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## Saint Wenceslaus in the Musical Context of the Bohemian Reformation

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A major lacuna in Czech musicology is the lack of a comprehensive and objective discussion of the ways in which the Bohemian national saints were venerated. The deficiency is particularly blatant for the period from the onset of the Reformation to that of the Baroque. The traditional and still dominant view of the development of St. Wenceslaus's veneration can be summed up, as follows: the original Reformers shied away from it as a part of the undesirable cult of the saints; the traditional St. Wenceslaus hymn became a symbol of the Counter Reformation; its singing at the signing of the Compactata cannot be ascribed to the Reformers; the Unity of Brethren totally rejected the cult of St. Wenceslaus; we find it only in the sources published under the auspices of the *sub una*. We can feel a degree of forbearance vis-à-vis authors, such as Zdeněk Nejedlý and Karel Konrád, who tended to adjust the results of their researches according to certain ideological trends. It is, however, not possible to condone the entry on St. Wenceslaus [Svatý Václav] in the *Dictionary of Czech Musical Culture*, which limits the appearance of the St. Wenceslaus Hymn to hymnals under auspices of the *sub una* and the reception of the Hymn only after the initial stages of the Bohemian Reformation.<sup>1</sup>

There is no need to discuss the development of the musical tradition around St. Wenceslaus – either in Czech or in Latin – prior to the onset of the fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup> The St. Wenceslaus Hymn had a bearing on the reformational ferment before 1415. There is a lack of agreement on its significance in certain synodal decisions and as a backdrop to the murder of Půta of Skála, the Younger. For instance, as far as the latter is concerned, neither Nejedlý nor Zdeněk Kalista doubted its religious background. At present,

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<sup>1</sup> Petr Macek (ed.), *Slovník české hudební kultury* [A Dictionary of Czech Musical History] (Prague, 1997) 887, 888. The entry also errs in dating the modern utilisation of the Hymn to Zdeněk Fibich's opera *Blaník* from 1877. Actually, it resounds in the popular patriotic song *Těšme se blahou nadějí* [Let us Rejoice in a Blessed Hope] by T. A. Krov, dating before 1848.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.; Dobroslav Orel, *Hudební prvky svatováclavské* [Musical Elements Concerning St. Wenceslaus] (Praha, 1937); Viktor Velek, *St. Wenzelsche Musiktradition von ihrem Anfang bis 1848* (Dissertation, University of Vienna, 2008). See also the forthcoming dissertation of František Pokorný (Brno).

František Šmahel adopts the same standpoint, Petr Čornej an opposite one.<sup>3</sup> According to Čornej, the murder of the robber baron Půta, in the house of Sub-Chamberlain Jan Bechyně, was motivated by the personal settling of accounts. The contemporary report of Stibor of Seč, however, allows us to surmise a religious sub-text: "A. D. 1412 feria secunda in die S. Dorotheae hora XIII in antiqua civitate Pragensi in domo Bechyne civitatis Pragensis Nobilis dominus Pvota interfectus est in lecto et communiter dicitur quod factum est per filium domini Stefani de Opoczna et interfectores cantates Swate nass Wazlawe exierunt de civitate et facta est magna confusio civitatis nec tale opus contigit in multis annis."<sup>4</sup>

Václav Novotný referred to this event at least three times.<sup>5</sup> He wrote: "A connection with religious differences probably was not absent in the murder of Baron Půta the Younger in Bechyně's house in the Old Town on the day of the Synod (6 February 1413). Public opinion ascribed the deed to Baron Jan Městecký of Opočno, who later became a leading opponent of the Reformation. The hooded murderers departing after the repugnant deed, sang the St. Wenceslaus Hymn, which indeed had by then become a battle-cry of the opponents of innovations. Similarly, Hus's opponents earlier and later did not miss a chance to appeal to it and to this saint in general in order render their objectives more popular."<sup>6</sup>

The name of St. Wenceslaus emerges in the musical tradition in connection with Hus, under whose aegis the St. Wenceslaus Hymn was sung in the Bethlehem Chapel. At the same time, this is the earliest evidence of the singing of the hymn in a church. His sermons for the saint's feast days exhorted the faithful to imitate the deeds of "the soldier of Christ", rather than venerate him.<sup>7</sup> He was admonished for his disrespect of St. Wenceslaus not only by his opponents, such as Štěpán of Dolany, but also by his early adherents, such as the university masters, Šimon of Tišnov, Štěpán Pálec, and Stanislav of

<sup>3</sup> František Šmahel, *Idea národa v husitských Čechách* [The National Idea in Hussite Bohemia] (Praha, 2000) 52.

