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## The Man of Sorrows and Christ Blessing the Chalice: The Pre-Reformation and the Utraquist Viewpoints

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(Prague)

At the start I wish to thank Dr. Milena Bartlová, who has made available for my examination her lecture, prepared for the Conference on Jan Hus, as well the recent article of the Hungarian scholar, Dóra Sallay, dealing with eucharistic Man of Sorrows, the development of the iconography of his depiction, its function and interpretation.<sup>1</sup> Miri Rubin's book *Corpus Christi* undoubtedly also belongs among these works.<sup>2</sup> These researchers stressed, above all, the iconographic type of the Man of Sorrows, which derived from the Eastern depictions, and from the mosaic in the Church of Santa Croce in Jerusalem in Rome. The topos of the Man of Sorrows was often interpreted in connection with the Good Friday hymns and with the text of Isaiah 53:3-5, which describes the suffering of a man who has taken on all human sorrows. The text is usually read at the liturgy on Good Friday. The above-mentioned researchers further noted that within the ambiance of Western Christendom this topos served as a visual image of Corpus Christi, and its theological content emphasized the real presence and transubstantiation. In addition, I am glad to thank Dr. Hana Vihová for letting me study her article, dealing with mass chants for the feast of Corpus Christi in late medieval Bohemia.<sup>3</sup> The study supports, from the viewpoint of liturgical song, my explanatory hypothesis of the Man of Sorrows from the late fourteenth through the fifteenth centuries. It is my opinion that a possible explanation of the Man of Sorrows with a chalice (or with a chalice and a host) may lead to the feast of Corpus Christi, ostentatiously celebrated on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday.

The relatively new cult gave rise to numerous masses for the feast of Corpus Christi. Earlier researchers noted matins, which were chanted in the morning.<sup>4</sup> In Plzeň a mass was sung at the daybreak every Thursday, and a perpetual Corpus Christi mass was established in the Týn Church of Prague on 1 February 1386 that was to be celebrated always on a Thursday instead of the usual high mass. Similar provisions were made, among others, in the churches of Opatovice (St. Michael's), Benešov, Jindřichův Hradec, and Kutná Hora after 1388, and in Louny in 1396. The

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<sup>1</sup> Milena Bartlová, "Ikografie kalicha, symbolu husitství," lecture at the Conference on Jan Hus, Lateran University, Rome, December 1999; Dóra Sallay, *The Eucharistic Man of Sorrows: Evolution, Function, and Interpretation*, M. A. Thesis in Medieval Studies, Budapest: Central European University, 1999; *idem* "The Eucharistic Man of Sorrows in Late Medieval Art," *Annual of Medieval Studies at Central European University* 6 (2000) 45-80.

<sup>2</sup> Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1991).

<sup>3</sup> Hana Vihová, "Die Fronleichnamsmesse in Böhmen: Ein Beitrag zur spätmittelalterlichen Choraltradition," *Schweizer Jahrbuch für Musikwissenschaft* ns. 16 (1996) 13-36; *idem*, "Jistebnický kancionál, liturgie hodinkového oficia," a lecture at the same conference.

<sup>4</sup> Zdeněk Nejedlý, *Dějiny husitského zpěvu*, 5 vv. (Prague, 1954-1955) 2:114; Ondřej M. Petrů, *Matěj z Janova O častém svatém přijímání* (Prague, 1946) 20 ff.

feast itself was marked by founding new altars of Corpus Christi, which were regularly provided with funding for several masses. Most of these holy tables bore the designation of Corpus Christi altars, and among the most significant ones was undoubtedly the Louny altar of 1396 designated in honour of “Christ’s Body and Blood”, established when the later chronicler of the wars of the Bohemian Reformation, Vavřinec of Březová was pastor there.<sup>5</sup> Among the earliest dedications belongs the patrociniium of the nunnery of Poor Clares in Český Krumlov, which was consecrated in 1358 “in honore Corporis Christi et gloriose virginæ Marie.” The feast of Corpus Christi witnessed festivities with a procession and exposition of holy relics in Český Krumlov.<sup>6</sup> Chapels in honour of Corpus Christi were erected in Kutná Hora (1396) and in Prague at the Church of St. James. A hospital was dedicated to Corpus Christi in Žatec. Numerous brotherhoods were established to honour Corpus Christi, and their members conducted frequent services for the adoration of the sacrament of the altar. In Prague a brotherhood financed a chapel in the Church of St. Linhart in the Old Town. Established on the initiative of Wenceslaus IV, an elite brotherhood, using the emblem of an iron hoop [*obruč*], consisted of high state and church dignitaries, nobles, and townsmen. The mission of this group was to build a Corpus Christi Chapel in the New Town of Prague, where hitherto relics were exhibited in a wooden structure. The founding charter, dated 1 April 1382, explicitly spoke of a special devotion to “The Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the praise of which neither the mind can properly conceive, nor the tongue properly express.” The chapel became expressly Bohemian in the academic parlance of the times. In 1403 the brotherhood donated the sanctuary to the professors belonging to the “Bohemian nation” at the University of Prague. It is known that liturgical chant was cultivated there.<sup>7</sup> The feast of Corpus Christi opened with a procession, followed by numerous hymns, and the mass with a sermon. The Chapel also held the formal record of the *Compactata*’s proclamation in Prague in 1437, a copy of which is preserved on the last leaf (f. 365<sup>b</sup>) of the Bible of Nymburk (Prague, KNM IV B 12). It states: “At the behest of Emperor Sigismund and the Legates of the Council of Basel in the year 1437, this Church of Corpus Christi in the New Town of Prague witnessed the announcement in Czech, Latin, Hungarian, and German that the Bohemians and Moravians, who received the Divine body and blood in both kinds, were faithful Christians and righteous sons of the Holy Church.”<sup>8</sup>

### The Man of Sorrows

The feast of Corpus Christi found its place in liturgical books already at the end of the thirteenth century, later especially in the early Utraquist graduals. I would like to call attention to the Breviary of Opatovice, now located in Cracow, and to the introductory text of the antiphon “Sacerdos in aeternum Christus” for the vigil of Corpus Christi. It contains the image of the Man of Sorrows who displays his

<sup>5</sup> Nejedlý, *Dějiny husitského zpěvu*, 2:115 ff.

