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# Jan Hus in Illuminated Manuscripts of the Bohemian Renaissance\*

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Illumination of the Bohemian Renaissance represents from the viewpoint of iconography an interesting and hitherto not entirely researched subject which closely corresponds with the problem of distinguishing confessional identities of Utraquists and the *sub una* in the sixteenth century. During that period, the Utraquist literary brotherhoods [*literati*] became interested in musical sources, which contained Czech texts of Gregorian chants and also polyphonic mass chants [graduals] and religious hymns [kancionáls]. Their development ended early in the seventeenth century in connection with the post-White Mountain events and the total social transformation. These musical sources were richly provided with full-page illuminations, historiated initials, miniatures in bordures, as well as with heraldic decorations and portraits. Literature on art history has thus far concentrated, above all, on stylistic and formal questions or on the identification of the individual illuminators. Differentiation by genre or the inspirational sources of illuminations in the Bohemian Renaissance remained by and large in the background of interest, or had the character of minor observations in articles, which were diversely formulated and thematically limited. At least some specific traits were adumbrated in rather general contours. At the same time, some researchers have also disregarded the liturgical context of the individual illuminations. Thus, every individual illumination was interpreted independently and in isolation.

At this point, let us review the several studies which were devoted to the depiction of Jan Hus in the illuminated manuscripts of the Bohemian Renaissance.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The literature concerning the iconography of Hus is relatively extensive, selectively let us mention, for instance, František Menšík, "O husových podobiznách" [About Hus's Portraits] *Národní listy* 53 (1893); Kamil Krofta, ed., *Mistr Jan Hus v životě a památce českého lidu* [Master Jan Hus in the Life and the Memory of the Czech People] (Prague, 1915); Karel Chytil and Václav Novotný, *Katalog výstavy, kterou pořádá na pětistoletou pamět úmrtí rektora praž. vys. uč. Mistra J. Husi...Universita Karlova a Ferdinandova* [Catalogue of an Exhibition, which the University of Prague Has Arranged to Commemorate the Five Hundredth

Anniversary of the Death of Its Rector, Master Jan Hus] (Prague, 1915) 33–62; Václav Vilém Štech, *Jan Hus ve výtvarném umění* [Jan Hus in the Fine Arts] (Prague, 1916) 83–98; Jan Květ, “Nejstarší české vyobrazení upálení M. Jana Husi v bibli Martinické,” [The Oldest Czech Depiction of the Burning of Jan Hus in the Bible of Martinice] in Otokar Odložilík, ed., *Českou minulostí. Práce věnované profesoru Karlovy university Václavu Novotnému jeho žáky k šedesátým narozeninám* [Through the Czech Past. A Festschrift Dedicated by His Pupils to the Professor of the Charles University, Václav Novotný, for His Sixtieth Birthday] (Prague, 1929) 175–193; Josef Šimek, “Uctívání památky mistra Jana Husa na Horách Kutných” [Veneration of the Memory of Jan Hus in Kutná Hora], *Kutnohorské příspěvky k dějinám vzdělanosti české* [Contributions of Kutná Hora to Czech Culture] 5 (1931) 16–19; Anežka Livorová [Merhautová], “Sobotecký graduál” [The Sobotka Gradual] in *Sobotka. Jubilejní sborník k 450. výročí povýšení na město (1498–1948)* [Sobotka. The Jubilee Volume for the 450<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of Elevation to the Status of Town, 1498–1948] (Sobotka, 1948) 68–76; Josef Tichý, “Husitika v rukopisech Knihovny Národního muzea,” [*Hussitica* in the Manuscripts of the National Museum Library], *Časopis Národního muzea – oddíl věd společenských* 120 (1952) 34–50; Anežka Livorová – Merhautová, “Příspěvky k ikonografii Mistra Jana Husa,” [Contributions to the Iconography of Master Jan Hus], *Umění* 1 (1953) 85; Jaroslav Pešina, “Další příspěvek k ikonografii upálení m. Jana Husa,” [Another Contribution to the Iconography of the Burning of Master Jan Hus], *Umění* 2 (1954) 253–254; Josef Tichý and Zoroslava Drobná, *Iluminované nejkrásnější rukopisy knihovny Národního muzea v Praze* [The Most Beautiful Illuminated Manuscripts of the National Museum Library in Prague] (Prague, 1965); Jaroslav Pešina, “Neznámé vyobrazení Upálení Mistra Jana Husa” [Unknown Depiction of the Burning of Master Jan Hus], *Sborník Národního muzea v Praze* 21, řada A (1967) 299–302; Jarmila Vacková, “Podoba a příčiny anachronismu” [The Appearance and Causes of Anachronism], *Umění* 16 (1968) 380; Karel Král, “K husitské tradici na Ústecku,” [On the Hussite Tradition in the Region of Ústí nad Labem] *Husitský Tábor* 4 (1981) 158–162; 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 Burghers at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century], *Husitský Tábor* 4 (1981) 163–166; František Fišer, “Husovo upálení z Roudník” [The Burning of Hus from Roudníky], *Husitský Tábor* 7–8 (1984) 421; Jaroslav Macek, “Mistr Jan Hus v litoměřickém graduálu. Vývoj vyobrazení Mistra Jana” [Master Jan Hus in the Litoměřice Gradual. The Evolution of Master Jan Hus’s Depiction], *Litoměřicko* 23 (1987) 107–134; Karel Stejskal and Petr Voit, *Iluminované rukopisy doby husitské* [Illuminated Manuscripts of the Hussite Period], (Prague, 1991); Bohumil Nuska, “Husova ikonografie ve výzdobě českých knižních vazeb 15. a 16. století” [Hus’s Iconography in the Decoration of Book Covers of the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Century], *Sborník Národního muzea v Praze. Acta Musei nationalis Pragae* 37, řada C (1992) 1–32; *Husitská revoluce*; Václav Houfek, “K oltářním deskám z kostela sv. Václava v Roudnickách” [On the Altar Panels in St. Wenceslaus Church in Roudník], *Ústecký sborník historický* (2000) 81–88; Milena Bílková, “Husova kacířská čepice” [The Heretic’s Cap of Hus], HT, *Supplementum* 1 (2001) 637–646; Jan Royt, “Ikonografie Mistra Jana Husa v 15. až 18. stol.” [The Iconography of Master Jan Hus from the 15<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> Century], HT, *Supplementum* 1 (2001) 405–452; idem, “Utravistická ikonografie v Čechách 15. a první polovina 16. stol.” [Utraquist Iconography in Bohemia in the 15<sup>th</sup> and the First Half of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century], in Dalibor Prix, ed., *Pro arte. Sborník k počtě Ivo Hlobila* [Pro Arte. A Volume in Honour of Ivo Hlobil] (Prague, 2002) 193–205; Milena Bartlová, “Jan Hus ve výtvarné tradici 15.–17. století” [Jan Hus in the Art Tradition of the 15<sup>th</sup> through the 17<sup>th</sup> Century], *Dějiny a současnost* [History and the Present] 4 (2002) 7–12; Milena Kubíková [Bílková], “The Heretic’s Cap of Hus,” BRRP 4 (2002) 143–150; Milena Bartlová, “‘Upálení sv. Jana Husa’ na malovaných křídlech utravistického oltáře z Roudník” [‘The Burning of St. Jan Hus’ on the Painted Wings of the Utraquist Altar from Roudník], *Umění* 53 (2005) 427–444; Petr Čornej and Jan B. Lášek, *Mistr Jan Hus 1415–2005* (Prague, 2005). The number of hitherto known portrayals of Hus has

With the exception of the Burning of Master Jan Hus in *Litoměřice Gradual* from the 1520s, which still belongs to the late Gothic tradition, nobody has systematically worked on the iconography of Hus in the Bohemian illuminated manuscripts of the sixteenth century. The basic treatment, which began to document Hus's depiction in the various illuminated books from the Bohemian Renaissance is the publication of Václav V. Štech, which appeared on the occasion of the Hus anniversary in 1915.<sup>2</sup> Štech's work was augmented at the time by Karel Chytil, and continued in recent times by Jan Royt – who devoted himself to Hus iconography in the fifteenth through the eighteenth century – and by Milena Bartlová.<sup>3</sup> In the 1950s, Anežka Merhautová and Jaroslav Pešina published minor contributions, which revealed an hitherto unknown depiction of the burning of Hus from the manuscripts of the Bohemian Renaissance.<sup>4</sup> On the basis of a critical examination of the existing state of knowledge, we have to conclude that there is a lack of consistent and long-term interest in the art of the Utraquist period. This lacuna affects also the object of interest of this article, namely the depictions of Mister Jan Hus in the illuminated manuscripts of the Bohemian Renaissance.

