholic stage of book printing in Plzeň – it was a matter of cultivating society not only with religiously and morally corresponding texts, but also with secular fiction or informational and entertainment literature. When some printers in Western Europe, and especially in German-speaking countries, rushed to help the Second (that is, Luther's) Reformation, this transnationally, genre and thematically complementary model, built up since the 14<sup>th</sup> century and gradually stabilising thanks to early book printing, was so strong and so ingrained with the regular reader, that there was no destabilisation as in Bohemia and Moravia. Hans Lufft, for example, acted as Luther's personal printer, but the stability and extraordinary productivity of the Wittenberg workshop allowed him to devote at least 12% of the publishing programme to many secular genres, especially classical literature commissioned by the University of Wittenberg.

In Bohemia and Moravia, however, the societal impact of book printing was reduced from the beginning and even destabilised over time. This weakness stemmed from the technical and personnel capacity of the printing houses, which, in an effort to do business as cheaply as possible, passively copied the slow growth of the readership, and paradoxically reinforced it.<sup>19</sup> This instability was brought about by the country's religious priorities. The service to a certain denomination was compensated at the printers by a thinned, even conspicuously rejected, interest in other practical issues.

<sup>18</sup> Petr VOIT, Utrakvisté a knihtisk [Utraquists and Book Printing]. In: Kamil BOLDAN – Jan HRDINA (eds.), *Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia 19 – Knihťisk, zbořnost, kofese v zemích Koruny české doby poděbradské a jagellonské* [Book Printing, Piety, Confession in the Poděbrady and Jagiellonian Era Lands of the Czech Crown], Praha 2018, pp. 10–26.

<sup>19</sup> Petr VOIT, Rozpaky nad českou literární a čtenářskou obcí přelomu 15. a 16. století [Concerns over the Czech Literary and Reading Community at the Turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries]. In: Alena CÍSAŘOVÁ SMÍTKOVÁ – Andrea JELÍNKOVÁ – Milada SVOBODOVÁ (eds.), *Libri magistri muti sunt. Pocta Jaroslavě Kašparové* [Libri magistri muti sunt. In Honour of Jaroslava Kašparová], Praha 2013, pp. 35–41.

Already during the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, two denominations, Catholics and Utraquists, identified with the craft, and each put pressure on it in its own way, but never to the extent that we see in Western printers of incunabula, directed towards a single (Catholic) denomination. For example, the Plzeň Catholic Mikuláš Bakalář built up over the years a somewhat differentiated edition model for its time, but his simple printing equipment did not allow him to print liturgical literature. Baumgarten's Olomouc printing house, on the other hand, could handle liturgical orders from a technical standpoint, but the Moravian clergy and the aristocracy had to be reassured about the influence of the Unity of Brethren. The more modest equipment of Prague printers attached to the Utraquists at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries certainly did not prevent them benefitting from the masters of the Prague University, but the documents that have been preserved indicate that the cooperation took place rather in the astronomical rather than literary field – one example are the high-quality religious tracts of Prague parish priest Jan Bechyňka (d. 1507), which were eventually found among manuscripts.<sup>20</sup> The conservative Mikuláš Konáč, as well as the Lutheran members of the Severin-Kosořský dynasty in Prague, again missed on textbooks, professional literature and in part the legacy of antiquity, while any entertainment had to be secondarily extracted from their moral instruction texts by the reader. From the very beginning, domestic output was formed under the direction of two worlds of thought, but neither of them had the capacity to systematically and emphatically educate readers through classical texts, study of the Church Fathers and Renaissance materials. The initiators (patrons), advisers, translators and literati, of whom only a handful remained at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, certainly bear the same guilt as producers in this situation.

A situation even more specific than that in Prague, Plzeň and Olomouc applied at the regional level. Between 1526 and 1537 – before the “early capitalist” universalism of a publishing programme was first implemented at domestic printers (in 1536 by Jan Had in Bohemia and in 1544 by Jan Günther in Moravia) – about a third of the artistic and craft potential of the printing craft flowed through separatists. Thus, the printer Simprecht Froschauer in Mikulov defends only Hubmaier's vision of Anabaptism, Kašpar Aorg in Luleč supports only the Habrovan commu-

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<sup>20</sup> Pavel SPUNAR et al., *Acta reformationem Bohemicam illustrantia. Příspěvky k dějinám utrakvism* [Contributions to the History of Utraquism], Praha 1978, pp. 186–189.

nities with religious literature, and Jiřík Štyrsa and Jindřich Šturm work exclusively for the doctrinal needs of the Unity of Brethren. These separatists distorted the pan-societal impact of book printing by completely deviating from the general interests of society and by directing only polemical treatises or apologia for their faith beyond the boundaries of their doctrinal territory. Part of their output remained indebted to the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

## II.

Book printing did not present itself in the Czech Lands at the beginning as the translation of an epic novel, as was previously proudly pointed out in connection with the *Kronika trojanská* [The Trojan Chronicle]<sup>21</sup> but through Latin liturgical literature and the Bible in Czech.<sup>22</sup> The interest with which Catholics and Hussites acquired cursory and illuminated copies of Bibles and partial biblical texts, spilled over, of course, into book printing from the 1480s. However, while in the Hussite century interest in Latin-written Bibles probably prevailed,<sup>23</sup> book printing directed by conservative or radical Utraquists intended to go all out for the Czech-reading environment. The democratising<sup>24</sup> potential of printed Bibles lay in a nationally understandable language,<sup>25</sup> optimum readability

<sup>21</sup> Jiří DAŇHELKA, K první české tištěné knize [On the First Czech Printed Book]. In: *Dar přátelství. Sborník k počtě československých polygrafů* [The Gift of Friendship. Proceedings in Honour of Czechoslovak Polygraphers], Olomouc 1955, pp. 24–32, esp. 25 and Milan KOPECKÝ, Literárněhistorický význam našich prvotisků [The Literary Historical Significance of our Incunabula]. In: Jaromír KUBÍČEK (ed.), *Knihtisk v Brně a na Moravě* [Book Printing in Brno and Moravia], Brno 1986, pp. 83–91, esp. 84.

<sup>22</sup> Kamil BOLDAN, *Počátek českého knihtisku* [The Beginnings of Czech Book Printing], Praha 2018, pp. 91–132.

<sup>23</sup> B. NEŠKUDLA, Rukopisná produkce ... [Manuscript Creation], p. 39, a survey of the 15<sup>th</sup> century led to a certain predominance of Bibles written in Latin (60%) over Czech (38%) and German (2%). These data, although based on statistics only of surviving specimens, clarify the opinion of literary scholars of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that the Czech Reformation of the 15<sup>th</sup> century preferred the Czech Bible. However, it seems that Utraquist book printing of the 16<sup>th</sup> century provided the fundamental stimulus to this preference (on the other hand, the first Latin Bible was not printed in the Czech Lands until 1756).

<sup>24</sup> I retain the terminology used by Marxist literary science. I understand democratisation to be the one-way descent of a certain type of literature into socially, economically and educationally lower social strata, and secularisation I take to mean the movement of literary operations from a religious to a secular nature.

<sup>25</sup> Interestingly, however, linguistic intelligibility played no role in domestic bookbinding,

and accessibility of a text furnished with indices and with the exception of the Prague edition 1488 (TPra 2), with rich illustrative bands. The sufficient number of copies printed and sold after 1500 almost pushed out the scriptographic form (see note 17).<sup>26</sup>

TAB. 1: OVERVIEW OF PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE BIBLE, PARTS THEREOF AND RELATED WORKS<sup>27</sup>

Complete Bibles	1488–1549	7	<i>Vulgate</i> issued in the Czech Lands and Nuremberg
Old Testament (incomplete) referred to as <i>Russian Bible</i>	1517–1519	1	Ruthenian (Church Slavonic) translation of the <i>Vulgate</i> in Prague
Old Testament (complete)	1541	1	<i>Vulgate</i> issued in Nuremberg

where biblical characters and scenes on rollers and plates were accompanied exclusively by Latin inscriptions, often severely abbreviated or distorted, which buyers ignorant of Latin certainly could not understand. Domestic bookbinding was dominated by foreign tool manufacturers and under the influence of foreign bookbinders. The preference for Czech manifested in copies and prints of the Bible thus failed in domestic bookbinding, and an artistic and craft impotence gave rise to a fashion. Although this fashion for Latin inscriptions affected the whole of Europe, in connection with the specific (early) development of the Czech biblical text, it points to the inconsistent development of the individual spheres of domestic book culture.

<sup>26</sup> Thus, the situation appears as a study of the current status of the manuscript collections of large libraries in the Czech Republic. Research carried out, for example, by Kateřina JÍŠOVÁ, *Odkazy knih v pozdně středověkých testamentech Nového Města pražského* [Book Legacies in Late Medieval Testaments of Prague New Town], *Miscellanea oddělení rukopisů a starých tisků* 19, 2005–2006, pp. 4–17, cannot confirm the predominance of printed Bibles after 1500. One obstacle is the great brevity of testamentary records, in which the type of a book recorded from 1500 to 1533 is not taken into account at all. What is certain is that during that period seven books and one chest of books were bequeathed, and a “Czech Bible” numbered among them four times – but what else but the Bible is to be expected among posthumous legacies? However, in the words of the author, “the occurrence of books represents the lower limit of their routine occurrence in Europe” (p. 5).

<sup>27</sup> Except for a *Russian Bible* all other items were printed in Czech only. Uwe NEDDERMEYER attempted similar statistics for complete Bibles and New Testaments from the point of view of Central Europe, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch*, Bd. 1 *Text*, Wiesbaden 1998, p. 533 and Bd. 2, pp. 812–813, 815, 817–823, but the numbers of Czech language editions from 1450 (1520) to 1599 are not accurate and the estimated print runs of the editions are only indicative.

New Testament	[1482/84]–1551	13	<i>Vulgate</i> issued in the Czech Lands
New Testament	1533	1	domestic edition of a translation of the Erasmus version
Psalter (without paraphrases)	1487–ca. 1555	7	<i>Vulgate</i> issued in the Czech Lands
Proverbs	1538	1	<i>Vulgate</i> issued in the Czech Lands
Epistles and Gospels	1506–1557	4	<i>Vulgate</i> issued in the Czech Lands
Biblical Apocrypha, spiritual novels	ca. 1498–1553	10	In Czech and occasionally in German in the Czech Lands
Biblical paraphrases, interpretations, extract	1503–1558	13	In Czech in the Czech Lands
Others <sup>28</sup>	1518–1555	6	In Czech and occasionally in Latin in the Czech Lands and Nuremberg

The Czech translation of the *Vulgate* occupies a primacy in time among all printed versions from other Slavic nations and, in connection with the Hussite epoch, forms the main structure for religious literature in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>29</sup> With the exception of the Ivančice-Kralice prints 1564–1613, starting with *Nový zákon se signetem* [New Testament with Printers Mark] 1482/84 via the so-called *Bible pražská* [Prague Bible] 1488 up to the Prague *Bible česká* [Czech Bible] 1613 all biblical prints are based on the 4th edition of the Old Czech translation, which is partly based on a gradually linguistically and textually modernised manuscript *Vulgate* by the Hussite priest Martin Lupáč (d. 1466).<sup>30</sup> As can be seen

<sup>28</sup> E.g. biblical history and separate indices.

<sup>29</sup> Petr VOIT, České tištěné Bible 1488–1715 v kontextu domácí knižní kultury [Czech Printed Bibles 1488–1715 in the Context of Domestic Book Culture], *Česká literatura* 61/4, 2013, pp. 477–501.

<sup>30</sup> P. SPUNAR et al., *Acta reformationem Bohemicam illustrantia* ..., pp. 180–181; Vladimír KYAS, *Česká bible v dějinách národního písemnictví* [The Czech Bible in the History of National Literature], Praha 1997, pp. 124–125.



from the preface of the first edition 1488, this edition was undertaken by Utraquist masters at the University of Prague, and Vladimír Kyas adds without further proof that perhaps it was with the participation of Václav Koranda the Younger.<sup>31</sup> However, this is important for the topic of this article, the path to critical study of the Bible and other editions of Utraquist scholars was then closed. The *Bible benátská* [Venetian Bible] 1506 (PLie 1) must not surprise us; it may have been a gesture to the upper (Catholic) Consistory, but even more so testifies to the ambition of Prague publishers to link their business with Venice, one of the most powerful centres of contemporary trade and culture. This Bible is also one of the fourth redaction texts. Interesting evidence of how the situation appeared at a distance is the preface of Archbishop Jan Bedřich of Valdštejn to the *St. Wenceslas Bible* (1677), which calls the pre-Lutheran edition from Venice “Catholic” and, after corrections according to the Sixtus *Vulgate*, as the basis of the new edition.<sup>32</sup>

Until about the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, qualified Hebraists and Hellenists were absent among the clergy and among the top thinkers of non-Catholic communities and secular intellectuals. However, even in the contemporary Catholic spectrum of religious life, which was definitely more closely connected to humanist studies than were the Utraquists, philological-theologically oriented biblical studies, as established by the French scientist Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples from 1509, was not established to the necessary extent (domestic scholars obtained professional literature abroad for their private libraries, at least from time to time). Religious pluralism, which foreign humanists did not know at first-hand until Martin Luther’s appearance, raised fears among domestic scholars of the Bible’s misuse for sectarian goals, as defended, for example, by the excellent scholar of the Scriptures Balthasar Hubmaier. Suffice it to recall that the negative opinion of the fraternal bishop Lukáš Pražský (1523)<sup>33</sup> on the new translation of the Bible from the original languages was in fact identical with the opinion of the Catholic Racek Dubravus (1525),<sup>34</sup>

<sup>31</sup> V. KYAS, *Česká bible* ... [The Czech Bible], p. 130.

<sup>32</sup> P. VOIT, *České tištěné Bible* ... [Czech Printed Bibles], p. 481.

<sup>33</sup> Opinion of Lukáš Pražský published in POli 33, folios H1b–H3b: “As far as language learning is concerned, we know that we do not need among us teachers of different languages, especially the Greek and Hebrew. We can see that [the Bible] was sufficiently interpreted in Latin in the first text, rather than by the senses and the interpreters in descendants in other languages, Czech or German, and through false teachers it took great ruin.”

<sup>34</sup> The opinion of Racek Dubravus was published by Dana MARTÍNKOVÁ-PĚNKOVÁ,

who – although he received a humanist education – was against any intellectual contact with the Greek language. Thus, domestic multi-confessionality reliably suffocated humanist biblical studies directed *ad fontes*, and firmly attached the learned Catholic, Utraquist and Czech brother to Jerome's *Vulgate*, which had been proven for centuries.<sup>35</sup>

In other words, this *sterile petrification* raised a barrier against translations of foreign biblical texts that arose through a *critical purification* not of the *Vulgate*, but of the original language versions. The spread of Luther's translation of the Bible (New Test. 1522, Old Test. 1534) domestically was synergistically influenced by the limited potential of Czech translators and the adequate supply of Hans Lufft's original editions to German-language enclaves. Thanks to an unknown translator, only a few benefited from the national German Bible, probably Brethren readers who owned it, the *Book of Ecclesiastes*, published in Litomyšl in 1537 and 1539 by Alexandr Oujezdecký (AOuj 9, 12). Erasmus's New Testament text in Czech from 1533 (TNám 2) did not find domestic successors until three decades later, again outside the mainstream, with Jan Blahoslav. For an area which is certainly not one of the most explored in our church history, it is a pity that a parallel to Erasmus's activities in Náměšť cannot be safely traced to Jan Vartovský.<sup>36</sup> As an expert in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, we know him only in connection with Erasmus' paraphrase of *Matthew's Gospel* dated 1542 (ODuš 1).<sup>37</sup> However, it is known that Vartovský, following Erasmus' school of critical biblical studies, translated the Old Testament from Hebrew, which was not

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Polemika dr. Racka Doubravského proti Martinu Lutherovi [Controversy of Dr. Racek Doubravský against Martin Luther], *Listy filologické* 78, 1955, pp. 241–246 (esp. 245) and 79, 1956, pp. 88–90 (esp. 89).

<sup>35</sup> Ota HALAMA, Ohlasy Lutherovy bible u nás [Responses to Luther's Bible Here], *Křesťanská revue* 6, 2017. Available [December 2019] at <<http://www.krestanskarevue.cz/Ohlasy-Lutherovy-bible-u-nas-1-cast-Ota-Halama.html>>.

<sup>36</sup> Jaroslav HAVRLANT, Katolíci při vydávání českých biblických textů v době reformace [Catholics in the Publishing of Czech Biblical Texts during the Reformation]. In: Ota HALAMA (ed.), *Amica Sponsa Mater. Bible v čase reformace* [Amica Sponsa Mater. The Bible at the Time of the Reformation], Praha 2014, pp. 154–176, esp. 161–163.

<sup>37</sup> The Czech version of the paraphrase of Matthew's Gospel was created as a teaching aid for the private school of Jan Horák, a career prelate from Litoměřice. From 1539, the king's children were also entrusted to Horák's care. This aid was to help these noble-born offspring to strengthen their knowledge of Latin and Czech, as the translator himself notes, but once the book left this exclusive environment through distribution channels and was established among a wider readership, it served to strengthen the authority of the Bible and Christian piety in general. Thus, Jan Vartovský's primary goal was not to put the translation into a scientific, but into a religious education context.

published before his death in 1559, and whose manuscript was unfortunately later lost. František Rachlík made an inaccurate reference in the literature that the translation of the third book of the Maccabees and the revision of the New Testament in the *Czech Bible* 1549 (BNet 40ab) was made by Sixt of Ottersdorf according to the Greek version. However, the latter always worked with Latin originals, including the original Greek study of the Fathers, and he made no secret of this in the paratexts.<sup>38</sup>

Despite the success enjoyed with minority denominational readers by the New Testament editions compiled by Jan Blahoslav in 1564 and 1568 according to Erasmus's activities in Náměšť and according to Theodor Beza, it should be borne in mind that the translation of Greek-Latin as well as Hebrew-Latin biblical texts into Czech is not the same as their scientific study (a breakthrough in methodology was the Reformation-Humanist approach applied by the *Kralice Bible* translators). At the level of Erasmus *Annotationes* and *Paraphrases* the field called *critica sacra* was almost avoided by Czech Catholics and Utraquists, and in Kralice the Unity of Brethren only comes literally a minute after midnight, having being slowed down bona fide during the 1520s by the Old Church conservatism of Lukáš Pražský. It is enough to revive Blahoslav's concise comments on how domestic biblical scholars "stayed behind with the lazy and careless" until the 1570s, and how "it is shaming for the Czechs to have been so hideously lax in this matter".<sup>39</sup>

In the domestic book market, original Latin (or Czech or German language) scholarly literature on the Bible is entirely missing.<sup>40</sup> Closely related to this is the blatantly delayed onset of foreign language bibles:

<sup>38</sup> František RACHLÍK, *Jiří Melantrých Rožďalovický z Aventýny* [Jiří Melantrých Rožďalovický of Aventýn], Praha 1930, p. 43. New and with a reminder of the Latin originals Robert DITTMANN – Jiří JUST, *Biblical Humanism in Bohemia and Moravia in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century*. Europa Humanistica – Collection publiée par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes, vol. 18. Répertoires et inventaires I, Turnhout 2017, p. 48.

<sup>39</sup> Amedeo MOLNÁR, Kralická Šestidílka v souvislostech českého biblismu [The Kralice Six-Volume in the Context of Czech Biblism], *Z Kralické tvrze* 11, 1984, pp. 38–44, esp. 38, 42–43. Lastly Jiří JUST, *Biblický humanismus Jana Blahoslava* [Biblical Humanism of Jan Blahoslav], Praha 2019.