<sup>6</sup> F. Tadra, “Ukazování ostatků v Českém Krumlově,” ČČM 54 (1880), 432-437. The nunnery’s patrociniium is reflected in the title page of the *Liber depictus* codex of Český Krumlov, which portrays the Apocalyptic Virgin Mary with the Christ Child and a medallion with a half-figure of the Man of Sorrows. See G. Schmidt, “Patrociniium und Andachtsbild,” *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 64 (1956) 277 ff.; *idem*, *Krumauer Bilderkodex*, ÖNB Codex 370. Textband und Faksimile Ausgabe (Graz, 1967).

<sup>7</sup> Nejedlý, *Dějiny husitského zpěvu* 2:116 ff.

<sup>8</sup> V. Kyas, *Česká bible v dějinách národního písemnictví* (Prague, 1997) 106-107.

wounds with a particular focus on the blood from his side, which spills on the host and into the chalice. Barbara Miodońska sees in this miniature another contribution to the history of the eucharistic rite and to its dogmatic explication.<sup>9</sup> Its mission was to illustrate the dogma of transubstantiation. The Polish scholar notes that Christ was depicted living and without the crown of thorns, or traces of suffering except for the five bleeding wounds. She interprets the wound in the pierced side as a *fons vitae*, and the hand gesture as an *ostentatio vulnerum*. *Sacerdos in aeternum* was simultaneously depicted as *sacrificium, panis vivus*. The blood seeping into the host was to show that the bread of the eucharist, and therefore a communion in one kind, contained the entire Christ, as did a communion in both kinds. Together with a preceding unusual portrait of the Trinity in the form of God the Father with a medallion of Christ and the dove of the Holy Spirit, the blood and the host represent a peculiar mixture of mystical and naturalistic character, which appeals to the spectator's emotive side, and endows them with the traits of a new type of religiosity. Likewise the following miniature with the consecration of an altar depicts an altar panel with the suffering Christ. Together with the *Arma Christi* they belong to the typology of the Man of Sorrows. Miodońska highlighted the significance of the three illustrations, which were symptomatic for Bohemian art of the second half of the fourteenth century. She dwelt on the influence of the newly introduced feast of Corpus Christi, and of the hymns inspired by the new feast. She noted additional appurtenances, such as the morning masses, liturgies with religious poetry, establishment of altars and brotherhoods, and eucharistic processions. The illuminations, in her view, reflected the influences of Bohemian eucharistic prayers attributed to Milíč of Kroměříž, and of the emphasis on frequent communion which both Milíč and Matěj of Janov advocated. The manuscript of the Breviary of Opatovice is usually dated to the 1480s.

In 1986, Ivo Kořán addressed the subject of Corpus Christi in a pane of stained glass from Slivenec, and interpreted the figure of the Man of Sorrows with a host and a chalice likewise in connection with the cult of Corpus Christi.<sup>10</sup> Originating probably also in the 1380s, the painting on glass is further enriched by the *Arma Christi* – the crown of thorns and the rods employed in the coronation and scourging of Christ. The right of patronage was exercised over the church of Slivenec by the Knights of the Holy Sepulcher of Zderaz, and Kořán suggested that the purchaser of the paintings was the Grand Master of the order, Zdeněk (1380-1407), who was a significant personage of his time. His name and seal appeared in the earlier-mentioned charter of 1 April 1382, whereby the Brotherhood of the Iron Hoop and Hammer pledged to establish the chapel dedicated to the Body and Blood of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and Saints Felix and Adauctus on present-day Charles Square [*Karlovo náměstí*] in Prague.

Next I wish to draw attention to the monumental decorations of St. Mark's Church in Markovice near Kutná Hora, which date also to the 1380s. Similarly to Barbara Miodońska and Ivo Kořán, I see here a connection with the feast of Corpus Christi. In an upper band above the window we see a fragmentarily preserved series

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<sup>9</sup> Barbara Miodońska, "Opatovický breviář. Neznámý český rukopis 14. století," *Umění* 16 (1968) 213-254.

<sup>10</sup> Ivo Kořán, "Corpus Christi vitráže ze Slivence v kontextu české gotické malby," *Umění* 34 (1986) 58-63.

of Apostles, who differ from each other by the design of a conspicuous movement. At the centre, the painter placed a still partially preserved figure of the Man of Sorrows, in front of whom two angels hold a veil. The angel on the left with a tiara holds a chalice with the host in his left hand and the veil in his right hand. The angel on the right probably holds the veil with both hands. The left side of this unusual scene apparently depicts St. Peter as he sits and prays. To the right, above the southern window, the painter has evidently placed a pedestrian with a pilgrim's staff, who has shoes on both feet and thus does not represent an Apostle. The painting between the eastern and the northern windows has vanished. Thus the attention is drawn even more strongly to the eastern wall, in which within a second band the artist has depicted the Seat of Mercy. God the Father is seated on an architectonically designed throne and holds in his widespread arms a green cross with appended Christ, from whose hands and feet – pierced with nails – drops of blood fall on the altar of God the Father. The third band depicts a horned Moses at the moment of removing his shoes, so that he might receive from the Lord the tablets with the Decalogue. The head of God the Father was probably depicted to the left within a bush which, in turn, was located on a hill, undoubtedly representing Mt. Horeb/Sinai.