In the course of a lengthy development, the painted decoration of liturgical manuscripts adopted an iconographic programme that was specific to individual kinds and types of codices. Musical documents – or as the case may be, Czech Renaissance graduals or *kancionáls* – represent from this point of view a very interesting source, in which the arrangement of themes and motives is, above all, formulated in harmony with its liturgical and codicological context. The veneration of Hus may be noted soon after his death. In the Bethlehem Chapel of Prague requiems for Hus took place, as if for “a sainted martyr.” After the execution of Jerome of Prague in Constance, both martyrs were compared to St. Lawrence and exalted above the apostles Peter and Paul and other saints. The Council of Constance even felt constraint to complain to Emperor Sigismund that the Bohemians painted Hus and Jerome “in the churches, as if beatified.” The veneration of Hus's memory soon metamorphosed into the cult of a saint.<sup>5</sup> In the most diverse sources of that time,

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increased thanks to the relatively recent discovery of a panoramic fresco decoration in the interior of St. Wenceslaus's Church in Písek from the second half of the sixteenth century, which contains a monumental burning of Master Jan Hus. The partially damaged fresco represents a variant of the burning with many figures. The focus of the composition is on Hus with a heretic's cap and in a white garment. As against the figures in the audience, the fresco accentuates the size of the pyre with Hus, and of the henchmen feeding the fire.

<sup>2</sup> Štech, *Jan Hus*.

<sup>3</sup> Chytil and Novotný, *Katalog výstavy*; Royt, “Ikonografie Mistra Jana Husa;” Bartlová, “Jan Hus ve výtvarné tradici.”

<sup>4</sup> Merhautová, “Příspěvky k ikonografii Mistra Jana Husa;” Pešina, “Další příspěvek k ikonografii upálení m. Jana Husa.”

<sup>5</sup> Recently the beginnings of Hus's veneration and the remonstrances of the Council of Constance are noted in Bartlová, “Upálení sv. Jana Husa” na malovaných křídlech utrakvistického oltáře z Roudník.”

we find references to literary, liturgical, or pictorial documents concerning the growing importance of Hus. In connection with his veneration during the fifteenth century, a new place is assumed among the liturgical sources by texts, which relate to the feast of Hus on 6 July.<sup>6</sup> Liturgical reference to Hus as saint and martyr most often appears in the connection with the Latin introit *Gaudeamus*, which was used also for several other feast days of the liturgical year. The introit was augmented by the addition of other texts adopted from the feast days of martyrs or from propers for various saints' days including, for instance, the feast day of St. Vitus, or All Saints Day. These texts are not dedicated explicitly to Hus or Jerome, but they set their feast day into broader contexts. Gradually Hus was commemorated in texts for the Eucharist and in the office of the church. In addition to Jerome, the liturgical commemorations began to include other Bohemians, who had submitted to martyrdom for the sake of their faith. Although, from the viewpoint of arrangement and their structure or theme, the liturgical texts for Hus's feast day represent a relatively varied set of texts, they still permit us to follow the enduring role of the veneration of saints in the life of the Utraquist Church. Even the rubrics themselves and the running heads distinctly vary, and thus indicate to us the breadth of the interpretation of Hus, Jerome, and the other Bohemian martyrs.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> The musical and liturgical documents pertaining to the veneration of Hus have been treated by a number of Czech and foreign scholars: František M. Bartoš, *Mistr Jan Hus v bohoslužbě a účtě církve podobojí* [Master Jan Hus in the Liturgy and Veneration of the Utraquist Church] (Prague, 1924); František Fišer, "Hodinkové officium Svátku Mistra Jana Husa" [The Office for the Feast Day of Master Jan Hus], ČČM 135 (1966) 81–98; Jana Fojtíková, "Hudební doklady Husova kultu z 15. a 16. století. Příspěvek ke studiu husitské tradice v době předbělohorské" [Musical Documents of Hus's Cult in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> Century. Contribution to the Study of the Utraquist Tradition in the Pre-White Mountain Times], MM 29 (1981) 51–142. Fojtíková produced a detailed list of musical sources containing the Hus repertoire, and made these sources selectively accessible via a critical edition. David R. Holeton, "The Office of Jan Hus: An Unrecorded Antiphonary in the Metropolitan Library of Estergom," in J. Neil Alexander ed., *Time and Community* (Washington, 1990) 137–152; idem., "O felix Bohemia – O felix Constantia: the Liturgical Commemoration of Saint Jan Hus," HENC, 385–403; idem., "Oslava Jana Husa v životě církve" [Celebration of Jan Hus in the Life of the Church], HT, *Supplementum* 1 (2001) 83–111; idem and Hana Vlhová-Wörner, "A Remarkable Witness to the Feast of St. Jan Hus," BRRP VII (2009) 156–184; Josef Macek, *Víra a zbožnost jagellonského věku* [The Faith and Piety of the Jagellonian Age] (Prague, 2001) 79–81; Jiří Pešek, "Proměny utrakvistického kultu v předbělohorské době aneb Jan Hus v knihovnách pražských měšťanů na přelomu 16. a 17. století" [Changes in the Utraquist Cult in the Pre-White Mountain Times, or Jan Hus in the Libraries of Prague Burghers at the Turn of the 16<sup>th</sup> Century], in Tomáš Borovský, Libor Jan, and Martin Wihoda, eds., *Ad vitam et honorem. Profesoru Jaroslavu Mezníkovi přátelé a žáci k pětadesátým narozeninám* [Ad vitam et honorem. Friends and Disciples to Professor Jaroslav Mezník for His 75<sup>th</sup> Birthday] (Brno, 2003).

<sup>7</sup> For a detailed sorting of themes and motives of the liturgical texts for the feast day of Hus, see Fojtíková, "Hudební doklady Husova kultu;" also Holeton, "O felix Bohemia – O felix Constantia."

## Early Depictions

Although the earliest depiction of Hus's burning is found in the Latin *Martinic Bible*,<sup>8</sup> this theme subsequently became an almost indispensable part of the iconography in Utraquist liturgical texts. In the *Martinic Bible*, Hus on the burning pyre is located in the first historiated initial I [*n principio*] of the Book Genesis next to the cycle of the Creation of the World. It is of significance that the picture of Hus's Burning in the *Martinic Bible* is found exactly in the place, where biblical manuscripts – depicting the history of salvation – customarily located the Crucifixion next to the cycle of the Creation of the World. In this context, the motive of the crucified Christ next to the cycle of the World's Creation played the role of “the New Creation” in Christ, whose redemptive sacrifice consummated the history of salvation (Gal 6:14–16).<sup>9</sup> It cannot be excluded that such a connotation was intentionally accentuated in the depiction of Hus's burning because, as a follower of Christ, Jan Hus, suffered a martyr's death for the same justice, which God had proffered in Christ's sacrifice, and which humanity accepts in faith. The very narration of Hus's burning often bore the heading in the manuscript codices as did the Passions, or the Life of Master Jan Hus, God's Martyr. Petr of Mladoňovic structured his report not only as a generic martyrology, but overtly as an imitation of Christ. This intention is suggested by the motive of the disrobing of Christ before the execution, or the motive of the last exclamation prior to death. Subsequent authors enriched their texts with still other Christ-like imagery, such as the insertion of the motif of Louis Klem in the role of Pilate, or the marginal inscription comparing the transfer of Hus, from one location to another in Constance, to the dispatch of Jesus from Annas to Caiaphas.<sup>10</sup>

The earliest extant depiction of Hus in the context of Utraquist musical sources stems from the 1490s.<sup>11</sup> Hus appears as a saint with a halo and as

<sup>8</sup> *Martinic Bible*, held by the Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic, dated to the 1530s.

<sup>9</sup> “May I never boast of anything except the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by which the world has been crucified to me, and I to the world. For neither circumcision nor uncircumcision is anything; but a new creation is everything! As for those who follow this rule – peace be upon them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God.”

<sup>10</sup> Holeton, “‘O felix Bohemia – O felix Constantia’”; Bartlová, “‘Upálení sv. Jana Husa.’”