<sup>40</sup> A similar experience was recorded in Czech literature with the genre of biblical drama and verse biblical epic. The strong influence of the Hussitism in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century preserved medieval plays of liturgical origin (Easter and Christmas). The staging of plays in schools began in the 1540s, under the influence of Roman comedy and Lutheran school theatre. The first title distributed through book printing is Konáček's collection *Knihy o hořekování* [Book of Lamentations] 1547 (JKos 11), standing on the border between medieval biblical drama and Renaissance secular drama. A further development of biblical themes,

domestic printers published it in Latin for the first time in 1756 (Prague) and in German in 1781 (Prague), the New Testament in Zwingli's German version was published in 1570 (Prague) and it was available in Greek from 1777 (Prague), etc.<sup>41</sup> This delay is not only due to weak biblical studies, the low potential of translators, or even the slow infiltration of roman fonts or alphabets into domestic printing houses. The reason lay mainly in the specific forms of the Czech Reformation and the subsequent counter-Reformation, which had to reflect the language competencies of the widest audience, able to read and listen to the Bible in private only through the national language (for naturalized foreigners or more educated social groups it was not a problem to import foreign language items from abroad).

Thus, in addition to complete Bibles, there is from the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century a "flood" of New Testaments, psalters and partial gospels and epistles – but in Czech-language forms, which were mostly provided with a rich illustrative accompaniment based on a cosmetically modified 4th edition. Since the translation activities in Náměšť 1533 (as well as Blahoslav's in Ivančice 1564 and 1568) cannot be overlooked, it is necessary to distinguish between the Vulgate wording, based on Jerome's Latin version, and the reformation-critical wording, based on the original languages. Thus, while the designation "Brethren Bible" is completely legitimate, although other classifications such as "Catholic bible" and "Utraquist bible" are established thanks to the research tradition, they testify – which in view of the earlier usage within Czech bibliology I have been reminding people of for a long time<sup>42</sup> – only to the reading experience with the Bible in a particular denominational environment. However, as the story of the post-White Mountain perception of the *Bible benátská* [Venetian Bible] 1506 showed, the doctrinal credentials of readers do not always have to be clearly revealed by the place of printing or the name of the printer. There will be an opportunity to show that, thanks to sophisticated interventions in the language or illustration elements, it was possible to purposefully reprogramme these doctrinal orientations.

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characterised of course by a general lack of originality, began in the late 1560s (Kyrmezer, Lomnický, Stodolius, Tesák, Mouřenín, Vrána).

<sup>41</sup> U. NEDDERMEYER, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch*, Bd. 1 ..., p. 535, where the statistics of Latin-language Bibles and the New Testaments, which were printed in Central Europe between 1520 and 1599, do not rightly include the Czech Lands.

<sup>42</sup> P. VOIT, *České tištěné Bible ...* [Czech Printed Bibles], pp. 478.

TAB. 2: OVERVIEW OF PRINTED EDITIONS OF RELIGIOUS LITERATURE BY DENOMINATION (WITHOUT BIBLES, LITURGY, CREEDS AND POLEMICS)<sup>43</sup>

Catholics	1476–1559	41	Czech and Latin in the Czech Lands and Nuremberg
Conservative Utraquists	1493–1559	51	Czech, Latin and German in the Czech Lands and Nuremberg
Radical Utraquists and German Lutherans (in translation)	1520–1559	53	Czech, Latin and German in the Czech Lands and Nuremberg
Unity of Brethren	1507–1556	46	Czech and occasionally German in the Czech Lands and Nuremberg
Anabaptists	1526–1527	18	German in the Czech Lands
Habrovans	1540	1	in Czech in the Czech Lands

The total volume of religious literature printed for domestic use within the country and abroad up to the 1560s corresponded quite roughly to the amount of secular literature<sup>44</sup> (during the reign of the Jagiellonians, the emphasis on religious literature was stronger, but with the advent of the political course of the first Habsburg, which of itself also influenced book culture, this visibly thinned out in 1547 in favour of secular themes).<sup>45</sup>

<sup>43</sup> E.g. postils, sermons, interpretation, the catechism, prayer, session, treatise.

<sup>44</sup> However, this statistic (45 % : 55 %) is essentially worthless, because a large part of contemporary secular literature, with the exception of histories or chronicles, was not intended for continuous reading, but for sporadic consultation (articles, calendars, cookbooks, mandates, coins, spelling books, dictionaries, etc.). In addition, in comparison with religious literature (Bibles, postils, hymnbooks), it is necessary to take into account its small, rather unrepresentative scope. On the contrary, this is owned by morally educational prose, in which the period emphasis on secular or religious direction can only be estimated today. The only quantitatively major item of the secular model was the “civil” part of Latin humanist poetry in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, which was also available in the form of thin pamphlets, but addressed only a select circle of readers.

<sup>45</sup> P. VOIT, *Český knihtisk ...*, vol. 2 [Czech Book Printing], p. 506. Olga FEJTOVÁ, *Knih-tisk a reformace* [Book Printing and the Reformation]. In: *Sola fide – Pouhou vírou. Luterská šlechta na Ústecku a Děčínsku a její kulturní dědictví. Katalog výstavy konané na zámku v Děčíně 25. dubna – 30. září 2018* [Sola fide – By mere Faith. The Lutheran Aristocracy in the Ústí nad Labem and Děčín Regions and its Cultural Heritage. Catalogue of an Exhibition held at Děčín Castle on 25 April – 30 September 2018], Ústí nad Labem – Praha 2019, pp. 163–168, esp. 165, thanks to our knowledge of Prague burgher libraries,

Also in scriptographic operations and in book printing between the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> and the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the volumes of religious and secular literature remained quite balanced – both groups vary around 50%<sup>46</sup> Unlike scribes and, to some extent, elitist-oriented owners of manuscript texts, however, domestic producers of mass-distributed printed books had to bear in mind the reading interests and intellectual abilities of the wider middle-class audience.<sup>47</sup>

Therefore, not only philological, medical and legal information (conversations, medical essentials, titulars) but also individual professional sections of theology experienced rapid democratisation. Unlike the Catholic and non-Catholic regions of Western Europe, however, in addition to Bi-

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points out that at the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries “religious literature represented more than half of their content and completely dominated the smallest libraries. The most popular author in these collections was none of the protagonists of the domestic Utraquist tradition; this position was held by Martin Luther, followed in popularity by a group of his successors” (see also here note 73). The causes of the unevenness between the production sphere and the orientation of libraries have not yet been analysed, but the backwardness of bourgeois (social) consciousness in respect of the development of publishing programmes undoubtedly played a role which cannot be ignored. It must also not be overlooked that the burgher libraries studied were mostly established as early as the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and thus reflect symptoms of the past (including the excess pressure caused by importers from Germany). Perhaps we do not take sufficient account of reading fashions, which cut themselves off from the long-surviving traditionalism of the 15<sup>th</sup> century and was guided by the view that only what originated abroad was good or better. Whatever the causes of the aforementioned unevenness, the bourgeois libraries provide a rather unflattering testimony to the “domestic Utraquist tradition”, whose literary form has left no deep and lasting mark.

<sup>46</sup> Andrea JELÍNKOVÁ, *Žánry a témata v produkci českých tiskáren 16. století – nové možnosti zkoumání* [Genres and Themes in the Output of Czech Printers of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century – New Possibilities of Research], *Knihy a dějiny* 25/1–2, 2018, pp. 23–46, esp. 39 states that throughout the epoch there was a “*slight predominance* of secular literature over the religious”. This conclusion is abetted by the formal structure of the graphs in which *religious literature* is taken account of as an often not very significant cumulative item, to which, however, several items are added separately (*hymn book, catechism, sermon, credo, legend, liturgical books, polemics, postil*). In the graphs, Latin Renaissance poetry is classified collectively by versological form as *poetic texts*, but we know very well that the so-called carmina sacra belongs to the part of humanistic poetry with a religious accent which cannot be ignored quantitatively (italics by PV).

<sup>47</sup> I leave aside the question of how to interpret the ratio of quantitative data from the field of manuscript book and from the field of printed book at all, because copiers had many texts bound into mixed collections and anthologies (convolutes), which were probably lent out less frequently out of caution and therefore achieved a lower readership than partial editions, printed in a many times higher volume and offered in bookstores over a longer period of time.



ble teachings, dogmatics and exegetics, that is interpretations of parts of the Bible, are still missing in the publishing programmes of Czech and Moravian printers, and are thin on the ground through the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>48</sup> Both disciplines became “popularised” during the first stage of the Czech *proto-revival*. After the necessary authorial adjustments, which were no longer made by theologians or the lower clergy, but by secularly educated writers, they headed out to a wider readership, thus declining to the level of religious educational literature, which attempted to apply Christian doctrine and Bible interpretation in practice.<sup>49</sup> Interestingly, however, this secularisation process of biblical dogmatics and exegetics was not offset by copying, since the targeted import of scholarly literature printed abroad was already sufficient.<sup>50</sup> A similar transformation of distinctive disciplines, as will be discussed, also affected the genre of polemics and in view of the growing new post-Hussite literature had to take place in parallel with the field of entertainment literature, intended initially for the more educated aristocrats and intellectually advanced burghers and much later for literate rural audiences. Although this movement was noticed by paleobohemists as early as the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, it has yet to be described in religious literature.

If Erasmus's *Annotationes* and *Paraphrases* have already been mentioned, Optát's *Písničky čtyři evangelické* [Four Evangelical Songs] 1534 (TNám 4), were intended not only for liturgical singing, but also for well-instructed private reading thanks to the marginal signposts to passages in the Old Testament.<sup>51</sup> One of the many other examples of this

<sup>48</sup> Interpretation of the Psalm, the Lord's Prayer, the prophecy of Daniel, The Revelation of St. John, etc.

<sup>49</sup> P. VOIT, *Český knihtisk ...*, vol. 2 [Czech Book Printing], pp. 35, 36, 52, 508–513, etc.

<sup>50</sup> B. NEŠKUDLA, *Rukopisná produkce ...* [Manuscript Creation], p. 39, shows a significant decrease in copying from 1501 to 1550 in all branches of religious literature, e.g. in homiletics (459 : 68), liturgies (158 : 94) and hagiography (63 : 13). 16<sup>th</sup> century book printing stabilised some genres with regard to the denominational situation and popularity with readers (postils, sermons, apocrypha) and suppressed some (prosaic or verse lives of the saints with the exception of Jan Hus and Jeroným Pražský due to the Reformation mood).

<sup>51</sup> Ondřej KOUPIL, *Písničky čtyři evangelické (1534) v triádě Optátových biblí* [Four Evangelical Songs (1534) in the Triad of Optát's Bibles], *Česká literatura* 67/2, 2019, pp. 188–212. The author's excellent observations can be extended by reference to the earlier *Písničky velmi pěkné a příkladné na nedělní Čtení* [Very Nice and Exemplary Songs for Sunday Reading] 1529 (JPek 14), in which, however, the marginal citations of biblical passages are missing.

targeted descent can be recognized in the cycle of nine prose works, written down protractedly as a shield against human sins by Šimon Lomnický from 1586 to 1615, visually and amusingly based on medieval theological literature.<sup>52</sup> Although these and similar prose works did not get rid of their religious veneer, they could cleverly combine it with a secular perspective.

The bibliometric data of the table of denominational directions printed above should be considered as indicative. The actual publishing and reception operation of this range was somewhat different. The reality can be well understood by watching the Utraquist printers, whose publishing programmes lacked the liturgy securing the Calixtin Mass rite. This absence was brought about not only by the meagre font repertoire, which could theoretically be circumvented by purchasing from foreign printers, but above all by the fact that liturgically satisfactory texts were still at hand – incunabula of Catholic liturgies from the Czech Lands (Plzeň, Brno) and Bohemian incunabula together with paleotypes from abroad.<sup>53</sup> However, the cooperation of Catholic clients with Italy and Germany was not enough, as the Utraquists also benefited from it. The desirability of printed liturgies is shown by copying practice, which, unlike other religious and secular literature (with the exception of medicine and law), receded after 1500, but still remains significant in the area of the workings of the Mass.<sup>54</sup>

<sup>52</sup> Petr VOIT, Nad mravně výchovnou prózou Šimona Lomnického z Budče [On the Morally Educational Prose of Šimon Lomnický of Budeč], *Miscellanea oddělení rukopisů a starých tisků* 6/1, 1990, pp. 59–77.

<sup>53</sup> Blanka ZILYNSKÁ, Tištěná média a synodální praxe utrakvistů do poloviny 16. století [Printed Media and Utraquist Synodal Practice up to the Middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century]. In: Kamil BOLDAN – Jan HRDINA (eds.), *Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia 19 – Knihtisk, zbožnost, konfese v zemích Koruny české doby poděbradské a jagellonské* [Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia 19 – Book Printing, Piety, Confession in the Poděbrady and Jagiellonian Era Lands of the Czech Crown], Praha 2018, pp. 29–40, esp. 30–31, 39–40. So far, the latest confirmation of Catholic liturgies in the hands of Utraquist pastors has been provided by Jindřich MAREK (ed.), *Nebeský žebřík. Pozdně středověké modlitební knihy ze sbírek Národní knihovny ČR* [The Stairway to Heaven. Late Medieval Prayer Books from the Collections of the National Library of the Czech Republic], Praha 2019, p. 63 (the author of the article is Kamil BOLDAN).

<sup>54</sup> B. NEŠKUDLA, Rukopisná produkce ... [Manuscript Creation], p. 39, demonstrates this situation with the numbers of 158 surviving manuscripts (for the period 1450–1500) : 94 (for 1501–1550).

TAB. 3: CHRONOLOGICAL OVERVIEW OF BOHEMIAN LITURGICAL LITERATURE PRINTED IN LATIN<sup>55</sup>

Ritual	<i>Agenda Pragensis</i> <i>Agenda Olomucensis</i> <i>Obsequiale Pragense</i>	4	[Plzeň 1478–1479] Brno 1486; Nuremberg 1498 Nuremberg 1496
Missal	<i>Missale Pragense</i> <i>Missale Olomucense</i> <i>Missale Strigoniense</i> <sup>56</sup>	12 + 1	[Plzeň] 1479; Bamberg 1489; Leipzig 1497, 1498; Nuremberg 1498, 1503, 1508; Venice 1507; Leipzig 1522 Bamberg 1488; Nuremberg 1499; Vienna 1505 Brno 1491
Breviary <sup>57</sup>	<i>Breviarium Olomucense</i> <i>Breviarium Pragense</i>	7	Venice 1484; Strasbourg 1499; Vienna 1517 Nuremberg 1492, 1502, 1509; Venice 1517

The spread of missals in the dualistic model is not the only specific feature of religious literature. After all, many book editions either in their entirety or in only a certain number of copies in which the text, decor or illustrations were changed had in mind a more denominationally diverse audience, and thus again deviates from the textbook classification (the so-called Catholic edition generally reprogrammed to “non-Catholics”, Brethren to Utraquists, conservative Utraquist to Lutherans or to Unity of Brethren). Changes that were secondarily achieved by a specific modification of the language plan, illustration blocks or the decorative concept of the book binding will be mentioned below, but how strongly this strat-

<sup>55</sup> After 1522, the continuation of domestic and foreign Bohemian editions is bound up with the very end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, when the dioceses of Prague and Olomouc finally succeeded in enforcing the resolutions of the Council of Trent, and thus also the publication of new Roman Catholic liturgies.

<sup>56</sup> This missal was made to order in Brno for the Esztergom chapter. It was probably its fourth edition and perhaps covered the need of all Hungarian dioceses, which had so far been without their own printed missals.

<sup>57</sup> Other liturgical literature (ceremonials, martyrologies, pontificals) was not printed abroad for the purposes of the Prague and Olomouc dioceses. Older Latin manuscripts were probably in circulation, or the need was fully satisfied by imports from Italy.

egy grew into publishing procedures and the book printing or bookbinding craft cannot be ascertained without studying all the surviving copies.

Despite this specific, the denominational structure of printed religious literature reflected the actual distribution of forces – Utraquist output is at the top of the penultimate table, as expected, whereas the part that belonged to the radical wing slightly predominates bibliometrically and grows towards the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>58</sup> In second place, again not surprisingly, is the output of the Unity of Brethren, although Utraquist and Catholic opponents derisively called it waffle.<sup>59</sup> Only then do Catholics figure with less pronounced contours, followed again, at an understandable distance, by the Anabaptists and even further down by the Habrovans. The volume of output supporting both wings of the most influential provincial denomination looks quite balanced, and the distance between conservatives and radicals is not as marked as in the case of Brethren and Catholic literature. There were even so many Brethren prints that they were quantitatively (but not in terms of their society-wide scope and significance) almost comparable to biblical literature, or the complete Bible, its parts, paraphrases, and stories. In terms of relative originality, Utraquist and Brethren literature is the most attached to domestic conditions, or rather roots, while Lutheran and Anabaptist literature is attached to the German-speaking countries (Mikulov colonised by the Anabaptists is after Cheb the second oldest German-language enclave supported by book printing).

In addition to the table, works of the Christian church fathers, in both Greek and Latin, must be included in the aforementioned spectrum. Viktorín of Všehrd in a collection of translations of the church fathers, completed in 1495 and shortly afterwards and then subsequently printed in Plzeň in 1501 (MBak 8), noted early that the Germans “turned almost all pagan and Christian books from Latin to German, where we indeed have perhaps none so far”.<sup>60</sup> However, Všehrd’s admiration, undoubted-

<sup>58</sup> U. NEDDERMEYER, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch*, Bd. 2 ..., pp. 704 confirms this tendency. However, it should be added that the gradual increase in domestic Reformation literature was brought about by printed translations of Corvin, Luther and Spangenberg, while the canonical works of the Hussite era (Jan Hus, Jan Rokycana, Jakoubek ze Stříbra, Petr Chelčický, etc.) remained only 18 editions back in the shadows. Manuscript versions of Hussite literature (134) show the same disparity between 1450 and 1500 when compared to copies of religious works of medieval authorities from abroad (1,112). B. NEŠKUDLA, *Rukopisná produkce ...* [Manuscript Creation], p. 45.

<sup>59</sup> MKon 18, fol. A6b and BNet 16, fol. A2a.

<sup>60</sup> MBak 8, fol. A5a.

ly reflecting the numerous ancient and patristic editions of the German incunabula period, did not provoke any visible campaign in the weak Czech translation activities.<sup>61</sup> One of the few who at this time created a Czech version Pseudo-Origen's speech about St Mary Magdalene, was Pavel Žatecký, rector of the University of Prague (d. 1517), but the work was delayed in reaching the printing house in Prague until 1589 and then again in 1763.<sup>62</sup> Všehrđ's companion Řehoř Hrubý (d. 1514), co-translator of the Plzeň anthology 1501 (MBak 8), fared worse. His two other small translations and excerpts were found only as manuscripts in the Small Proceedings (1512) and the Large Proceedings (1513). Also the wonderfully illuminated Hrubý translation *Vitae Patrum* (1516) kept its written form because it served the private interests of Ladislav of Šternberk.<sup>63</sup>

Despite the insignificant penetration of the legacy of the Holy Fathers into Czech printed literature, it cannot be overlooked that the texts are published at Catholic, Utraquist and pro-Brethren printing houses, and that patristics – although with somewhat subdued interest when compared to the Hussite century – were indeed sought after by readers of various denominations and various intellectual competencies.<sup>64</sup> That is why it is possible to discuss with Marta Vaculínová,<sup>65</sup> who, according to

<sup>61</sup> If we rely on the manuscripts preserved to this day and created from 1450 to 1550, patristics, with its 373 bibliographic entries, was far from pushed into the background, but Latin was still the predominant language of writing. Compared to patristics, the interest in Latin (Roman) classics is represented far worse (114). For more details see B. NEŠKUDLA, *Rukopisná produkce ... [Manuscript Creation]*, p. 44.

