

# The Execution of the Miners of Kutná Hora at Poděbrady and in Křivoklát in 1496.

## On the Veneration of the Miners of Poděbrady in the Sixteenth Century

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The art of the Bohemian Reformation is inseparably linked with a series of illuminated music manuscripts.<sup>1</sup> These manuscripts constitute an interesting collection that addresses the problematic of sharply defining the confessional identity of Utraquists and the sub una. Iconography of Pre-White-Mountain Utraquist music manuscripts is characterised by traditional biblical typology. After the mid-sixteenth century, these manuscripts contain new – not only Old and New Testament – subjects, and depiction of traditional biblical themes. The iconographic specificity of manuscripts of Utraquist provenance is also detected in the selection and arrangement of subjects in relation to their liturgical and codicological context or in the selection of the individual illuminated incipits.<sup>2</sup>

The illuminated incipits of the proprium de sanctis – in the music manuscripts of Utraquist provenance in the Pre-White-Mountain era – include the introit of the officia for the Nativity of John the Baptist, Mary Magdalene, the Transfiguration of Christ, the Assumption of the BVM, Saint Michael the Archangel, All Saints, the Dedication of a Church and, of course, for Saint

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<sup>1</sup> On illuminated music manuscripts of the Bohemian Reformation, see Martina Kratochvílová–Šárovcová, “Modus legendi. Illuminated Utraquist Choir Books of the Bohemian Renaissance,” in eds. Michal Šroněk and Milena Bartlová, *Public Communication in European Reformation, Artistic and Other Media in Central Europe 1380–1620* (Prague, 2007) 133–142; Martina Šárovcová, “Barry Frederic H. Graham, Bohemian and Moravian Graduals 1420–1620 (review),” *Umění* 56 (2008) 81–84; Martina Šárovcová, “Cantate Domino canticum novum. Illuminované hudební rukopisy české reformace” [Cantate Domino canticum novum, Illuminated music manuscripts of the Bohemian reformation], in eds. Kateřina Horníčková and Michal Šroněk, *Umění české reformace (1380–1620)* (Prague, 2010) 413–468; Martina Šárovcová, “Auswahlbibliographie zu den Böhmischen illuminierten musikalischen Handschriften (1526–1620),” *Studia Rudolphina* 11 (2011) 153–163.

<sup>2</sup> See Martina Šárovcová, “Filip křtící služebníka etiopské královny. Příspěvek k poznání ikonografie rukopisů utrakvistické provenience” [Phillip baptising the Ethiopian eunuch, Contribution to the iconography of manuscripts of Utraquist provenance], in ed. Alena Volrábová, *Ars linearis, Stará grafika a kresba Čech, Německa a Slezska v evropských souvislostech* (Prague, 2009) 10–19.

Jan Hus and the Bohemian martyrs.<sup>3</sup> The rapid transformation of the veneration of Hus into the cult of a saint can be documented – shortly after his death – from Utraquist liturgical texts, which refer to his feast day (6 July).<sup>4</sup> Only one late Gothic music manuscript contains an illuminated incipit of the introit for this day. The incipit of the introit *In bonitate et alacritate animae* is illuminated in the Sobotka Gradual from the early sixteenth century. The border portrays Hus who is tied to a wooden stake on the blazing pyre.<sup>5</sup> Several other depictions of Hus have survived in late Gothic manuscripts in a different liturgical context. In the Litoměřice Gradual at the end of the section the proprium de sanctis, and after the rubrics for the feast day *De sancto Iohanne Hus cum sociis*, we find a folio illuminated on both sides with the depictions of Hus at the Council of Constance and of his execution; a portrait of Václav of Řepnice is added.<sup>6</sup> Hus's execution is painted in the Litoměřice Gradual once more in another liturgical context, namely, in the space under the column at the incipit of the Advent introit *Ad te levavi animam meam*.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Late Gothic choral books of Utraquist provenance – even though they contain many more rubricated feast days in the section proprium de sanctis – usually are adorned by painted decorations only in the incipits of officium for the feast days of St. Andrew, the Purification of the BVM, the Nativity of John the Baptist, the Assumption, and Dedication of a Church. On the iconography of these choral manuscripts, see in detail, Martina Šárovcová, *Ikongrafie český psaných utrakvistických graduálů* [Iconography of Utraquist Graduals Written in Czech] (PhD Thesis) Institute of Art History, Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague (2011).

<sup>4</sup> Concerning such musical and liturgical sources see František M. Bartoš, “M. Jan Hus v bohoslužbě a účte církve podoben a v podání prvního století po své smrti” [Master Jan Hus in the Liturgy and Worship of the Utraquist Church and Tradition of the First Century after his Death], *Národopisný věstník československý* 17 (1924) 19–38; František Fišer, “Hodinkové officium Svátku Mistra Jana Husa” [The Offices of St. Jan Hus], *ČNM* 135 (1966) 81–98; Jana Fojtíková, “Hudební doklady Husova kultu z 15. a 16. století, Příspěvek ke studiu husitské tradice v době předbělohorské” [Musical witnesses to the cult of Hus from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries], *MM* 29 (1981), 51–145; David R. Holeton, “O felix Bohemia—O felix Constantia”, *HENC* 385–403; idem, “The Celebration of Jan Hus in the Life of the Churches”, *Studia Liturgica* 25 (2005) 32–59; idem, “Liturgický život české reformace” [Liturgical Life during the Bohemian Reformation], in Horníčková and Šroněk, *Umění*, 219–244; idem with Hana Vlhová-Wörner, “The Second Life of Hus: Liturgy, Commemoration and Music,” in *A Companion to Jan Hus*, František Šmahel in cooperation with Ota Pavlíček (eds.) (Leiden-Boston 2015) 289–324.

<sup>5</sup> The Sobotka Gradual, MS Státní okresní archiv Jičín se sídlem v Jeřicích, fond Archiv města Sobotky 1497–1945, book Nr. 9. On the the manuscript, see Anežka Livorová [Merhautová], “Sobotecký graduál,” in *Sobotka, Jubilejní sborník k 450. výročí povýšení na město (1498–1948)* (Sobotka, 1948) 68–76; Pavel Brodský, “Graduál sobotecký,” *Od Ještěda k Troskám, Vlastivědný sborník Českého ráje a Podještědí* 14 (30), Nr. 3 (2007) 187–191.

<sup>6</sup> The Litoměřice Gradual, MS Státní okresní archiv Litoměřice in Lovosice, sign. IV C 1, dated 1510s, f. 245. On the manuscript, including a bibliography, see Martina Šárovcová, “Litoměřický Graduál,” in Horníčková and Šroněk, *Umění*, 429–431, Nr. Cat. XIV/1. On the iconography of Hus at the Council of Constance, see Michal Šroněk, “Comput digital and Jan Hus as defender of the faith,” *Umění* 61 (2013) 2–22.

<sup>7</sup> On Hus's depictions in the music manuscripts of the Bohemian Reformation, see Martina Šárovcová, “Jan Hus in Illuminated Manuscripts of the Bohemian Renaissance,” *BRRP* 8 (2011) 286–314.