<sup>11</sup> It is necessary to recall that during the Counter Reformation many Utraquist liturgical manuscripts were “cleansed” and revised. Many Utraquist liturgical texts, however, were of a conservative character and some of them managed to escape full fledged destruction. Folios or entire quires were cut out from books, if they contained texts or illuminations for the feast day of Hus and the Bohemian martyrs, or the relevant places were blackened out. Subsequently, the “cleansed” graduals were often used by the Baroque (post Bílá Hora) literati. A direct example of such a depredation is the pasting over of the rubric of the proper “for the day of Master Jan Hus” in the gradual of the literati in Kostelec nad Orlicí, and its replacement with a new rubric, marking the proper for the feast of St. Vitus. Scholarly literature has not yet fully explored the use of Utraquist choral manuscripts with Czech chants for the mass. There is, however, evidence for their second-hand use in the Post-White Mountain

a martyr in two illuminations of the Smíškovský Gradual.<sup>12</sup> Accompanied by the martyrs Sts. Lawrence and Stephen, Hus is found on folio 285r within the historiated initial S[*apiencia sanctorum*], which pertains to the feast of martyrs (*de martiribus*). Hus with a golden halo is unmistakably identified by his heretic's cap. The beardless Hus is dressed in priestly vestments and blesses the chalice on top of a book.<sup>13</sup> Dalmatics and a tonsure characterize the other two martyrs depicted. In the Smíškovský Gradual, Hus is ranked with the martyr St. Lawrence and protomartyr Stephen on the basis of his merits and suffering. Hus is ranked with them in an analogous manner on the alter wings in Roudníky. His closest relationship is with St. Lawrence, that is, another "burnt saint." Hus and Lawrence are thus formatted in one of the earliest Utraquist compositions *Passio Johannis Hus secundum Johannem Barbatum*.<sup>14</sup> The historical significance of the initial in the Smíškovský Gradual is augmented in the space below by the scene of the Utraquist priests, headed by Jan Chůdek, being cast to their death into the mine shafts.<sup>15</sup> At the same time, this theme points to an expansion of the concept of the martyrs' feast day. The inhabitants of Kutná Hora strengthened themselves and the wider Utraquist circle through the depiction of a tradition in the struggle for a further development of the Bohemian Reformation.<sup>16</sup> Thus, veneration covers new personages who sacrificed their lives for the victory of the chalice and who now augment the ranks of martyrs for Utraquism. The martyrs

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period because we find in them the most varied musical supplements, added textual inscriptions, corrections, and commemorative inscriptions. Some of the manuscripts served as registers of births, marriages and deaths, or for various regional, historical, or prosographic notations.

<sup>12</sup> Smíškovský Gradual, MS Vienna, ÖNB, sign. 15492.

<sup>13</sup> The motive of Hus blessing the chalice also appears on the predella of the Town Museum of Chrudim, originally from the Church of the Holy Cross in Chrudim, in which Hus is ranked with the Bohemian national patrons, next to Sts. Wenceslaus, Ludmila, and Procopius.

<sup>14</sup> "Proto mohl právem zazpívat písničku vynikajícího mučedníka Vavřínce: Ohněm jsi mne zkusil, ale nepravost ve mně nebyla nalezena" [Therefore, rightfully he could sing the song of the outstanding Martyr Lawrence: You have tested me with fire, but no unrighteousness was found in me]. Cited according to Bartlová, "Upálení sv. Jana Husa," 434.

<sup>15</sup> On the late Gothic manuscripts and depiction of miners from Kutná Hora, see Pavel Brodský, "Vybrazení kutnohorských havířů v českých pozdně středověkých rukopisech" [Depiction of the Kutná Hora Miners in Bohemian Late Medieval Manuscripts], *Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk* 106 (1989) 94–97; Jörg Richter, "Die Gradualhandschriften für die kuttenberger Pfarrkirchen," in Dieter Popp and Robert Suckale, eds., *Die Jagiellonen. Kunst und Kultur einer europäischen Dynastie an der Wende zur Neuzeit* (Nuremberg, 2002), especially, 195.

<sup>16</sup> The same significance was gained by the bones, which were discovered in the silver mines of Kutná Hora in 1492. The events retold in the Old Bohemian Annals [*Staré letopisy české*] capture the efforts to identify the relics. The origin of the bodily fragments – which allegedly emitted "a pure and pleasing odour" – was then mythologised to the end that the depths of the earth had yielded the remains of the first confessors of the chalice, headed by parish priest Jan of Kutná Hora; Macek, *Víra a zbožnost jagellonského věku*, 81, 85; Ota Halama, "The Martyrs of Kutná Hora, 1419–1420," *BRPP* 5,1 (2004) 139–146, particularly 144.



of Constance Hus and Jerome now, together with the hosts following them, have – just like the martyrs in the Book of Revelation – washed their garments in the blood of eternal life and now partake of the joys of the heavenly kingdom. The newly evolved Utraquist iconography of the Bohemian martyrs follows the themes of those liturgical texts in which the Bohemian martyrs are identified with all the martyrs of the past and, thus, the veneration of the universal Church is ascribed to them. A repeated and ever-present motive is a seeming paradox: what the world considers defeat and death has been transformed into a source of grace and consolation.<sup>17</sup> These liturgical texts represented one of the sources of hope and strength for the survival of the Utraquist Church which was subsequently exposed to hostility and persecution in order to accommodate to the conciliar legates' demands. Hus appears for a second time in the Smíškovský Gradual at the incipit of the office *Clericalis turma* for his own feast day. A watered pen drawing of Hus's Burning is located below the column of text. Dressed in alb and chasuble, Hus is bound to the stake with three chains, and depicted with a beardless face and an heretic's cap. A pair of henchmen is stirring the burning fire, while another one is bringing a bundle of faggots. On the left side, the scene is framed by figures of bishops on horses, and on the right side by a rider with a lifted baton and by another horseman pointing a finger at the pyre.

### Litoměřice Gradual

Among the late Gothic graduals the Litoměřice Gradual is also very interesting in offering unique variants of Hus's depiction.<sup>18</sup> The burning of Hus is found already in the Advent incipit next to a depiction of the Mass of St. Gregory in the historiated initial and with David paying homage to the Lord beneath the column of text.<sup>19</sup> [Fig.1] The iconographic significance of Hus's martyrdom is certainly supported by the very liturgical context of the illumination and by the contents of the proper for Advent I. To wit, the incipit of the Advent introit is the following: "To you, O Lord, I lift my soul. O my

<sup>17</sup> Holeton, "O felix Bohemia – O felix Constantia"; Fojtíková, "Hudební doklady Husova kultu."

<sup>18</sup> Litoměřický Gradual, State District Archive of Litoměřice, located in Lovosice, sign. IV C 1, dated to the 1520s.

<sup>19</sup> The Advent introit *Ad te levavi* normally opened the section of the gradual which is called the *proprium de tempore* and which was adorned by the richest and the most exacting painted decorations. In the earliest extant Bohemian graduals, this section is often the only one that contains illuminated incipits (e.g. the Gradual of Arnošt of Pardubice). The iconography of the illuminated initials varied from the Virgin Mary holding the Christ Child to Christ enthroned Pantocrator, or it represented St. Gregory the Great. (On the reasons for the depiction of Gregory, see: David R. Holeton, Hana Vlhová Wörner and Milena Bílková, "Gregorius presul in Bohemian Liturgy and Iconography: an Interdisciplinary Study," BRRP 6 [2004] 215–246). In addition, a component of the scene in the initial or in the border was often the donor adoring Christ.

God, in you I trust, do not let me be put to shame; do not let my enemies exult over me. Do not let those who wait for you to be put to shame.”<sup>20</sup> The text of the Advent introit cites the opening part of Psalm 25, which voices the Psalmist’s petitions for the punishment of his enemies. The Psalmist here acts as a surrogate, who visibly stands for God vis-à-vis the people and prayerfully stands before God in the name of the people. Enmity against him is, therefore, an expression of anger toward God himself. Thus, it is a matter of overwhelming the forces of impurity and the powers of wrath and perdition which, of course, manifest themselves in life through the mediation of human beings. We continue to cite this Psalm: <sup>21</sup>

“...let them be ashamed who are wantonly treacherous. Make me to know your ways, O Lord; teach me your paths. Lead me in your truth, and teach me, for you are the God of my salvation; for you I wait all day long. Be mindful of your mercy, O Lord, and of your steadfast love, for they have been from old. Do not remember the sins of my youth or my transgressions, according to your steadfast love remember me, for your goodness’ sake, O Lord! Good and upright is the Lord; therefore he instructs sinners in the way. ... My eyes are ever toward the Lord, for he will pluck my feet from the net. Turn to me and be gracious to me, for I am lonely and afflicted. Relieve the troubles of my heart, and bring me out of my distress. Consider my affliction and my trouble, and forgive all my sins. Consider how many are my foes, and with what violent hatred they hate me, O guard my life, and deliver me; do not let me be put to shame, for I take refuge in you. May integrity and uprightness preserve me, for I wait for you.”

This text clearly points out the liturgical context of the illumination of Hus’s execution in the Litoměřice Gradual. It contains petitions of a servant to his master (the Lord), from whom he implores favour, encouragement, and the fullness of life at a moment of oppression and anxiety. Such a role was also ascribed to the martyr Jan Hus, whose death had brought grace and consolation to the Czech nation, which is the object of Hus’s constant intercession before God. Analogous in concept and significance – within the frame of iconography of late Gothic graduals – is the illumination with David paying homage to the Lord in the border of the Litoměřice Gradual at the incipit *Ad te levavi*. Thus, Christ’s witness, Jan Hus, was also included within that frame.