The southern wall of the apse is filled by a monumental figure of St. John the Baptist captured amidst a stride to the right, while his torso is spirally turning to the left. The saint, properly speaking, gazes down at the viewer, in his left hand holding a medallion with the symbol of the Lamb of God, and with his right pointing to the image in the sense of the true sacrifice. The lower band partially preserves a sitting figure of Prophet Enoch with a scroll in his hands. The scroll holds an easily legible inscription, written in Gothic miniscule “ENOCH...AG[?].” The Prophet is likewise oriented to the right with his head adorned by a covering, which resembles the cardinal's hat.

Tomáš Hladík analyzed the unusual type of the Man of Sorrows with two angels holding a veil in front of him. At the same time, the angel on the left holds a chalice with the host, which catches the streams of blood from Christ's wounds. He cited the major monographs of two scholars, Tadeusz Dobrzeński and Hans Belting, who had used liturgical texts to explain the fourteenth-century honouring of the Man of Sorrows not only as a pictorial illustration of the Good Friday liturgy, but also as a contemporary reflection of the feast of Corpus Christi.<sup>11</sup>

The other no less significant theme is the portrayal of the Holy Trinity in the form of the Seat of Mercy, known in Bohemia as early as the first half of the fourteenth century. Elly Cassee studied the Divine Throne, and called attention to the image in the initial B(enedicta sit sancta trinitas).<sup>12</sup> The Italian scholar further noted the illustration in the Canon of the mass where, for the first time, the image of the Seat of Mercy appeared at the text “Te igitur clementissime Pater, supplices

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<sup>11</sup> Tomáš Hladík, “Gotické nástěnné malby v kostele s. Marka v Markovicích. Příspěvek k ikonografii Krista Bolestného v českém umění druhé poloviny 14. století,” unpublished manuscript for ČFVU (Prague, 1991; “Markovice,” in Zuzana Všecková, “Středověká nástěnná malba ve středních Čechách,” *Průzkumy památek* (1999) Příloha, 117-123; Tadeusz Dobrzeński, “Niektóre zagadania ikonografii Meza Bolesci,” *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* 15,1 (1971) 7-219; Hans Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum. Form und Funktion früher Bildtafel der Passion* (Berlin, 1981).

<sup>12</sup> Elly Cassee, *The Missal of Cardinal Bertrand de Deux* (Florence, 1981) 72 ff.

rogamus ac petimus, uti accepta habeas et benedicas...” Precisely, the words “acceptum habere” were illustrated by the crucified Son whom God the Father held in his hands. Undoubtedly, the other defining moment was again the emphasis on Christ’s bleeding wounds, which revealed the eucharistic form of Christ crucified. As noted earlier, in St. Mark’s Church in Markovice we see Moses at the moment when he removes his shoes in anticipation of receiving the Tablets of the Law from the Lord’s hands on Mt. Sinai (Ex 31:18), further the noted Prophet Enoch, John the Evangelist, and the Apostles.

In my opinion, the paintings in Markovice depict the Man of Sorrows with a chalice as a pictorial expression of the feast of Corpus Christi, the Bohemian celebration of which has engaged the attention of a number of scholars. Its origins date to the early fourteenth century, and led to liturgical chants, mass officia, prayers, and festive processions conducted in great splendor. As shown by Hana Vlhová, the glamor of the feast was also reflected in Utraquist hymnals, in particular the Jistebnice Kancional.

The elaborate processions spun off plays with related themes. Josef Truhlář published fragments of these Czech dramas as early as 1880.<sup>13</sup> The *dramatis personae* in these spectacles were an angel, the Prophet Elijah, Christ, and Moses. The Czech fragment contained the angel’s words to Elijah who was asked by God to gain strength from drink and food at the top of the mountain. He cited a passage from Christ’s words: “Again I say to all that the Father has sent me to this world so that I would strengthen everyone in need by the bread of my body, which would obediently die on the cross.” The subsequent dialogue between Christ and Moses contained a significant statement in which Moses was exhorted to put at ease those who would obey him; Christ would save them all from any error. Moses responded: “Lord God Almighty, your people often disobey me, therefore I implore your mercy, let me have your words so that I can preach them to the people and thus gain power over them.” The play further put forth a plea for the remission of sins, as well as a yearning for eternal life and for mercy, addressed to God Almighty – Father, Son, and Holy Spirit.

Returning to the paintings of Markovice, it can be said – in the light of the foregoing – that the portraits of the Trinity, the Man of Sorrows, the Apostles, Elijah, and Moses may be viewed as reflections of a contemporary liturgical drama, which was performed on the feast of Corpus Christi. Parenthetically, let us also recall the depiction of Law and Mercy, a favorite topos in later Utraquist iconography.<sup>14</sup> The iconography of Markovice expressed in a simplified way the meaning of the text: “Law was given through Moses, Mercy and Truth through Jesus Christ.” [Jn. 1:17] The pilgrim, who approached the Apostles, may signify the one who sought Law and Mercy.

It is probable that the Renaissance Utraquist iconography was preceded by a series of topoi, which emerged newly exactly at the end of the fourteenth century, when individual religious currents foreshadowed the subsequent Reformation. Perhaps, it would be important in this connection to note Milíč’s sermon for the feast

<sup>13</sup> Josef Truhlář, “Zlomky dramatických her staročeských Mnichovské,” ČČM 66 (1892) 35-43.