<sup>62</sup> P. SPUNAR et al., *Acta reformationem Bohemicam illustrantia ...*, p. 191.

<sup>63</sup> Praha, National Library, sign. XVII H 13, fol. 77a–104a (*Small Proceedings*), sign. XVII D 38, fol. 507a–514b (*Large Proceedings*) and sign. XVII A 2, or XVII C 19 (*Lives of the Holy Fathers*). For more details, see Petr VOIT, *Neznámý prvotisk českého překladu Petrarcovy encyklopedie [An Unknown First Edition of the Czech Translation of Petrarch's Encyclopaedia]*. In: Evermod Gejza ŠIDLOVSKÝ – Václav VALEŠ – Jan POLESNÝ (eds.), *Melior est adquisitio scientiae negotiatione argenti. Pocta Prof. Ignáci Antonínovi Hrdinovi, O. Praem k šedesátým narozeninám [Melior est adquisitio scientiae negotiatione argenti. In Honour of Prof. Ignác Antonín Hrdina, O. Praem on his Sixtieth Birthday]*, Praha 2013, pp. 347–359, esp. 349.

<sup>64</sup> This finding also matches the relationship to medieval Christian literature, in which only Bernardus Claraevallensis appears frequently, four times during 1506–1556, when, according to the denominational orientation of all the producers, the Catholic, Utraquist and Brethren audiences were kept in mind (see also note 60).

<sup>65</sup> Marta VACULÍNOVÁ, *K diskuzi o humanismu [To a Discussion of Humanism]*, *Česká literatura* 62/4, 2014, pp. 638–642, esp. 641.

foreign denominationally different (non-pluralistic) practice, sees in domestic manifestations of patristics one of the criteria of humanist activities, whether in the spheres of translation, printing or their reception. How, then, to account in the specifically Czech environment for the fact that Hrubý, translating St Gregory and St Basil, was a humanist thanks to among other things his acceptance of patristics, while Pavel Olivetský, a translator and printer of St Cyprian (POLi 3), connected to the Unity of Brethren, was not a humanist – and because of the attitude of that community could not even be one at that time?<sup>66</sup> The aforementioned Utraquist Žatecký, an ideological companion of the conservative Koranda, also had nothing to do with humanism.

The minor writings of the eight Holy Fathers appeared in eighteen editions in the Czech Lands between 1484 and 1558,<sup>67</sup> however, with the exception of John Chrysostom, Pseudo-Augustine, Cyprian, and Lactantius, in only one edition at a time. The texts did not address theological problems, such as how to connect Christianity with Platonism and other spiritual values of antiquity, but themes that benefited the reform of practical morality<sup>68</sup> – after all, Hrubý himself recalls that he rendered St Basil into Czech, because “envy is so great in these times”.<sup>69</sup> Marta Vaculínová’s thesis that if patristics were highly valued by foreign humanists, it had to

<sup>66</sup> Also quite instructive in this regard is the conversion of Vegio’s *Rozmlouvání Filaleta s Pravdou* [Filalet’s Discussion with the Truth] 1507 to the Brethren environment (POLi 2). This Renaissance text with strong ties to classical and patristic literature was bowdlerised in the Czech version to correspond to the isolationist efforts of the then Unity of Brethren – e.g. there is no chapter in praise of poetry.

<sup>67</sup> According to B. NEŠKUDLA, *Rukopisná produkce ...* [Manuscript Creation], p. 44, patristics were copied mainly during 1450–1500 and up to the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century only rarely (350 : 23 bibliographic units). From this piece of information, it could be inferred that copies exceeded the later printed form by a factor of twenty. However, simple laws of arithmetic cannot be applied when assessing the relationship between private copies and multiplied editions. Rather, it should be emphasised that these 18 printed editions represent less than 5 % of all religious literature published at home and abroad up to the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Also relevant is the fact that, seen through bibliography and perhaps through the permanence of the reception process, early Christian printed writings were surpassed by thicker hymn books (7%) and literary religious polemics (15%).

<sup>68</sup> Tomáš NEJEZCHLEBA – Marcela KOUPILOVÁ (eds.), *Marsilio Ficino, O povinnostech ...* [Marsilio Ficino, On Obligations ...], Praha 2019, pp. 17, 40–45.

<sup>69</sup> Praha, National Library, sign. XVII H 13, fol. 87b. The Czech versions of patristic also retained this moral education function later under the influence of German Reformation literature, as shown, for example, by Martin Moller’s adaptation translated by Tobiáš Mouřenín entitled *Meditationes sanctorum Patrum* 1593.



be considered *eo ipso* an integral part of the thought and culture of the Czech Lands of the Jagiellonian period, thus loses weight. The domestic producer enriched Czech literature only by helping to improve the morals of late medieval multi-denominationally divided society. He found inspiration for moral revival in all possible sources, and he was therefore completely indifferent as to whether the texts belonged to the era of pagan antiquity, the Christian church fathers or medieval scholasticism. The almost marginal role of the legacy of the Holy Fathers, which was conducted in the country purely pragmatically and without reference to humanism, is matched by the absence of scientific-critical publishing practice as cultivated by Johann Amerbach (d. 1513) or the philologist Zikmund Gelenius (d. 1554), son of Řehoř Hrubý, all of whom Vaculínová *bona fide* presents in defence of Czech humanism from the point of view of patristics. In the end, when assessing the Czech environment, the insufficient capacity of occasional translators and the lack of readiness of readers to perceive complex philosophical texts cannot be overlooked. Patristics, as well as the modest biblical studies and the school disciplines, on the other hand, are characterised by translation-friendly, easily printable and reception-accessible adaptations of limited scope.

The linguistic aspect cannot be ruled out from the bibliometric analysis of printed religious literature. What was mentioned above in connection with the Czech Bible also applies to other religious literature, which, with a few exceptions, is again linguistically Czech.<sup>70</sup> The role of the typesetting culture for printed goods is even more pronounced this time. In addition to the linguistically proficient theologians on whom the domestic producers could rely, the printing houses – enthused with the desire to promote Utraquism only in Czech – also lacked a roman typeface to serve the setting of Latin text. The turning point came with the arrival of Jan Had. In 1536, this printer brought several script sets of roman type from Nuremberg to Prague, which only then enabled Latin text to be reproduced *en masse* in the proper form (there were occasional previous attempts to use Schwabach). Although the religious literature of the Lutheran and Catholic directions served best to promote this un-

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<sup>70</sup> In contrast to the preserved manuscripts from 1450–1550, in which scholarly Latin (80%) clearly predominated over Czech (17%) and German (3%), here the secularising and democratizing functions of Utraquist and non-Catholic book printing were effected in a revolutionary manner; appealing not only to an exclusive scholarly audience, but above all to a wider readership without foreign language skills. B. NEŠKUDLA, *Rukopisná produkce ...* [Manuscript Creation], p. 43.

precedented novelty (JHad 3, 5, 6, 8, etc.),<sup>71</sup> it can be estimated that Latin text set in roman type was so far aimed only at the more highly placed and educated inhabitants of Prague, and that it took on wider significance only in the second half of the century. Thanks to Had's workshop adviser, the conservative Utraquist Pavel Bydžovský, German strengthened.<sup>72</sup> From the locally defined conversational and administrative level, where it had traditionally been evidenced by ethnic nationalism, it rises to the role of a literary language. It was Bydžovský who, for the first time since 1545 – in the field of religious literature – used the form called “en regard” that is, a special type of bilingual (specifically Czech-German) synoptic publishing to use minor writings by Jan Hus and Jakoubek of Stříbro to also promote Utraquism among the German population of Prague and Central Bohemia (KHad 5, 7).

Repeat editions also speak to the bibliometric analysis of religious literature. If we take into account the specifics of domestic religious life, first place is as expected occupied by re-editions of the so-called *Appendix* to the Prague *Passional* 1495 (TPra 7), which contained, inter alia, relations of the deaths of Jan Hus and Jeroným Pražský. After the first edition of 1495, marked according to the place of discovery as the “Jena” *Appendix* (TPra 8) was followed ca. 1500 by a reprint cited as the “Herrnhut” (TPra 12) and ca. 1510 by the “Zittau” (TPra 22). Then came separate reissues, now independent of the *Passional*, the “Prague Complete” 1525 (PSev 14) and the “Prague bowdlerised” around 1542–1544 (JCho 3, 4). However, the vitality of this literary collection is exceptional. The repetition of other religious publications did not exceed an average of three editions, and this is much less than the number of secular reeditions, especially textbooks and enlightenment titles. Texts requested by the reader across the denominations achieved three repetitions: first comes

<sup>71</sup> In this context, the remarkable preparation for Melanchthon's defence of early Christianity at the Sorbonne in Paris must not be allowed to go unnoticed (JHad 3). Due to religious unrest, there was no disputation in October 1535, and Melanchthon's Latin text, briefly called *Consilium ad Gallos*, was not published in Germany, but in 1536 in Prague. It was the first and last time that a learned domestic audience could become acquainted with the theological views of this reformer through domestic book production. After 1536, only Melanchthon's works related to teaching (as well as Erasmus's) were published at Bohemian and Moravian printers. On disputation, see Jörg HAUSTEIN (ed.), *Philipp Melanchthon. Ein Wegbereiter für die Ökumene*, Göttingen 1997, pp. 57–59 and Irene DINGEL et al., *Philipp Melanchthon. Theologian in classroom, confession and controversy*, Göttingen 2012, pp. 110–113.

<sup>72</sup> Vojtěch ŠÍCHA, Jazyková skladba pražské tiskařské produkce 16. století – přehledová studie [The Languages of Prague Print Output of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century – an Overview], *Knihy a dějiny* 25/1–2, 2018, pp. 47–67, esp. 52–54.

the Czech translation of *De vanitate saeculi* from St Augustine 1506 (TPra 20), 1546 (KHad 15) and 1573 (KHad 136) and the second item is *O boji duchovního Jeruzaléma* [On the Struggle of the Spiritual Jerusalem] by St Bernard 1506 (PLie 2), 1507 (POLi 7) and ca. 1556 (KHad 74). The gradual increase in Catholic activities during the Council of Trent is evidenced by Scribonius' *Catechism* issued in 1546 (KHad 19), 1552 (JGün 47) and 1556 (KHad 67).

A specific situation developed around re-editions of German pamphlets by Balthasar Hubmaier from Froschauer's Mikulov printing house. However, no domestic printing house was able to repeat it, as the general awareness of the Moravian stage of German and Austrian Anabaptism was minimal or rather, nil. However, printers in Worms and Zurich showed early interest, and twenty years later (1540–1545), Heinrich Steiner in Augsburg returned to Mikulov production about three times. Because the original Froschauer imprint was retained for re-editions for self-preservation reasons, repeat editions had the character of pirated editions.

Thanks to pressure from the texts of Lukáš Pražský and, in the end, even of Jan Augusta, the Unity of Brethren resorted only minimally to re-editing. The greatest success with readers was recorded by Lukáš's eschatological *Dialogue* 1507 (POLi 4), which was reprinted in 1520 (POLi 22), 1556 (Knihopis 5021) and 1563 (KHad 118), when, however, it was already circulating unbound among the Unity of Brethren. From the Protestant camp, with the exception of Martin Luther, whose domestic producer always issued just one edition,<sup>73</sup> Anton Corvinus arrives in the 1530s and 1540s and Johann Spangenberg during the 1540 and 1550s. Corvinus's *Rozjímání o umučení Krista Pána* [Meditation on the Passion of Christ the Lord] came out in only two editions (PSev 46, JSev 14), as did his *Vejklady na Čtení nedělní* [Commentaries for Sunday Reading] (PSev 43, BNet 17). The other parts of this Corvinus post were also pub-

<sup>73</sup> Olga FEJTOVÁ – Jiří PEŠEK, *Recepce Martina Luthera v pražských a lounských měšťanských knihovnách doby předbělohorské* [The Reception of Martin Luther in Prague and Louny Burgher Libraries of the pre-White Mountain Period], *Documenta Pragensia* 15, 1997, pp. 83–123, esp. 90–93 based on archival sources, they consider Luther to be clearly the most widely read author, but his wide popularity was due to strong imports from German printing houses. Petr VOIT has already achieved similar results, *Měšťanské knihovny v Olomouci před Bílou horou* [Burgher Libraries in Olomouc before the White Mountain], *Vlastivědný věstník moravský* 33/2, 1981, pp. 197–207, esp. 200 and Petr VOIT, *Česká literární tvorba v povědomí olomouckých měšťanů před Bílou horou* [Czech Literary Works in the Consciousness of Olomouc Burghers before the White Mountain], *Vlastivědný věstník moravský* 36/1, 1984, pp. 49–59, esp. 57–58 (see also note 46).

lished repeatedly, but always in a new translation, so they cannot bear the designation of the reissue (PSev 37a, AOuj 18, BNet 14). Spangenberg's story *Perla Písma svatého* [Pearl of the Holy Scriptures] was repeated three times, namely 1545 (JGün 10), 1545? (JSev 16) and if I recall correctly ca. 1549–1551 (BNet 1545). The most physically substantial re-editions of religious literature relate to the briskly written and temptingly illustrated work of Johann Spangenberg, which was published with an updated patriotic-advertising epithet as *Postila česká* [Czech Postil] 1546, 1547 and 1557 (JGün 14, JGün 16, KAor 18). In addition to these three Moravian editions, Jan Straněnský's readable Czech translation was not used in the closely monitored printers in Bohemia, but in five Nuremberg re-editions. The last was organized in 1566. By this year, during the twenty-three years of Spangenberg's text, German printers had offered readers more than sixty Latin and German editions of the *Postil*. The three mentioned Czech-language editions from Moravia thus correspond in general to the capacity ratio between German and domestic book printing and readership in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the numerous traces of which reflect the burgher libraries invented a little later.<sup>74</sup>

TAB. 4: OVERVIEW OF PRINTED EDITIONS OF RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS (CREED)

Utraquists	1513	1	in Czech in the Czech Lands
Unity of Brethren	1507–1542	11	in Czech and Latin in the Czech Lands and Nuremberg
Anabaptists	1526	1	in German in the Czech Lands
Habrovans	1534–1536	2	in Czech in the Czech Lands

TAB. 5: OVERVIEW OF PRINTED EDITIONS OF HYMN BOOKS

Utraquists	1501–1559	6	in Czech in the Czech Lands
Unity of Brethren	1505–1561	11	in Czech and once in German in the Czech Lands and twice abroad (Královec, Szamotuly)
Habrovans	1530–1558	9	in Czech in the Czech Lands
Catholics	1529	1	in Czech in the Czech Lands

<sup>74</sup> Olga FEJTOVÁ – Jiří PEŠEK, *Postila Johanna Spangenberg v měšťanských knihovnách raného novověku* [Postil of Johann Spangenberg in the Burgher Libraries of the Early Modern Period], *Documenta Pragensia* 23, 2004, pp. 101–122.

Both tables show the temporary (pre-Tridentine) inability of Catholic elites to assert themselves in the literary field. The humble beginnings of the literary struggle are connected to the 1550s, and the apparent offensive came thanks to the Church Council only during the 1560s. The only confession of faith under both kinds from 1513 shows a certain self-confidence from the University of Prague and the lower (Utraquist) consistory during the negotiations on the union with the Catholics.<sup>75</sup> At that time, the confession was accompanied by a separate edition of the compacts, but a separate re-edition was never organised again, perhaps out of fear of the growing nervousness of the Roman Church. The other data in the table show the great efforts expended by non-conformist communities to present, defend and consolidate their existence. Non-Catholic credos, including apologetics, were largely directed at aristocrats as actual or potential protectors or patrons. The most active was the Unity of Brethren, over which from 1508 onwards there was a threat in the form of the St James's Mandate, renewed several times. The fate of the Habrovans' *Apologia* 1536 (KAor 10) suggests that not even the highest places (let alone urban or rural populations) were aligned with religious plurality in the Czech Lands. After eight years of trouble-free duration of the Habrovans, in 1536 that the officials in Prague came to a clear view on the *Apologia* and started the king's campaign against Jan Dubčanský.

The greater efforts made by non-conformist communities through book printing, in contrast to the Utraquists and Catholics, are also visible in the field of hymn book creation. However, the spiritual song, as a specific form of a privately or collectively received biblical story, went through various doctrinal environments on the basis of shared authorship, and collections of songs were subject to new editing before each printing. They had a multi-denominational character, and therefore they can be classified only according to the doctrinal sign traditionally associated with the place of printing (Prague = Utraquist hymn book; Luleč = Habrovan hymn book; Mladá Boleslav, Ivančice, Kralice = Brethren hymn book). However, that even this logic may not work 100% may be suggested by the Utraquist *Písničky* [Songs] 1501 (TPra 14), which, despite their Prague origin and the nature of the printer, are often classified as Brethren only because a substantial part of the collection passed into *Písně chval božských* [Songs of Divine Praise] 1541 (PSev 48). If however the Songs

<sup>75</sup> Ota HALAMA, Utrakvistická konfese z roku 1513 [Utraquist Confession from 1513], *Studia historica Brunensia* 62, 2015, pp. 373–387, esp. 378–379.

1541 were the most powerful hymn book of its time, Jan Roh, Unity of Brethren bishop in the role of editor, had to draw from all the sources available at the time. The Unity of Brethren later (1561) adopted Roh's hymn book, although the seniors did not discuss their approval at all before its publication. However, it was not a work published in secret. Pavel Severin secured the consent of the lower consistory, and therefore he was able to officially absorb the print run into the Prague and Central Bohemian book buying network, supplying mainly Utraquist libraries. However Roh's Prague-printed Songs 1541 form an integral part of the history of Brethren song, the impact on the Utraquist environment should not be overlooked (all the more so because the Utraquist Severin in his edition of 1541 developed a graphic form accepted, as will be recalled, by later Brethren hymn books).

Not only the religiously didactic functions of hymns, but also the regionally wide, yet socially and mentally diverse structure of singers indicate a greater importance for printed hymn books than that recorded for medical education or legal literature. To this statement of the specifically Czech situation, however, must be added the fact that the literary themes and stylistic approaches typical of hymn book work continued to tie recipients to the Middle Ages. A counterpart to the secular (love) songs widely transmitted through book printing was missing (with the exception of JGün 79).