The earliest depictions of Hus in Utraquist music manuscripts, however, are known from the illuminations of the Smíškovský Gradual from the 1490s.<sup>8</sup> In the body of the historiated initial S(-apientiam sanctorum) of the introit of the common of martyrs, Hus is presented in the company of the martyrs, Sts. Lawrence and Stephen, to whom he is joined on the basis of his martyrdom for the faith.<sup>9</sup> The introit *Sapientiam sanctorum* was traditionally accompanied – in late Gothic graduals – by an image of the protomartyr Stephen (Gradual of Mladá Boleslav of Janíček Zmilelý of Písek).<sup>10</sup> The illuminated incipit for the common of martyrs in the Smíškovský Gradual therefore, enhanced the traditional iconography of St. Stephen by the addition of images of another martyr, St. Lawrence, and the Bohemian martyr Hus. Such a connection of Hus and the martyr St. Lawrence had already been reproduced in one of the earliest Utraquist sources, the *Passio Johannis Hus secundum Johannem Barbatum*.<sup>11</sup> The uniquely documented Utraquist iconography of the introit of the common of martyrs is tellingly complemented – in the space below the column – by an image from the history of Kutná Hora. The miniature captures the casting of ten Utraquist priests, headed by the parish priest of Kouřim (Jan Chůdek), into the shaft “Tábor” of Kutná Hora on 9 January 1419.<sup>12</sup> The

<sup>8</sup> The Smíškovský Gradual, MS Vienna, ÖNB, sign. 15492, dated 1490–1495, f. 285r. Milada Studničková, “Vyobrazení očištění ve Smíškovském graduálu,” [The portrayal of purgatory in the Smíškovský Gradual] in ed. Viktor Kubík, *Doba Jagellonská v zemích České koruny (1471–1526)* [The Jagiellonian period in the Lands of the Bohemian Crown (1471–1526)] (České Budějovice, 2005) 279–286; Jörg Richter, “Die Gradualhandschriften für die Kuttener Pfarrkirchen,” in eds. Dieter Popp and Robert Suckale, *Die Jagiellonen, Kunst und Kultur einer europäischen Dynastie an der Wende zur Neuzeit* (Nuremberg, 2002) 189–200.

<sup>9</sup> Depiction of Hus in the company of other martyrs is known also from the painted wings of the retable of the Utraquist altar from Roudníky from prior to 1486. See Milena Bartlová, “Upálení sv. Jana Husa na malovaných křídlech utrakvistického oltáře z Roudník” [The burning of Jan Hus on the painted wings of the of the Utraquist altar from Roudníky], *Umění* 53 (2005) 427–444.

<sup>10</sup> Janíček Zmilelý z Písku, The Mladá Boleslav Gradual, MS Mladá Boleslav, Muzeum Mladoboleslavská, sign. II A 1, dated 1509, f. 247v.

<sup>11</sup> Václav Novotný (ed.), *Historické spisy Petra z Mladoňovic a jiné zprávy a paměti o M. Janu Husovi a M. Jeronýmovi z Prahy* [Historical writings of Petr of Mladoňovic and other reports and memories of Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague] [FRB 8] (Prague, 1932) 14–24.

<sup>12</sup> On the miniatures in the Smíškovský Gradual, see Richter, “Die Gradualhandschriften,” 195; Studničková, “Vyobrazení,” 279; Jan Royt, “Utrakvistická ikonografie v Čechách 15. a první poloviny 16. století,” in ed. Dalibor Prix, *Pro Arte, Sborník k počtí Ivo Hlobila* (Prague, 2002) 200; Jan Royt, “Utraquistische Ikonographie der Jagiellonenzeit,” in ed. Ewelín Wetter, *Die Länder der Böhmisches Krone und ihre Nachbarn zur Zeit der Jagiellonenkönige (1471–1526), Kunst–Kultur–Geschichte* (Ostfildern, 2004) 243–250. On the Utraquist martyrs of Kutná Hora, see Rudolf Urbánek, “Kutná Hora a husitství,” *Kutnohorské příspěvky k dějinám vzdělanosti české* 9 (1938) 105–117; Jiří Kejř, *Právní život v husitské Kutné Hoře* (Kutná Hora, 2002) 19–20; Ota Halama, “The Martyrs of Kutná Hora, 1419–1420,” *BRRP* 5/1 (2004) 139–146. The *Old Bohemian Annals* mention the beheading of Jan Chůdek

subject might have been suggested by the alleged discovery of remains of the early confessors of the chalice together with Jan Chůdek in 1492 in the silver mines of Kutná Hora, which were then being restored.<sup>13</sup> An isolated theme from the history of Kutná Hora – from the period of the persecution of the first followers of the chalice – is supplemented by the traditional iconography of the common of martyrs part in the late Gothic choral manuscript. The iconography of the illuminated folio refers to the veneration of the new Calixtine martyrs, who had sacrificed their lives for the victory of the chalice.<sup>14</sup> The clearcut theme of Bohemian martyrs was to serve as a source of strength, grace, and consolation for the Czech nation.<sup>15</sup> The newly crystalizing Utraquist iconography of the Bohemian martyrs corresponds with those liturgical offices, in which the Bohemian martyrs are identified with all the past martyrs; thus the veneration of the (Utraquist) church is ascribed to them.<sup>16</sup> Jan Chůdek and the other priests were liturgically commemorated as martyrs (of Kutná Hora) cast into shafts, and collectively venerated as saints with the martyrs of Constance – Jan Hus and Jerome of Prague.

The seeming thematic digression of this study to the Kutná Hora martyrs represents a certain iconographic prefiguration of the illuminated fragments

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together with two other priests and their subsequent casting into an unspecified shaft. *Staré letopisy české z vratislavského rukopisu*, ed. František Šimek [Prameny a texty k dějinám československým 1] (Prague, 1937) 21. The casting of Jan Chůdek together with other priests into the shaft “Tábor” is recorded in the chronicle of Vavřinec of Březová, see Vavřinec z Březové, *Husitská kronika* [Živá díla minulosti 5] (Prague, 1954) 43, Nr. 26. Further *Paměti Mikuláše Dačického z Heslova*, ed. Antonín Rezek (Prague, 1878) I: 31–22.

<sup>13</sup> *Staré letopisy české z rukopisu Křižovnického*, eds. František Šimek and Miloslav Kaňák [Živá díla minulosti 24] (Prague, 1959) 304. Further other version *Dílo Františka Palackého 2, Staré letopisové čeští od roku 1378 do 1527 čili pokračování v kronikách Přibíka Pulkravy a Beneše z Hořovic z rukopisů starých vydané*, ed. Jaroslav Charvát (Prague, 1941) 211, Nr. 658. The account was adopted from the Old Bohemian Annals by the Chronicle of Martin Kuthen, see Martin Kuthen, *Kronika o založení země České*, ed. Zdeněk V. Tobolka [Monumenta Bohemiae typographica 7] (Prague, 1929) [n.p.]: “Léta Páně M<sup>o</sup>CCCCXCII<sup>o</sup>. havěři u Hory dobývají starých dolův mnoho lidských kostí našli. A ty byly těch lidí, kteréž někdy Němci pro víru do týčůž šachet vmetali. Také mezi nimi našli tělo v ornátě necelé, toliko prsy s žebry (neb havěři dobývajíce perku kratcemi a nosatci je rozebrali), kteréž to nejínak než jako výborná myrra vonělo. A tak se někteří domnívají, že by to tělo mělo býti kněze Jana Chudka, faráře někdy kauřimského, kteréhož s jinými kněžími Němci stavše do šachty před LXXIII lety uvrhli.” On the alleged discovery of the body of Chůdek in 1492, see also Josef Macek, *Víra a zbožnost jagellonského věku* [Faith and piety of the Jagiellonian age] (Prague, 2001) 81, 85; Joel Seltzer, “Re-envisioning the Saint’s Life in Utraquist Historical Writing,” *BRRP* 5/1 (2004) 164–165; Halama, “The Martyrs,” 144–145.

<sup>14</sup> See Macek, *Víra*, 85; František Šmahel, “Mučedníci a bojovníci v husitském nebi” [Martyrs and warriors in Hussite heaven], in eds. Klára Benešová and Jan Chlábec, *V zajetí středověkého obrazu, Kniha studií k jubileu Karla Stejskala* (Prague, 2012) 133–143; Halama, “The Martyrs;” Seltzer, “Re-envisioning,” 147–166.