<sup>14</sup> V. Hrubý and J. Royt, “Nástěnná malba s námětem Zákon a Milost na zámku v Pardubicích,” *Umění* 40 (1992) 124-137.

of Corpus Christi in his work *De Gratiae Dei*, which unfortunately I have been unable to read and translate. In my opinion, it is also relevant to mention in this connection a citation from Matěj of Janov's treatise on the frequent reception of Holy Communion, the first rule of which required that the teacher harmonize his conduct with the words and the acts of the Law of God and the Prophets.<sup>15</sup> It was obvious, he continued, that those who would recommend to the faithful the sacrament of Jesus Christ's Body and Blood, should live up to the words and deeds of the Law and the Prophets of the Old and the New Testament. As an example Janov cited from the Old Testament the case of manna, which all the Hebrews – not just the priests – had to gather daily, and skipping several days involved a sin. Earlier I have already called attention to this Old Testament topos in wall painting. In the arcade of the monastery *Na Slovanech* in Prague, it is placed – contrary to the usual custom – among scenes from the New Testament.<sup>16</sup>

According to Janov, grace and piety sufficed to a Christian in order to receive the communion often. The Old Testament adumbrated the value of frequent communion in the idea of sacrifice. Petrů elaborated this sacrificial theme. God the Father delighted in the sacrament of the altar, because it offered him a renewed sacrifice of his only-born Son. Sacrificing himself to the Father brought a supreme joy also to the Son, whose delight stemmed from the fact that the sacrament united him with the faithful on earth. The sacrifice also delighted the Holy Spirit who in turn disseminated this joy among the communicants. The entire Trinity was jubilant because the sacrifice diffused immensely the goodness of God... God prepared the great enjoyment for his people in the form of food and drink whereby he intended to signify what its nature should be, namely angelic, complete, free, reasonable, pure, wholesome, generating virtues, common to all, necessary, and daily. The following injunctions were germane: (1) All should communicate, not only the priests. (2) Communion should be frequent, even daily. (3) Dissuading oneself or others from frequent communion was a sin against Christ. The Law of Moses spoke of a constant sacrifice. This desideratum prefigured the sacrament of the altar, and mandated its daily enactment in its two kinds, bread and wine, which together constituted the sacrifice in its totality. Although Janov is not considered a restorer of lay communion in both kinds, nevertheless this thought was repeated several times exactly in his writing. For instance, in his commentary on the petition, "Give us this day our daily bread," he stated that – according to patristic teaching – "the daily bread" denoted frequent communion. In his opinion, Christ offered himself in the form of bread and wine precisely in order to signify the need of frequent reception.

Petrů saw in Janov's teaching a source of influence on the subsequent restoration of lay communion *sub utraque*, which Jakoubek of Stříbro accomplished in 1414. He further cited Janov's statements that, although the entire Christ was present under a single species and thus a communion *sub una specie* was sufficient, nevertheless for the existence of the eucharist as a sacrifice both species were absolutely necessary. Christ's sacrifice on the cross was completed and culminated with a separation of blood from the body; in the mass – which reenacted the sacrifice of Calvary – the division was mysteriously signified by the separate

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<sup>15</sup> Petrů, *Matěj z Janova O častém svatém přijímání*.

<sup>16</sup> Zuzana Všetěčková, "Gotické nástěnné malby v křížové chodbě kláštera Na Slovanech," *Umění* 44 (1996) 131-148.

consecration of the bread and wine. The Czech scholar further noted that Jakoubek adopted whole passage from Janov in his Utraquist manifesto at the University, and in particular, that he incorporated these texts into his Corpus Christi sermon of 1414. In my opinion, it was exactly such Corpus Christi sermons and hymns, known from the Bohemian ambience, that – properly speaking – expressed verbally the meaning of the Man of Sorrows, depicted in a number of Bohemian images. Characteristic in that respect is the famous hymn, contained in a later version of the Hymnal of Jistebnice: “Oh, Jesus Christ, you are a generous priest and one God with the Father and the Spirit; your munificence is our good from your mercy. And you are now before us; your body suffered wounds for us sinful Christians from your mercy. Oh, your divine goodness toward us!; oh, marvelous mercy!; you give us bread out of your body, from your mercy. You let your blood flow from your heart, and today you give it to us to drink, wishing thereby to renew us from your mercy.”<sup>17</sup>

In connection with Janov’s cited explication of the verse “Give us this day our daily bread,” we may further note that Hus in his *Výklad na páteř* [Explanation of Pater Noster] gave a similar eucharistic interpretation in the sense of “the bread of the eternal life.”<sup>18</sup> Hus quoted the words of John the Evangelist: “I am the bread of life,” further Thomas Aquinas, and in particular Augustine, who called the supplicatory bread *sacramentum Corporis Christi*, “that is the holy substance of Christ’s body, which he requests for emendation; bread is the body of God.” He continued in the same vein: “...St. Paul calls the bread a holy substance which contains the body of Christ, and the chalice a holy substance which contains the blood of Christ in a sacred manner.” Inasmuch as Hus’s treatise was intended for the clergy, the issue of lay communion in both kinds was not covered.

The assumption that the frequent depictions of the Man of Sorrows with a chalice were imageries of the eucharistic dogma is apparently documented by the monumental paintings of ensembles, which contain the Man of Sorrows, the *Arma Christi*, and the chalice with a host, which are located above the sanctuaries of the churches in Lučice and Lukov. Both of them probably date to the 1390s.<sup>19</sup> It is most significant that the chalice with a host had **not** appeared in the otherwise similar ensembles of the Man of Sorrows and the *Arma Christi*, which are found (1) in the codex of Jan of Jenštejn, kept in the Vatican Library, and (2) among the paintings of the church in Morašice, which were most likely ordered by Bishop Jan Železný in 1393.<sup>20</sup> Hence I am proposing the hypothesis that it is precisely the context of Bohemian Pre-Reformation and Utraquist thought, in which we can consider the depictions of the Man of Sorrows with a chalice and a host as visual artistic representations of the feast of Christ’s Body and Blood, when the liturgy reproduces the propositions from the mass of the Last Supper, celebrated on Maundy Thursday. The paintings in the church of Markovice might illustrate not only the liturgical drama

<sup>17</sup> Vlhová, “Die Fronleichnamsmesse in Böhmen;” Nejedlý, *Dějiny husitského zpěvu* 3:398 ff.