<sup>4</sup> Carl-Adolph Constantin von Höfler, *Geschichtsschreiber der hussitischen Bewegung in Böhmen*, Teil 2 (Vienna, 1865) 62; see also MS Prague, NK XIV C 26.

<sup>5</sup> Václav Novotný, *Tradice svatováclavská* [The St. Wenceslaus Tradition] (Prague, 1928) 49; idem, *Český kníže Václav Svatý. Život, památka a úcta* [The Bohemian Duke St. Wenceslaus: Life, Memory, Veneration] (Prague, 1929) 62.

<sup>6</sup> "Zavraždění pana Půty ml. v domě Bechyňově na Starém městě právě v den synody (6. února 1413), jež veřejné mínění přičítalo přednímu později protivníku husitství p. Janovi Městeckému z Opočna, nebylo asi bez souvislosti s rozdíly náboženskými. Zakuklení vrahové po hnusném činu odcházejíce, zpívali píseň 'Sv. Václave', která nyní opravdu do jisté míry stávala se heslem protivníků novot, jako také protivníci Husovi dříve i později neopomíjeli dovolávat se jí i tohoto světce vůbec, aby své úsilí činili populárnějším." Václav Novotný, *M. Jan Hus. Život a učení* [Master Jan Hus: Life and Teaching]. Vol. 1: *Život a dílo* [Life and Writings]. Part 2 (Prague, 1921) 314, 315.

<sup>7</sup> J. Š., "Kázání M. Jana Husi na den Sv. Václava" [Jan Hus's Sermon for the feast day of St. Wenceslaus] in: *Přehled pro ctitele svatého Václava* [A Survey for the Devotees of St. Wenceslaus] 1 (1929) n. 3, 2–4.

Znojmo. Stanislav preached in the Týn Church on 28 August 1412, in which the appeal to the patron saints of the country acquired a patriotic halo.<sup>8</sup> From this controversy Nejedlý apparently draws his conclusion that Hus tolerated the St. Wenceslaus Hymn to avoid accusations of disrespect for the saint.<sup>9</sup> In my opinion, Nejedlý's view that the Hymn was singularly favoured by the Counter Reformation party while the party *sub utraque* adopted a reserved standpoint, is based on the esoteric decisions of the Prague Synod and on an erroneous conviction that the Hymn "...subsequently was not to be found in the hymnals of the Church *sub utraque*, whether early Hussite or later Utraquist, Lutheran or the Unity's." Nejedlý used Jireček's survey.<sup>10</sup> He did not know that the Hymn was included in the so-called Codex of Roudnice [*Roudnický kodex*] of *sub utraque* provenance from the late fifteenth century. Likewise, he overlooked the use of the St. Wenceslaus' Hymn in Unity's hymnal *Písňe* (1542–1546), in which its melody was used in seventeen strophes of the song with the incipit *Pane věčný králi ať tě tvůj lid chválí...* (Section hVIII).<sup>11</sup> Paradoxically, his erroneous view coincided with that of his polar opponent, the catechist of Tábor, Karel Konrád.<sup>12</sup> The inclusion of the St. Wenceslaus Hymn in Utraquist sources was confirmed mainly by Antonín Škarka.<sup>13</sup> Songs with the St. Wenceslaus theme include in particular one with the incipit *Den pamatujem svatého Václava...* [We Remember the feast of St. Wenceslaus] (1602) by Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský, the Dean of Doubravník, who belonged to the Evangelical Church in Moravia, leaning toward the Augsburg Confession.

Synodal decisions played an important role in the acceptance of the St. Wenceslaus Hymn. Archbishop Jan Očko of Vlašim assigned indulgences to the song in 1368, and a major decision by the synod of 1406–1408 permitted its singing in churches together with three other Czech songs.<sup>14</sup> Nejedlý interpreted the attribution of indulgences to the Hymn, and to several other

<sup>8</sup> It would be a mistake, however, to assume that St. Wenceslaus had become a player in the field of church reform only in connection with Hus. We already find him in that role in a polemic between Vojtěch Raňkův [Adalbertus Ranconis] of Ježov and master Kuneš of Třebovle, a spokesman for Archbishop Jan of Jenštejn. Formulating his views on the right of escheatage in the treatise *De devolucionibus non recipiendis* (1388), Kuneš based his argumentation on the persona of St. Wenceslaus, an opponent of slavery, who acted as an *adsertor libertatis*, redeeming the slaves.