TAB. 6: OVERVIEW OF PRINTED EDITIONS OF RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY

Catholics against the Unity of Brethren	1485–1526	12	in Czech and Latin in the Czech Lands and abroad <sup>76</sup>
Utraquists against the Unity of Brethren	1511–1558	19	in Czech in the Czech Lands
Martin Luther against the Unity of Brethren	1523	4	of which 3 original editions in Germany and 1 Czech translation in the Czech Lands
Habrovans against the Unity of Brethren	1527–1533	4	in Czech in the Czech Lands
Defence of the Unity of Brethren	1507(?)–1558	18	Czech in the Czech Lands and Nuremberg

<sup>76</sup> The frequency of polemics after 1526 has not yet been treated bibliographically. The only list of later editions is most widely scattered in Čeněk ZÍBRT, *Bibliografie české historie. Díl 3* [Bibliography of Czech History. Vol. 3], Praha 1906. The present overview also in-



Religious polemics, which, unlike classical rhetoric and Marxist literary theory, I consider a separate genre,<sup>77</sup> occupies the same volume that in Bohemia and Moravia belongs to printed historical literature, and seen in another way, it also matches the total of legal and medical educational publications. This also leads to the conclusion that until the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century it was not the secular but the religious viewpoint that was predominant in society. In it, polemics represented the most important segment, which in the older era of 1450–1500 were more than double the Bible manuscripts and was quantitatively equal to the rich range of biblical texts printed after 1485. In reality, however, polemics were seen and heard even more. Although they were small-run propaganda pamphlets (private prints), the lifespan of which was curtailed by each sequel, a wide community response in churches, streets and prayer houses was to be expected. It is worth mentioning, as Konáč's anti-Brethren engagement shows, that it was possible to improve one's social position through appropriately dedicated and distributed polemics.<sup>78</sup>

In parallel with prints intended for public and private reading, polemics were also conducted through private copies. Although the desire to copy gradually declined, nevertheless even what has survived today from the printed polemics certainly does not offer a trustworthy picture of religious conditions. Although the texts representing individual communities are antagonistic, because they more or less question the competence of the others, in the specifically Czech multi-confessional environment one finding is surprising – literary polemics conducted through book printing

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cludes a foreign-led Catholic controversy after 1502, which was captured by Ota HALAMA, *Tištěná polemika s Jednotou bratrskou v době jagellonské (1500–1526)* [Printed Polemics with the Unity of Brethren in the Jagiellonian Period (1500–1526)]. In: Kamil BOLDAN – Jan HRDINA (eds.), *Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia 19 – Knihtisk, zbožnost, konfese v zemích Koruny české doby poděbradské a jagellonské* [Colloquia mediaevalia Pragensia 19 – Book printing, Piety, Confession in the Poděbrady and Jagiellonian Era Lands of the Czech Crown], Praha 2018, pp. 139–179.

<sup>77</sup> Albert KUBIŠTA, *Konfesijní polemika – málo využívaný pramen k dějinám konfesionalizace* [Denominational Polemics – a Little Used Source for the History of Confessionalisation], *Opera historica* 11 (Společnost v zemích habsburské monarchie a její obraz v pramenech 1526–1740 [Society in the Lands of the Habsburg Monarchy and its Reflection in the Sources 1526–1740]) (eds. Václav BŮŽEK, Petr KRÁL), České Budějovice 2006, pp. 389–408.

<sup>78</sup> Ota HALAMA (ed.), *Mikuláš Konáč z Hodíškova. Pikartské dialogy* [Mikuláš Konáč of Hodíškov. Picardic Dialogues], Praha 2017, pp. 8–34.

are openly opposed only to the Unity of Brethren (the legal framework for this struggle was the St James's Mandate of 1508).

Only occasionally does the polemic become correct and factual, as represented perhaps only by the Lutherans Martin Klatovský (OKub 7) and Jakub Volínský (Volyňský, JHad 23). In general, however, the Catholic and Utraquist clergy only attacked and did not shy away from arguing against the Unity of Brethren with old wives' superstitions and blasphemy (KBau 2ab, 13ab). So far, 39 bibliographic items have been collected, written down under four denominational camps. The Unity of Brethren sensibly felt that it did not have to respond to every attack. It appears to have published a response to only half of the allegations. The older time of Lukáš Pražský was characterised by a rather apologetic, stylistically correct form. However, from 1543 on, Jan Augusta and Matěj Červenka forcibly tightened it and brought in their invectives.<sup>79</sup>

The Catholics (1485) were the first to oppose the Unity of Brethren, and to be followed later by the Utraquists (1511), then Martin Luther (1523) and the spurned Habrovans (1527), whose proposals for a merger they had successfully resisted. Polemics were initially written in Latin and aimed at the higher clergy and educated aristocracy. From 1508, when the St James's Mandate turned the anti-Brethren campaign into a matter of pan-societal interest, the Czech language entered this field strongly (POli 13), promoted by the lower clergy in the regions. From this it can be deduced that polemics – using not only the treatise and sermons but also the form of letters and discussions, and even the form which is now commonly referred to as a review – went through a process from the scholarly phase to popularisation (whether this process is associated with very high identification with authors, atypical for foreign countries, is a question). Only two Latin attacks on the Picards, i.e. the Unity of Brethren, Lutherans and folk preachers of all kinds, have a purely scholarly form. Curiously enough, they were printed using Schwabach (MKon 24, 40).

There is not a single monothematic polemic of the Utraquists with the Roman Church among the preserved Czech-language publications, because the struggle for the chalice took a more apologetic form, which suited the stability of compact dualism and the cohesion of the Calixtins better than any self-destructive negation of the papacy or the apostolic succession. While the relationship between conservative and radical

<sup>79</sup> P. VOIT, *Český knihtisk ...*, vol. 2 [Czech Book Printing], pp. 386–387.

Utraquists was reflected in the literature at least in an interestingly bipolar way (Bydžovský), no monothematic polemic of the conservative wing with Luther comes at all (only allusions from Konáč, for example, can be documented). Only two Catholics, the lawyer Racek Dubravus (1525) and the career prelate Jan Horák (1528–1531) most visibly developed anti-Lutheran polemics through their attacks in Latin. However, their works were printed abroad, in small print runs, and therefore no one can today estimate how much the domestic intelligentsia became acquainted with them.<sup>80</sup> The relocation of production to Dresden and Leipzig had no political background, as in the case of Velenský's Latin satire on the papacy published in 1520 in Augsburg and Basel, but was related to the helplessness of domestic printers, who until 1536 had neither the need nor the desire to equip themselves with roman type.

### III.

If doctrinal plurality can be metaphorically described as the most important coordinate of religious literature, then the following question is legitimate: how did printers and illustrators reflect the predominance of non-Catholic denominations? I have published some strategies at various times before,<sup>81</sup> but now, laid side by side, they better reveal the inventive gymnastics with which some producers addressed their book goods to the widest possible range of customers professing different religions.

I suspect that the Printer of the Prague Bible applied a targeted commercial strategy for the Passional 1495 (TPra 7), whose basic text

<sup>80</sup> Dubravus's and Horák's works are not included in the table printed above. More information is provided by Josef HEJNIC – Jan MARTÍNEK, *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě* [A Guide to Humanist Poetry in Bohemia and Moravia]. Založili Antonín TRUHLÁŘ a Karel HRDINA. Pokračovali Josef HEJNIC a Jan MARTÍNEK [Founded by Antonín TRUHLÁŘ and Karel HRDINA. Continued by Josef HEJNIC and Jan MARTÍNEK], vol. 2, Praha 1966, pp. 86–87 (Dubravus) and 333–336 (Horák).

<sup>81</sup> Petr VOIT, Česká a německá reformace v ilustraci české knihy první poloviny 16. století [The Czech and German Reformations in Czech Book Illustration of the First Half of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century]. In: Kateřina HORNÍČKOVÁ – Michal ŠRONĚK (eds.), *In puncto religionis. Konfesionální dimenze předbělohorské kultury Čech a Moravy* [In puncto religionis. Denominational Dimensions of the pre-White Mountain Culture of Bohemia and Moravia], Praha 2013, pp. 137–162; Petr VOIT, Konfesionální flexibilita a česká knižní kultura první poloviny 16. století [Denominational Flexibility and Czech Book Culture of the First Half of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century], *Documenta Pragensia* 33 (Město v převratech konfesionalizace v 15. až 18. století [The City in the Throes of Confessionalisation in the 15<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries]), 2014, pp. 611–622.

by Jacob Voragine satisfied Catholics. However, in 1495 some specimens acquired as a contemporary superimposition a Hussite *Dodatek* [Appendix], reprinted on spare copies of the *Passional* about 1500 and about 1510. So three times a mixed version was created, warmly welcomed by non-Catholic-minded readers. The Utraquist publishers of the *Bible benátská* [Venetian Bible] 1506 (PLie 1) behaved quite similarly, which was probably bought by a Catholic at a bookseller thanks to its place of publication. In order for publishers to make it clear that their work also belongs (and above all) to another part of the religious spectrum, they added a small woodcut to the New Testament Apocalypse, or at the end of the folio on fol. Ll6a; this differs from the borrowed Italian cycle in both style and subject. These are the standard Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse, but complemented unprecedentedly for 16<sup>th</sup> century book culture by the hellish mouth of a swallowing pope. This pictorial signal, coming from home and not influenced by the censorship there, unequivocally declared its distance from the Catholic context.

Another example is perhaps provided by the Old Town merchant Severin. After the Printer of the Prague Bible fell silent and Severin could not find another qualified craftsman among the Utraquists to occupy the for-profit workshop, he could offer a lease during the years 1512–1519, as it seems hypothetically today, to Hebrew and Cyrillic book printing.<sup>82</sup> There is one more example of non-partisanship. Like the scribes and illuminators of the Hussite era, illustrators, probably of German descent, settled in Prague from 1507 to 1527, working for profit rather than to defend a single religious line. They are approached to cooperate at the same time by the Utraquists and the Unity of Brethren, while not yet rejecting orders from the Jews or from the Belarusian Francisk Skorina.<sup>83</sup>

Around the same time, the Litomyšl printer Pavel Olivetský accepted an engagement with the Bishop of the Unity of Brethren Lukáš Pražský. As soon as Jiřík Štyrsa appears in Lukáš's Mladá Boleslav circle, his Brethren orders for Olivetský fall off, the printer feels greater freedom and inclines towards radical Utraquism. This change of faith gave him a new audience, and therefore a profit. The conservative Mikuláš Konáč, due to the lack of domestic literature in Prague 1510, translated

<sup>82</sup> P. VOIT, *Utrakvisté a knihtisk ...* [Utraquists and Book Printing], pp. 19–25.

<sup>83</sup> Petr VOIT, *Ornamentation of Prague Hebrew Books during the First Half of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century as a Part of Bohemian Book Design*. In: Olga SIXTOVÁ (ed.), *Hebrew Printing in Bohemia and Moravia*, Praha 2012, pp. 123–152.

into Czech and printed an anti-Hussite *Česká kronika* [Czech Chronicle] (MKon 8). Its author Pope Pius II was revered primarily by the Catholic elite, and therefore Konáč reprogrammed the one-sided interpretation of events – inter alia of course – with three illustrations, which, within the framework of state dualism, certainly impressed the majority Utraquist audience: The burning of Jan Hus, The Blind Jan Žižka at the head of the Hussite army and the Celebration of the Eucharist under both kinds.<sup>84</sup>

I want to show in more detail in another example how it was not to an author or literary genre that the relationship changed, but to a stable iconographic type. The Brethren *Apologia Sacrae scripture* was printed in 1511 at Hieronymus Höltzel in Nuremberg (HHöl 4), because the Czech and Moravian printers were not able to reproduce the Latin text adequately in roman type at that time. Höltzel used a woodcut on the front page of this defence of the Brethren faith with the theme of a Woman dressed in the sun. At this moment, it is unimportant to find that this was a simplified copy of a work by Albrecht Dürer,<sup>85</sup> but a question of how far the symbolism of the subject went. Just as the illustrations of Hus and Žižka blunted the spikes of the originally Catholic orientation of the *Czech Chronicle*, so in the case of the Brethren *Apologia* it is probable that in the seven-headed Beast those commissioning the work could identify the enemy of their religious community, and the standing figure, surrounded by the solar metaphor of God's loving care, evoked in them an officially persecuted, yet still living Brethren unity. If the selection of the original and the process of copying took place with the knowledge of the client (doctor and pharmacist Mikuláš Klaudyán) and the text editor (Bishop Lukáš Pražský), we have before us the oldest document speaking against Brethren iconoclasm in the field of book culture. The study of the Unity of Brethren will henceforth have to distinguish the image on the one hand as a means of supporting the cult and part of the prayerful interior and, on the other hand, the image as a didactic, aesthetic and rep-

<sup>84</sup> Jitka ŠREJBEROVÁ (ed.), *Svět kachlových kamen. Kachle a kachlová kamna severozápadních Čech* [The World of Tiled Stoves. Tiles and Tiled Stoves in North-Western Bohemia], Most 2017, p. 134 shows that the simplified image of Žižka at the head of his army was also extended to decorative stove tiles immediately after 1420.

<sup>85</sup> Petr VOIT, Albrecht Dürer a počátky české ilustrace [Albrecht Dürer and the Beginnings of Czech Illustration], *Acta Musei nationalis Pragae. Historia litterarum* 64/1–2, 2019, pp. 45–55, esp. 47–49.

representative element of the printed book.<sup>86</sup> It rejected the official views of contemporary written sources of painted or sculptural figures of saints in the prayer book, while the sober biblical image illuminating the text – and as the *Apologia* shows, perhaps sometimes going beyond it – was tolerated for commercial reasons. Editions by Pavel Olivetský, Jan Olivetský the Elder, Jiřík Štyrsa and Alexander Oujezdecký,<sup>87</sup> which arose in close connection with the responsible actors of the Unity, convince us that until the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century there was no rebellion against the religiously educational function of illustration.<sup>88</sup>

Like Konáč or Hölzel, bookbinders could also modify denominational indicators. The Strahov Library holds a Latin *Breviary* printed in Venice in 1517 for the Prague Archdiocese.<sup>89</sup> Its bookbinding is somewhat surprising, as it outwardly assigns reformist motifs to a Catholic liturgical handbook. The Prague bookbinder Jiřík printed a roller with double-lined medallions (Hus – Charles Habsburg V – Luther – Melanchthon – Erasmus) on the edges of both plates. The centre of the plates was filled with a rectangular plate with the Crucifixion. To the right of the cross, one cannot overlook the Old Testament parallel to the Elevation of the Snake,

<sup>86</sup> Michal ŠRONĚK, Jan Amos Komenský a jeho cesta k obrazům [Jan Amos Komenský and his Path to Images]. In: Petr HLAVÁČEK et al. (ed.), *(In)tolerance v evropských dějinách* [(In)Tolerance in European History], Praha 2011, pp. 141–157, esp. 142; Michal ŠRONĚK, Bratrská Bible z roku 1596. Příběh výzdoby a polemiky [The Brethren Bible from 1596. A Story of Decoration and Controversy]. In: Kateřina HORNÍČKOVÁ – Michal ŠRONĚK (eds.), *In puncto religionis. Konfesní dimenze předbělohorské kultury Čech a Moravy* [In puncto religionis. Denominational Dimensions of the pre-White Mountain Culture of Bohemia and Moravia], Praha 2013, pp. 217–232, esp. 217, where the premise stated by the author “the Brethren became the most productive authors opposing images in religious practice in Bohemia from the Hussite era up to the White Mountain, and the question of images was one of the important means by which they distinguished themselves from their opponents” seems to me as too much of a generalisation and therefore inaccurate.

<sup>87</sup> P. VOIT, *Český knihtisk ...*, vol. 2 [Czech Book Printing], pp. 366–368.

<sup>88</sup> While the later Ivančice-Kralice Brethren printing house rejected this religiously educational function of illustration, it let the book decor permeate the assemblages, some elements of which, on the contrary, were blasphemous in the context of the Bible or spiritual songs.

<sup>89</sup> *Breviarium horarum canonicarum* [= Breviarium Pragense]. Venice, Peter Liechtenstein 1517. Praha: Strahov Library, sign. DR III 31. For more details see Petr VOIT, *Rare Book-bindings of the Strahov Library in Prague. From the Gothic to the Threshold of the Baroque*, Praha 2020, pp. 145–148.



which can also be interpreted as the symbol of Philippe Melanchthon.<sup>90</sup> For it is precisely to this that is bound the almost unreadable motto, with which the plate under the scene of the Crucifixion ends: “SICVT MOS[es] EXALTAVIT SERPE[n]tem in deserto]” (according to John 3:14 And as Moses lifted up the serpent in the wilderness). We do not know the client for the bookbinding, but we may judge that he was a radical Utraquist clergyman who had to use a *Breviary*, but to the bookbinder he expressed the appropriate distance from the Catholic denomination with a specific order for artistic elements.

The Mladá Boleslav *Nový zákon* [New Testament] printed in 1518 by Mikuláš Klaudyán (MKla 5) is constantly labelled as the fruit of Brethren biblical studies, although we do not find direct evidence of the philological attention to detail of Brother Lukáš. There is nothing to contradict the assumption that the editing was conducted by the educated Klaudyán. On the other hand, it is striking how one passage targets the Utraquists with the argument of denominational closeness.<sup>91</sup> Similarly, we should see “confraternally”<sup>92</sup> the second, corrected wording of the *New Testament* 1525, published in Mladá Boleslav by Jiřík Štyrsa (JŠty 13a). His copies

<sup>90</sup> P. VOIT, *Český knihtisk ...*, vol. 2 [Czech Book Printing], p. 573, where the title page of the oldest known Czech *spelling book* 1541 was published under No. 169, which is complemented by the reformers' personal symbols – Luther's rose and Melanchthon's Exaltation of the Serpent.

<sup>91</sup> The passage reads: “Neither take me for giving the Germans the first place in truth, although to them and to all Christians above all nations in Christ, I would faithfully wish to know and use the truth, but mostly in Czech and in it to those who from many sides are closer to the truth are under both kinds” (MKla 5, fol. a4b).

<sup>92</sup> The term “confraternal edition” was introduced into hymnographic research by Eliška BAŤOVÁ, *Bratrská kancionálová tvorba předbělohorské doby novými očima?* [Brethren Hymn Book Work of the pre-White Mountain Period through New Eyes?]. In: Jiří MITÁČEK (ed.), *Za Kralickou do Kralic, aneb 400. výročí Bible kralické* [To Kralice for the Kralice Bible, or the 400<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the Kralice Bible], Brno 2013, pp. 135–144, esp. 137–139. However, Eliška Baťová's interpretation could give the impression that the term comes from Jan Blahoslav. He wrote about the 1519 and 1541 hymn books, for which the designation “confraternal” is most suitable, in the preface to the *Szamotoľy Hymnal*: “into that book [POLi 20] some songs *inserted against their will and knowledge*, some deleted, some changed in some places” and “stewards of congregations with many pious people, also *with some who are not in the Unity*, [Lukáš's followers] agreed why not do these Songs [PSev 48], knowing the great need thereof?” (AOuj 34a, fol. \*3b) [italics PV]. Both extracts clearly prove that in the creation of the hymn books of 1519 and 1541 there were other influences than just purely Brethren ones. Because a similar situation accompanied the *New Testaments* of 1518 and 1525, I take the term “confraternal edition” from my colleague Baťová here too, but I move it into a broader context.

did not end up only in the libraries of members and sympathisers of the Unity of Brethren, but also with Old Town Utraquists. We are convinced of this by a copy with a book binding from the Master of Czech Rights, who bought a plate with the emblem of the Old Town of Prague and the year 1525 for this very order.<sup>93</sup> The *Szamotuly Hymnal* of Alexander Oujezdecký (AOuj 34ab) was endorsed with a “confraternal clause” more than 30 years later, calling to address the Utraquists in words not unlike those of Klaudyán.<sup>94</sup>

Although I do not intend to construct artificial denominational bridges, the relations of the Unity of Brethren with Utraquism in the field of book printing are far from exhausted by these facts. A typometric analysis of old prints has revealed an unsuspected collaboration between Klaudyán’s successor Jiřík Štyrsa and the Prague Lutheran Pavel Severin.<sup>95</sup> The Brethren-oriented Štyrsa was the official printer of the Mladá Boleslav *New Testament* 1525, but the occurrence of the so-called Severin ornament suggests that Severin’s staff assisted in the typesetting as support. On the contrary, Severin did not mind Štyrsa’s denomination when in Prague he completely built his *Bible česká* [Czech Bible] 1529 (PSev 17) on the graphic image of a double-sided page of the Mladá Boleslav *New Testament* 1525 and began to use some of Štyrsa’s other typographic techniques, such as underlining summaries and headings. I think it is well known how Severin incorporated into the *Bible česká* [Czech Bible] 1529, and only at the beginning of John’s Gospel, the Czech imperfect “bíše [was]”.<sup>96</sup> Apparently he suspected that the defence of this old past tense, which Klaudyán had included in the *New Testament* 1518, in line with the

<sup>93</sup> Praha: Strahov Library, sign. DR IV 17. For more details see P. VOIT, *Rare Bookbindings* ..., p. 98.