<sup>15</sup> See Holeyton, “The Celebration of Jan Hus,” 32–59; *Ibid.*, “O felix,” 385–403.

<sup>16</sup> Novotný, *Historické spisy*; Holeyton, “The Celebration of Jan Hus;” Holeyton, “O felix.”

in the holdings of the National Museum in Prague. The fragments are traditionally linked with the – authenticated in the sources – Kaňk Gradual from the period 1559–1561.<sup>17</sup> A pair of folia depicts the execution of the Kutná Hora miners at Poděbrady and in Křivoklát in 1496 and the burning of Hus (fig. 1, 2). The recto of the first folio contains the conclusion of the notated Czech chants of alleluia for the feast of St. Procop, thus enabling the fragments to be liturgically located.<sup>18</sup> The codicological and liturgical analysis of the fragments indicates that the trinity of the full-page illuminations preceded the incipit of the (Czech) office for the feast day of Hus and the Bohemian martyrs of a hitherto undiscovered choral manuscript. The original location of the folia in the manuscript is indicated by the conclusion of the alleluia for the feast day of St. Procop (f.1r) and the illumination with the burning of Hus (f. 2v). The latter, in the hitherto undiscovered manuscript, immediately preceded the incipit of the office for Hus's feast day. Both of the executions of the Kutná Hora miners were originally placed on the aperture and formed one visual whole (ff. 1v, 2r).

The composition of the beheadings in Poděbrady is dominated by the condemned miners clad in miners' smocks. Ribbons with names identify the miners. Under a tree there lie the headless bodies of the elder of the miners' order Šimon and his brother Průša (Šimon starší; Průša bratr jeho). Miner Hana (Hana) kneels in a resigned way, while the executioner Sochor is preparing to behead him (Sochor kat stíná). Seven shackled miners stand in the background (Černý z Hloušek; Mládek; Duchek; Viktorin; Kužel br.; Slad; and Opat). Four men on horses observe the execution, among whom a council

<sup>17</sup> Fragments of the Kaňk Gradual, Prague KNM, sign. 1 A c 109/1, 2. On the Kaňk Gradual, see [Anonymous], "Das Gedächtniß der hinrichteten Bergknaben zu Poděbrad," *Bohemia* (1850) [2]; Josef Šimek, "Zpráva o Kaňkovském graduálu" [Report on the Kaňk Gradual], *Památky archaeologické a místopisné* 15 (1892) 461–464; Karel Chytil, *Malířstvo pražské XV. a XVI. věku a jeho cechovní kniha staroměstská z let 1490–1582* (Prague, 1906) 79–80; Karel Chytil and Václav Novotný, *Katalog výstavy, kterou pořádá na pětistoletou paměť úmrtí rektora praž. vys. uč. Mistra J. Husi...Universita Karlova a Ferdinandova* (Prague, 1915) 46; Emanuel Leminger, *Umělecké řemeslo v Kutné Hoře* (Prague, 1926) 200–201; Josef Šimek, "Uctívání památky Mistra Jana Husa na Horách Kutných," *Kutnohorské příspěvky k dějinám vzdělanosti české* 5 (1931) 17–19; Jiří Kropáček, *České kancionály XVI. století a iluminátor Fabián Puléf* (Diploma thesis), Institute of Art History, Faculty of Arts, Charles University (Prague, 1952) 80–82; Jiří Kropáček, "Poznámky k Puléfově výzdobě Kaňkovského graduálu," *ČNM* 131 (1962) 19–26; Alena Petráňová, "Zlomek Kaňkovského graduálu v knihovně Národního muzea v Praze," *ČNM* 131 (1962) 14–18; Pavel Brodský, *Katalog iluminovaných rukopisů Knihovny Národního muzea v Praze* [Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of the National Museum in Prague] (Prague, 2000) xxxii, 317, Nr. Cat. 299; Šárovcová, "Jan Hus in Illuminated Manuscripts of the Bohemian Renaissance," 298–299.

<sup>18</sup> Fragment of the Kaňk Gradual, Prague KNM, sign. 1 A c 109/1, f. 1r. The conclusion of the alleluia chants for the feast of St. Procop: "abychom, ho následující, za ním přišli, pomozíž nám nebeský král." See *Graduale Bohemorum, Proprium sanctorum*, ed. Jiří Žůrek (Prague, 2011) 136–137. The original foliation SS XII (?) can be partially identified in the upper-right corner of the folio.





Fig. 1 The Execution of the Miners of Kutná Hora at Poděbrady in 1496, The Gradual of Kaňk, dated: 1559 (Prague: The National Museum Library)



Fig. 2 The Execution of the Miners of Kutná Hora in Křivoklát in 1496, The Gradual of Kaňk, dated: 1559 (Prague: The National Museum Library)

member (*šepmistr*) of Kutná Hora and the captain (*hejtman*) of Poděbrady can be identified (the attached ribbons remain empty).<sup>19</sup> A tree dominates the space on the left side with the executioner Kolouch's sword leaning against the trunk.<sup>20</sup> A horse gallops on the road at a distance, bearing a messenger who holds a fork-like instrument holding a letter that guarantees protection to the miners. A veduta of Poděbrady forms the background of the composition.<sup>21</sup> The headless bodies of the executed miners, depicted in the second illumination, are identified – in the more recent variants – as those of Holý and Ondřej Němců. The third one, identified as Vít Krchňavý in the Baroque paintings, managed to free himself from his shackles, and is casting stones at the executioner. The background is formed by a characteristic coulisse of the Křivoklát Castle, comparable with earlier veduta by Mathias Gerundius from 1536.<sup>22</sup>

Our fragments thus connect the subject of Hus and the Bohemian martyrs with the kindred theme of the miners' execution in Poděbrady and at Křivoklát in 1496.<sup>23</sup> The miners' execution is compared with the martyrdom

<sup>19</sup> For contemporary records of the names of executed miners, see Rezek, *Paměti*, 50–51. The captain (*hejtman*) of Poděbrady is identified on Baroque variants of the depiction of the execution as *Kamýcký*. It was, however, shown by Hellich that this was a misidentification with Otík Kamýcký of Tropicce, who held this office in 1486–1488; František J. Zoubek, "O správě panství poděbradského v XVI. a XVII. století," *Sborník historický* 1 (1883) 350; Jan Hellich, *Příběhy havéřského kostelíčka Nanebevzetí P. Marie za mostem v Poděbradech* (Poděbrady and Nymburk, 1922) 6. On other Baroque depictions, see [Anonymous], *Das Gedächtniß*; Hellich, *Příběhy*, 12–14; Zuzana Janková, "Exekuce kutnohorských havířů u Poděbrad roku 1496. Zrod historického mýtu," in eds. Radmila Pavlíčková and Martin Elbel, *Miscellanea ze Semináře starších dějin* (Olomouc, 2005) 104–105; Mojmír Hamsík, *Stínání kutnohorských havířů, kolem 1800*, restaurátorská zpráva (2004); Eva Kolmanová, *Poprava kutnohorských havířů–olejomalba na plátně*, restaurátorská zpráva (2012). The third version of the depiction was lost in the second half of the twentieth century. More recent variants, probably from the first half of the nineteenth century are represented by a tablet in the České muzeum stříbra [Czech silver museum] in Kutná Hora and a painting exhibited in the Vlašský dvůr in Kutná Hora from the former Hornické muzeum [Miners' museum] in Kutná Hora. The information concerning the variants in Kutná Hora was provided by PhDr. Zdenka Kubíková. See also Eva Matějková, *Kutná Hora* (Prague, 1965) 40; *Kutná Hora, Dějiny českých měst*, eds. Helena Štroblová and Blanka Altová (Prague, 2000) 99.