In this connection let us also recall that part of Petr of Mladoňovice’s report which deals with Hus’s humility as he approaches the pyre and which cites his prayers that cover the points from the Psalms cited above. We read in the report:

<sup>20</sup> K tobě, Hospodine, pozvedám svou duši, v tebe doufám, Bože můj, kéž nejsem zahanben, ať nade mnou moji nepřátelé nejásají. Ano, nebude zahanben, kdo skládá naději v tebe.

<sup>21</sup> Ps 25:3–8; 15–21.



He then arrived at the place of the execution, he knelt and, spreading his arms and lifting his eyes to the heavens, he very piously prayed the Psalms and especially: "Be merciful to me, O God," and "I have placed my hope in you, O Lord," "Into your hands, O Lord." He repeated the verse so that the bystanders heard him pray joyfully with a happy face... Having stood up from the place of prayer at the bidding of the bailiff, he said in a loud and comprehensible voice so that his friends could also hear him: "O Lord Jesus Christ, I wish very patiently and humbly to suffer this horrible and cruel death for the sake of your Gospel and for preaching your word." Immediately, they wanted to lead him around the bystanders, whom he sought to encourage and begged not to believe that he had in any manner held, preached, or taught the articles attributed to him by false witnesses...the bailiffs lit the fire and the Master immediately sang in a loud voice, at first: "O Christ, Son of the living God, have mercy on us," and then: "Who are born of the Virgin Mary."<sup>22</sup>

The compositional and iconographic model of Hus's burning in the Litoměřice Gradual has gone unnoticed until the present. It was a woodcut with the same theme that appeared in the Utraquist supplement to the printed *Pasionál* of 1495 which also contained an illustrated text of Mladoňovic's report on the executions of Hus and Jerome in Constance.<sup>23</sup> The illumination almost precisely follows the individual motives in the woodcut composition, such as the gathering of monks filling the elliptical background, the motive of a bishop and a cardinal on horseback, or the motive of henchmen and, of course, the figure of a beardless Hus on the pyre with a golden halo and a heretic's cap. This obvious copy of the woodcut in the illumination is the only known example of such a clear utilisation of a graphic model for the depiction of Hus's burning. The burning of Jerome is also a part of the

<sup>22</sup> Ivan Hlaváček, ed., *Ze zpráv a kronik doby husitské* [From the Reports and Chronicles of the Hussite Period] (Prague, 1981) 158–159.

<sup>23</sup> "Poczyna se episstola prwnie Mistra Jana z Husyncze. Mistr Jan Hus w nadziei sluha bozi wiernim wssem Čechom, genž Boha milugi a budu milowati, žadost swu y modlitbu nestatečnu wzkazugi ... x ... Odpustiž slowom mym, žet sem prodlužyl, ale ta wiece wietczyetby zprawky potrzebowala, ale nechtiel sem byti przyeliss mluwny. Mieğz se dobrze, utiesseny Leonarde. W Konstancy trzeti den mage miesyce kdyžto Jeronymus muky trpiel Letha Božyeho tisyczeho čtyřsteho sedmnaczteho." [Here begins the first epistle of Master Jan of Husinec. Master Jan Hus, hopefully a servant of God, to all the faithful Czechs, who love and shall love God, I send my wishes and humble prayer ... Forgive my words that I have stretched them out, but the matter would need a still longer narration, yet I did not want to be too loquacious. Farewell, dear Leonard. In Constance on the third (*recte*: thirtieth) day of the month of May, when Jerome was martyred A. D. one thousand four hundred and seventeen (*recte*: sixteen).] [Jacopo de Voragine, *Passional, čili Život a umučení všech svatých. Legenda aurea* (The Passional, or the Life and Martyrdom of All the Saints. The Golden Legend)] (Prague, 1495); see *Knihopis*, Vol. 1: *Prvotisky* [Incunabula] (Prague, 1925) no. 10, p. 27; Kamil Boldan, "Takzvaný Jenský dodatek k Pasionálu," in Marta Vaculínová, ed., *Jenský kodex* (Prague, 2009) 69–76.

Utraquist supplement in the incunabulum *Pasionál*. The printing block used for Jerome's burning was the same as the block used for Hus's burning, only somewhat simplified with an altered and reduced composition. A beardless Jerome is also characterised by a halo behind his head, and a single devil adorns the heretic's cap of Jerome. Most noticeably, the group of monks has vanished from the background.

As an exception, the iconographic repertoire of the *Litoměřice Gradual* contains a two-sided illuminated folio, which was inserted into the manuscript *ex post facto* for the office of Hus and the Bohemian martyrs (f. 245). The full-page illuminations represent Hus's disputation at the Council of Constance (f. 245r) and Hus's burning compositionally connected with his heavenly apotheosis and a portrait of Václav of Řepnice (f. 245v).<sup>24</sup> [Fig. 2] The scene of Hus's disputation occupies an exceptional position in the framework of his iconography. It was for the first time in Bohemia that the motive of Hus in the church of Constance was depicted which, according to Josef Krása, was an intentional variation – in contents and in composition – of the theme of the twelve-year old Christ in the Temple of Jerusalem (Lk 2:41–52). Hus was depicted in both full-page illuminations with a radiating halo, which was intentionally obscured in his image at the stake. The rays of light, which originally composed the halo, however, can be partially identified on closer examination near Hus's head, adorned by a tonsure (!). From the viewpoint of Hus's iconography, it is also important to stress the motive of the heretic's cap painted with images of devils, which atypically lies on the ground at the feet of Hus standing at the stake. The stress on Hus's tonsure and the discarding of the heretic's cap signals the nullification of Hus's ecclesiastical deposition, the cancellation of which is fully decreed by his heavenly coronation in the upper part of the illumination. An analogous, rectification of an ecclesiastical malfeasance is also addressed by the illuminator of the Opatovický Gradual, dating to the years 1577–1578. The idea of the true church evidently played an important role in the Utraquist iconography of Hus in the sixteenth century.

## Žlutice Gradual

Incomparably more numerous are the extant examples of Czech language eucharistic propers for Hus's feast day, which are recorded in richly illuminated graduals from the Bohemian Renaissance. After the mid-sixteenth century, especially in the 1550s and 1570s, it is possible to note in the illuminated musical sources an increasing interest in the depiction and iconography of Hus which, in part, connected with the late Gothic tradition. With the emergence of the illuminator Fabián Pulěř (+1563), we note a qualitative improvement

<sup>24</sup> Josef Krása, "Knižní malířství" [Book painting], in Jaromír Homolka, ed., *Pozdně gotické umění v Čechách* [Late Gothic Art in Bohemia] (Prague, 1978) 445.

of book illuminations. Pulěř is the illuminator of two musical manuscripts, which bear at the Czech incipits for the feast of Hus representative examples of Hus's iconography. In the period from 1557 to 1558 the Žlutice Gradual [Žlutický graduál] was produced in the scriptorium of Jan Táborský of Klokotská Hora.<sup>25</sup> [Fig.3] One of the most interesting illuminations with the theme of Hus's Burning has so far escaped scholarly attention. It is located on f. N VIIv, in which the body of Hus was disfigured (diagonally cut across) during the Counter Reformation in the seventeenth century. The figure of Hus was intentionally vitiated by wiping off the upper colour modelling. It was done in an analogous manner to the illumination of Hus's burning in the border of the *Soboteký graduál* [Sobotka Gradual], which is the only one that introduces for Hus's feast day its own introit *In bonitate*. The present preservation of the codex of the Žlutice Gradual indicates a certain respectful approach toward such a manuscript of Utraquist origin, which testifies to its use by a brotherhood of literati [*literátské bratrstvo*]. The codex was "purged" so as not to disturb the textual continuity between the codicologically preceding office for the feast of St. Procopius and the following propers for the feasts of St. Margaret and the Sending of the Apostles. The only item missing at the end of the proper for St. Procopius on f. N VIIv was the rubric *O českých Mucžedlníjcých* [On the Bohemian Martyrs]. The intervening two pages with the proper for the feast of Hus were glued together.

Today the two folios are again separated. Unfortunately, in certain places the upper colour modelling of the illumination was wiped off and its remnants were unevenly attached to the opposite folio. Thus, the firm dynamic underlying drawing was separated from the layer of the colour modelling (especially in the place of the vernal border). The unfortunate state of the damaged illumination affords a glimpse of a refined drawing, showing several late Renaissance and Mannerist traits or virtuosity in creating a perspective sketch of the human body. From the preserved heading, we know that the Žlutice Gradual stressed the status of Hus as a saint.<sup>26</sup>

The body of the historiated initial R[*adugme se wssickni*] contains an unusual variant of the depiction of Hus's burning. The composition accentuates the monumentally conceived figure of Hus on the pyre without the accompanying bystanders. Only a pair of henchmen, fanning and stirring the fire, are depicted in the adjacent border. Hus, barefoot and in a white garment reaching to the ground, is tied with his hands behind his back to the stake of the burning pyre. From the pyre with bundles of faggots, orange flames bellow to the sides and dark smoke rises upward. Hus bears on his head an heretic's hat decorated with one devil. His bearded head is bent backwards, gaze aimed upwards. In the upper third of the composition a half-figure of the Man of Sorrows appears against the background of a yellow glow in the midst of

<sup>25</sup> Žlutice Gradual, The Museum of Czech Literature, Prague, without signature, dated 1557–1558.