<sup>94</sup> The passage reads: “To our beloved friends and brethren for the Father, who under both kinds, with whom we are one in both the article of receiving under both kinds etc. and in many other Christian articles” (AOuj 34a, fol. \*4b). P. VOIT points out the less than objective attitudes of older researchers, whom the appeal to the Utraquists certainly did not escape, but which due to the monolithically staged profile of the Unity of Brethren was suppressed, *Český knihtisk* ..., vol. 2 [Czech Book Printing], p. 268 note 182 and p. 421 note 583.

<sup>95</sup> P. VOIT, *Český knihtisk* ..., vol. 1 [Czech Book Printing], pp. 169–172; P. VOIT, *Český knihtisk* ..., vol. 2 [Czech Book Printing], p. 377.

<sup>96</sup> The passage reads: “Na počátku bíše slovo a slovo bíše u Boha a Buoh bíše slovo [In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God]. To bíše v počátku u Boha [The same was in the beginning with God]” (PSev 17, fol. FF1b). For more details, see R. DITTMANN – J. JUST, *Biblical Humanism* ..., p. 222.

theologically motivated translation programme of Bishop Lukáš, – nota bene precisely with a reference to John's initial verse, was still alive eleven years later and that the widespread eradication of the imperfect could result in a loss of interest from Brethren customers. And so Severin's only concession to language modernisation probably enabled reprogramming of the officially proclaimed denominational orientation of the *Bible česká* [Czech Bible] 1529 for the informed part of the audience.

Nevertheless, as an unproductive verb form, the imperfect is believed to have disappeared during the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>97</sup> However, this applies to printed texts only with numerous exceptions, as the prints of Mikuláš Bakalář, Pavel Olivetský, Mikuláš Klaudyán, Oldřich Velenský and in part, Jiřík Štyrsa are literally teeming with this language form at the end of the first quarter of the century, albeit extremely inconsistently. I estimate that the imperfect comes more often in translated texts than in originals, and therefore, in addition to paleolinguists, its study should also be taken up by translation theorists and finally shown by what means “word for word” was translated and “sense for sense”.

Today, the situation seems to researchers to be trivial, as a struggle for the imperfect, motivated by the Brethren imperative of a theologically accurate biblical translation. However, the said printers use the imperfect not only in Bibles and New Testaments, which are the most often pointed out today, but also in texts a degree more profane, such as Erasmus's *Kníha o rytíři křesťanském* [Book on the Christian Knight] of 1519 (OVel 2ab). This broad scope, together with the varied doctrinal characteristics of the printers just mentioned, who espoused Catholicism, Utraquism and the Unity of Brethren, may render somewhat problematic Taťána Vykypělová's hypothesis about denominationally conditioned variants of Czech.<sup>98</sup> Doctrinal influences played only a secondary role in the development of the language, as the mentality of society had a much stronger effect. Evidence of this is provided as late as the 1540s by editions of two parts of the so-called *Dodatek* [Appendix] to the *Passional* 1495 (TPra 7, 12, 22). The Utraquist coryphaeus, physician and printer Jan Chocenský left in the imperfect in his stories by Peter of Mladoňo-

<sup>97</sup> Pavel KOSEK (2017), Imperfektum [the imperfect]. In: Petr KARLÍK – Marek NEKULA – Jana PLESKALOVÁ (eds.), *CzechEncy – Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny* [New Encyclopedic Dictionary of Czech]. Available at <<https://www.czechency.org/slovník/IMPERFEKTUM>> [accessed April 2019].

<sup>98</sup> Taťána VYKYPĚLOVÁ, *Wege zum Neutschechischen. Studien zur Geschichte der tschechischen Schriftsprache*, Hamburg 2013, pp. 177–182.

vice about the martyrdom of Jan Hus and Jeroným Pražský (JCho 3–4). It is absolutely impossible to construct any connection with the Unity of Brethren here, so all that remains is to consider the deeply traditionalist way of life of Czech Utraquist society. Within this, both of Mladoňovic's stories stood at the level of sacred texts, and it was not desirable to remove their antiquity.

With a few chronologically arranged examples, I will return to the specific features of the confessionality of Czech illustration. It is no longer a secret that the appellative, indeed even parodic, function of the reformationally inclined title woodcuts of the Master of Fine Crosshatching from the 1520s soon faded away, and ideologically intensified cycles were cautiously replaced by mere indications.<sup>99</sup> When the Catholic-oriented printer Jan Pekk published his *Nový zákon* [New Testament] 1527 in Plzeň (JPek 3), he took over the passion part of the illustration cycle from the Catholic milieu and accompanied the Apocalypse with copies of George Lemberger's cycle, which was originally intended for Luther's translation of *Das Neue Testament Deutzsch* (Wittenberg 1524). When buying the book the origin of the blocks was probably not a matter of concern to any reader. The main attraction was the artistically impressive band, which neither Klaudyán's nor Štyrsa's recent edition could offer. In one of the apocalyptic illustrations in Pekk's *New Testament* a cross floats over the head of a Babylonian harlot. Since Lemberger's original has nothing like this, I understand the copyist's addition as an attempt to satisfy even a non-Catholic reader from Bohemia, who playfully associated the harlot with the Roman Church.<sup>100</sup> The equipment at Pekk's Plzeň workshop was bought by the Catholic Bartoloměj Netolický for his start-up. When in Prague in 1542 he published a mystical treatise on the ideal Holy Church by Jan of Příbram (BNet 13), he reprinted the block with

<sup>99</sup> P. VOIT, *Česká a německá reformace v ilustraci české knihy ...* [The Czech and German Reformation in Czech Book Illustration], pp. 149–153.

<sup>100</sup> Karel STEJSKAL, *Iluminované bible v Čechách a jejich vztah k západoevropské knižní malbě* [Illuminated Bibles in Bohemia and their Relation to West European Book Painting]. In: Helena PAVLINCOVÁ – Dalibor PAPOUŠEK (eds.), *Česká bible v dějinách evropské kultury* [The Czech Bible in the History of European Culture], Brno 1994, pp. 97–116, esp. 101 shows that transformation approaches were already common in 13<sup>th</sup> century manuscripts, when they did not have a denominational dimension, but lightened the serious text with humorous illustrations (e.g. Daniel plays with cute lion cubs in the lion's den).

the harlot. However, he considered the carved cross a provocation and had it taken out.<sup>101</sup>

Another example of denominational “speech” in illustrations is related to Pavel Severin. For the second edition of the *Bible česká* [Czech Bible] 1537 (PSev 39) he ordered a clear intervention in the German block with the Beast of the Apocalypse, on whose head rested the papal tiara.<sup>102</sup> Fearing disruption of the compact dualism, the Prague woodcutter reduced the tiara to an inconspicuous crown and filled the remaining gap with an implant with crosshatched tiles. Thus, the original reform signal was removed in the interests of religious peace. When the *Bible česká* [Czech Bible] 1549 (BNet 40ab) from the workshop of the Catholic Netolický used the same illustration, the crosshatching disappeared. A new implant in the form of a glowing snow-white “cap” appeared above the Beast’s head. This unmissable adjustment allowed for a double interpretation in its attitude towards the papacy – a Catholic appreciated it as a tactful rehabilitation and a non-Catholic laughed at the successful caricature. It was only up to the reader from which doctrinal position he would judge the shining place.

Our penultimate stop is also connected with Severin. His printing house ceased its operations in 1541 with the publication of *Písně chval božských* [Songs of Divine Praise] (PSev 48), in which the editor Roh certainly to Severin’s satisfaction unmistakably relied on a German Reformation song. Severin’s preface is tactfully silent on the Brethren orientation of the editor, the songs, and its future users so that the book does not lose its Utraquist audience. Although Roh’s hymn book, as mentioned above, was not an official act approved by the Brethren seniors, it was undoubtedly later incorporated into the hymnographic activities of the Unity. Thanks to Oujezdecký, the graphic type of this genre, developed by Severin, passed into the little-known *Královecký kancionál* [Královec Hymn Book], then into the *Šamotulský kancionál* [Szamotuly Hymn Book] and eventually became compulsory for all song collections leaving the Brethren printing house in Ivančice and Kralice after 1581.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>101</sup> VD16 B 4351, fol. T5b; JPek 3, fol. 220b; BNet 13, fol. P2a.

<sup>102</sup> Martin BOGHART, *Archäologie des gedruckten Buches*, Wiesbaden 2008, p. 72 shows that the same practice was already chosen in Luther’s *Das Newe Testament* 1522, in the versions called “Septembertestament” (VD16 B 4318) and “Dezembertestament” (VD16 B 4319).

<sup>103</sup> P. VOIT, *Český knihtisk ...*, vol. 2 [Czech Book Printing], pp. 420–431.

The highest-level “gymnastics” in the transformation of denominational signs were demonstrated by the publishing programme of the Catholic Bartholoměj Netolický. Within the national dual faith and with regard to the prosperity of his trade, Netolický had no options but to accept texts from the radical Utraquists Brtvín, Klatovský, Brikcí and Řezník. The already mentioned Jan of Příbram (BNet 13) fits with this group if not generationally, then ideologically. The way in which his treatise of 1429 on the ideal church was revitalized is a symptomatic example of cooperation within the Catholic-Utraquist model. The conservative Pavel Bydžovský, prepared a denominationally neutral treatise for the Catholic printing house and directed it to the Utraquists in the preface. With Brikcí’s recommendation, he dedicated it to the sons of Jan IV of Pernštejn, who at that time (1542) had begun to profile himself as a unifier of Moravian non-Catholics. In addition to the works of Czech Utraquists, printer Netolický published the work of the German Lutheran Anton Corvinus in two parts in 1542 – but his interpretations of the Gospels were published only with the consent of the censor, which tolerantly dismissed them as a substitute for the subdued influence of Martin Luther. However, the “de tempore” part (BNet 17) was opened by a translation of the original preface, also signed in the Czech version by Luther. In 1545, Netolický secretly completed Spangenberg’s catechesis *Perla Písma svatého* [The Pearl of the Holy Scriptures], the production of which was begun by Jan Severin the Younger (JSev 16). After March 1547, Netolický anonymously reproduced the anti-imperial appeal of the Saxon Elector Johann Friedrich I (BNet 30), printed in those days by the rising opponent of the Habsburgs, Jan Kosořský (JKos 3).

However, after the Schmalkaldic War in the autumn of 1547, there was a reversal of power, followed by repressions. These caused a shock among the non-Catholic nobility and especially in the military-political and property spheres of the cities. Immediately after the victory of the Catholic side, the ultimate punishment was suffered by the Olomouc printer Jan Olivetský the Elder. As early as September 1547, he was executed not for the production of non-conformist printed matter, but for his personal anti-Habsburg and anti-Catholic agitation, which was taken on treacherously by the pro-Lutheran city council, which denounced Olivetský. Of the Prague printers, only Jan Kantor Had was punished, but at the intercession of Jan Hodějovský of Hodějov, he received a pardon. After a two-year forced break, all printers working before the autumn



of 1547 returned to the craft, but now in the role of opponents of the Habsburg government.

This is how we again meet Ondřej Kubeš, a secret printer of anti-Habsburg and anti-papal leaflets during the Schmalkaldic War. Jan Kantor Had and Jan Kosořský returned; during 1547 they had been able to manoeuvre opportunistically between the Catholic and opposition wings.<sup>104</sup> Thus the renewal of book printing after a two-year ban lay from 1549 in the hands of those who soon forgot about their former anti-regime attitudes – Kubeš became the personal printer of astronomer Mikuláš Šúd of Semanín, Kantor Had acted as mediator for the moderate Utraquist Pavel Bydžovský and as a driver of Latin poetry and Kosořský sought to revitalize early Christian and medieval literature and to promote real knowledge. Nevertheless, Kosořský must be seen as a quietly resistant exception to pro-Habsburg loyalty. Into the Münster *Kozmografie* [Cosmography] (JKos 21) – a deed of pharaonic proportions in domestic book printing – in 1554 he had older initials with Jan Hus inserted and, moreover, against the zoological description of the “cruel robber and voracious bird the eagle” (as the passage was entitled by Sebastian Münster) did not place a documentary illustration on fol. 236b, as in the German and Latin versions, but a blasphemy in the form of an imperial emblem with a double-headed eagle.

Immediately after the ban on book printing, Utraquist Jiří Melantrich joined the old-new Catholic Netolický. Wanting to stay in the craft at all costs, he obtained employment at the only authorised printer – despite the moral concessions he used to assist in the production of Ferdinand's I *Akta všech těch věcí* [Acts of All These Things] 1547 (BNet 36, 38), which was rejected by most of Czech society. As Melantrich's prefaces to later Bibles testify, he gradually sought to obscure the optics of his “infamous” beginnings in his own favour.<sup>105</sup>

The book culture of the 1550s and 1560s did not return to the tracks laid down in Nuremberg in 1546 by the *Tragedy nová Pammachius jmé-*

<sup>104</sup> In February 1547, their printing houses issued the defiant *A declaration and amical order of the Czech estates* (KHad 23, JKos 2) and immediately in the spring at the king's will *O nařízení veřejné hotovosti* [On the Regulation of Public Readiness] (KHad 25, JKos 4).

<sup>105</sup> Petr VOIT, Neslavné začátky slavného tiskaře Jiřího Melantricha [The Infamous Beginnings of the Famous Printer Jiří Melantrich]. In: Anežka BAĎUROVÁ – Kamil BOL-DAN – Andrea JELÍNKOVÁ – Marta VACULÍNOVÁ (eds.), *Humanismus v rozmanitosti pohledů. Farrago festiva Iosepho Hejnic nonagenario oblata* [Humanism in a Variety of Perspectives. Farrago festiva Iosepho Hejnic nonagenario oblata], Praha 2014, pp. 285–296.

*no mající* [New Tragedy Bearing the Name of Pammachius] (CGut 4). This anti-Roman parody by Thomas Kirchmeyer (Naogeorg) undoubtedly contained the most caustic reformational woodcut cycle that we have in the history of domestic illustration, even though it is not of Czech origin.<sup>106</sup> Czech bookbinders behaved as tamely as did domestic graphic artists. Even before the Schmalkaldic War, and even less after it, they did not step onto the thin ice of the blasphemies typical of the Wrocław monogrammist CMB. In 1547, he used a roller modelled after the older German *bilderbogen*, depicting the most senior Catholic theologians with the heads of a cat, a goat, a lion, a pig and a dog.<sup>107</sup>

Therefore, Netolický's *Bible česká* [Czech Bible] 1549 (BNet 40ab) deserves a separate paragraph; in it a full-page border with the allegorical theme of Law and Grace was used. It is a larger version, different in its detail, of the Nuremberg woodcut of Erhard Schön, acquired based on the designs of Lucas Cranach the Elder. A smaller version with dimensions of 122 × 84 mm was created for the Nuremberg *Nový zákon* [New Testament] 1538 (LMil 1).<sup>108</sup> The theme of the larger and more elaborate version 250 × 158 mm owned by Netolický is more in line with the title woodcut of Luther's German Bible 1541 (VD16 B 2712). One of the thematic similarities is that a monk, a prostitute, a bishop and the Pope are waiting in hellish flames for the sinner expelled by Moses. The Catholic Netolický accepted the border perhaps under the pressure of his co-founder Melantrich, and since the majority clientele of the workshop after 1547 consisted only of his Catholic fellow believers (Utraquists began a boycott), he cautiously "backed" the border on fol. A4b so as not to

<sup>106</sup> P. VOIT, *Česká a německá reformace v ilustraci české knihy ...* [The Czech and German Reformation in Czech Book Illustration], pp. 151–153. P. VOIT, *Český knihtisk ...*, vol. 2 [Czech Book Printing], pp. 525–526.

<sup>107</sup> Johann FUNCK, *Chronologia hoc est Omnium temporum et annorum ... computatio*, Nürnberg, Georg Wachter 1545 (Praha: Strahov Library, sign. AM XII 9). For more details see P. VOIT, *Rare Bookbindings ...*, pp. 117–121.

<sup>108</sup> From the property of Leonhard Milchtaler, this smaller border passed to Johann Günther, who exported it to Moravia (JGün 1, 2, 5). It is worth noting that after a while it ended up in the Pseudo-Josquin *Musica* 1561 (JGün 96). The book is an instructional guide to the *Szamotuly Hymnal*, but it is hardly conceivable that the Lutheran border of Law and Grace was included on the title page with the knowledge or at the request of the Brethren seniors. Jan ROYT, *Grafický list s luteránským námětem Alegorie zákona a milosti ve vydáních Melantrichovy bible* [Graphic Sheet with the Lutheran Theme Allegory of Law and Grace in Editions of Melantrich's Bible], *HOP Historie – Otázky – Problémy* 5/2, 2013, pp. 45–62 does not mention this version or its distribution within Günther's prints.

turn against the Reformation theme. The Bible gained a ten-year privilege and went through standard censorship<sup>109</sup> and is dedicated to Archduke Maximilian, the future Czech king. The Wittenberg origins of the Lutheran picture cycle, which came from Severin's second Bible in 1537, were certainly uncovered by only a few readers, but the fact that the archduke was openly inclined to non-Catholics opened the way to the Netolický Bible for them also.<sup>110</sup>

As pragmatic as that of Melantrich was the behaviour of Sixt of Ottersdorf, the leading ideologue of the estates opposition during the repressions of Ferdinand I, when he quietly joined Netolický as a translator and editor during the two-year ban on book printing. No wonder – Alexander Oujezdecký, a member of the Unity of Brethren, again wrote complaints that he was being prevented from converting to the Catholic faith. He wanted to save the printing house in Litomyšl by involuntary conversion, which no one however believed. After being offered a helping hand by fellow believers from abroad, he emigrated to Prussia in the spring of 1549.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>109</sup> Since a good half of the aforementioned examples can be classified as official book goods (as opposed to the products of regional separatist printers), the question arises as to the relationship of denominational business strategies to the Prague censorship authorities. For the older period, there is no direct support in the paratexts of books or in documentary material, but the method of provisional supervision seems to have changed during the first and second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. At first, only the manuscript was submitted, while the final linguistic and decorative-illustrative treatment took place freely at the printer's will only at the subsequent production. However, at the latest with the offensive of the Prague Archbishop Antonín Brus 1561, the censors demand printed sheets, as evidenced, among other things, by the dispute of Jiří Melantrich in relation to the *Czech Bible* 1570. This stricter approach significantly limited the previous strategy of producers.

<sup>110</sup> A larger version of the Law and Grace border accompanied all of Melantrich's future editions of the Bible (1556/1557, 1560/1561, 1570, and 1577). Only in these was multi-confessionality reflected in the Protestant doxology (addendum) to the Lord's Prayer, proclaiming the glory of God (Mt 6). As far as I know, Czech book printing came with this doxology for the first time in the *Czech spelling book* 1547 (JGün 19), where on fol. A4a there is the addendum "for thine is the kingdom, the power, and the glory, for ever and ever. Amen". *Slabikár* [Spelling Book] 1541 (JHad 22) has the Lord's Prayer without the addendum just like the *Nuremberg Bible* 1540 (LMil 2), which with regard to its place of publication could be considered at first sight as non-Catholic, although it is a passive reprint of the second Severin Bible. Later Catholic censors crossed out, blacked out, or excluded the doxology from the Melantrich Bibles.