<sup>20</sup> In the Baroque variants the tree is identified as a pear-tree: "*Kat Kolouch nechtěl jich stínati, položil meč u hrušky*".

<sup>21</sup> The veduta is the earliest – topographically authentic – view of the town. In this chronological primacy, it replaces Merian's veduta from *Topographia Bohemiae, Moraviae et Silesiae, das ist Beschreibung* (Frankfurt on the Main, 1650) p. 54. Eva Šmilauerová, *Poděbrady v proměnách staletí (do roku 1850)* 1 (Příbram, 2001) Illus. 6.

<sup>22</sup> Jan Pelat, "Vyobrazení měst Plzně, Rokycan, Berouna a hradů Radaně, Žebráka, Točníka a Křivokláta na vedutách Mathiase Gerundia z roku 1536," *Západočeský historický sborník* 7 (2001) 107–178.

<sup>23</sup> On the execution of the miners, see [Anonymous], "Das Gedächtniß," [2–3]; Antonín Kmínek, *Stínání kovkopů u Poděbrad* (Kutná Hora, 1890); [brief note, Anonymous], *Český lid*, *Sborník věnovaný studiu lidu českého v Čechách, na Moravě, ve Slezsku a na Slovensku* 11 (1902) 385; Čeněk Zíbrt, *Bibliografie české historie* 3 (Prague, 1906) Nrs. 4323–4331;





This tragic event was the culmination of tension in Kutná Hora between the miners' order and the town council in the 1490s. The miners expressed in the 1480s and 1490s their dissatisfaction with the violation of their privileges and the deceptive behaviour of royal officials, and repeatedly asked for redress.<sup>24</sup> The situation became critical in July 1496 when the armed miners gathered on *Špimberk* hill near Kutná Hora. The town council of Kutná Hora, with the help of troops from neighboring towns, besieged the miners. The King was informed about the event from the perspective of the town council and the result was the notorious execution of the miners on 5 August 1496.

On the place of the miners' execution at Zálabí near Poděbrady – according to a later memorial inscription and Latin verses – a burgher of Prague, Ondřej Prachovec, founded a wooden chapel with a walled presbytery.<sup>25</sup> We learn

<sup>24</sup> On the miners' complaints in 1494–1496, see Zikmund Winter, *Dějiny řemesel a obchodu v Čechách v XIV. a v XV. století* (Prague, 1906) 762; Hellich, *Příběhy*, 4–6; Fiala, "Kutnohorští havíři," 24–33; Jan Kořan, *Dějiny dolování v rudném okrsku kutnohorském* (Prague, 1950) 10; Josef Macek, *Jagellonský věk v českých zemích (1471–1526)*, *Města* 3 (Prague, 1998) 296–297; Janková, "Exekuce," 93, 96–97.

<sup>25</sup> The foundation of the church in 1516 by Prachovec is documented by a later memorial inscription on a lost picture-tablet depicting the executions of the miners of Kutná Hora. It was apparently painted for the re-consecration of the church in 1666. The image was provided with a Czech text and with Latin verses, both mentioning the foundation by Prachovec: "Léta Páně 1516 na den sv. Petra v okovách založena jest tato církev ku chvále Pánu Bohu a ke cti velebné Pany Marie na nebe vzeti, skrze muže opatrného Ondřeje Prachovce z Prahy pro památku těch věrných havěřů, kteří se sklídili pro obecné dobré"; „Siste viator! / Hic Hic! / Milleni quadraginta nonagintaque sex Proh: / Anni crudeles plexerunt vertice justos / fidelesque decem fossore. Corpora, quorum / Andreas Prahovetz civis Pragensis honorans / post annos mortis viginti memorabile templum / posuit assumptae divinae matri in honorem / fossorum ut caedes memori sit mente reposita / ossa locata, locata manent hic: Kutna loquantur / qui fuerant?...". Cited from Hellich, *Příběhy*, 13–14. See also [Anonymous], "Das Gedächtniß," [2–3]. Matěj Minide at the start of nineteenth century dated the foundation by Prachovec to 1514 and mentioned a document – still deposited in the townhall – granting royal permission for construction of the church in honour of the Assumption. The document, mentioned by Minide, however, could not be found. A[lena] Borovcová, "Poděbradský kronikář Matěj Minyde o popravě kutnohorských havířů u Poděbrad v roce 1496," *Musejní zprávy Pražského kraje* 1–2 (1956) 63–67. The original dedication of the church cannot be proven with certainty, according to Janková, "Exekuce," 101. On the church in Poděbrady, see Jaroslav Schaller, *Topographie des Königreichs Böhmen* 6, *Czaslauer Kreis* (Prag, 1787) 44–45; Johann Gottfried Sommer, *Königreich Böhmen* 3, *Bidschower Kreis* (Prag, 1835) 60; [Anonymous], „Das Gedächtniß," [2–3]; Josef Šimek, "K dějinám horního města Kaňku," *ČCH* 2 (1896) 310; [brief note, Anonymous], *Český lid*, *Sborník věnovaný studiu lidu českého v Čechách, na Moravě, ve Slezsku a na Slovensku* 11 (1902) 385; Jan Hellich, "Poustevna a studánka u Matky Boží v Poděbradech," *Věstník Poděbradska a sousedních okresů* 6 (1903) 1–3, 19–21, 35–37, 51–52, 67–68; Hellich, *Příběhy*; ed. Emanuel Poche, *Umělecké památky Čech* 3 (Prague, 1980) 111; Jana Hrabětová, *Poděbrady, Průvodce po přírodních a historických zajímavostech města a okolí, po muzeích a místech, vztahujících se k významným osobnostem* (Poděbrady, 1999) 62–64; Janková, "Exekuce," 102–104; Státní okresní archiv Nymburk in Lysá nad Labem, fond Nr. 187, Proboštský úřad římskokatolický Poděbrady, Inv. Nr. 1, *Pamětní kniha* (1830–1831), ff. 20v–21v; fond Nr. 184, Spolek pro dostavení a úpravu kostelíčka Nanebevzetí Panny Marie za mostem, Poděbrady.

from the memoirs of Dačický that in 1517 “starší havéřští hor stříbrných na Hor. Kut. dali udělati kostelík ke cti a chvále p. bohu na památku těch havéřův u Poděbrad, na tom místě, kdež stínání byli, a paut tam činíce, kalich tam darovali.” [mining elders of the silver mountains of Kutná Hora had a little church built to the honour and praise of the Lord God in the memory of those miners at Poděbrady, who in this place were beheaded, and making a pilgrimage they donated a chalice there].<sup>26</sup> The story of the church prior to the Thirty Years War – for the lack of sources – by and large remains unknown. Written documents, however, make it clear that the memory of the executed miners was kept alive by the miners of Kutná Hora and Kaňk who made financial contributions to the furnishing and repairs of the church.<sup>27</sup> As early as 1561 the Poděbradians asked the miners of Kaňk for financial help to repair the church. A flood in 1566 damaged the church and the miners of Kaňk, as well as their counterparts from Kutná Hora, contributed to the repairs. In 1600 the town council turned to the feudal seigneurs for help to mend the church: “kdež havéři léta 1496 nevinně stínání a usmrceni sou, poněvadž ta církvíčka od velkých vod k zkáze přiševši, téměř na zboření jest a z kruntu se, nejša k ní žádných důchodův, vystavěti musí...” [where in the year 1496, though innocent, were beheaded and killed, because that little church was damaged by flood –and is virtually a ruin – and needs to be almost entirely rebuilt, but there are no funds...].<sup>28</sup> The reconstruction of the church (sacked during the Thirty Years War) can be traced to 1651 when new officials of the church fabric (*zádušní*) were elected by the town council of Poděbrady. The Bohemian Chamber then in 1664 approved the intention of the Kutná Hora mining and minting office with the order of miners and other pertinent orders, who “chtějí dát 50 zl. rýn. na vyzdvížení ,od kamene’ kostelíka v oboře J.M.C. u Poděbrad ,pro tu památku starožitných haviřů, kteří tu v létu 1440 (!), jakž o tom Hájek v knize své na listu 464 vypisuje, pro pravdu nevinně stínání, u téhož kostelíka i do něho pochování byli, a při tom-jakž to figura patrněji vysvětluje-tehdejší veliký zázrak’ se stal” [who wish to donate fifty Rhenish gulden for the raising of the small church from the ground in the deer park of His Imperial Majesty near Poděbrady in the memory of the ancient miners, who in the year 1440 (!) – as Hájek narrates in his book on folio 464 – for righteousness were innocently beheaded, at the very same small church, and there laid to rest, and on that occasion – as the figure graphically explains – a great miracle occurred]<sup>29</sup> In 1665, Dean Tschedek petitioned the consistory for permission to restore the chapel behind the bridge in Poděbrady. As early as 11 September 1666, the single-nave church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary was ceremoniously re-consecrated. On that occasion a pompous procession was conducted from Kutná Hora, headed by