<sup>18</sup> Jan Hus, *Výklady* (Prague, 1975) 365-369.

<sup>19</sup> V. Kotrba, “Nástěnné malby v Lučici,” ZPP 4 (1940) 117; K. Stejskal, “Nástěnné malířství,” in *České umění gotické, 1350-1420* (Prague, 1970) 181; J. Krása, “Nástěnné malby v kostele sv. Markéty v Loukově,” *Umění* 8 (1960) 25ff.; J. Beránek, “Nástěnné malby v kostele sv. Markéty v Loukově,” *Vlastivědná knihovnička Společnosti přátel starožitností* (Prague, 1999) 62-65.

<sup>20</sup> A. Friedel, *Kodex Jana z Jenštejna: Illuminovaný rukopis české školy malířské v knihovně vatikánské* (Prague, 1931); K. Stejskal, “Nástěnné malby v Morašicích a některé otázky českého umění z konce 14. století,” *Umění* 8 (1960) 135; *idem*, “Nástěnné malířství,” 181, 200.

associate with the Corpus Christi processions, but they also might reflect the exhortation to frequent communion, which was advocated not only by Janov, but also by the Teutonic mystics Ekhart, Tauler, and Suso. In addition, Archbishop Jan of Jenštejn had embraced this desideratum within Bohemia.

As for the visual arts of the second half of the fifteenth century, we can assume that Christ was also adored as Corpus Christi in the paintings of St. James Church in Kutná Hora and in the ornamental sculpture on the façade of the decanal church of the Virgin Mary in Písek, inasmuch as both the Utraquists and the *sub una* celebrated the feast of Corpus Christi. Among the paintings of the first half of the fifteenth century, attention is often drawn to the panel, presently kept in České Budějovice, which displays the Man of Sorrows and an angel with a chalice, on one side, and Sts. Felix and Adauctus, on the other.<sup>21</sup> It is an open question, whether it actually documented the events of 1437, mentioned above, namely the Proclamation of the *Compactata* from the chapel of the Divine Body and Blood of Christ in the Charles Square of Prague. It was this event that was recorded on stone tablets, stating that “the Bohemians and Moravians, who receive the body and blood of God in both kinds, are faithful Christians and true sons of the Church.”

As a side issue, it is important to note the function of the Man of Sorrow as an intercessor with God the Father, particularly at the Last Judgment. It is fairly well documented in a rather unusual depiction of the Man of Sorrows as an intercessor in the manuscript, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, currently in the Morgan Library of New York, which portrays God the Father in the unaccustomed role of handing a chalice to Christ.<sup>22</sup> Jan Chlíbec has similarly interpreted the depiction of the Man of Sorrows in the city halls of the Old and the New Towns, which either survived the wars of the Bohemian Reformation, or might have been created in Utraquist Prague.<sup>23</sup> The author also noted that their depiction was related to the eucharist, and hence close to the teaching of the party *sub utraque*. He pointed out a panel image of the Man of Sorrows between two angels, which was probably intended for the Týn Church in the period around 1470, and a later woodcut from the book of Jan Hus: *Mistra Jana Husi ...výkladové*. The latter depicts the printer, Mikuláš Konáč of Hodířtkov, whom Hus commends to the Man of Sorrows, who in turn is filling a chalice with the blood streaming from his side. The topos of the Man of Sorrows as an intercessor played the role of an intermediary between God and man. This interpretation was in harmony with a minority within Utraquism who taught that Christ alone exercised this mediating function. From the dogmatic point of view, however, the mainline Utraquist, led by Jan Rokycana, never doubted Christ's real presence in the sacraments, thus disagreeing with the teaching of Wyclif, and with that of the Taborites who followed Wyclif.

### **Christ Blessing the Chalice**

The second theme, which I have pursued in the field of medieval art, is the solitary depiction of Christ blessing the chalice. Such images could be seen among

<sup>21</sup> Kořán, “Corpus Christi vitráže ze Slivence,” 58-63.

<sup>22</sup> R. G. Lane, “The Symbolic Crucifixion in the hours of Catherine of Cleves, 1440,” *Oud Holland* 87 (1973) 14-26. The published manuscript, *Speculum humanae salvationis*, probably originates from Central Europe c. 1430.

<sup>23</sup> Jan Chlíbec, in *Mistr Týnské Kalvarie. Pražská řezbářská dílna předhusitské doby*, Katalog NG 1990, 35-39, nn. 6, 7.



the frescos of the vaulted ceiling of St Gothard's Church in Slaný, on the vaulted ceiling of the gallery of St. Barbara's Church in Kutná Hora and – in a primitive sculptural rendition – in the wainscoting of the pointed arch on the façade of the decanal Church of the Virgin Mary in Písek. All the three towns were Utraquist when the images appeared, and hence I wish once again to set forth the hypothesis that the dogmatic content of these depictions had a certain relationship to Utraquist teaching. It is relevant, however, to note earlier appearances of this theme. In particular, a depiction of the Last Supper is placed at the feast of Corpus Christi within the initial S[acerdos in aeternum] in the Antiphonary of Bílina, dating to 1355-1365. It is presently deposited in the District Archive of Teplice [sign. 85], and has been ascribed, according to style, to the Master of the Knights of the Cross' Breviary. The manuscript has been recently published.<sup>24</sup> Among late Gothic manuscripts, the feast of Corpus Christi is accompanied by a depiction of the Last Supper with Christ blessing a chalice, for instance, in the Gradual of Smíškov, presently in Vienna [ÖNB cod. N. s. 2657]. As early as 1908, K. Čermák had called attention to Christ blessing a chalice and to the initial, which contains an enormous chalice, situated among the Evangelists' symbols.<sup>25</sup> Likewise the missal of the Benedictine Congregation in Bursfeld, dating to the early sixteenth century, contains the topos of the Last Supper as a decoration of the initial C[ibavit] at the entry for the feast of Corpus Christi, which is recorded after the feast of the Holy Trinity, depicted as the Seat of Mercy.<sup>26</sup> In his earlier quoted article, Kořán assumes that a depiction of the Last Supper was found on the original main altar of the church in Kutná Hora, dedicated to Corpus Christi and St. Barbara, and that in fact it reflected the Corpus Christi's patronal function.