<sup>111</sup> P. VOIT, *Český knihtisk ...*, vol. 2 [Czech Book Printing], pp. 416–419.

## IV.

At this point, Ujezdecký will be presented untraditionally as the main protagonist of today's reflections on the confessionalisation of language, which I have only touched on only briefly so far. However, I must start with a widely written and printed typeface, which during the late Middle Ages throughout Europe used several variants to capture the same phoneme. In Europe this diversity affected Gothic (Bastard) and neo-Gothic (Schwabach, Fraktur) fonts in Europe, as their common feature was their book decoration origin<sup>112</sup> – in contrast to the older roman type, whose regular and unambiguous design was based on an inscription type carved with a chisel. In Bohemia, this diversity is, of course, most evident in Bastard and Schwabach. Incunabula printers in Plzeň and Prague set linguistically Latin and Czech texts with slightly different Bastards, which contain seven to nine equivalent letters cast in two or more drawn variants.<sup>113</sup> With Mikuláš Konáč, both for the Upper Rhine Bastard after 1507 and in Schwabach from 1513, there is also a double <b> – and it must be added, in full accordance with the practice of typesetters in German-speaking

<sup>112</sup> František MUZIKA, *Krásné písmo ve vývoji latinky* [Beautiful Calligraphy in the Development of Latin Type], Vol. 1, Praha 1963. The written English Bastard reproduced here (p. 446) using 3 forms <a>, 2 <b>, 7 <d>, 4 <g>, 2 <h>, 2 <k>, 2 <l>, 3 <m>, 2 <n>, 2 <p>, 6 <r>, 6 <s>, 2 <t>, 3 <v>, 3 <y>; the written German Bastard (p. 478) using 3 forms <b>, 2 <c>, 4 <d>, 2 <c>, 4 <d>, 2 <e>, 2 <f>, 4 <g>, 4 <h>, 3 <i>, 4 <k>, 3 <l>, 2 <n>, 2 <p>, 2 <q>, 5 <r>, 5 <s>, 2 <t>, 2 <v>, 3 <y>, 4 <z>; the oldest version of the German Schwabach which appeared at the printer Friedrich Creussner, Nuremberg 1488 (p. 486) using 2 forms <d>, 2 <i>, 2 <l>, 2 <s>, 3 <š>, 2 <v>; the so-called Gebetbuchfraktur from Augsburg 1513 (p. 493) using 2 forms <a>, 3 <b>, 2 <d>, 2 <f>, 2 <ff>, 3 <g>, 3 <h>, 2 <i>, 4 <l>, 2 <m>, 2 <n>, 2 <o>, 2 <p>, 4 <q>, 2 <r>, 3 <s>, 2 <x>, 2 <y>, 2 <z>; the so-called Theuerdankfraktur from Nuremberg 1517 (p. 494) using 3 forms <d>, 2 <ff>, 2 <g>, 2 <h>, 2 <k>, 2 <l>, 2 <r>, 2 <s>. For the sake of clarity, I limit the list of drawing variants just to minuscule alphabets, although the diversity also affected the letters of the capital alphabet.

<sup>113</sup> F. MUZIKA, *Krásné písmo ...*, vol. 1 [Beautiful Calligraphy], p. 469 publishes the alphabet of the *Kronika trojanská* [Trojan Chronicle], [Plzeň 1484–1486] with 3 forms <h>, 4 <i>, 2 <k>, 2 <l>, 2 <r>, 4 <s>, 2 <š>, 2 <u>, 2 <x>; on the same page there is the alphabet of the *Nový zákon se signetem* [New Testament with Printers Mark] [Plzeň 1482–1483] with 2 forms <cz>, 4 <i>, 2 <l>, 2 <m>, 2 <n>, 2 <r>, 2 <s>, 3 <š>, 2 <u>; on p. 470 the lower example shows the alphabet of the *Pasionál neilustrovaný* [Unillustrated Passional] [Plzeň 1480s] with 2 forms <cz>, 3 <i>, 2 <k>, 2 <l>, 2 <m>, 2 <n>, 2 <r>, 2 <s>, 3 <š>; on p. 471 we see the Bastard alphabet of Martin of Tišnov (Praha 1488) using 2 forms <i>, 2 <l>, 2 <m>, 2 <n>, 2 <r>, 2 <s>, 3 <š>, 2 <z>; on the same page the alphabet of the Printer of the Prague Bible (Praha 1488) using 2 forms <d>, 2 <i>, 2 <l>, 2 <s>, 3 <š>, 3 <t>, 2 <v>. For the sake of clarity, I again limit the list of drawing variants just to minuscule alphabets, although the diversity also affected the letters of the capital alphabet.

countries.<sup>114</sup> Until 1522, Pavel Severin also has two drawing variants of the letter <b> in Bastard, but he does not distinguish between them in typesetting.<sup>115</sup>

Contemporary grammarians, starting with Beneš Optát and modern linguists, have dealt with the rich variety of typeface variants only insofar as it was hypothetically possible to express differences in pronunciation through these drawing deviations. Thus, while most of the above-mentioned type variants have silently disappeared from the attention of grammarians and linguists, only speculation about the pair of “hard” and “soft” letters remains. For single-bowled and double-bowled <b> the former pronunciation was not and probably will never be documented,<sup>116</sup> but of the double letter <l> it was considered that the still flat variant corresponded to a soft pronunciation, while the looped variant captured a hard pronunciation.

After this rather tedious but necessary prologue, we can come to the heart of the matter. It concerns a two-variant <l>, which has recently been associated with the denominational atmosphere, in the sense that the differentiated pronunciation was a symptom of several dialects, while the differentiated typesetting table belonged only to the prints of the Unity of Brethren.<sup>117</sup> The protagonist responsible for this distinction is sup-

<sup>114</sup> P. VOIT, *Český knihtisk ...*, vol. 2 [Czech Book Printing], p. 173 publishes photographically Konáč's alphabets of printing Bastard and Schwabach, in which the double <b> also occurs, and again randomly.

<sup>115</sup> P. VOIT, *Český knihtisk ...*, vol. 1 [Czech Book Printing], p. 113, which includes photographic evidence of how Severin in an early translation of Luther's treatise from 1520 (PSev 1, fol. \*2a) on one page sets the word “neb [because]” many times and always goes at random for a different <b> with either one, or two bowls.

<sup>116</sup> In complying with the orthographic intention to use the single-bowl form in front of the front vowels and the double-bowl form in front of the back vowels, the actual prints of the earliest Czech grammarians in Náměšť nad Oslavou also failed, even where the single-bowl form was to be used before <i> and the two-bowls form before <y>, see Ondřej KOUPIIL (ed.), *Beneš Optát, Petr Gzel, Václav Philomathes: Gramatika česká* [Czech Grammar] (1533), Praha 2019, pp. 15–16. It is noteworthy that Jan Blahoslav also did not explain the existence of the double <b>, but he refused the reflex of pronunciation to its distribution, because “*b* has but one and the same sound”, see Mirek ČEJKA – Dušan ŠLOSAR – Jana NECHUTOVÁ (eds.), *Gramatika česká Jana Blahoslava* [Czech Grammar by Jan Blahoslav], Brno 1991, p. 42 (31b). Jaroslav PORÁK, *Humanistická čeština. Hláskosloví a pravopis* [Humanist Czech. Phonology and Spelling], Praha 1983, pp. 37, 81–83 recounts again the Náměšť argument, based on the “softness” or “hardness” of sounds and letters, as well as Blahoslav's disagreement, but he does not pay any more attention to the inconsistent alternation of the double <b>.

<sup>117</sup> T. VYKYPĚLOVÁ, *Wege zum Neutschechischen ...*, pp. 169–181.

posed to have been the aforementioned Brethren printer Alexandr Oujezdecký.<sup>118</sup> He introduced straight <l> and <ł> with the loop as early as his apprenticeship period 1531 and then continuously, and therefore quite symptomatically 1534–1566, although typesetters of various training and habits went through his workshops in Litomyšl, Královec and Szamotuly.<sup>119</sup> Oujezdecký was thus two years ahead of Optát's requirement to distinguish the letters <l> according to pronunciation and in contrast to the output of the Tiskárna zámecká [Chateau printing house] in Náměšť 1533–1535, was 100% consistent.<sup>120</sup> However, we must also take into account the fact that the double <ł> is also used by one of the Plzeň Catholic incunabula printers as early as the mid-1480s in the *Kronika trojánská* [Trojan Chronicle]. Shortly afterwards, the Catholic Martin of Tišnov adopted this practice in Prague, and for a long time the Utraquist Printer of the Prague Bible espoused it. But unlike Oujezdecký, all three incunabula printers distribute letters in terms of soft and hard pronunciation quite randomly, as if they rather wanted, meeting their readers half-way, only to evoke the antiquity of their products.

In my opinion, not even with Oujezdecký, the Litomyšl member of the Unity of Brethren can we yet consider any denominational conditionality for the letters we are examining, because the workshop symptom of a double <l> also obligatorily accompanies non-Brethren texts, such as the general collection of Brikcí's *Práva městská* [City Rights] 1536 (AOu 6a–c). And what's more – when Oujezdecký cooperated in 1538 with his relative Jan Olivetský the Elder on publishing City Rights (JOli 2 + AOuj 10), double <ł> was distinguished only in the second, Litomyšl part of the text, while the initial part, set by Olivetský in Olomouc, remained free of this variant.

Therefore it is appropriate to consider that a specific private usage may have stemmed from the dialect situation of Plzeň, where Oujezdecký was born and where, according to Blahoslav's testimony, double <ł> in pro-

<sup>118</sup> P. VOIT, *Český knihtisk ...*, vol. 2 [Czech Book Printing], pp. 382–383.

<sup>119</sup> P. VOIT, *Český knihtisk ...*, vol. 2 [Czech Book Printing], p. 319, 472.

<sup>120</sup> J. PORÁK, *Humanistická čeština ...* [Humanist Czech], p. 81, in line with 20<sup>th</sup> century literary historians, considers the Náměšť cultural centre to be Brethren, and therefore its printing output a priori underpins the obligatory occurrence of a double <ł>. On the problems with real distribution, see P. VOIT, *Český knihtisk ...*, vol. 2 [Czech Book Printing], p. 383 and on the opinion of Náměšť grammarians for the last time O. KOUPIL (ed.), *Beneš Optát, Petr Gzel, Václav Philomathes: Gramatika česká ...* [Czech Grammar] (1533), pp. 19–20, note to line 33.



nunciation actually applied (Jan Olivetský came from Litomyšl).<sup>121</sup> More important, however, is the continuation of this hypothesis in that the usage reflected the obsessive need of Oujezdecký to distinguish his goods from the output of other printing houses.<sup>122</sup> The fact that denominational motives played no significant role here, only a meticulously guarded individuality, is shown indirectly by Oujezdecký's father-in-law Pavel Olivetský, who introduced no language norms to define his Brethren prints, although he likely came from eastern Moravia, where this dialect specific was also common. Nor was the double <l> implemented by the other disciplined Brethren printers Jiřík Štyrsa and Jindřich Šturm.

However, it did not take long for the typesetting usage of Oujezdecký's Brethren printing house to take the form of an orthographic rule, thanks to Optát's explanation in *Isagogicon* 1535 (TNám 5). Three decades later, when the Unity of Brethren installed a printing house in Ivančice after the autumn of 1561, other circumstances had a much stronger effect: the miserable end of Oujezdecký's Litomyšl career after the Schmalkaldic War, the Královec anabasis and his Szamotuly merits. All this could have strengthened the printer's authority so significantly that the typesetters of the newly founded Tiskárna bratrská [Brethren printing house] in Ivančice began to imitate some of Oujezdecký's typographic elements. Only now, when the initially private typesetting usage was somewhat generalised by imitation, can the considerations of denominational colouring be authenticated through the perspective of modern Czech linguists.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>121</sup> M. ČEJKA – D. ŠLOSAR – J. NECHUTOVÁ (eds.), *Gramatika česká Jana Blahoslava ...* [Czech Grammar by Jan Blahoslav], pp. 281 (270a).

<sup>122</sup> P. VOIT, *Český knihtisk ...*, vol. 2 [Czech Book Printing], pp. 388–389, where a passage about Oujezdecký's unprecedented editorial professionalism and copyright ethics, i.e. about features which, like correct imprints, distinguished the Litomyšl workshop from the domestic standard and which may have been related to phonologically individualized typography.

<sup>123</sup> A non-systemic exception is Klatovský's *Knížka v českém a německém jazyku složená* [Book Composed in Czech and German], which was printed in November 1540 by the Prague Catholic Bartoloměj Netolický (BNet 3). The double <l> is found in Schwabach No. 2, in which was the *Book* was typeset. This font appears earlier (February 1540) in the Netolický setting of Brtvín's book of commerce (BNet 2) and a little later (March 1541) in Brikcí's explanation of legal norms (BNet 4) – but in both cases only with a straight letter <l>. After November 1540, Netolický therefore routinely sets only the drawing double <b> and <r>. All these differences point to the freedom and individuality of the typesetting rules and, of course, also to the fact that at that time domestic printing houses had not yet much considered typographic or spelling standardization. For more details see Ondřej KOUPIL, *Grammatykáři. Gramatografická a kulturní reflexe češtiny 1533–1672* [Grammarians. Gramatographic and Cultural Reflections on Czech 1533–1672], Praha 2007, pp. 182–183.

However, there is the question of whether the Prague printer Daniel Adam of Veleslavín also understood the usage in such a doctrinal way – and not just orthographically – when he imported it on his own into Prague as a sympathizer or allegedly even a secret member of the Unity of Brethren.<sup>124</sup> If we answer yes using modern linguistics,<sup>125</sup> in the future we have to deal with other burning questions, to what extent the spirit of the Veleslavín workshop approached the status of a secret unofficial branch of the Brethren printing house, or whether the religious part of the Veleslavín output was to act in competition with Ivančice. Immediately after, another unknown appears – to what extent could the *Bible česká* [Czech Bible] 1613, printed by Samuel Adam of Veleslavín, represent a kind of antipodes to the second edition of the *Kralická jednodílka* [Kralice Single-Volume] 1613?<sup>126</sup>

On the other hand, as a native Pole Andreas Graudens, the Litomyšl successor to Oujezdecký, had the full right to retain the double letter <l> in Schwabach, but already at its première in 1573 he got rid of the hard pronounced <l> with loop, to show as a Catholic a doctrinal distance from the contemporarily Brethren line of Litomyšl book printing.<sup>127</sup>

<sup>124</sup> Olga FEJTOVÁ (ed.), „*A tak ne oni nás, ale my je zpravovati máme!*“ *Jednota bratrská v městech pražských v době předbělohorské a rejstřík členů pražského sboru* [“And so it is not they who are to administer us, but we them!” The Unity of Brethren in the Towns of Prague in the pre-White Mountain Period and the Register of Members of the Prague Congregation], Praha 2014, pp. 37, 55 provides credible evidence that the children of Daniel Adam, namely the printer Samuel and Dorota, were enrolled in the Prague Czech-language congregation of the Unity of Brethren. For older constructions, see Z. V. DAVID, *Nalezení střední cesty* ... [Finding the Middle Way], pp. 48–49.

<sup>125</sup> T. VYKYPĚLOVÁ, *Wege zum Neutschechischen* ..., p. 179.

<sup>126</sup> These questions resulted from a friendly debate conducted in 2018 by the author of the article with Ondřej Koupil on Veleslavín's lexicography.

<sup>127</sup> Because the double <l>, about which many words have now been said, is mostly connected with the Unity of Brethren, I would like to add a few more remarks in general to the term “Brethren orthography”. The term has been used to this day since the time of Jungmann and then since 1894, when it was authorised by Jan Gebauer, and it is expected from it that this spelling was formed within the Unity of Brethren, or to be more exact, in the context of Brethren prints. However, this is not quite true. Apart from the identical practice of the incunabula printers, the orthographic changes proposed in 1533 by the Utraquist Beneš Optát became the basis of the Brethren system. Only in the second phase, which is associated about twenty years later with Jan Blahoslav, do the changes enshrined in the *Náměšť Czech Grammar* (TNam 1) seep into the Brethren environment, in which the unification of double-track diacritical and digraph recording continues. Since the last third of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, however, Brethren orthography – mainly thanks to the authority of Daniel Adam of Veleslavín – had crossed the territory of the Ivančice-Kralice Unity of Brethren and for the next 200 years was accepted by Czech and Moravian printers that had nothing

## V.

Bookbinding is probably the most widely practiced artistic craft right after book printing, with products with their multiple decoration of plates appealing from bookstore counters to a socially and mentally diverse customer base. Since the oldest layer of denominationally differentiated religious prints dates back to 1517, when Martin Luther stepped forward, a question at the end of this article should be whether following the conclusion of the religious peace in Kutná Hora (1485) the state dualism of Utraquists and Catholics or the unofficial trialism, arising de facto from the activities of the Unity of Brethren, were also manifested in bookbinding decoration.

Compared to the later period, the answer is no. The blind-print decoration of the second half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century was apolitical and denominationally generalised in this country as well as in the whole of Europe (from the 1470s the Czech lion, single-headed eagle, rosette, two-tailed

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to do with the ideology of the Unity. Therefore, it is more appropriate to call this stage of development using a more neutral and also content-wider term “printer orthography”. This designation better captures the diametrically different situation in the so-called “calligraphic spelling” and at the same time accepts the fact that standard Czech did not adopt any denominationally conditioned language features. For more information on “printer orthography”, see Alena FIDLEROVÁ, Ke vztahům mezi písařským a tiskařským pravopisným územ v raně novověkých rukopisech [On Relations between Printer and Calligraphic Spelling Usage in Early Modern Manuscripts], *Bohemica Olomucensia 3 – Filologica Juvenilia 1*, 2009, pp. 40–47; Ondřej KOUPIL, Alphabetum Boëmicum (1718), slabikář pro učené [Alphabetum Boëmicum (1718), Spelling Guide for Scholars], *Listy filologické* 136, 2013, pp. 365–382. For more information on the non-adoption of denominational features in standard Czech, see Pavel KOSEK (2017), Brethren Orthography. In: Petr KARLÍK – Marek NEKULA – Jana PLESKALOVÁ (eds.), *CzechEncy – Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny* [New Encyclopedic Dictionary of Czech]. Available at <[https://www.czechency.org/slovník/BRATRSKÝ\\_PRAVOPIS](https://www.czechency.org/slovník/BRATRSKÝ_PRAVOPIS)> [accessed April 2019].

After all, a similar sense of emphasis – trying to bring artificially overvalued labels into the social context – also accompanies the nationalist-motivated term “humanist Czech”. That term was still recently (1979) being authoritatively defended by J. PORÁK, *Humanistická čeština ...* [Humanist Czech] without its “humanist” features being objectively explained. Nevertheless, out of inertia so-called “humanist Czech” is written about even today, for more details see Dušan ŠLOSAR, Pavel KOSEK (2017), *Humanistická čeština* [Humanist Czech]. In: Petr KARLÍK – Marek NEKULA – Jana PLESKALOVÁ (eds.), *CzechEncy – Nový encyklopedický slovník češtiny* [New Encyclopedic Dictionary of Czech]. Available at <[https://www.czechency.org/slovník/HUMANISTICKÁ\\_ČEŠTINA](https://www.czechency.org/slovník/HUMANISTICKÁ_ČEŠTINA)> [accessed April 2019]. On the inflation of the term “humanism” in 20<sup>th</sup> century literary research, see Petr VOIT, *Koncept humanismu v marxisticky formované paleobohe-mistice (1956–1996)* [The Concept of Humanism in Marxist Formed Paleobohe-mistice (1956–1996)], *Česká literatura* 66/6, 2018, pp. 777–812.

mermaid and pelican feeding its young were popular in Bohemia). This repertoire surprisingly coincided with the most common motifs of stove tiles, but the socio-cultural reasons for this have not yet been explored.<sup>128</sup> The political development of Bohemia provided a chance to reverse the uniform development of crafts, or at least significantly enrich it, but neither the numerically predominant Calixtins nor the minority Unity of Brethren made any use of stove tiles or the design of books to promote the first,<sup>129</sup> Hussite, reformation or their own teachings (just a few decades earlier, however, the generational forerunners of both religious communities were able to benefit greatly from the agitation power of choral singing).