<sup>26</sup> Rezek, *Paměti*, 121–122.

<sup>27</sup> Šimek, “K dějinám,” 310; Fiala, “Kutnohorští haviři,” 32.

<sup>28</sup> Šmilauerová, *Poděbrady*, 57, citing Prague NA, Stará manipulace, sign. P 72/110.

<sup>29</sup> Fiala, “Kutnohorští haviři,” 32.

miners, and mining and mint officials "...k kostelu Nejsvětější rodičky Boží Panny Marie Nanebevzetí vnově za mostem poděbradským, kdež léta 1596 [!] někteří z havířův od Hory Kutny nevinně stínáni byli."<sup>30</sup> During the reconstruction of the church in 1665–1666 the remains of the executed miners were deposited in the niche in the wall on the right side of the main altar, as the registers of the demesne of Poděbrady for 1682, inform us.<sup>31</sup> From that time there is a pair of oil paintings depicting the execution of the Kutná Hora miners and two polychromed wooden sculptures of kneeling miners, which were originally placed within the triumphal arch.<sup>32</sup> The no-longer extant small church of St. Martin near Kutná Hora similarly witnessed a local cult at the place where – in the years 1419–1420 – the burghers and priests of Kutná Hora – identified as martyrs in the context of the Bohemian Reformation – were being cast into the mine shafts.<sup>33</sup> The small church, erected as early as the fourteenth century, is depicted on the veduta of Kutná Hora by Johann Willenberg (1571–1613). The church and the procession are noted by Mikuláš Dačický of Heslov; by the bachelor and administrator of the Brethren's community in Litomyšl, Vavřinec Krasonický; and by Jan Amos Komenský.<sup>34</sup>

The described events, which culminated during July and August 1496 with the arrest and execution of the Kutná Hora miners, were reflected, with variations and modifications of motifs, in a number of historiographic sources. Some of them linked to the miners' execution with miraculous events embodying the miners' hopes for a divine just verdict; thus the narrations approach legendary texts.<sup>35</sup> The earliest source, describing the miners' execution is the

<sup>30</sup> Šmilauerová, *Poděbrady*, 124 according to Státní okresní archiv Nymburk in Lysá nad Labem, Archiv města Poděbrady, book Nr. 6, f. [I]. On the renewed pilgrimages of miners from Kutná Hora and Kaňk after 1666, see Fiala, "Kutnohorští havíři," 32.

<sup>31</sup> Hellich, *Příběhy*, 12. In 1779, the remains were transferred under the bricks under the niche; Hellich, *Příběhy*, 28.

<sup>32</sup> On the Baroque sculptures of miners, see [brief note, Anonymous], Český lid, Sborník věnovaný studiu lidu českého v Čechách, na Moravě, ve Slezsku a na Slovensku 11 (1902) 385, Hellich, *Příběhy* 27; Šmilauerová, *Poděbrady*, 41, Illus. 11.

<sup>33</sup> Emanuel Leminger, "Zaniklé kostely a kaple v Kutné Hoře," *Kutnohorské příspěvky k dějinám vzdělanosti české* (1931) 80–81, Nr. 8; Štroblová–Altová, *Kutná Hora*, 311, 399, 469.

<sup>34</sup> *Paměti Mikuláše Dačického z Heslova* 2, ed. Antonín Rezek (Prague, 1878) 171. Vavřinec Krasonický, *Sepsání bratra Vavřince Krasonického o tom, co se dalo předešlých let mezi Římany a Čechy*, MS Prague KNM, sign. V F 41, f. 47: "Bývaly ukrutné války...u Hory na Kutnách do šachet metalí...A chodívali sme tam v křížové dny s procesí. A tu kněží kázali žalostně připomínajíce ty služebníky Boží. A již sou tu kostelík ustavili na památku." Cited by Halama, "The Martyrs," 142. Komenský supplemented: "Protož potom každoročně 18. dne dubna na tom místě (kdež i kostel vystavený posavad zůstává) slavná shromáždění a na památku týchž mučedníků kázání mívati obyčej byl až do léta 1613, když nejvyšší mincmistr Vřesovec to, ale nadarmo, zastaviti se pokoušel. Potom teprv, když protivenství se rozmohlo, v létu 1621, to ustalo." Jan Amos Komenský, *Historie o těžkých protivenstvích církve české* (Prague, 1952) 36; Halama, "The Martyrs," 142–143.

<sup>35</sup> Legendary motifs in the historiographic texts from 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries are traced in Halama, "The Martyrs"; and Seltzer, "Re-envisioning".

contemporary chronicle record of the Kutná Hora town councillor, Bartoš of Práchnany (d. 1510); as the only Pre-White-Mountain author, he enumerates the names of executed miners, to wit Průša and his brother (Šimon), Matěj Černý of Hlouška, Opat, Viktorin, Hana, Slad, Duchek Bláznice, Kůžel, and Mládek.<sup>36</sup> The list of names corresponds to those on the illuminated fragment. A just divine judgment is cited by Bartoš as the highest authority in the case of the unjustly convicted miners who had revealed the fraudulent dealings of royal officials. In this connection emphasis is placed on the case of the delayed royal messenger with a letter promising protection to the miners.<sup>37</sup> According to Bartoš, one of the miners was to implore God to prove their innocence. God's retaliation proving the miners' innocence took the form of a heavy rain, which, however, did not last long. Bartoš says nothing about the execution in Křivoklát; only in conclusion he adds that the last of the condemned miners (from Poděbrady?) was supposed to have fought off the executioner.

The Old Bohemian Annals offer a more substantial account of the execution of the miners who rebelled on 10 July and, armed, had gathered on *Špimberk* hill in order to defend justice and the worth of human lives.<sup>38</sup> The annalist in some instances supplements the account of Bartoš of Práchnany, noting that the miners were besieged with help from Kolín, Čáslav, and the captain (*hejtman*) of Poděbrady. The last-named assumes an important position in the narrative as an enemy of the chalice who denied communion

<sup>36</sup> Rezek, *Paměti*, 50–51. Miner Opat is also mentioned by Bartoš of Práchnany in connection with his 1494 conflict with the Kutná Hora Chamberlain (hofmistr), Michal of Vrchoviště; Rezek, *Paměti*, 48. Of the other miners in question, the beheadings of Šimon and Průša are confirmed by the town books (*Libri civitatis*) of Kutná Hora. The records also show that Průša owned a house in Kutná Hora, which his wife Magdalene sold shortly after his death to one Martin Plechovička. Excerpted from the sources by Fiala, "Kutnohorští havíři," 25, 26–27.