The earliest known depictions in frescos include a half-figure of Christ blessing a chalice on the vaulted ceiling of the presbytery of St. Gothard's Church in Slaný.<sup>27</sup> Christ is emerging from an aureola of cloudlets and sunrays. His posture is strictly frontal, perhaps, originally surrounded by a gilded aureola. His symmetrically depicted face, in its straight forward orientation, is reminiscent of a *vera icon*, nevertheless the wavy brown hair reaches his shoulders. Christ wears a red garment, which is marked by fine drop-like folds in the sleeves, and particularly by a vertical pleating, interrupted by a tucking up at the waist. The half-figure of Christ is surrounded by white cloudlets and golden rays, which stand out against a blue background with golden stars.

The half-figure of Christ is placed in a rhombus, created by the pattern of the vaulting, and the portrait was undoubtedly accompanied – on the adjacent elongated fields of the vaulting – by the symbols of the Evangelists, and by angels

<sup>24</sup> In *Studie o rukopisech* 32 (1997-1998): Stanislav Petr, "Středověké chorální rukopisy ve Státním archivu v Teplicích," 3-35; Pavel Brodský, "Výzdoba antifonáře bílinského," 37-45; Zsuzsa Czagany, "Ein böhmisches Antiphonar aus der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts," 47-54.

<sup>25</sup> K. Čermák, "O čáslavských kancionálech," PA 23 (1908), 1-36. Most recently the composition of the Last Supper, with Christ blessing the chalice, was analyzed in detail by M. Studničková who, however, did not consider this depiction as necessarily Utraquist. The scholar presented her views on the Graduals of Kutná Hora, particularly from the iconographic and stylistic standpoints, at a conference, devoted to the art of the Jagellon period, and held at Kutná Hora in September 2000.

<sup>26</sup> P. O. Lang, "Im Kreuz ist Heil," Stiftsbibliothek Einsiedeln, Ausstellung 2000, *Katalog* n. 25, p. 29.

<sup>27</sup> Zuzana Všetěčková, "Pozdně gotické nástěnné malby v kostele sv. Gotharda ve Slaném," in: *Slaný, české město ve středověku* (Kladno and Slaný, 1997) 22-24.

bearing the *Arma Christi*, a topos which usually appears with the Man of Sorrows and with the Last Judgment. In Slaný, the Blessing Christ is depicted as the *lux mundi* with the chalice in his left hand. Jesus is here understood as the first and highest priest – he had received first and then distributed to others. The presence of the chalice in Christ’s hand might reflect the vessel’s significance in the early, the middle, and the late phases of the Bohemian Reformation, when the chalice came to symbolize the eucharist, and could be interpreted as a pictorial expression of communion *sub utraque*, reintroduced by Jakoubek in 1414.

In my opinion, the Blessing Christ with a chalice, as a devotional image, was extracted from the ensemble of the Last Supper, which is keynoted by the Gospel statement (Mt 26, 27-28): “Then he took a cup, and after giving thanks he gave it to [the apostles], saying, ‘Drink from it, all of you; for this is my blood of the covenant, which is poured out for many for the forgiveness of sins’.”

Depictions of the Last Supper with Christ blessing the chalice are relatively rare, but we encounter one on the winged altar in Kwidzyn [Marienwerden] in Poland from the period 1378-1409, when its donor was Johann Mönch, bishop of Pomerania. The design of the panel paintings indicates that the adoration was addressed to Sacrament of the Altar by showing the image of the Last Supper on the left, and on the right, the image of a holy deacon exhibiting a monstrance on the altar. A more recent altar is of relevance in Bohemia. Now located in the National Gallery, it was originally designed probably for the Utraquist church in Nový Bydžov. J. Pešina has dated this panel altar to the year 1530.<sup>28</sup> The altar emphasizes that the eucharist should be adored in both kinds. The central panel contains the image of the Last Supper with Christ blessing a chalice; on the left panel, we see a priest who is blessing a chalice while, on the right panel, another cleric holds a ciborium with hosts. The fifteenth-century frescoes in the Church of St. Lawrence under Petřín Hill in Prague also depict a priest who – with his back toward the altar – holds a chalice in his right hand, and a book in his left one.<sup>29</sup>

The origin of the Utraquist chalice was analyzed by Milena Bartlová from the iconographical point of view. Perhaps, we may define the relationship between the chalice and communion *sub utraque* by quoting her words as “the basic sign of identification of the entire Hussite community, whereby the entire movement had acquired a common visible sign of distinction from the Roman party.”<sup>30</sup> We can see a certain connection with the feast of Corpus Christi also here. The town of Slaný evidently still celebrated the feast of the Body and Blood of Christ in the sixteenth century. The document, introducing the rules of the potters’ guild, working in Slaný, states in its heading for the year 1565: “On Friday after the remembrance of the Body and Blood of Christ the Lord,” that is 26 June. The iconography of frescoes on the presbyterium’s vault in St. Gothard’s Church probably reflected the religious

<sup>28</sup> A. S. Labuda, “Malarstwo tablicowe państwa krzyżackiego drugiej połowy XIV. wieku,” in *Malarstwo gotyckie na Pomorzu wschodniem* (Poznań, 1990) 82-85. - J. Pešina, *Česká malba pozdní gotiky a renesance* (Prague, 1950) 134.