<sup>26</sup> "O S[vatém] M[istru] Yanow[i] z husynce II O Českých Mucžedlníjcých."

a cloudy haze. With a pall over his shoulders, Christ is lifting his arms to make visible his wounded hands as well as the wound in his side. With the exception of the Kaňkovský graduál [Kaňk Gradual], there is no analogy of a depiction of the motive of the Man of Sorrows to whom Hus turns as the sole source of grace and the Saviour. The illumination in the Žlutice Gradual thus accentuates the moment of Hus's burning, when he inwardly turns with humility to Christ. The main body of the composition entirely suppresses a conglomeration of accompanying bystanders.

As yet unresolved is the problem of identifying the self-confident standing figure in an academic gown, which is depicted at the lower edge of the folio holding a palm branch. With a bearded face and with brown half-length clipped hair, the man's gown is brown and his cap black. The right side of the image opens up the view of the panorama of a hilly landscape with an urban insert. The figure is connected by an inscriptional ribbon, the text of which is today largely illegible; one can read only with certainty the conclusion of the text as "*I...e...Baccalarz.*" Does the figure then represent Master Jan Hus or Jerome of Prague, who were venerated by the Utraquist Church as saints and martyrs? This assumption would be indicated only by the typological comparison with other portraits in the manuscript. In the Žlutice Gradual we find a whole series of portraits of particular donors of the manuscript, who are identified by name, coat-of-arms, or a guild designation. All of these figures are depicted piously kneeling with clasped hands in contemporary Renaissance burgher attire. None of the male figures wear on their heads an academic cap – as it is the case with the man with the palm branch. Some are placed in front of the suffering Christ or in front of Christ crucified. The traditional conventional portrait characteristics (the style of beard and hair, attire, and head covering) and the strikingly unusual motive of the palm branch, together with the liturgical context of the illumination, help to identify the figure, with considerable probability, as a representative depiction of a Prague reformer, either Master Jan Hus or Jerome of Prague.

The iconographic tradition limited the holding of a palm branch to those persons who were venerated because they suffered a martyr's death. As we know, Jerome of Prague appears in almost all the known depictions with a beard, something mentioned by Petr of Mladoňovice. However, an identification of the figure as Master Jan Hus would be supported by the characteristic cropped arrangement of hair and beard, as well as the overall concept of the face, which correspond to the known representative portraits of Hus. In distinction, Jerome of Prague is conventionally depicted with longer wavy hair and beard, and with a more robust face. Likewise, Jerome's pictorial tradition did not appear as often in comparison with Hus's, which corresponded to the greater importance of Master Jan Hus in the self-identification of the Bohemian Utraquist Church. The Bohemian milieu offers an illumination with the depiction of Jerome's martyrdom in the Jena Codex from the early fifteenth century, which is almost indistinguishable from the burning of Hus,

if it were not for the identifying text and different coloured wall paper (f. 38v). Jerome's representative portrait is also located next to the likeness of Hus, for instance, in the medallion in Kuthen's Chronicle. From the typological point of view such a full-figure portrait of a Reformed university savant and preacher would point to the widespread depictions of the standing Reformers Martin Luther, Philipp Melancthon, or Jan Hus, which were etched according to the "obligatory" iconographic model, elaborated on the basis of Cranach's depiction, and reproduced and disseminated in graphic prints.<sup>27</sup>

## Other Graduals

The iconography of Hus's burning in the body of the historiated initial of the Žlutice Gradual was elaborated in a full-page illumination, originally derived from the lost Kaňkovský graduál, which was illustrated by Fabián Pulét.<sup>28</sup> [Fig. 4] Hus's burning in the fragment of the Kaňkovský graduál is the most representative depiction of Hus's martyrdom with numerous accompanying figures. The iconography of the illumination is of the traditional type, in which the basic motive of the composition is Hus's figure on the pyre, the flames of which are lit and fanned by the executioner's henchmen. Hus's figure is characterised by a moderately inclined head with a bearded face without a heretic's cap, and a white garment opened at the neck. With his arms behind his back, Hus is tethered to a wooden stake by a double chain. Hus's outer garment, yellow attire, red and blue cloak, and hat lie scattered on the ground. On the sides and behind the pyre there are located groups of ecclesiastical and secular hierarchs, both on foot and on horseback as well as numerous bailiffs, monks in cowls, and spectators. The crowd also contains the figure of Emperor Sigismund with the imperial crown on his head and a sceptre in his hand, and with cardinals and a cohort of Hungarian cavalry; in the forefront to the right there is also a group of Hus's mourning compatriots. Among the most interesting iconographic motives there is an angel about to bestow on Hus a martyr's crown, while a half-figure of Christ with bloody wounds looks from the clouds toward the burning pyre. Thus, we find here an important depiction of the celebration of Hus's martyrdom in a somewhat different variant from those that we know from the late Gothic Litoměřice Gradual or from the Žlutice Gradual. An extant part of the Kaňkovský graduál is likewise a pair of monumental full-page illuminations, the subject of which further addressed the theme of Bohemian martyrs. They depict two historical events from the region of Kutná Hora:

<sup>27</sup> Katharina Flügel and Renate Kroll, eds., *Kunst der Reformationszeit. Ausstellung im Alten Museum vom 26. August bis 13. November 1983* (Berlin, 1983), for instance, Catalogue no. F 21.1, F 24.1.

<sup>28</sup> Kaňkovský Gradual, a fragment; MS, Prague, KNM 1 A c 109, dated 1559–1561.

the execution of miners near Poděbrady and Křivoklát in 1496. The poignant theme of Bohemian martyrs was thus to serve as a source of strength, grace, and consolation for the nation, just as we have already documented from the example of the late Gothic Smíškovský Gradual.

A pair of illuminated musical sources – a gradual and a kancionál – are from Teplice in the 1560's.<sup>29</sup> The illuminator Fabián Pulér still participated in the illumination of the Teplice Gradual from 1560. The codex form of the gradual has been preserved in its original state with the chants and illuminations for the feast of Hus and Jerome of Prague. A depiction of Hus's burning is placed in the body of the historiated initial R[*adugme se wssichni*] on folio H IXv (150v). Hus in a white garment with a heretic's cap (decorated with three devils) on an inclined head stands, tied to a stake, in the burning pyre, while one of the henchmen fans the fire and another rakes it. A man on the back of a white horse is present at Hus's burning, accompanied by additional figures. The expense of the painted décor was partly covered by a burgher of Teplice, the baker Jan Pekárek, whose guild emblem with an inscriptional ribbon is found in the space beneath the column. The *Teplice Kancionál* [*Teplický kancionál*] contains in the historiated initial M[*nozyt su skladali*] the figure of a bearded Hus on the pyre with a pair of henchmen as well as ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries. [Fig. 5] The background is dominated by an urban skyline of Constance with characteristic steeples, which had already appeared, for instance, in the woodcut of Constance vista in Schedel's chronicle.

The illuminator of the Malá Strana Gradual [*Malostranský graduál*] accentuated another typological motive in the martyrdom of Hus together with the portraits of other Reformers. [Fig. 6] The Malá Strana Gradual, because of its size, is divided into two separate codices, and each part is presently deposited in a different location. The part deposited in the National Library in Prague represents from the liturgical and codicological viewpoint the first section of the Gradual.<sup>30</sup> A richly structured iconography for Hus's feast day is found on f. 363r (O IIIr) at the incipit of the Introit *Radugme se wssickni*. A theme of martyrdom from the New Testament, the Beheading of John the Baptist, is inserted into an historiated initial. John, with clasped hands and dressed in furs, humbly kneels on the ground. An executioner is approaching him, and preparing to sever his head. At a higher level, a pair of male figures in turbans gaze at the martyr's death of John, while to the left Salome is entering a Renaissance palace with the already severed head on a dish. The upper part of the border contains a table with the inscription "*Na pamatku Yana Lasstowiztky, Letha Panie [15]72*" [To the Memory of Jan Laštovička AD 1572] and his coat of arms. Under the coat of arms a trinity of ornamental

<sup>29</sup> Teplice Gradual, Regional Museum, Teplice, Ms. 1, dated: 1560; The Teplice Kancionál, Regional muzeum, Teplice, MS. 2, dated: 1566.