<sup>37</sup> Available sources indicate that the stand of King Vladislav Jagiellon was not unambiguous on the question of the miners of Kutná Hora. He reassured the miners concerning the negotiations already in the 1480s. Only after their death – having received fuller information – he ordered, by a letter from Tata of 4 September, an extraordinary trial and admonished the citizens of Kutná Hora to desist from „*všeho násilí a hanění až do rozeznání té pře*” (from all torture and slander until the end of the trial). In addition, the king issued in the same year a letter of exculpation for Archdean Svatopluk Zrůbek of Újezd, confirming that the miners were not unjustly sentenced and the king had them punished for insubordination and rebellion. See Rezek, *Paměti* 51; ed. Jaroslav Kalousek, *Archiv český čili staré písemné památky české i moravské, sebrané z archivů domácích i cizích* 10 (Prague, 1890) 72; Palacký, *Dějiny*, 241–242; František Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a na Moravě* 6 [Živá díla minulosti 66] (Prague, 1973) 797; Hellich, *Příběhy*, 7; Fiala, „Kutnohorští havíři,” 28, 30–31; Janková, „Exekuce,” 93, 98; Francek, *Zločinnost* 306; Státní okresní archiv Kutná Hora, AM Kutná Hora, *Tři listy krále Vladislava (nařízení stran odběhnutých havířů po vzbouření)*, cart. Nr. 3, Inv. Nr. 273/1, 2, 3.

<sup>38</sup> *Staré letopisy české z rukopisu Křižovnického*, 309, further *Dílo Františka Palackého* 2, *Starší letopisové čeští od roku 1378 do 1527 čili pokračování v kronikách Příbika Pulkravy a Beneše z Hořovic z rukopisů starých vydané*, 214–215, Nr. 670. See also Jaroslav Porák and Jaroslav Kašpar, *Ze starých letopisů českých* (Prague, 1980) 273–274, Nr. 670.



sub utraque to the miners of whom the narrative names explicitly only Šimon with his brother, Pruša, and Kužel. This motif – with the exception of Veleslavín's allusion – does not appear in the more recent sources. The annalist further accentuates the miners' pious prayer prior to their execution and cites the petition of the last one: "Bože, dej a vylej dešť, ať smyje tuto naši nevinnou krev!" [Oh, God, deign and pour out the rain so that it washes away our innocent blood!].<sup>39</sup> The miraculous downpour, lasting three days and nights, together with a decline in mining output in Kutná Hora, were taken as signs of God's just punishment. We encounter for the first time two more miners, executed in Křivoklát, and with a third miner, who was supposed to repel the executioner in Křivoklát. The annalist does not mention the circumstances of the Křivoklát executions nor the miners' names.

The printed *Kronika o založení země české a obyvatelích jejích* (Chronicle about the Foundation of the Bohemian Lands and Its Inhabitants) by the Utraquist Martin Kuthen of Špinčberk (d. 1564) from 1539 passes briefly over the 1496 events in Kutná Hora.<sup>40</sup> Kuthen does not mention the names of the executed miners, nor – as reported by Bartoš of Prácheňany and the Annalist – God's punishment in the form of a downpour and of a decline in silver mining production. Likewise Kuthen does not mention the miners' execution in Křivoklát; the cause of the miners' rebellion is attributed to the fraudulent actions of Kutná Hora officials.

Additional accounts by the sub una oriented Václav Hájek of Libočany (d. 1553) in his *Czech Chronicle* (Prague, 1541) correspond by and large with the recording in the *Old Bohemian Annals*.<sup>41</sup> Compared with previously cited sources, Hájek, without naming them, mentions the execution of seven elder miners in Poděbrady and of three in Křivoklát. In Křivoklát, the last miner – in agreement with the Annalist – was supposed to have fended off the executioner. The author notes the unjust sentencing of the miners, who had called attention to the fraudulent dealings of royal officials. According to Hájek, the captain (*hejtman*) of Poděbrady does not comment on the rejection of communion sub utraque prior to death, but he gives a binding promise of royal appeal to the captive miners. In the meantime, however, the deceptive letter, had been dispatched to the sovereign, and, on its basis, the executions had been performed. Hájek repeats the portent of the prayer, attributed to the last Poděbrady miner, that the Lord God Almighty sent an ample rain to purge their innocent blood. Thus, we again encounter the motif of God's just punishment that assumed the form of a great flood, caused by an extraordinary rain, coming after a lengthy drought, and followed by a decline

<sup>39</sup> Cited after *Staré letopisy*, 309. See also *Dílo Františka Palackého*, 214–215 and Porák-Kašpar, *Ze starých letopisů*, 273–274.

<sup>40</sup> Tobolka, *Martin* [unpaginated].

<sup>41</sup> *Václav Hájek z Libočan, Kronika česká, Výbor historického čtení*, ed. Jaroslav Kolár (Prague, 1981) 643. See also *Václav Hájek z Libočan, Kronika česká*, ed. Jan Linka (Prague, 2013) 1051–1052.

of the silver mines' output in Kutná Hora. Hájek is the first to mention a review of the miners' trial by the king who, as a result, confirms the miners' innocence and has the Kutná Hora officials punished.<sup>42</sup>

The humanist, writer and Bishop of Olomouc, Johannes Dubravius (1486–1553) continues along Hájek's line in his *Historiae regni Bohemiae* (Prostějov, 1552).<sup>43</sup> Daniel Adam of Veleslavín (1546–1599) refers to the accounts of Hájek and Kuthen in both editions of his *Kalendář historický* (Historical Calendar) in 1578<sup>44</sup> and 1590.<sup>45</sup> Because the calendar arrangement places events synchronistically, the narrative is divided into two parts (10 July and 5 August). Veleslavín does not cite the names of the unjustly executed miners, of whom seven perished in Poděbrady and two in Křivoklát, where a third one allegedly fended off the executioner's sword. The number of miners agrees with Hájek's account. The second edition of the *Kalendář* contains several supplements and alterations. The reference to the *Old Bohemian Annals* probably concerns the story of the captain (*hejtman*) of Poděbrady, who allegedly denied, according to Veleslavín, the miners "the Christian ministration" (*správu křesťanskou*), presumably communion *sub utraque* before their execution. In addition to Hájek and Kuthen, Veleslavín in the second edition also refers to the chronicle of Johannes Dubravius.

The Humanist writer, Prokop Lupáč of Hlavačov (d. 1587) in his *Rerum Boemicarum ephemeris* refers to Hájek and other unspecified sources (*alii annales*). For 9 July he includes a brief notation about the capture of the Kutná Hora miners at Kaňk with a supplement about their execution at Poděbrady.<sup>46</sup> Although Lupáč offers only a terse calendar entry (moreover, misdated to 9 July), he presents a new testimony about a depiction (*pictura*) of the execution in the small miners' church near Poděbrady. This image, authenticated by Lupáč prior to 1584 is now unknown and subsequently – except for a mention by Zacharias Theobald – there is no record of it. The picture, showing veneration for the Kutná Hora miners on the place of their execution, might have been destroyed during the Thirty Years' War, when the church was sacked.

A three-volume treatise *Hussitenkrieg* (Wittenberg, 1609) by a Lutheran, active in the Ore Mountains (*Krušné hory*), a Humanist and historian,

<sup>42</sup> On the attitude of King Vladislav Jagiellon, see note 37.

<sup>43</sup> Johannes Dubravius, *Historiae regni Bohemiae* (Prostějov, 1552) CXC VII. Barbora Kocánová kindly helped me with the edition of the Latin text. On the note of Dubravius concerning the punishment of the citizens of Kutná Hora by Vladislav Jagiellon, see Palacký, *Dějiny* 6, 797.