<sup>29</sup> J. Č., P. V., and Z. V(šetečková), “Kostel sv. Vavřince v Nebovidech,” in P. Vlček, and others, *Umělecké památky Prahy: Malá Strana* (Prague, 1999) 602-605.

<sup>30</sup> Milena Bartlová, “Původ husitského kalicha z ikonografického hlediska,” *Umění* 44 (1996) 167-183.

themes of late Utraquism, when Slaný together with four other towns adhered to the communion *sub utraque*.<sup>31</sup>

Using the criterion of style, František Velc has already called attention to the close analogy between the paintings of Slaný and the angels in the Mintner's Chapel of St. Barbara's Church in Kutná Hora, which Josef Krása dated to the post-1463 period. Nevertheless a few decades later, even this church was decorated in its vaulted gallery by paintings of Christ blessing the chalice and surrounded by angels, Old Testament prophets, and symbols of the evangelists.<sup>32</sup>

Christ blessing a chalice is also encountered in a rectangular relief, evidently sculpted as a supplement with other topoi into an older arch on the façade of the decanal church of the Virgin Mary in Písek.<sup>33</sup> Placed at the point of the arch, the relief evidently was a visual symbol of the sacrament of the altar, instituted by Christ on Maundy Thursday. In addition, an adoration of the Corpus Christi was probably likewise expressed by the two angels on the left, who once bore a (now lost) chalice. The liturgy of Corpus Christi retold the Easter story as well as the words of Christ: "Hic est calix novum testamentum meo sanguine" [cf. Lk.22:20]. [A later sermon, recorded in a Catholic homiliary in Písek, contained the words: "Accipite et manducate hoc est corpus meum. Corpus Christi manducare et sanguinem bibere non est aliud in Christo manere." It remains uncertain whether the feast of Corpus Christi was also symbolized by the Man of Sorrows with a chalice on the western façade of the church in Písek. The appearance of the chalice might indicate this but, if the rail marks a sarcophagus, then this Christ – produced in a deeper relief – should be rather interpreted as the Man of Sorrows of Good Friday. It is no longer possible to establish the gestures of his arms, whether crossed on his chest, or raised in a prayerful way to signify Christ as intercessor. Aside from a whole series of other works of art, a certain analogy is once more offered by the paintings in St. James's Church of Kutná Hora, which depict the Man of Sorrows as an intercessor with the chalice at the lower left side. Here is a solitary depiction of the chalice with the motto "weritas wincit" which, incidentally, is the same as the one on a flag in the illumination on f. 56<sup>a</sup> in the younger Jena Codex.

The question, whether Christ blessing a chalice had a Utraquist or a dogmatic significance, can be most likely resolved on the basis of the Utraquist orientation of the three royal towns – Slaný, Kutná Hora, and Písek.

The subsequent interpretation of the chalice by the Protestant Reformation is documented by a woodcut by Dürer from 1523, in which the chalice is accompanied at the Last Supper by a platter, a basket of bread, and pitcher with wine.<sup>34</sup> Scholars have viewed this composition as expressing a mandate for communion from the chalice also for the laity.

<sup>31</sup> Všetěčková, "Pozdně gotické nástěnné malby v kostele sv. Gotharda," 22-24.

<sup>32</sup> František Velc, *Soupis památek historických a uměleckých v politickém okrese Slánském* (Prague, 1904) 226-231; Josef Krása, "Nástěnná malba," in *Pozdně gotické umění v Čechách* (Prague, 1979) 258-275; Zuzana Všetěčková, "Kutná Hora, chrám sv. Barbory," in *Středověká nástěnná malba ve středních Čechách: Průzkumy památek* 1999, Supplement, 78-90.

<sup>33</sup> Zuzana Všetěčková, "Pozdně gotická reliéfní výzdoba západního průčelí kostela," in: *Středověký kostel Panny Marie v Písku*, edd. Jan Adámek, Jiří Sommer, Zuzana Všetěčková (Písek, 2001) 131-140.

<sup>34</sup> G. S., in *Martin Luther und die Reformation in Deutschland* (Nuremberg GNM, 1983) 407.