<sup>9</sup> Zdeněk Nejedlý, *Počátky husitského zpěvu* [The Beginnings of Hussite Singing] (Prague, 1907) 184, 374.

<sup>10</sup> Josef Jireček, *Hymnologia bohémica. Dějiny církevního básnictví českého až do 18. století* [The History of Czech Ecclesiastical Poetry up to the Eighteenth Century] (Prague, 1878) 76.

<sup>11</sup> MS, NK 65 E 2175, 54 S 770; Jan Kouba, "Nejstarší písňové tisky do roku 1550" [The Earliest Printed Songs to 1550], in: MM 32 (1988) 33.

<sup>12</sup> Karel Konrád, *Dějiny posvátného zpěvu staročeského* [History of Czech Sacred Songs] (Prague, 1881) 52.

<sup>13</sup> Antonín Škarka, *Nejstarší česká duchovní lyrika* [The Earliest Czech Ecclesiastical Lyric] (Prague, 1949) 37.

<sup>14</sup> Tomek, *Dějepis*, 3:458, 461.

Latin songs, as a weapon of the opponents of the Reformation, misusing the national patron saints. According to him, the St. Wenceslaus Hymn turned into “a motto of the reactionaries”.<sup>15</sup> This view was challenged by Novotný, stating: “It goes too far (see the view of Sedláč, *Hus*, 307, n. 3). For sure, the old songs were to be used as weapons against the new ones, nevertheless their explicit introduction into the church was a progressive step, albeit taken under pressure.”<sup>16</sup> Novotný was, however, sceptical about the view that this step also aimed at increasing the popularity of the two songs, since they had been well liked already. According to Novotný, the step was rather a double-edged sally – while prohibiting what was new, it permitted what was old. In my opinion, there was, indeed, a measure of progress in the permission, considering the situation in Bohemia. On the issue of interpretation, Nejedlý had already called attention to the lack of transparency in the pronouncement about the Hymn in the Synodal decision of 1412.<sup>17</sup>

Some of the Utraquist intelligentsia justified their positive view of St. Wenceslaus on the grounds that old legends had him – like the other ancient patron saints – commune *sub utraque*.<sup>18</sup> I consider this approach as a sort of tug-of-war for the symbol of St. Wenceslaus. The value of the patron saints’ symbolism was first appreciated by the Archbishop’s party. Its ambiance apparently produced the satirical songs attacking the Reformation: *Všichni poslouchajte, chválu Bohu vzdávajte, žalujte na ty Husy...* [You all listen, give praise to God, complaining about the Geese (i.e., the Hussites)]<sup>19</sup> and *Když Lev zemřel pravú túhú* [When Leo died – just, merciless]. The first song asks for an intercession by the Virgin Mary and the Czech patron saints against the “new believers”, the Wyclifites. In this text, “the Heir of the Bohemian Land” is St. Procopius and his apparition, chasing the German monks from the Sázava Monastery. This event, together with an inscription “Off against the Germans, the betrayers of God!” [*Na Němce, na zrádce Boží!*] on the standard of St. Wenceslaus, would provide in the nineteenth century the basis for a xenophobic paraphrase of the Hymn “Chase out the German Aliens!” [*Vyžeň Němce, cizozemce!*]. Incidentally, the inscription on the standard of St. Wenceslaus was inspired by a depiction in the Utraquist hymnal of Kutná Hora from the second half of the fifteenth century. The second

<sup>15</sup> Nejedlý, *Počátky husitského zpěvu*, 184, 374, 381.

<sup>16</sup> Novotný, *M. Jan Hus. Život a učení*. Vol. 1: *Život a dílo*. Part 1 (Prague, 1919) 236.

<sup>17</sup> Nejedlý, *Počátky husitského zpěvu*, 374. (Item. prohibentur cantilene et Rundeli in ecclesiis patet prius sub pena unius fertoris plebano ecclesie et rectore scholarium recitanda pro fabrica ecclesie Pragensis pro Swat nass Waczlawe ut supra.)