<sup>44</sup> Daniel Adam of Veleslavín, *Kalendář historický, To jest krátké poznamenání všech dnuv jednoho každého měsíce přes celý rok, k nimžto přidány jsou některé paměti hodné historiae...* (Prague, 1578) [Knihopis Nr. 00058] 196.

<sup>45</sup> Daniel Adam of Veleslavín, *Kalendář historický, Krátké a Summovní poznamenání všechněch dnův jednohokaždého měsíce, přes celý rok, k nimžto s doložením let, buďto od stvoření světa, aneb od narození Božího, přidány jsou víry a paměti hodné Historyae...* (Prague, 1590) [Knihopis Nr. 00059] 377.

<sup>46</sup> Prokop Lupáč z Hlavačova, *Rerum Boemicarum ephemeris, sive Kalendarium historicum* (Prague, 1584) [unpaginated].

Zacharias Theobald (1584–1627) was first published in 1609. It offers a restatement of Hájek's account of the grisly events (seven beheaded in Poděbrady and three in Křivoklát, the prayer of the last miner, the just divine punishment, and punishment of the guilty ones).<sup>47</sup> In agreement with Lupáč, the miners' rebellion is dated 9 July, and the execution to 4 August. Theobald refers to the depiction of the execution in the Poděbrady church, and he identifies for the first time the captain (*hejtman*) of Poděbrady as the Prince of Münsterberg. Zacharias's book concludes the survey of pre-White-Mountain sources, which dealt with the memory of the unjustly executed Kutná Hora miners, turned martyrs of Poděbrady. Although Baroque historiography (Bohuslav Balbín, Jan Kořínek, and Jan Beckovský) is silent about the execution of the Kutná Hora miners in Poděbrady and in Křivoklát, their veneration and memory were still alive at the place of their demise even after the mid-seventeenth century.

While the tragic events of 1496 are recorded in published and manuscript sources of authors both Utraquist and sub una in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century, the (confessionally undifferentiated) veneration of the unjustly persecuted miners centred on the place of their execution in Poděbrady (Zálabí) where a small wooden church was erected at the start of the sixteenth century. The memory of the miners lived especially in the minds of the miners' guilds, the miners of Kutná Hora and Kaňk, from whose ranks the martyrs were drawn. The cult had a local character, limited to the region of Poděbrady and Kutná Hora, but it was there that a few preserved or documentarily authenticated pictorial examples can be found, which demonstrate the veneration of the martyr-miners. The original furnishings of the church in Zálabí near Poděbrady from the sixteenth century did not survive, but the credible mentions of Lupáč and Theobald permit us to assume that these furnishings included a depiction of the Kutná Hora miners' executions near Poděbrady (and possibly in Křivoklát). The mentioned testimony of Lupáč offers evidence of its existence even prior to 1584. Paintings of the miners' executions were also purchased by private individuals. This is attested by a record in a memorial book of Kutná Hora from 1568, which included, in the inventory of the furniture of Jakub Přibík, an elder miner of Kutná Hora, "tabule nade dveřmi havířského stínání" [a panel of miners' beheading above the door].<sup>48</sup> The executions have also become the subjects of songs. The me-

<sup>47</sup> Zacharias Theobald, *Hussitenkriege, Was sich bey der Regierung König Girschicks König Wladislai unnd König Ludovici von dem 1458 biß auff das 1517 Jahr im Land zu Böhheim in Fried und Unfried begeben* 3 (Nuremberg, 1621) 155–157. The events are noted in the rubric as the commemorative history of the Kutná Hora miners.

<sup>48</sup> Cited by Šimek, "K dějinám," 310; Josef Šimek, *Kutná Hora v XV. a XVI. století* (Kutná Hora, 1907) 251; Janková, "Exekuce," 102. A fresco portrait of Jakub Přibík is located on the eastern wall of the miners' chapel (now hidden behind the Baroque altar of St. Ignatius) in the Church of St. Barbara in Kutná Hora. It bears a date of 1560. Jiří Roháček, *Nápisý města Kutné Hory, Kutná Hora, Kaňk, Malín a Sedlec včetně bývalého cisterciáckého kláštera*

morial books of Kutná Hora note in mid-sixteenth century – in connection with the dispute between the mint officials and the weaver Chvojka – an old song composed at the time of the beheadings, which also contained allusions to mint officials' theft of silver.<sup>49</sup> The text of this song remains unknown. However, a later variant of the Czech song is found in a copy in the manual of Kaňk; this version was sold by Kutná Hora miners in 1666 during a pilgrimage to the Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Poděbrady.<sup>50</sup>

The only extant pictorial evidence of veneration of the Poděbrady martyrs – from the Pre-White Mountain period – thus are the earlier mentioned illuminated fragments. These illuminations from an unknown choral book of Utraquist provenance are traditionally connected with the Gradual of Kaňk from 1559–1561. They differ from the subsequent Baroque depictions of the same subjects by the liturgical placement and context. Although all the extant variants emphasise the motif of unjustly executed miners in Poděbrady and in Křivoklát, it is only the illuminated fragment that connects the miners with the Bohemian Utraquist martyrs, and does it on the basis of a juxtaposition with the martyr's death of Jan Hus. Just like Jan Hus, the innocent miners were unjustly sentenced to death. It is also possible to find a parallel with Hus in the motif of the miner who prior to death turns to God with the hope of a just divine judgment. The executed Kutná Hora miners were thus – on the basis of their martyrs' death and through linkage with Jan Hus – ranked with the Bohemian Utraquist saints, similarly as it happened in the late Gothic illumination of the Smíškovský Gradual. In distinction from Jan Chůdek and other Kutná Hora martyrs, they, however, were not given a liturgical mention in the officia for the feast day of Hus and the Bohemian martyrs.

If we take into account the iconography of the fragments from the unknown choral book, we presume besides an oral tradition, still other unknown regional historiographic sources and image prototypes, which would deal with the execution of the Kutná Hora miners at Poděbrady and in Křivoklát in 1496. Even though it is possible to derive certain iconographic motifs of the fragments from the sources cited above (the number of miners, the names of the miners executed at Poděbrady, the place of execution, the delayed royal messenger), others, to the contrary, we cannot so derive. This is, for instance, the motif of the two executioners – the town executioner Kolouch, who refused to behead the innocent miners and laid down his sword, and the

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[Fontes historiae artium III, Corpus inscriptionum Bohemiae I] (Prague, 1996) 112, Nr. 71, Illus. 26a, b.

<sup>49</sup> Olga Skalníková, "Hornictví v české lidové kultuře," in *Lidová tradice, Přátelé k 85. narozeninám akademika Jiřího Horáka*, eds. Jaromír Jech and Olga Skalníková (Prague, 1971) 227. A similar dispute is recorded under the title *Vejtah z památky* [An Extract from a Memorial] on the reverse side of one of the Baroque images of the miners' execution in a church in Poděbrady (now held by Polabí Museum in Poděbrady). Cited by Fiala, "Kutnohorští havíři," 27.

<sup>50</sup> Skalníková, "Hornictví," 227. For the text of the song, see B. Barabášová, *Lidová poesie hornická* (Prague, 1950) 16–17.

executioner Sochor, who did behead the miners of Poděbrady. Neither the Pre-White Mountain sources, nor the illuminated fragment inform us about the names of the miners, executed in Křivoklát. The mentioned motifs do appear in later Baroque variants together with explanatory inscriptions. Thus, it is very probable that additional sources or image prototypes that would have shed light on several circumstances of the execution of the Kutná Hora miners, as well as on the motifs that may be continually documented in the image tradition from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, did not survive.