Utraquist or, more precisely, non-Catholic iconography has since the 15<sup>th</sup> century offered several established themes (Hus as saint and martyr, Jeroným Pražský as martyr, Žižka as military leader, the lay chalice of salvation and communion under both kinds as symbols of Utraquism).<sup>130</sup> However, their promotion in arts and crafts, fine arts, sculpture and especially in the individual spheres of book culture was not uniform. This should not surprise us, given the specifics of individual and mass ordering under a religiously dualistic model. The fact that the Calixtin elite remained more or less passive even during the introduction and use of book printing for church administration and the university, and that illustration and book décor underpinned a very mild agitation function has already been discussed.<sup>131</sup> It is enough to point out the ideologically toothless

<sup>128</sup> P. VOIT, *Rare Bookbindings ...*, pp. 21–24, 28–31. Dana MENOŠKOVÁ – Zdeněk MĚŘINSKÝ (eds.), *Kráska, která hřeje* [Beauty that Warms], Uherské Hradiště 2008, p. 26 (No 52) a pelican feeding its young, 45 (No 101–105) two-tailed mermaid, 99 (No 283–287) Czech lion, 144–148 (No 452–479) rosette. Other motif similarities between late Gothic tiles and bookbinding relate, for example, to e.g. inscription ribbons (pp. 34–35, No 91–100) and cathedral pattern (pp. 121–137, No 373–449).

<sup>129</sup> Pavel SOUKUP, *Kauza reformace. Husitství v konkurenci reformních projektů* [The Reformation Cause. Hussitism in Competition with Reform Projects]. In: Pavlína RYCHTEROVÁ – Pavel SOUKUP (eds.), *Heresis seminaria. Pojmy a koncepty v bádání o husitství* [Heresis seminaria. Concepts and Terms in the Study of Hussitism], Praha 2013, pp. 172–231, esp. 206–214, where the relationship between Hussitism and Lutheranism was most recently discussed.

<sup>130</sup> Milena BÍLKOVÁ, *Ikongrafie v utrakvistické teologii* [Iconography in Utraquist Theology]. Dissertation thesis of the Hussite Theological Faculty of Charles University in Prague, Praha 2007, pp. 69–72. Available at <<https://is.cuni.cz/webapps/zzp/detail/134110/>> [accessed August 2019].

<sup>131</sup> B. ZILYNSKÁ, *Tištěná média a synodální praxe utrakvistů do poloviny 16. století ...* [Printed Media and Utraquist Synodal Practice up to the Middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century], pp. 29–40.

cycle of paintings by Tovačovský *Hádání Pravdy a Lži* [Disputation on Truth and Lies] 1539 (JSev 7), the only defence of Utraquism in literary form. On the contrary, although the Unity of Brethren, living in its introverted way and dealing with its own problems, had adopted book printing very early, it had not yet generated such potential as to become involved with book culture on a national scale.

At the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the traditional repertoire of late Gothic bookbinding stamps disappeared and was replaced by tools that better suited the increasing volume of book production, namely rollers and plates. However, the motif unification of the new tooling together with the passivity of wealthier customers were so strong<sup>132</sup> that for several decades they deferred the differentiation of craft and decorative concepts into “lower” and “higher”. Thus, while the artistic bookbinders of the Romanesque part of Europe offered the beauty of an ideology-free ornament on bookbindings of a “higher” style, their Czech colleagues, in accordance with social priority, agitated en masse for faith and morality, regardless of whether it was aimed at the higher aristocracy or bourgeois reader. Only the so-called Master of Czech Rights weakened the agitation function of bookbinding in connection with Silesia between about 1518–1536 in Prague, but he failed to find a successor.<sup>133</sup>

In this context, one cannot fail to mention the magnificent but hitherto little-known contribution of the first Catholic prayer book called *Hortulus anime*, translated and edited by Jan Mantuan in 1520 and issued by the Nuremberg printer Hieronymus Höltzel (HHöl 20).<sup>134</sup> The illustration blocks of the Nuremberg edition were moved to Plzeň as early as 1533, where a second edition was arranged (TBak 4); the blocks later enriched the Prague workshop of the Catholic Bartholoměj Netolický. Already at the time of its establishment in 1520, when the *Hortulus* had also penetrated into Catholic Kraków, some parts of the illustration band (St Jerome, Catherine, Paul and Wenceslas) were being copied for book-binding plates. This early Renaissance Silesian tooling then ended up with the Prague Master of Czech Rights, whose clientele included not only the

<sup>132</sup> See note 25 on the contrast between the preference for Czech in printed goods and Latin texts on rollers and plates with biblical or other Christian motifs. Czech was respected only in the names of works, individually and incrementally pressed into book covers.

<sup>133</sup> P. VOIT, *Rare Bookbindings* ..., pp. 94–110.

<sup>134</sup> P. VOIT, *Český knihtisk* ..., vol. 2 [Czech Book Printing], pp. 68–73. J. MAREK (ed.), *Nebeský žebřík* ... [The Stairway to Heaven], pp. 133–136 (the author of the article is Kamil BOLDAN).

Catholic elite in the metropolis, but also the local Utraquists, who were not troubled by the hagiographic themes. Thus, we have in our hands another proof of the convergence of the Catholic and Utraquist spectrums of book culture.

Even after the decorative concepts which gained a monopoly after the silence of the Master of Czech Rights, gave up the open spaces characteristic of the Italian and French “higher” style, there was no era in which bookbinding reflected denominational plurality as plastically as much as did literature. The dogmatisation of domestic bookbinding, whose artistic and craft elements could be described as strictly “Catholic” or strictly “non-Catholic”, did not yet exist, just as with sacral buildings.<sup>135</sup> The figure was a common theme that was understandable to all readers without denominational distinction. The rollers are dominated by biblical figures from the Old and New Testaments. The plates most often depicted the Crucifixion and the Resurrection – that is, the two multi-denominationally magnetic scenes of Christ’s redemption, hope and salvation. However, the figure did not serve for worship, but as a model to follow.<sup>136</sup> In view of this status, the bookbinder could attach a figure to both religious and secular texts. Therefore, it can be reasonably assumed that the biblically figural decorative concept at least subliminally increased the religiosity of the reading process. Moreover, the female allegories of the Christian Virtues, especially Justice (Justitia) and the dishonoured Lucretia, matched the morally rigorous mood of domestic society, and especially the Utraquists. On the other hand, the character of Štěstěna (Fortuna), the only mover of human destinies, which was preferred by foreign humanists in the literary and artistic spheres, is missing from domestic bookbindings.

It was not until the 1520s and 1530s that the “Reformation” type clearly emerged in those parts of Europe that were affected by Luther-

<sup>135</sup> Ondřej JAKUBEC, *Modalita a konfesionalita sakrálních staveb v českých zemích 16. a počátku 17. století* [The Modality and Confessionality of Sacral Buildings in the Czech Lands in the 16<sup>th</sup> and Early 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries]. In: Kateřina HORNÍČKOVÁ – Michal ŠRONĚK (eds.), *In puncto religionis. Konfesní dimenze předbělohorské kultury Čech a Moravy* [In puncto religionis. Denominational Dimensions of the pre-White Mountain Culture of Bohemia and Moravia], Praha 2013, pp. 49–72, esp. 50–52.

<sup>136</sup> The book illustration shows a similar inclination. Although the ratio of religious and secular blocks was statistically balanced during the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, in the reader’s mind the traditional New Testament cycles, which were reprinted indefinitely, had perforce to dominate: e.g. in Prostějov and Olomouc between 1547 and 1564 Jan Günther used the block of St Paul twenty-seven times (P. VOIT, *Český knihtisk ...*, vol. 2 [Czech Book Printing], p. 619).



anism, standing at the transition between biblical or allegorical figure and ornament. However, it is not the depiction of the chalice of salvation, but the constant emphasis on the figural concept that is typical of this decorative concept, whether it was promoted abroad or rather inside the country, where loose ornament had found its way into bookbinding workshops only with great difficulty. The so-called Predecessor to Jan Harovník the Elder, the bookbinder Jiřík, Sixt Stanhauer and especially Anonym 1539<sup>137</sup> take over the iconographic stimuli from Saxony with a slight delay when compared to the domestic translators of Luther's treatises.<sup>138</sup> This twenty-year delay is not the only thing to note. Immediately, an interdisciplinary perspective should give rise to a reference to Kuthen's popular *Kronika o založení Země české* [Chronicle of the Founding of the Czech Lands] dated 1539 (PSev 42), which used text and images to put Hus, Jeroným Pražský and Žižka on a par with pagan princes and Christian rulers. Kuthen's little work was probably the last book impulse since the creation of the *Jena Codex* (ca. 1500) to introduce an allusion to the first, Hussite, Reformation into decorative concepts and to imprint a truly national character on domestic bookbinding.

However, sterile Czech bookbinding remained unaffected by agitation illustrations (as it was by poster bilderbogen), and change came about only after domestic craftsmen succumbed to the influence of the second, Lutheran, Reformation in Germany.<sup>139</sup> It was not the stagnant blind printing of the late 15<sup>th</sup> century, but the Saxon import of Reformation rollers, acceptable to all non-Catholic denominations, that brought Czech bookbinding into the media dialogue in the late 1530s. If Jan Hus also appears on the rollers in the company of Luther, Melancthon and

<sup>137</sup> Bohumil NUSKA, *Album obtahů charakteristického nářadí českých renesančních dílen* [Album of Characteristic Tools of Czech Renaissance Workshops]. Part I (Rollers), 0021/2 with the year 1539 and the designation of the workshop "Sharp-tongued Luther", Liberec 1962. Available at <[http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-SML\\_\\_INVCST1952\\_\\_1PC20T6-cs](http://www.manuscriptorium.com/apps/index.php?direct=record&pid=AIPDIG-SML__INVCST1952__1PC20T6-cs)> [accessed May 2019].

Bohumil NUSKA, *Prager Buchbinderwerkstätten aus der Mitte und zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jhs., Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 1966, pp. 378–389, esp. 378; Petr VOIT, *Katalog prvotisků Strahovské knihovny v Praze* [Catalogue of Incunabula at the Strahov Library in Prague], Praha 2015, p. 521 (K-002/2).

<sup>138</sup> P. VOIT, *Rare Bookbindings* ..., pp. 111–114.

<sup>139</sup> D. MENOŠKOVÁ – Z. MĚŘÍNSKÝ (eds.), *Kráska, která hřeje ...* [Beauty that Warms], pp. 81–82 (No. 237–238) and J. ŠREJBEROVÁ (ed.), *Svět kachlových kamen ...* [The World of Tiled Stoves], p. 163 show that stove tiles with a portrait, for example, of Martin Luther, on the other hand, were rare in the Czech Lands – in contrast to blind-print bookbindings.

Erasmus, it is not due to the pressure of Czech iconography, but the fruits of a lively cultural exchange with Saxony and a consequence of Luther's official acknowledgement of the earlier Czech Reformation.<sup>140</sup> In addition to these four protagonists, however, we often find the Catholic Emperor Charles Habsburg V on rollers, whose portrait either represented all German opponents of the Reformation or was to unilaterally neutralize Reformation agitation.

In assessing the convergence of Utraquism and Lutheranism, which is still underestimated within the development of domestic art,<sup>141</sup> the irritating question of the disproportion of Reformation iconography on book bindings and in illustrative woodcuts arises. This promoted the portraits of Hus, Luther and Melanchthon (surprisingly, as well as symbols of the chalice of salvation) in domestic publications incomparably less frequently.<sup>142</sup> However, if we realise that in Czech bookbinding, the narrow, inconspicuous small-drawing roller overwhelmingly won out over the large-area portrait plate, then it can be judged by analogy that full-page illustration woodcuts of reformers have already dangerously overcome the tame etchings of state dualism. It is possible that a similar strategy accompanied the allegorical theme of Law and Grace, popular only in Reformation-oriented painting and graphics. The theme was widespread during the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, especially in Saxony, but in com-

<sup>140</sup> Peter MORÉE, „Maxime Bohemis favere et patrocinari“. Postoje Martina Luthera k Janu Husovi [“Maxime Bohemis favere et patrocinari“. Martin Luther's Attitudes towards Jan Hus]. In: Petr HLAVÁČEK (ed.) *Via media. Studie z českých náboženských a intelektuálních dějin. K počtě Zdeňka V. Davida* [Via media. Studies in Czech Religious and Intellectual History. In honour of Zdeněk V. David], Praha 2016, pp. 74–85.

<sup>141</sup> Milena BARTLOVÁ, Renesance a reformace v českých dějinách umění: otázky periodizace a výkladu [Renaissance and Reformation in Czech Art History: Questions of Periodization and Interpretation]. In: Kateřina HORNÍČKOVÁ – Michal ŠRONĚK (eds.), *In puncto religionis. Konfesní dimenze předbělohorské kultury Čech a Moravy* [In puncto religionis. Denominational Dimensions of the pre-White Mountain Culture of Bohemia and Moravia], Praha 2013, pp. 23–48, esp. 47.

<sup>142</sup> Jan ROYT, Utravistická ikonografie v Čechách 15. a první poloviny 16. století [Utraquist Iconography in Bohemia in the 15<sup>th</sup> and First Half of the 16<sup>th</sup> Centuries]. In: Dalibor PRÍX (ed.), *Pro arte. Sborník k počtě Ivo Hlobila* [Pro arte. Proceedings in Honour of Ivo Hlobil], Praha 2002, pp. 193–202; Kateřina HORNÍČKOVÁ, Mezi tradicí a inovací. Náboženský obraz v českém utrakvismu [Between Tradition and Innovation. The Religious Image in Czech Utraquism]. In: Kateřina HORNÍČKOVÁ – Michal ŠRONĚK (eds.), *Umění české reformace 1380–1620* [The Art of the Czech Reformation 1380–1620], Praha 2010, pp. 81–96, esp. 92. P. VOIT, *Český knihtisk ...*, vol. 1 [Czech Book Printing], pp. 249–250, 263–266, 313–315; P. VOIT, *Český knihtisk ...*, vol. 2 [Czech Book Printing], pp. 261–262, 285.

parison with the roller portraits of the reformers which flooded Protestant Central Europe from there, it never got on to widely distributed book bindings (as already mentioned, Netolický's *Bible česká* [Czech Bible] 1549 tactfully published it on the reverse of the fourth sheet). But I cannot explain why domestic Utraquist-oriented printing houses, unlike producers of other arts and crafts, gave up more frequent depiction of the chalice, (today this legitimate symbol of the faith is documented in only six publications from the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century).<sup>143</sup>

Countless thousands of roller and plate prints of figures and vegetable décor were set in overfilled late Gothic *frame composition*. This traditionally maintained geometric concept formed, on the one hand, a later parallel to the conservatively modest book art of the 15<sup>th</sup> century (*modus humilis*)<sup>144</sup> and on the other, it showed an analogy to some architectural forms that were transferred from the past, but with new content (*akyrism*).<sup>145</sup> Since the historicising frame composition did not prevent the penetration of tools with stylistically transformed motifs, it acquired a completely mass nature lasting for many centuries. Understanding and domestication of *free space* in domestic bookbinding, as in book printing, was only prevented by the very slowly fading atavistic fear of emptiness (*horror vacui*), which, especially in the case of “lower” type bindings, found support in the permanent influence of German book culture, based on compressive Schwabach and Fraktur typography. An important fact in the further development after the silence of the Master of Czech Rights therefore becomes, at first, the futile struggle for the promotion of open space with a line beginning and ending nowhere.

It is possible to construct an unexpected but instructive parallel with the development of early Czech literature. Just as the rigidly brought up Utraquist society did not realise that it was up to it to order or foster attempts at original and translated Renaissance (entertaining) fiction, so it also did not seem interested in promoting in bookbinding those

<sup>143</sup> KHad 42; MKon 8; OKub 11; POLi 33, 36; VOus 1.

<sup>144</sup> Milena BARTLOVÁ, Husitské umění, nebo umění doby husitské? [Hussite Art, or Art of the Hussite Period?]. In: Petr HLAVÁČEK et al. (eds.), *O, felix Bohemia! Studie k dějinám české reformace* [O, felix Bohemia! Studies on the History of the Czech Reformation], Praha 2013, pp. 119–127, esp. 123.

<sup>145</sup> Paul FRANKL, *Gothic Architecture*, Harmondsworth 1962, pp. 74–76 and Jiří KROUPA, Akyrismus jako symptom mentalit na prahu raného novověku [Akyrism as a Symptom of Mentalities on the Threshold of the Early Modern Period]. In: Alena MARTYČÁKOVÁ (ed.), *Podzim středověku* [The Autumn of the Middle Ages], Brno 2001, pp. 185–195.

decorative concepts to which it had not mentally adapted. Independent, non-narrative and religiously non-engaged ornament was evidently perceived as a fruitless disrupter of doctrinal and moral agitation, borne by figurative realism. The need for a religiously participatory decorative concept prevailed over unnecessary ornamental decoration, and for a long time domestic bookbinding therefore rejected the secular line of the Western European Renaissance. The emphasis on religious design began to be neutralized only by the gradual promotion of the plate dominant in the form of the heraldic supralibros and from the last quarter of the 16<sup>th</sup> century under the influence of German-speaking countries thanks to plate arabesque and mauresque.<sup>146</sup>

## VI.

After summarizing the interdisciplinary findings, I present the provocative conclusion that above the *confessionalisation* scheme fashionable in research circles there is something even more fundamental in the history of Czech book culture since the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, namely *the mental state of an obsolescent native society*, which anachronistically and rigorously demands of writers, graphic artists and printers that they prioritise the “old” (good) over the “new” (foreign).<sup>147</sup> This obsession with *historicism* is an objective fact influencing the whole of book culture, which did not undergo any significant modernisation in the bourgeois environment until the 1560s.<sup>148</sup> However, the changes that took place in the

<sup>146</sup> P. VOIT, *Rare Bookbindings* ..., pp. 151, 192–194.

<sup>147</sup> K. HORNÍČKOVÁ, *Mezi tradicí a inovací* ... [Between Tradition and Innovation], p. 86, where in evaluating the “modernity” of artefacts she does not take into account mentality, but the denominational requirement.

<sup>148</sup> P. SOUKUP, *Kauza reformace* ... [The Reformation Cause], p. 182, where it is rightly noted that “modernisation tendencies in church, state and society have manifested themselves in all denominational communities since the last third of the 16<sup>th</sup> century”. The previous struggle between the “old” and the “new” in the period under review was certainly captured by burgher libraries, but sources about their composition and frequency, unlike in the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, have not been preserved. More about this in Jiří PEŠEK, *Měšťanská vzdělanost a kultura v předbělohorských Čechách 1547–1620 (všední dny kulturního života)* [Bourgeois Education and Culture in pre-White Mountain Bohemia 1547–1620 (the Day to Day of Cultural Life)], Praha 1993, pp. 67–71. As Kamil BOLDAN – Bořek NEŠKUDLA – Petr VOIT have shown in *The Reception of Antiquity in Bohemian Book Culture from the Beginning of Printing until 1547*. Europa Humanistica – Collection publiée par l’Institut de Recherche et d’Histoire des Textes 12. Bohemia and Moravia, vol. I, Turnhout 2014, pp. 26–38, better prospects are provided by the preserved and recon-

decades that followed warrant the reflection that domestic book culture never underwent such dynamic development as it did in the 16<sup>th</sup> century – from the evident isolation and stagnation under the Jagiellonians, via the restart after 1547, to the European cosmopolitan revival during the reign of Rudolf Habsburg II. Although older generations of researchers tried to capture the visual, musical and especially literary book art between the Hussites and the White Mountain from various ideological and factual angles, they did not take into account the mentality of the individual and society as a significant factor in the creative act and market relations.