<sup>30</sup> Malá Strana Gradual, MS Prague, NK XVII A 3, dated: 1569–1572.



leaves and half-figures grows out of a twisted stem. The latter represent (1) a clean shaven and hatless English Reformer John Wyclif, striking the spark of true faith; (2) Master Jan Hus as a bearded savant in an academic gown, who ignites a candle with a taper thus maintaining the light, and (3) Martin Luther, who disseminates the light with a flaming torch. Luther is identified by a characteristic roundish beardless face, a Reformer's fur coat, and a book in his hand. A literary parallel to this iconographic motive is the preface to Hus's postilla, printed in Nuremberg in 1563, where we read: "...and thus he put it, saying: Master Jan Hus struck so that the spark ignited the tinder and showed itself within the tinder. Erasmus of Rotterdam, inserting a candle, lit it. Martin Luther, having seized the lighted and burning candle, now already illuminates almost the entire world."<sup>31</sup>

The theme of Wyclif kindling a fire, Hus igniting the light of faith, and Luther spreading this light, appears also in a print of Netherlandish origin in the collections of the Rijksmuseum in Utrecht from the sixteenth century.<sup>32</sup> Another iconographic variant, depicting Luther's relation to Hus, is known from the Bohemian milieu. In the treatise of Martinius of Dražov, entitled *Hussius et Lutherus, id est: Collatio historica duorum fortissimorum Jesu Christi militum M. Johannis Hussii Bohemi, et D. Martini Lutheri Germani...* (1618), there is a woodcut with a bearded Hus igniting a torch, which is held by Luther.<sup>33</sup>

The burning of Hus is placed into a golden frame under the column of the Malá Strana Gradual. A bearded Hus in a white garment and with a heretic's cap decorated with three devils stands tied by a rope to the stake of the burning pyre. Mighty flames, surrounded by greyish smoke shoot up from the burning pyre behind Hus above his head, while a pair of standing henchmen rakes glowing coals. In the left corner, one can see Hus's folded external garment with a book, which would be subsequently tossed into the fire at the behest of Charles I Ludwig, because "the Czechs would venerate it as a sacrament." Spectators – both clerical and lay – gaze intermixed on both sides of the pyre. The two depictions of Hus as a martyr (and a university savant, in the company of other Reformers) are likened – as cases of martyrdom – to the beheading of John the Baptist in the body of the historiated initial. At the same time, this typological pairing accentuates the parallel between Christ and his precursor John the Baptist, on the one hand, and Luther and his "precursor" Hus, on the other.

<sup>31</sup> "...tak jest jakž on položil řka: Mistr Jan Hus zakřesal tak, že jiskra traudu chopila, a v troudu se ukázala. Erasmus Roterdamus přičiniv k ni syrnou svičkou rozžal. Martin Luther vzav svičku rozžatou a rozsvícenou do rukou, tou téměř již všemu světu svítí..." This iconographic type was analysed for the first time by Václav V. Štech, who also called attention to the contemporary literary parallel; Štech, *Mistr Jan Hus*, 3.

<sup>32</sup> Royt, "Ikonografie Mistra Jana Husa," 114.

<sup>33</sup> Martina Šarovcová, "Hi sunt duae Olivae et duo Candelabra in conspectu Dei' terra stantia. Jan Hus a Martin Luther jako svědkové apokalyptického konce světa," [Hi sunt ... Jan Hus and Martin Luther as witnesses to the apocalyptic end of the world] (forthcoming).

In the *Gradual of Jakub Sklenář*, we find a compositionally and iconographically reduced variant of Hus's burning without the surrounding extras. It accompanies the incipit for the feast day of Hus and the Bohemian martyrs.<sup>34</sup> On f. 441r we find in the body of an historiated initial *R*[*adugme se wssickni*] the burning of Hus. In a white garment, he is tied by a pair of ropes to the wooden stake of the burning pyre. A white heretic's cap with a trinity of devils rests on his head with a bearded face. By reducing the composition of Hus's burning just to Hus's figure, this illumination relates typologically to the depiction in the border of the late Gothic Sobotka Gradual (f. 193v).

Extant from the years 1577–1578, a five-part gradual was ordered by the literati at the church of St. Michael in Opatovice (New Town, Prague).<sup>35</sup> [Fig. 7] Each set of propers was copied at the expense of an individual donor. The richest decoration adorns the tenor part, where we find on f. 362v a full-page illumination with the depiction of Hus's burning, which precedes the ornamentally decorated incipit *Gaudeamus omnes in domino diem festum celebrantes sanctorum martyrum Johannis Hus et Jeronymus*. This incipit represents an example of the introit for martyrs, which is adapted for the feast day of the Bohemian martyrs, Hus and Jerome. The relevant cycle was paid for by Jan Slánský, as we know from the prefixed dedication. The proper for the feast of the Bohemian martyrs figures very prominently in the context of the tenor volume, as the accentuated concept of the dedicatory text indicates. It singles out this set of propers for characterisation with the attributes "*pulchrum et elegans*."<sup>36</sup> As in the Graduals of Teplice and Malá Strana, Hus figures in relation to the donor not only as a personal honouree, but also as a personal patron. Such practice was much favoured and preferred in the decoration of Bohemian choral manuscripts of the Renaissance. In some cases, the donor even transformed the firmly established traditional iconography of historical initials and miniatures.

In the depiction of Hus's burning in the Opatovický Gradual, an unusual and conspicuous motive of the martyr's attire of Hus is the crossed red stole as insignia of Hus's restored priesthood. We do know from the report about the Council of Constance that Hus was ritually defrocked before being taken to the stake. This depiction thus rejects Hus's ecclesiastical deposition and

<sup>34</sup> The Gradual of Jakub Sklenář, MS Prague, NK XVII B 21, dated 1574.

<sup>35</sup> The Opatovice Gradual, MS Prague, NK XI B 1a, dated 1577–78. For discussion of polyphonic compositions from the musical viewpoint see Jaromír Černý, *Hudba české renesance* [Music of the Czech Renaissance] (Prague, 1982).

<sup>36</sup> OFFICIVM / HOC PVLCHRVM / et elegans super Mutetam vias / tuas Domine demonstra mihi compositum, primum quidem in / honorem et gloriam omnipoten/tis et vuentis DEI, necnon Boe/morum Martyrum ipsius Magis/tri Ioannis Hussij ac Magistri Ie/ronimi, cura et impensis Ioannis Sla/nensis, ministri Ampliss[imi]: Senatus / Antiquæ Pragæ curatum et prospe/ctum, ac choro ad Sanctum Mi/chaelem in Noua Vrbe Pra/gensi literato, memoriae / ergo donatum est. / Anno Domini / et redemptoris / nostri Iesu / Christi / M. D. LXXXVII<sup>i</sup>. / 6 Julij (f. 362r).

affirms the status of the Utraquist Church as a true church and the fulfilment of Hus's appeal to Christ as the highest divine jurisdiction. Hus is probably also depicted in the Opatovický Gradual in another full-page illumination. Such an interpretation, however, runs counter to the liturgical context of the illumination. On f. 390v there appears the depiction of a priest preaching to his audience from a pulpit; this image precedes the Latin introit for the common for confessors, *Os iusti Meditabitur Sapientiam*, with an ornamentally decorated initial (f. 391r, *Ad ho[no]rem dei et memoria[m] / Beatorum Confessorum*). The liturgical attire of the priest, perhaps Hus – unless the image is that of a generic priest as preacher – repeats the already mentioned red stole in the illumination of Hus's burning. The upper part of the folio contains an empty tablet, which in other places in the manuscript has the donor's name inscribed. The empty tablet reflects the usual progress in the artist's work on the manuscript in which the biblical imagery was created first – related by its content to the particular feast. The last insertions involved without any particular chronological sequence the heraldic decoration and the commemorative texts referring to the donors. Hus, as a preacher, is known from the older tradition in the Jena Codex. He appeared also among the cycle of woodcuts from the print *Processus consistorialis*, which was published from the legacy of Ulrich Hutten and which depicted a notary recording Hus's statements, communion in both kinds, Hus questioned by the court, Hus's defrocking, and the transfer of Hus to the secular arm and his execution. Hus is characterised in these woodcuts as a bearded Reformer.