We have already mentioned that the restored Poděbrady church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary turned into a local pilgrimage center, attracting processions annually. The restoration of the cult of the unjustly executed Kutná Hora miners (the martyrs of Poděbrady) was reinforced by a new topos about the appearance of a “bloody” spring near the road to Prague close to the church. The place of the execution of the Kutná Hora miners was thus inter-linked with a miraculous event that was noted by Jan Amos Komenský in his book *O těžkých protivenstvích církve české* (About the Heavy Persecutions of the Bohemian Church): “Téhož roku (1624) vyprýštila se u Poděbrad blízko obecné cesty (pražské) studnička, z níž za celý měsíc voda jako krev tekla, jíž někteří místo černidla užívajíc, tím historii pro budoucí paměť zapsali.” [In the same year (1624) at Poděbrady near the public (Prague) road a source sprang up, out of which, for an entire month, water like blood flowed out; some using the liquid as ink, recorded this story for the sake of future memory].<sup>51</sup> The intensity of the cult of the executed miners is attested in the seventeenth and eighteenth century by Baroque paintings depicting the events at Poděbrady and in Křivoklát, as well as by historical songs.

The Kutná Hora region at the start of the nineteenth century was the habitat of the scribe, chronicler, and Kutná Hora *spolukverk* Jan František Vavák (1741–1816), who paraphrased the subject of the miners’ execution at Poděbrady and in Křivoklát in three historical songs. The songs describe the miners’ execution, the history of the Poděbrady church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, as well as a miraculous oak tree.<sup>52</sup> Vavák likewise men-

<sup>51</sup> Komenský, *Historie*, 221. See also Hellich, “Poustevna,” 20; Hellich, *Příběhy*, 46.

<sup>52</sup> About him, see Adolf Rokyta, “Vavákovy písně historické o popravě havířů u Poděbrad r. 1496,” *Český lid*, Sborník věnovaný studiu lidu českého v Čechách, na Moravě, ve Slezsku a na Slovensku 18 (1909) 65–69; Zdeněk Kalista, *Truhlice písní, Poesie českých písmáků XVII.–XVIII. století–Lukáše Volného, Jiřího Volného a Františka Jana Vaváka* [Básnická knihovna Studnice 7] (Prague, 1940); František Kutnar, *František Jan Vavák* [Postavy české minulosti 3] (Prague, 1941) 42; Luděk Šmíd, “Lidoví kronikáři středního Polabí I. František Jan Vavák–typ selského autodidakta a regionálního kronikáře (s úvodní studií o typu lidového kronikáře jako tradičního projevu v kulturním vývoji českého venkovského lidu),” *Práce Oblastního muzea v Poděbradech*, Series B, Nr. 1 (1967) 1–63; Janková, “Exekuce,” 109; Jan František Vavák, *Historické písně*, MS Prague KNM, sign. III D 50, historické písně: 1. O havířích nevině stínaných u města Poděbrad a hradu Křivokláta léta Páně 1496 dne 5. srpna, 2. O založení chrámu blahoslavené Panny Marie u města Poděbrad, 3. O proměnách kostela Panny Marie u města Poděbrad a dubu při



tions the church and the oak tree in a museum manuscript from 1815.<sup>53</sup> Vavák's younger contemporary was Matěj Minide, a teacher in Poděbrady, who wrote about the execution of the Kutná Hora miners at Poděbrady and in Křivoklát in a manuscript chronicle of the town of Poděbrady.<sup>54</sup> Vavák and Minide for the first time recorded in writing a somewhat older oral tradition about a memorial oak tree, which had enjoyed a special respect, because its branch was allegedly stained with the blood of the unjustly executed miners (the oak was uprooted by a wind storm in 1777). The branch of the miraculous oak was supposed to bear acorns in the form of miner's hoods attesting to the innocence of the beheaded miners. According to Minide, these acorns were to appear in the fall of 1496 during their collection for the royal chamber.<sup>55</sup> A similar legendistic topos of a miraculous tree – about a pear tree that bloomed annually, but bore no fruit – is connected with the place of the alleged grave of German warriors, who fell in the battle at Ústí nad Labem in 1426 (recorded by Daniel Adam z Veleslavína, Zacharias Theobald, Jan Beckovský).<sup>56</sup> Leaves of linden trees in the shape of monks' hoods, tellingly called *folia caputiana*, figure in legends about Cistercian martyrs of the period of the Bohemian religious wars from the seventeenth century (Zlatá Koruna, Zbraslav, Sedlec, Plasy, Ždár nad Sázavou).<sup>57</sup> One may wonder whether the tradition about the special acorns in the shape of miners' hoods was not influenced specifically by the popularity of the legend about the linden-tree in the vicinity of the Cistercian monastery in Sedlec, “kteřá na hřbitově sedleckým až podnes se spatřuje a na památku usmrčených od krutosti husitské mučedníků každoročně pučí listy na větvích některých na způsob řeholních

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něm. The songs are printed in Rokyta, “Vavákovy písně,” 65–69; Hellich, *Příběhy*, 40–43; See also Janková, “Exekuce,” 108–109.

<sup>53</sup> Jan František Vavák, *Popsání všech kostelů a kaplí pod jménem Na Nebevzetí Panny Marie v Království českém se vynacházejících*, MS Prague KNM, sign. IV D 63, p. 11.

<sup>54</sup> Borovcová, “Poděbradský kronikář,” 63–67; Luděk Šmíd, “Lidové kronikáři středního Polabí II. Lidové městští kronikáři Matěj Minyde a Ferdinand Janák,” *Práce Oblastního muzea v Poděbradech*, Series B, Nr. 3 (1968) 3–61; Matěj Minide, *Kronika poděbradská aneb popsání starobytných pamětí královského města Poděbrad nad Labem* MS Prague KNM, sign. III E 13/2, 63–101; Matěj Minide, *Stínání havířů u Poděbrad a základ kostela Panny Marie za mostem. Vlastenecký památný příběh od roku 1496*, MS Poděbrady, Archiv Polabského muzea, fond Matěj Minide, Inv. Nr. H 19 177, n.p. For details of the content, see Janková, “Exekuce,” 110–113.

<sup>55</sup> On the special shape of acorns, see Sommer, *Königreich*, 60; [Anonymous], “Das Gedächtniß,” Hellich, *Příběhy*, 8–9, 23, 51; Jan Hellich, *Průvodce sbírkami Hellichova muzea Poděbradska* (Poděbrady, 1931) 135–136; Josef Velenovský, *Systematická botanika 4 (Apetalae)* (Prague, 1922) 54; Hana Nováková-Svatopluk Šebek, “Věda a pověra o ‘zázračných’ poděbradských žaludech,” *Vlastivědný zpravodaj Polabí* Nrs. 5–6 (1962) 75–77; Janková, “Exekuce,” 105–106.

<sup>56</sup> Petr Čornej, *Tajemství českých kronik, Cesty ke kořenům husitské tradice* (Prague, 2003) 249–250.

<sup>57</sup> Štěpán Vácha, “Barokní kult cisterciáckých mučedníků doby husitské,” in *Úloha církevních řádů při pobělohorské rekatolizaci*, ed. Ivana Čornejová (Prague, 2003) 187–190.

kápí” [which in the cemetery of Sedlec to this day can be seen, and which in the memory of the martyrs – put to death by Hussite cruelty – every year blossoms on some branches with leaves in the form of monastic hoods].<sup>58</sup> But this is already another story.

Translated from the Czech by Zdeněk V. David

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<sup>58</sup> Cited from the solemn sermon of the Jesuit Leopold Svojský in 1743 on the occasion of the 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the monastery, Vácha, “Barokní kult,” 189.