<sup>18</sup> This view of St Wenceslaus is presented, for instance, in Bohuslav Bilejovský’s *Kronika česká* (1537). Rudolf Urbánek, *České dějiny* [Czech History]. Vol. 3 Part 2. *Věk poděbradský* [Poděbradian Age], Part 2 (Prague, 1918) 719, 720

<sup>19</sup> A later song, which is not connected with the cult of St. Wenceslaus, has the incipit *Všichni poslouchajte, chválu Bohu vzdajte i tudíž naši matce...* [You all listen, give praise to God, and hence also to our Mother]. To distinguish it, the song is sometimes called Moravian or Vladislavian [*ladislavská*].

song presents St. Sigismund as an avenger of the death of the Bohemian King Wenceslaus IV. St. Wenceslaus as the “Duke of the Bohemian Land” mutates in the song into St. Procopius as the “Glorious Priest of the Bohemian Land.”

Despite the preservation of a large number of different versions of the Hymn, the age and the authorship of the individual strophes have not hitherto been unambiguously determined. This is especially true of the strophes which begin with the words *Ty jsi dědic české země...* [You are the heir of the Bohemian Land] and *Maria, matko žádúcí...* [O, Mary, mother dear] The origin of the first strophe was several times sought in the religious manifesto sent by the united towns of Prague to other Bohemian towns on 3 April 1420.<sup>20</sup> It must be, however, added that Saint Wenceslaus did not figure in subsequent manifestoes – perhaps to avoid annoying the Taborites, for whom a canonical saint was unacceptable in principle. František M. Bartoš has suggested a possible relationship of the strophe to the Treatise against King George [*Traktát proti králi Jiřímu*], addressed to Jan of Rožmberk, specifically with the segment *Daj to, Pane Bože, Svatý Václave, ať tvá země i tvé plemie nezahyne! Amen* [Grant it, O Lord God, O Saint Wenceslaus, that your land and your race do not perish! Amen].<sup>21</sup>

Josef Pekař and Konrád were convinced that the authorship stemmed from the enemies of the Reformation. Václav Chaloupecký, to the contrary, maintained that the origin should be sought in the milieu of the Reformation, and its target should be seen as the internal enemy.<sup>22</sup> Subsequently, Chaloupecký went as far as to suggest a simultaneous singing of the St. Wenceslaus Hymn and the Taborite songs *Povstaň, povstaň veliké město pražské* [Rise, rise up, great city of Prague] and *Kdož jsú boží bojovníci* [You who are warriors of God]. There is, however, no evidence for these assertions. Emil Pražák advanced a more plausible argumentation. In his opinion, the famous Taborite hymn originated as an (un)intentional substitute for the St. Wenceslaus Hymn.<sup>23</sup> The notation in the so-called Codex of Roudnice [*Roudnický kodex*] proves the existence of nine strophes of the Hymn prior to 1500.<sup>24</sup> Václav Ryneš has interpreted the strophe *Hříchů se našich lekámy* [We are shocked by our sins] as an expression of the repentant Taborites.<sup>25</sup> The suggestions of Emil Pražák are also notable. He dates the existence of the strophes *Ty jsi*

<sup>20</sup> AČ 3 (1844) 212, 213.

<sup>21</sup> František M. Bartoš, *Kníže Václav Svatý v dějinách a v legendě* [Duke St. Wenceslaus in History and Legend] (Prague, 1929) 47.

<sup>22</sup> Václav Chaloupecký, “Kníže svatý Václav” [Duke St. Wenceslaus] ČČH 47 (1946) 51.

<sup>23</sup> Emil Pražák, “Svatováclavská píseň v husitství,” [The St. Wenceslaus Hymn in the Bohemian Reformation] in: *Stati o české středověké literatuře* [Articles about Czech Medieval Literature] (Prague, 1996) 164–171.

<sup>24</sup> Josef Jaroš, “Příspěvek k dějinám písně svatováclavské,” [A Contribution to the History of St. Wenceslaus Hymn], *Časopis katolického duchovenstva* 80, 1 (1914) 2.

<sup>25</sup> Václav Ryneš, “Ochránci pražského kostela a české země,” [The Protectors of the Church of Prague and the Bohemian Land], in: *Tisíc let pražského biskupství 973–1973* [Millennium of the Bishopric of Prague] (Prague, 1973) 108, 109.