### Lutheran Influence

The subject of Reformers' sermons, especially the preaching of Luther, was spreading during the first half of the sixteenth century in connection with the establishment of Protestant iconography and dogmatic pictorial antitheses. Contemporary graphic prints interpret preaching or celebration of the Eucharist as a part of the allegorical clash between the true and the false church in the process of seeking to affirm the identity of the true one. A representative example is Cranach's woodcut and several other South German graphic prints and epitaphs which clearly show with what symbols the Protestant pictorial tradition identified itself contrary to the Roman one. This slant, however, is missing in the musical sources of the Bohemian Renaissance. In the Bohemian milieu, the themes of sermons and eucharistic celebration lack the antagonism, antithetic character, and critique directed against the practice of the Roman Church. Nevertheless the pulpit occupied a privileged position in the Bohemian Reformation, because preaching was not only a form of communication between the priest and the faithful, but

also “the language of theology” [řeč teologie].<sup>37</sup> The veneration of confessors related to the beginnings of the monastic and ascetic movement of the fourth century, which began to see, in addition to the early martyrs, the confessors, who gave heroic examples of their faith in Christ in a bloodless manner, as saints. The introit for the common of confessors [*commune confessorum*] was rarely accompanied by figural decoration in the earlier tradition.

Among Bohemian manuscripts, the Latin Mladá Boleslav Gradual, illuminated by Janíček Zmlelý of Písek, bears an illuminated incipit *Statuit ei dominus testamentum*, designated in the rubric as *De confessoribus sequitur* (f. 266r). In an historiated frame, we see a confessional with a tonsured priest as confessor in a surplice, giving absolution to a woman who, with clasped hands, humbly kneels at a bench. It is precisely this iconographic variant which may rather point to a generic type of priest as a preacher in the Opatovický Gradual. In the Litoměřice Gradual, we find as a confessor St. Giles with a hind. The Smíškovský Gradual depicts St. Procopius, a confessor and a hermit, as well as the founder and the first abbot of the Benedictine Monastery of Sázava. Procopius is here clad as an abbot, wearing a mitre and holding a crosier in one hand and a book in the other (f. 307r).<sup>38</sup> The iconography of the Opatovický Gradual portrays Hus in two ways, as a martyr in the image of his execution, and – in all probability – also as one, who proclaims the faith with a dramatic gesture of spread arms in the illumination of a preaching priest. As an iconographic and typological precedent of this illumination, we can point to the depiction in the Jena Codex with a consonant theme. Some authors even identify the space with the pulpit in which Hus is preaching as the Bethlehem Chapel, that is, with a concrete historical space. The scene, however, is placed in front of a neutral abstract wall-papered background, and the interior is not characterised at all. The space is dominated only by a wooden structure of the pulpit with a beardless priest preaching, in front of whom an audience is gathered, consisting of both men and women.

The final known document with a depiction of Hus is the kancionál, incorrectly called *Písně chval božích* [Songs of Divine Praises] from the year 1587 held by the National Museum in Prague.<sup>39</sup> [Fig. 8] The manuscript has a secondary identification as the possession of St. Michael's Church in the Old Town on the basis of a later proprietary inscription. The manuscript also contains a full-page depiction of communion in both kinds. On f. 305v we find a full-page illumination with the depiction of Hus's burning, which precedes the incipit of a song for Hus's feast day. The centre of the composition is dominated by the figure of a bearded Hus with an heretic's cap decorated by three

<sup>37</sup> Macek, *Víra a zbožnost jagellonského věku*, 73.

<sup>38</sup> From the context of late Gothic choral books we know another common for confessors with the introit *Sacerdotes eius*, which had a pictorial decoration. The standing figures of Martin and Nicholas are presented in the Louka Gradual [Graduál z Louky].

<sup>39</sup> Kancionál, MS. Prague KNM I A 15, dated: 1587.

devils. Hus is clad in a long white garment. Metal chains tie him around the neck and the hips to a wooden stake. Two myrmidons rake the burning pyre, while small groups of ecclesiastical and lay figures gather around the pyre.

Hus's life and career are closely connected with the Bethlehem Chapel in Prague. Veneration of Hus was very lively there even in the second half the sixteenth century. Recently, it was possible – on the basis of the donors' names – to attribute a richly decorated gradual as the property of the literati of the Bethlehem Chapel. The book, dating to 1561–1567, is known as the *Staroměstský graduál* [Old Town Gradual].<sup>40</sup> This identification thus significantly augments the number of art works, known to be connected with the Bethlehem Chapel. In later times, twenty-six folios were excised from the codex of the *Staroměstský graduál*. Some of them were probably illuminated, and among them there were chants for the feast of Hus. A partial preservation yields a vivid heading and incipit *Kyrie summum* for the feast day of Hus "*Památku utěšenij slawijce* [Mistra Jana z Husince, Jeronýma], *Michala* [Poláka], *w nichž prawa wira byla wydali pro zákon...*" [Celebrating the joyful memory of Master Jan Hus, Jerome and Michal Polák, from whom true faith for the Law issued...] (f. 4v). The text continues on the next folio.<sup>41</sup> The codex also originally contained a poetical acrostic with the name of Jan Táborský of Klokotská Hora, which was scratched out and pasted over by a sheet of paper that is nowadays torn off. Only the red majuscules at the beginning of each verse are legible from this text and the conclusion of the poem: "...*wssudy / ...a ctnost twe prawdy*" [...everywhere/ ...and the virtue of your truth]. The content of this, now almost illegible, did, in all probability, refer to the figure of Hus. The content and individual motives of such poetic acrostics usually touched upon the specific locus, for which the manuscript was designed. The mention of Hus was quite certainly the reason for obscuring these verses during the Counter Reformation. This would further support our suggestion about the provenance of the so-called *Staroměstský graduál*.

The object of this study was an heuristic gathering and interpretation of the depictions of Master Jan Hus within the area of the illuminated books of the Bohemian Renaissance. It was to call attention to the most interesting individual variants of Hus's representation.<sup>42</sup> The methodological approach

<sup>40</sup> Martina Kratochvílová [Šárovcová], "K provenienci Staroměstského a Křižovnického graduálu" [About the Origins of the Staroměstský and Křižovnický graduals], *Umění*, 53 (2005) 323–334. *Staroměstský Gradual*, MS Prague, NK XVII A 40, dated: 1561–1567.

<sup>41</sup> The story of Michal Polák († 1480) is part of the formulation of a new tradition of Utraquist martyrs. In the sixteenth-century annals his story is recorded as a legend devoted to the Priest Michal. It has the form of Passions and was to serve as an exemplary life and a model. Macek, *Víra a zbožnost*, 85–86; Joel Seltzer, "Re-envisioning the Saint's Life in Utraquist Historical Writing," *BRRP* 5,1 (2004) 158–161.

<sup>42</sup> Considering the limited size of this study, we could not treat in great detail the individual iconographic motives. A forthcoming specialised study will be devoted to several specific motives in Hus's iconography.

focused primarily on the liturgical and codicological context of the individual images of the Bohemian martyr and Utraquist saint, and on the iconography devoted largely to the subject of Hus's death as a martyr. The illuminators of the books of the Bohemian Renaissance found their inspiration in the fundamental iconography of Hus's burning, which stemmed from the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century. This late Gothic tradition is subsequently developed and enriched by the subject of the other Bohemian martyrs who figure as a source of consolation for the Czech nation. Hus's death is compared to the death of the first faithful followers of Christ – the martyrs. Unusual, distinct, and entirely original iconographic motives of Hus's execution are offered by the Žlutice Gradual and the Fragment of the Kaňkovský Gradual, in the illumination of which Fabian Pulér participated.

The increased frequency of Hus's depictions in the second half of the sixteenth century, especially in the 1550s and 1570s was certainly connected with the impact of Protestant iconography. This impact emanated from Saxony and the stylistic and formal influences of the Saxon ambience were not limited to the plastic arts. The themes of communion *sub utraque* or preaching penetrate in an analogous way into the iconography of the illuminated manuscripts of the Renaissance. In the Protestant milieu of the German Lands, Switzerland, and the Netherlands, there appears a series of graphic prints with the themes of Hus's execution and portraits of the Reformers (Luther and Melancthon, Hus and Jerome), and thus a conventional profiling portrait of Hus is established as a savant with a bearded face and wearing an academic cap. We can name Theodor de Bry, Robert Boissard, Baltazar Jaenischen, Heinrich Hondius Elder and Younger, and René Boyvin as authors of these portraits in German and Dutch leaflets with woodcuts, independent graphic prints, copper etchings, and title pages as well as illustrations in books.