If I see domestic book culture through the common standpoint of mass production and consumption, I work with numerous proofs that a view of the past was not limited to Catholics of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, while for the non-conformist churches the Hussite epoch was still present and indispensable. The Utraquist elites also consistently persuade of their view backwards, their main motto – to defend the faith of their fathers and to reform private and public morality, but not to support the empirical recognition of existence – being declared with a messianic conviction. In addition, all churches considered it a waste of time and a threat to “their only true” faith if the reader immersed himself in mass-communicated entertaining reading. Finally, what else but *historicism* can be felt from Günther’s commercial revitalization of Erhard Schön’s early Renaissance woodblocks, which remained alive on the Moravian-Slovak border

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structed libraries of Catholic institutions (Praha and Olomouc chapters) and of aristocrats and Catholic or Utraquist prelates and the lower clergy. A study of these libraries from the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century suggests that Catholics were open to foreign influences and book imports, while Utraquists were characterised by their aloofness. Jindřich MAREK, *Václav Koranda mladší. Utravistický administrátor a literát* [Václav Koranda the Younger. Utraquist Administrator and Man of Letters], Praha 2017, pp. 108–131, this aloofness and the persistence of late medieval influences is shown using the specific example of the library of one of the most famous Utraquist dignitaries in Jagiellonian Bohemia. On the other hand, later lists of book stocks of the Olomouc printer Bedřich Milichthaler and booksellers Jan and Václav Pilát (Olomouc) and Bedřich Schrympf (Brno), submitted for approval to the Olomouc bishop Vilém Prusinovský, clearly show a changed orientation, since the Moravian and foreign output (with the exception of patristics) is made up of “modern” titles. At the same time, one cannot overlook the fact that religious and religious-education literature make up only 20% (Milichthaler), 22% (the Piláts) and 27% (Schrympf) of the lists. The major part consists of secular literature, namely educational, public information, practical and entertainment. For more details see Petr VOIT, *Moravské prameny z let 1567–1568 k dějinám bibliografie, cenzury, knihtisku a literární historie* [Moravian Sources from 1567–1568 on the History of Bibliography, Censorship, Book Printing and Literary History], *Príspevky ke Knihopisu* 5, Praha 1987, pp. 62–63.

until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century without being criticised, ridiculed or rejected by their intellectually uncultivated recipients?<sup>149</sup>

The book culture of at least the first three decades of the 16<sup>th</sup> century reflects the clerically regothicising spirit of the administrator Václav Koranda the Younger, who died in 1519. Perhaps the rich clerk and literary printer Mikuláš Konáč had the greatest chance in the eyes of the public to get de facto to the forefront of the cultural and political vanguard of the *Prague Utraquists*. He stuck doctrinally with Koranda and Žatecký, he set himself against the Picards (the Unity of Brethren and the Lutherans), but at the same time he also tried sparingly to address the untrained burgher reader with modern literature (Renaissance and humanist). However, in a society divided into religiously pluralistic regions there was necessarily lacking an intelligentsia understood as *authority with a national dimension* – writers, translators, illustrators, printers, patrons, book collectors, scientists, etc., who, from purely Renaissance and humanist tolerant positions, would advocate the modernisation of thought and the way of life, as formulated today by Peter Burke or Paul Grendler.<sup>150</sup> While in the early 1560s the lower clergy remained alone with the aristocracy in cultural aid to the bourgeoisie, dozens of middle-class leaders joined these supporters of “intellectual change” only after the restart during the second half-century, to laboriously shape a new Renaissance-style bourgeois self-awareness on the remains of Hussitism.<sup>151</sup>

Scholars of art first pointed out *historicism* when immersed in the study of 16<sup>th</sup>-century book painting.<sup>152</sup> However, formal analyses of this

<sup>149</sup> P. VOIT, *Český knihtisk ...*, vol. 2 [Czech Book Printing], pp. 621–626.

<sup>150</sup> Peter BURKE, *Společnost a vědění. Od Gutenbergu k Diderotovi* [Society and Knowledge. From Gutenberg to Diderot], Praha 2000, p. 36 and Paul F. GRENDLER, Humanism. Ancient Learning, Criticism, Schools and Universities. In: Angelo MAZZOCCO (ed.), *Interpretations of Renaissance Humanism*, Leiden 2006, pp. 73–95, esp. 78.

<sup>151</sup> Jiří PEŠEK, Husitská tematika v librářích a obrazových galeriích pražských měšťanů na přelomu 16. a 17. století [Hussite Themes in the Libraries and Picture Galleries of Prague Citizens at the Turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> Centuries], *Husitský Tábor* 4, 1981, pp. 163–166; Tomáš MALÝ, Sociálněstrukturní předpoklady katolické obnovy [The Sociostructural Prerequisites for the Catholic Revival], *Documenta Pragensia* 33 (Město v převratech konfesionalizace v 15. až 18. století [The City in the Throes of Confessionalisation in the 15<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries]), 2014, pp. 33–44, esp. 35.

<sup>152</sup> Jarmila VACKOVÁ, Podoba a příčiny anachronismu [The Form and Causes of Anachronism], *Umění* 16/4, 1968, pp. 379–393; Jarmila VACKOVÁ, Pozdní utrakvismus a výtvarné umění [Late Utraquism and the Fine Arts], *Dějiny a současnost* 10, 1968, pp. 8–11; Michal ŠRONĚK, Malířství a sochařství 1550–1650 [Painting and Sculpture 1550–1650]. In: Eliška FUČÍKOVÁ (ed.), *Rudolf II. a Praha: císařský dvůr a rezidenční město jako kul-*



specific creative and reception attitude were only correlated to the similarities shown by intentionally gothicised ecclesiastical architecture. Scholars of art have yet to conclude that *historicism* suited two *pan-societal priorities* very well – doctrinal plurality and moral revival. Clinging to the past thus affected not only the narrative illuminations of the choral manuscripts, but also arts and crafts, including *book production*, which, as a mirror of society, got rid of its late Gothic attitudes more slowly than anywhere abroad. The persistence of the “old” significantly delayed the onset and development of the Renaissance in literature, typesetting, book décor, illustration and in the decorative concepts of bookbinding. As the 16<sup>th</sup> century was shorter through the prism of the domestic renaissance, the late stylistic phase known as Mannerism came to the fore all the more vigorously in the final third.

From bibliometric and typometric analysis of the contemporary literary scene, included in the collective monograph “Paralelní existence: rukopisy a tisky v českých zemích raného novověku [Parallel Existence: Manuscripts and Prints in the Czech Lands of the Early Modern Period]” (see note 12), I stated the remarkable paradox of two logically related phenomena. The first is the *doctrinal plurality* of religious life, which was born in Bohemia almost a hundred years before Martin Luther and gradually achieved a greater plasticity than anywhere else in Europe. However, this domestic specific must also be seen as a *difference* thanks to which mental development of the Czech Lands was retarded so much that, in addition to older paradigms, instead of the frontal onset of the Renaissance and humanism, a *cultural gap* arose. Hussitism forced a resetting of the genre system, which never returned to its original form – synchronised under Václav IV with foreign countries – as the decline of the University of Prague, the parish and school networks slowed the growth of a young intelligentsia. Thus, Renaissance secular fiction gained a foothold only with difficulty, and this applied until the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century also to common scientific or medical prose. It was not practical, but scientific

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*turní a duchovní centrum střední Evropy* [Rudolf II and Prague: the Imperial Court and City of Residence as the Cultural and Spiritual Centre of Central Europe], Praha 1997, pp. 353–375, esp. 363; Martina ŠÁROVCOVÁ, Mezi anachronismem a historismem. Nové pohledy na české renesanční knižní malířství [Between Anachronism and Historicism. New Perspectives on Czech Renaissance Book Painting], *Umění* 55/4, 2007, pp. 274–285; Ema SOUČKOVÁ, *Výzdoba hudebních rukopisů Jana Táborského z Klokotské Hory* [Decoration of Musical Manuscripts by Jan Táborský from Klokotská Hora], Praha 2019, p. 15.

biblical studies that survived as a pillar of theology. Original and translated works gave up completely on some secular themes typical abroad (e.g. fashion, militaria, hunting, sport, ornamental gardening, zoology). While Peter Burke works in the Italian context with the controversial term *civic humanism*,<sup>153</sup> in Prague, Plzeň and Olomouc until the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, humanism was reflected in only *a few individuals* (however, most of the protagonists of the cultural vanguard, including writers, defended morality and humanity, that is *humaneness*).<sup>154</sup>

Roman type was judged by religious and perhaps also by financial criteria, and therefore, as a heterogeneous and innovative element, it had no chance in the typesetting of national-language texts in a small community of readers. A slowness in introducing diacritical marks and punctuation marks, along with clinging to graphically unstructured text, must also have been frustrating for the emerging community of readers. In comparison with other countries, we also notice a delay in the uptake of the book vignette, the coat of arms of a private person, logically also of the heraldic supralibros and the bookbinding ornamental plate (arabesque, mauresque, scroll). The predominance of decorative concepts of book bindings is obsolete, stereotypical and uninteresting until the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, while innovation from abroad is for the moment allowed at most in the field of religiously reformist iconography.

These and other retardations of literary publishing, printing and book-binding operations did not affect the domestic scholarly, and therefore financially and linguistically better equipped forum that communicated with the foreign market, such as rather the Czech-speaking bourgeoisie, in which distancing from abroad deepened further at the start of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>155</sup> However, even this unevenness of the impact of Europe does not change the fact that printed book goods were the most perfect *means of communication*. Up to this point, the general scheme

<sup>153</sup> Peter BURKE, *Variety kulturních dějin* [Varieties of Cultural History], Brno 2006, pp. 125–126.

<sup>154</sup> Petr VOIT, Humanismus v novém konceptu literatury českých zemí [Humanism in the New Concept of Literature in the Czech Lands], *Česká literatura* 65/2, 2017, pp. 181–212.

<sup>155</sup> Z. V. DAVID, *Nalezení střední cesty* ... [Finding the Middle Way], p. 55 argues that “in the sixteenth century, the intellectual horizon even of the townspeople went beyond practical knowledge of law, medicine and technology into the sphere of theoretical science and humanities research in philosophy, classical literature, theology, linguistics and history”. However, the intensive research that has been carried out in recent years into book culture in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, does not confirm David’s optimistic view (based on J. PEŠEK, *Měšťanská vzdělanost* ... [Bourgeois Learning], pp. 26–28).

was the same throughout Europe. However, nowhere else except in the Czech Lands did the foreign protagonists of book culture ever encounter a completely unique constitutional mechanism in which the printed text functioned as *public politics* for Catholics and Utraquists, aimed at a wide media space. This was framed until about 1567 by *compactata dualism* and filled with *fear of difference*, which society – reluctant to repeat the acts of war and repression of the 15<sup>th</sup> century – justifiably feared. However, the fear of imbalance numbed the domestic literary and publishing scene, led to consistent self-censorship and in some cases led boldly to cooperation with a foreign partner (Nuremberg).<sup>156</sup>

Therefore, for fear of a new schism, Catholics first, and after them, the Utraquists, argue only with the Unity of Brethren, but not with each other, so as not to disturb the compactata balance. That is why religious printed satires and parodies are more frequent everywhere than in the Czech Lands, where even so, manuscript records predominate over their preserved prints, but again they are not numerous.<sup>157</sup> Therefore, interest in Lutheranism, which, on the contrary, disturbed compactata unity, gradually weakens. In the field of public book culture, the German Reformation is constantly nourished only by miniature bookbinding rollers, while older Czech and, less and less, Latin Hussite literature is not re-edited, and of Martin Luther's works only his topical writings during 1520–1547 are translated for the most part, which later abroad and in the Czech Lands lack interest from readers.<sup>158</sup> The greatest passivity and concessions are shown, as to be expected, in the full-page illustrations and bookbinders plates with the reformers, whose visual signal found an immediate and more widespread response than the illuminations of hymn books and graduals (and stove tiles) acquired for private purposes and for a local circle of users, who had nothing in common with the *public media space*.

<sup>156</sup> A. OHLIDAL, *Konfessionalisierung ...*, pp. 25–27.

<sup>157</sup> Jaroslav KOLÁR, *Zrcadlo rozděleného království. Z politických satir předbělohorského období* [The Mirror of a Divided Kingdom. From Political Satires of the pre-White Mountain Period], Praha 1963, p. 9 claims that “the development of book printing made it possible to spread political journalism by modern means”. This seems to me to be too optimistic and basically ahistorical. Of the eleven works created during the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, made available for publication by Jaroslav Kolár, seven have survived only thanks to a manuscript record, and only four were printed at the time of their creation.

<sup>158</sup> U. NEDDERMEYER, *Von der Handschrift zum gedruckten Buch*, Bd. 2 ..., p. 696 shows that the printed output of Luther's works was at an absolute peak in Germany during 1520–1525 and only then declined.

Apart from the private practice of separatist printers supplying innumerable layers of non-believers, over the compactata dualism and confessionality of widely multiplied book goods still stood *the producer's attempt to satisfy several doctrinal groups at the same time*. This so-called ecumenical strategy, which Josef Macek has described as "practical tolerance" in his description of everyday life (but without regard to book culture),<sup>159</sup> is probably nothing remarkable within trading mechanisms. However, specific manifestations raise suspicions about the (lack of) power of the market, when for selected editions with larger print runs it was necessary to count on every potential customer, regardless of his religious beliefs.

Therefore, it is obvious that in the domestic communication space, confessionality had to be realized in two ways – first in the *social* (or at least group) position and secondly in the *private* sphere, which reflected the private faith of the producer. For the movers of book culture, the group form was seldom the same as the private form. Exceptions include a few Catholic printers from Plzeň and Olomouc and especially separatists working for non-conformist religious communities (Bělá/B., Ivančice, Kralice/O., Litomyšl, Luleč, Mikulov, Mladá Boleslav, Prostějov). Only in 1547 or in the years immediately following do we trace a *denominational amorphousness*, through an externally manifested conversion to the Catholics or Utraquists. Amorphousness had nothing to do with private religious attitudes or the friendly tolerance of non-believers. It was pragmatically motivated by the effort to achieve the necessary profit and, in tense moments, also by the need to maintain one's trade. Despite this, or precisely because it represented an existentially limited gap that opened up between one's personal faith (sometimes changed) and loyalty to the monarch, amorphousness cannot in the modern humanistic sciences be interpreted negatively as a failure.<sup>160</sup>

<sup>159</sup> Josef MACEK, *Víra a zbožnost jagellonského věku* [Faith and Piety in the Jagiellonian Age], Praha 2001, p. 390.

<sup>160</sup> The conversions of well-known persons have previously influenced the evaluative attitudes of historians who have sided with either Catholicism or the Evangelical churches. Earlier researchers concealed Alexander Ujezdecký's offer to leave the Unity of Brethren and did not address the changes in the behaviour of Prague printers. However, the bishop of the Unity of Brethren, Jan Augusta, who converted to Utraquism in the Křivoklát prison, is still overshadowed by the spotless intellectual Jan Blahoslav. The dexterously prolix writers from the turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries Šimon Lomnický and Michal Pěčka, have long been accused of converting from Utraquism to Catholicism – Lomnický was excluded from literary history by Czech positivists until 1950 and due to his blunt attitude towards the non-Catholic majority of Czech society, Pěčka ended in the same traitorous

Book culture shows that one's profession has always been primary. Apparently every craftsman or artist referred to it when he felt the need to excuse both self-preserving self-censorship and publicly expressed loyalty to the monarch. Loyalty necessarily resulted in the reconstruction of editorial models, in which scientific, educational and entertaining literature, including the explosively growing humanist poetry, were more prominent than before. The transformed literary operation and the composition of book output undoubtedly had a positive effect on wavering religious and political self-confidence as well as the educational and cultural capital of the bourgeoisie. The earlier, late medieval phase of the *proto-revival*, which focused exclusively on the religious and moral education of the individual, was thus able to acquire a new, much more comprehensive form thanks to the political restart after 1547 and the adaptability of craftsmen and artists – albeit with a dose of a certain resentment.<sup>161</sup>

Although the power apparatus was not in fact able to achieve the religious unification of Czech territory, it gradually suppressed or forced most non-conformist religious societies to assimilate (the Anabaptists, the Habrovans). However, the opening up to new cultural trends after the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century did not affect only the mostly Utraquist-oriented bourgeoisie, but also the hitherto aloof and outlawed Unity of Brethren. The book décor from the Ivančice printing house and book bindings from the Brethren workshops from the 1560s, in comparison with the artistic morphology of Bohemia or Moravia, show a deep and unprecedented harmony with Swiss, French and German mannerism – just as the translation background of the *Kralice Six-Volume*, following

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position as Karel Sabina 200 years later. Pavlína HAMANOVÁ – Alois PŘIBYL also got carried away by the national pathos, O několika znakových supralibros na vazbách z 16. až 18. století [On Several Character Supralibros on Bindings from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> Century], *Strahovská knihovna, sborník Památníku národního písemnictví* 18–19, 1983–1984, pp. 127–166, esp. 135, where we read that “Haidelius behaved poorly in 1608 and 1609 during the negotiations of the evangelical estates with Rudolf II for a charter of religious freedom. At that time, he not only opposed the evangelical states and their demands, but also plotted against their congress at the New Town Hall. ... Although it is clear from the overall behaviour of Jiří Haidelius of Rassenštejn that he was a careerist and a proven puppet in the hands of the then Catholic reaction and counter-Reformation, he cannot be denied a relationship with a beautiful book and binding”. It thus inadvertently follows from this construction that in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, one who belonged to the anti-Habsburg and anti-Catholic opposition had a greater claim to the label “bibliophile”.

<sup>161</sup> P. VOIT, *Český knihtisk ...*, vol. 2 [Czech Book Printing], pp. 349, 499, 558, etc. J. PEŠEK, *Městanská vzdělanost ...* [Bourgeois Education], p. 6, on the other hand, considers the period from 1547 to the 1570s to be one of stagnation.

in the footsteps of Náměšť/O. (1533), is inspired by the fruits of Reformation humanist biblical studies from abroad. Only in this period, and only in the context of the Unity of Brethren, can we consider *language confessionalisation*, which strengthened the sense of a religious enclave for leaders within the community, but especially externally. However, given the ingenuity of the Brethren book policy, this deliberate confessionalisation of the Czech language could have played two other roles: on the one hand, it dampened the *cosmopolitanism of art forms* (arabesque, mauresque, scroll, assemblage)<sup>162</sup> and on the other it purposefully completed its *pictorial self-presentation* (cryptoportraits of Brethren seniors on the front pages of hymn books).

Translation by Stuart Roberts

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<sup>162</sup> This discrepancy is especially visible when comparing the Brethren book binding, which – like other domestic workshops – uses exclusively Latin inscriptions on biblical rollers and plates, with books printed in Ivančice and Kralice which were clearly monopolized by Czech. The question of whether a formally cosmopolitan and Latin Brethren book binding helped to conceal its true origin (as well as “indecipherable” monograms or cryptoinscriptions in vignettes) has yet to be answered.



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