*dědic české země...* and *Maria, matko žádúcí...* prior to 1420, relying on the treatise *Confessio Thaboritarum* (1431) by Mikuláš of Pelhřimov, the “bishop” and treasurer in the town of Tábor.<sup>26</sup> It is significant that even Jakoubek of Stříbro makes a vague reference to a song in honour of St. Wenceslaus.<sup>27</sup> Likewise, Jan Rokycana invoked the intercession of St. Wenceslaus.<sup>28</sup> Pražák opposed the characterisation of the St. Wenceslaus Hymn as a Taborite war song on the basis of inscriptions on the Utraquist long shields from the late fifteenth century. These inscriptions consist of a combination of texts from the St. Wenceslaus Hymn and the Taborite song *Pane Bože, daj svobodu těm, kdož tě milují* [O, Lord God, give liberty to those who love you] together with a monogram of King Vladislav Jagellon.

Five strophes of the Hymn were probably sung during the signing of the Compactata in Jihlava (1436), during the coronation of Albrecht II as King of Bohemia (29 June 1438), and likewise during the election of George of Poděbrady as King of Bohemia on 2 March 1458. The singing of the St. Wenceslaus Hymn by the *sub utraque* before the first crusade in 1420 and during the battle of Ústí nad Labem in 1426, the favourable result of which was credited to St. Wenceslaus’ assistance, is not documented in reliable sources, and is, in my opinion, no more than an *ex post facto* literary fiction. In the case of the Battle of Lipany, however, we are certain about the singing of the Hymn. Nevertheless, the question remains, which faction of Bohemians sang, and with what intention. For instance, in the case of the Compactata, the Hymn singing was considered, on the one hand, by Šmahel and Urbánek as a sign of reconciliation, as well as affirmation of Bohemian statehood, on the other hand, by Nejedlý as an expression of reactionary feelings.<sup>29</sup> Kalista interpreted the chanting at Albrecht’s coronation as a provocation by the *sub una* vis-à-vis the Utraquists.<sup>30</sup> The unambiguously hostile tendency against the Utraquists is exhibited by several pieces of literature connected with the St. Wenceslaus Hymn, such as the earlier-mentioned *Traktát proti králi Jiřímu*,<sup>31</sup> or *Poslání Hradeckým, Orebským a Pardubským* [Message to the Inhabitants of Hradec, Oreb, and Pardubice].<sup>32</sup> Furthermore, it is important to note the singing of the Hymn during the first Bohemian coronation of Matthias Corvinus in Olomouc (1469). Covinus shared the St. Wenceslaus agenda with the Bishop of Olomouc, as the minting of the

<sup>26</sup> Pražák, *Svatováclavská píseň v husitství*, 164–171.

<sup>27</sup> Zdeněk Nejedlý, *Dějiny husitského zpěvu za válek husitských* [History of Hussite Singing during the Wars of the Bohemian Reformation] (Prague, 1913) 84, 65, 419, 420.

<sup>28</sup> Zdeněk Kalista, “Freska svatováclavská” [The Fresco of St. Wenceslaus], *Lumír* 56 (1930) 373.

<sup>29</sup> Šmahel, *Idea národa* 174, 175; Rudolf Urbánek, *České dějiny*. Vol. 3, Part 3. *Věk poděbradský*, Part 3 (Prague, 1930) 280; Nejedlý, *Počátky*, 375.

<sup>30</sup> Kalista, “Freska svatováclavská,” 373.

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, 374.

<sup>32</sup> Bohuslav Havránek, Josef Hrabák, Jiří Daňhelka and others, *Výbor z české literatury doby husitské II.* (Prague, 1964) 2:149–152.



St. Wenceslaus heller also attests. This agenda was also close the “king of two peoples” Vladislav Jagellon, who in many respects wished to cash in on the veneration of St Wenceslaus by Charles IV. Vladislav had a striking vision in 1497 on the night before the feast of the translation of St. Wenceslaus. Saints Vojtěch, Sigismund, and Vitus rose from their graves and at the sepulchre of St. Wenceslaus sang the famous Hymn. Thereupon, Vladislav established a foundation, including fifteen choristers (twelve students and three priests), whose task it was daily after matins on the way from the presbytery to St. Wenceslaus Chapel to commemorate in song the King’s vision. The next record of the singing of the Hymn on an official occasion dates to the royal election of Ferdinand I on 24 October 1526.