In the illuminations of the Bohemian Utraquist graduals of the Renaissance, however, Hus appears rather rarely as a university scholar with a scroll in his hand in the pulpit or at a disputation, while in the company of other famous men. An example of such an illumination is a miniature of Hus with three other Reformers in the Malostranský Gradual. Another such example is a full-page scene of Hus's disputation in the late Gothic Litoměřice Gradual. He also possibly appears as a church preacher and an intermediary between God and the faithful in an illumination of the Opatovický Gradual. On the contrary, Hus's image received a wide circulation in the printed hymnals of the Unity of Brethren, in which the Holy Spirit represented by a dove provides an additional motive. Depictions of Hus are also found in the context of the illuminated or illustrated memorial books [*štambuchy*], much favoured in the sixteenth century. Jakub Popovický of Popovice inserted, at the beginning of his *štambuch*, folios with full-figure portraits of Reformers with their coats-of-arms, painted in 1587. These figures are typical of the portraits of the standing Reformers from the graphic prints in the style of Cranach. Luther



and Melanchton appear here, besides Hus, in full-page illuminations.<sup>43</sup> As Milena Bartlová has noted in her “‘Upálení sv. Jana Husa’ na malovaných křídlech utrakvistického oltáře z Roudník,” [The burning of St. Jan Hus on the painted wing of the Utraquist altar of Roudniky] the known themes of Hus’s hagiographic discourse are thus narrowed to those scenes of his life which do not contain any miracles or martyrdom. This deviates from the traditional hagiographic structure (*vita – martyrium – translatio – miracula post mortem*) inasmuch as in these scenes no role is played by the constitutive element of the Roman Catholic concept of a saint, namely, postmortem miracles and the existence of relics.<sup>44</sup>

Despite the great subsequent losses, illuminated liturgical choral manuscripts represent the largest source of the extant depictions of Hus. Unfortunately, no such quantitatively comparable resource can be found among other types of art, such as panel paintings, frescoes, or statuary. The recent discovery of frescoes in the church of St. Wenceslaus in Písek, however, offers a certain hope of finding new examples of the depiction of Hus.

Translated from the Czech by Zdeněk V. David

<sup>43</sup> The *Album amicorum* of Jakub Popovický of Popovice, Prague, NK sign. 23 G 57). Marie Ryantová, *Památníky, aneb, štambuchy, to jest alba amicorum: kulturně historický fenomén raného novověku* [Memorial Books or štambuchy, That is, alba amicorum: A Cultural and Historical Phenomenon of the Early Modern Period] (České Budějovice, 2007) 199. A part of the manuscript is a print, *Flores Hesperidum* (1574). The memorial inscriptions are from the years 1576–1590 and 1673–1676.

<sup>44</sup> Milena Bartlová, “‘Upálení sv. Jana Husa’ na malovaných křídlech utrakvistického oltáře z Roudník,” 427–444.

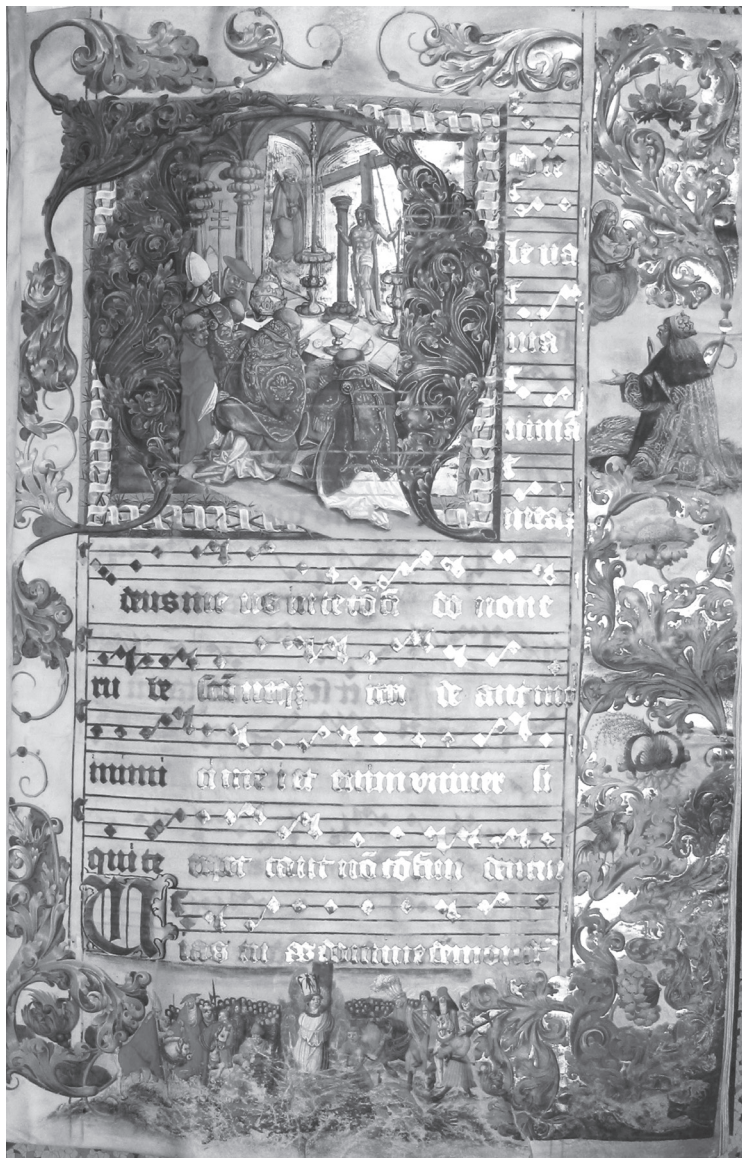


Fig. 1

Mass of St. Gregory; David Adoring the Lord; the Burning of Jan Hus (1520s)  
Litoměřice Gradual: State District Archive of Litoměřice located in Lovosice

Sign. IV C 1, f. 43r

Photo: Aleš Mudra



Fig. 2

The Burning of Jan Hus (1520s)

Litoměřice Gradual: State District Archive of Litoměřice located in Lovosice

Sign. IV C 1, f. 245v

Photo: Aleš Mudra

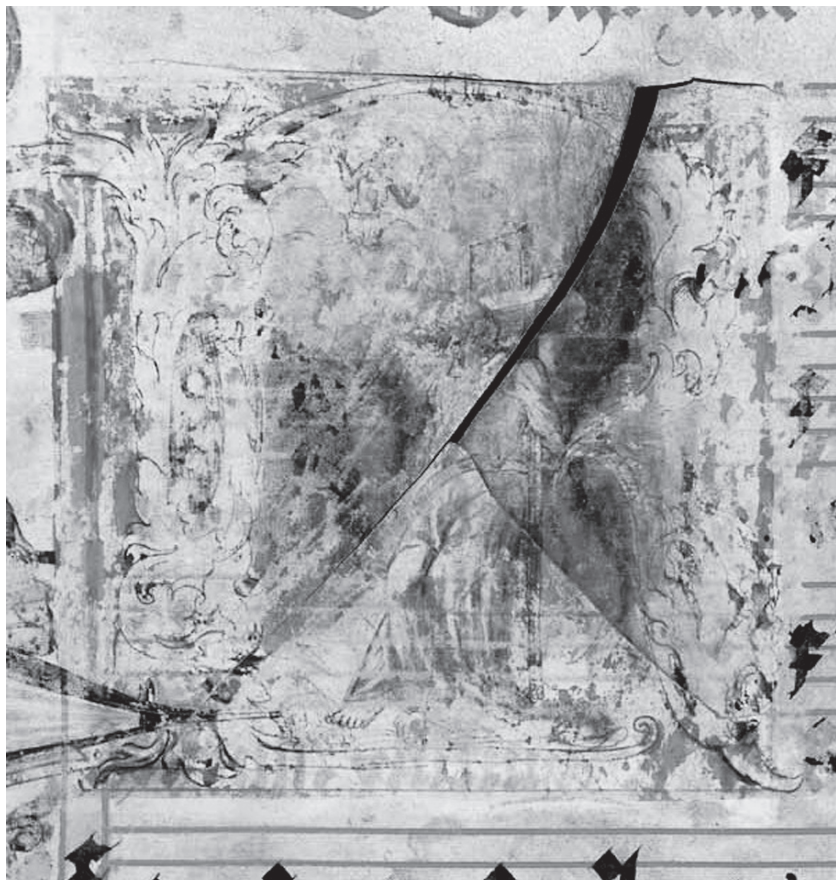


Fig. 3

The Burning of Jan Hus (1557-8)

Žlutice Gradual: Museum of Czech Literature, Prague - without signature, f. N VIIv.

Photo: Author





Fig. 4

The Burning of Jan Hus (1559-61)

Kaňk Gradual, Fragment: Prague KNM I A c 109

Photo: National Museum, Prague



Fig. 5  
The Burning of Jan Hus (1566)  
Teplice Kancionál: Regional Museum, Teplice MS 2  
Photo: Aleš Mudra





Fig. 6

The Decollation of John the Baptist; the guild arms of Jan Laštovička; John Wyclif, Jan Hus and Martin Luther; the Burning of Jan Hus (1572)

Malá Strana Gradual: MS Prague NK XVII A3, f. 363r

Photo: National Library in Prague



Fig. 7  
The Burning of Jan Hus (1577-8)  
Opatovice Gradual: MS Prague XI B 1a, f. 362v  
Photo: National Library in Prague





Fig. 8  
The Burning of Jan Hus (1587)  
Kancionál: MS Prague NK I A 15, f. 305v  
Photo: National Museum, Prague