Let us pause briefly at the *Jistebnický kancionál* [Jistebnice Kancionál], which in the gradual for the feast of St. Wenceslaus registers the introit *Radujme se všickni v Hospodinu, den slavný slavíce...* [Gaudeamus omnes in domino], and the sequence *Zdráv buď otče dobrotivý...* [Salve pater optime]. Unfortunately, Novotný does not cite the concrete sources, in which the liturgical chants about St. Wenceslaus were used for the new feast day of St. Jan Hus; later it was happening also the other way around.<sup>33</sup> Kalista also noted this practice, and he demonstrated the symbiosis of the two cults on the predella in the Chrudim Museum, in which Saints Jan Hus, Wenceslaus, Procopius, and Ludmila form “a new collegium of patrons of the Bohemian Lands.”<sup>34</sup> Finally, it is necessary to mention the five-voice motet *Praeses Miles Wenceslaus* from the second half of the sixteenth century, which constitutes the concluding part of the office dedicated to Sts. Jan Hus, Jerome, Vitus, and Wenceslaus.<sup>35</sup>

The relationship of the various factions in the Bohemian Reformation to St. Wenceslaus was diversified from the start; “disrespect” for St. Wenceslaus can be presumed only on the part of religious radicals. On the one hand, we have, for instance, the devastation of the focal point of his cult, that is, the St. Vitus’s Cathedral, on 7 June 1421, on the other hand, the complaint of the second Hussite diet in Čáslav against Emperor Sigismund for the desecration and sacking of St. Wenceslaus’ grave. Sigismund clearly did not grasp St. Wenceslaus as an omen of the Reformers and of his own punishment.

<sup>33</sup> Novotný, *Český kníže Václav svatý*, 65.

<sup>34</sup> Kalista, “Freska svatováclavská,” 374. We also know of altars from the Reformation period, where Hus and Wenceslaus assist St. Vojtěch in celebrating the mass. On the other hand, the linkage of St Wenceslaus’ cult with Jan Žižka was the product only of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was utilised especially in the legend around Mt. Blaník. St. Wenceslaus is depicted with a banner and a chalice at the centre of the seal of the Utraquist Consistory and, additionally, with a Utraquist prayer to St. Wenceslaus from 1593; MS. NM VH29, f. 145.

<sup>35</sup> Jitka Snížková, *Jiří Rychnovský a čeští anonymové 16. století. Česká vokální polyfonie – vícehlasé skladby české renesance pro smíšený sbor* [Jiří Rychnovský and Anonymous Composers of Sixteenth-century Bohemia. Bohemian Vocal Polyphony: Multiple-Voice Compositions of the Bohemian Renaissance for a Mixed Choir] (Prague, 1982).

Vavřinec of Březová writes in his chronicle that Sigismund exhorted the Reformers “for the sake of St. Wenceslaus’ memory” to desist from further destruction of the land. During the Bohemian wars of religion, St. Wenceslaus did not belong unambiguously to any faction, but the development after the wars indicated clearly that St. Wenceslaus enjoyed greater affection from the *sub una*. One of the reasons might have been the fact that the Reformers had enough martyrs of their own.

It is without doubt that – thanks to the martyr’s death of Hus – St. Wenceslaus began to lose his status as a generally accepted symbol of the land and the nation. The Utraquists preferred a respect for the sovereign, deriving from history, rather than an ostentatious liturgical veneration of Wenceslaus as a saint. This is evident from the recollection of the Utraquist professor at Charles University, Adam Rosacius of Karlšperk, about his journey to Stará Boleslav in 1589.<sup>36</sup> After 1526, the St. Wenceslaus tradition became a domain of the *sub una* and the Society of Jesus as well as a symbol of the struggle against the *sub utraque* and the Turks. It is, however, necessary to note that the Protestant Reformation did leave a mark on the attitude of the *sub una*. Under the influence of certain Jesuits, a part of the *sub una* developed doubts about faith in the patronage of St. Wenceslaus, whose sainthood was not blessed by Rome and who could not avert the Bohemian Reformation. The Unity of Brethren showed only a minimal respect for St. Wenceslaus. In the struggle against the veneration of St. Wenceslaus I did not succeed in finding any musical documentation, only literary and theological works. A description of the relationship of Jan A. Komenský and Pavel Stránský to St. Wenceslaus would, however, transcend the chosen theme of this article.

Translated from the Czech by Zdeněk V. David

<sup>36</sup> Adam Rosacius of Karlšperk, *Oratio panegyrica de Boemiae reviviscentia* (Prague, 1616) 56.