Karel Stejskal has recently called attention to two scenes of the Last Supper, which are depicted in the manuscript of the Life of Christ, presently deposited in Vienna as Codex 485 from the 1440s.<sup>35</sup> F. 54<sup>b</sup> depicts the Last Supper with standing Apostles, and with the Lamb of God and a chalice on the table. Christ's right arm is lifted and his left one points to the slain Lamb on the platter. The text in Old Czech states: "We czwtrotek weczer Gezis gedl beranka welikonocznego. Wedle prikazani bozieho rka: S weliku zadosti zadal jsem tohoto beranka s vami giest, prwe nez bich vmrzal. A potom pily su wino z kalicha, ktere nebylo krew bozi, ale wino, ktere znamenal krew bozi, jako beranek znamenal tielo bozzie. [On Thursday evening Christ ate the paschal lamb. According to the divine commandment, he said: 'With a strong desire I wished to eat this lamb with you, before I died.' And then they drank wine from the chalice; it was not the blood of God but wine, which signified the blood of God, just as the lamb signified the body of Christ.] Cristus manducavit agnus pascale." (Lk 22:14-16) Interestingly, the words "they drank wine from the chalice; it was not the blood of God but wine, which signified the blood of God, just as the lamb signified the body of Christ" may be construed as a tilt toward Wyclif's teaching of remanence, which was also adopted by the Taborites. The Viennese Life of Christ is not a canonical text, but a compilation of Gospel excerpts, as the insertion of the following image indicates. In it (f. 55<sup>b</sup>) Christ washes the feet of all his disciples with his garment on Holy Thursday, according to Jn 13:3ff: Cristus lavat pedes discipulos. Next the scene of Last Supper (f. 55<sup>b</sup>) shows Christ, sitting with his disciples around a table. His right hand gives a blessing, the left one holds a host marked with a cross, that is the holy body; the table contains only a chalice, that is the holy blood. The text reads: "A wzew rucho swe y sedl za stuol. a tu vcedlnikom dal swe swate tielo a swu swatu krew a potom zarmutiw se powiediel, ze jeden z nich ma gehu zraditi ktoz by s nym v misu sahl. Potom powiediel Janowi, ze komu podam skywku omoczeniu, tent mie ma zraditi. A potey skywce wysssel wen Gidas. A Gezis krasne a dluhe kazanie vcinil. O milovani sweho bliznieho, ktere se czte w swatky po welice noczi az do swateho ducha. [And having put on his garment, he sat at the table, and there he gave the disciples his holy body and his holy blood; then sadly he said that one of them will betray him, one who was eating from the same platter with him. Then he told John: 'To whom I will hand a dipped piece of bread, that one will betray me.' And that piece of bread pointed out Judas. And Jesus then preached a beautiful sermon about the love of one's neighbor, which is read on feasts from Easter until Pentecost.] Cena dmca corporis et sanguinis xri." These statements are again free renderings from Mt 26:26, and Jn 13:26 ff. Karel Stejskal has commented that the inspirer of the two scenes of the Last Supper must have been an adherent of the Pikhart (or Wyclifite-Taborite) orientation, inasmuch as the text under the first one – the Last Supper with the lamb and the chalice – expressed in Czech the teaching of remanence. He has located the document's probable origin in Utraquist Bohemia rather than in Moravia, as Krása had earlier done.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>35</sup> Stejskal analyzed the Life of Christ, Vienna ÖNB, cod. 485, in a lecture, delivered in the Center for Medieval Studies in the spring of 2000, and as a part of a broader explication of manuscripts of the Utraquist era. The author prepared a CD-ROM with a commentary concerning the manuscript. K. Stejskal, "Český Nový zákon," in: *Od gotiky k renesanci*, ed. K. Chamonikola. (Brno, 1999) 496-498.

<sup>36</sup> J. Krása was the first to call attention to the Viennese Life of Christ, see his "Studie o rukopisech doby husitské," *Umění* 22 (1974) 17-50.

In my opinion, the Viennese manuscript likewise documents how lively was the discussion between the teaching of remanence, on the one hand, and the dogmatically understood transubstantiation, supported by Jan Rokycana, on the other hand. In his analysis of the synod of Kutná Hora in 1441, Rudolf Urbánek explained Rokycana's stand against the Taborite priests, in which he had rejected precisely the teaching about remanence.<sup>37</sup> In 1468, in his letter against the Brethren's demeanour, Rokycana blamed them "that they separated from the general priesthood, that they, on their own authority, elected laymen to the offices of priests and bishops, and furthermore that they refused to adore the Body of Christ in the sacrament."<sup>38</sup> The noted compositions of Last Supper in the Viennese Life of Christ suggest what an important place these depictions occupied in the confrontation between the moderate Utraquists and the more radical Wyclifites on the issue of remanence.

For the reasons already cited, we can perhaps considered as truly Utraquist the noted depictions of Christ blessing the chalice in the scenes of the Last Supper, which relate to the feast of the Body and Blood of Christ.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> Rudolf Urbánek, *Věk poděbradský 4 vv.* (Prague, 1915-1962) 1:822-823.

<sup>38</sup> Kamil Krofta, "Mistr Jan Rokycana," in *Duchovní odkaz husitství* (Prague, 1946) 177-205; František Šimek, *Jan Rokycana: Obránce pravdy a zákona Božího* (Prague, 1949) 81 ff.; "Z traktátu O přijímání krve," *ibid.* 203-212.

<sup>39</sup> Depictions of the Last Supper and of the Collection of Manna, together with a priest distributing communion in both kinds, are exemplified by a little known altar panel of Göttingen from c. 1500, presently in Hanover. The altar is discussed in H. G. Gmelin, "Neufunde spätgotische Tafelmalerei in Niedersachsen," in: *De arte et libris* (Amsterdam, 1984) 199-215.





1. The Man of Sorrows  
Breviary of Opatowice, Cracow, Metrop. Wawel,  
fol. 80b about 1380.



2. The Man of Sorrows  
Glass window from Slivence Parish Church,  
now Prague, UPM. About 1380.





3. The Man of Sorrows  
Panel painting in the Museum of České Budějovice.  
About 1440-50.



4. Christ Blessing the Chalice.  
Wall painting in St. Godards Church in Slaný.  
Second half 15<sup>th</sup> c.



5. Christ Blessing the Chalice  
Wall painting in St. Barbaras Church, Kutná Hora.  
About 1500.



6. The Last Supper  
Panel painting from Nový Bydžov.  
National Gallery, Prague. About 1530.



7. The Last Supper  
 New Testament, Vienna, ÖNB cod. 485 f. 54b.  
 About 1440.



**A** wżew ucho swie nase v sedl za stul. atv vrodlnom  
 dal swie swate tielo a swie swate krew potom zamu-  
 tiv se powiediel. ze geden z nich ma gcho tuditi ktoz by slym  
 v msi sahl. Potom powiediel Janowi. ze tomu podam slyw  
 tu omocem. tent me ma tuditi. A potey slywa wy ssa-  
 wen Sibas. A Geris kasne a dlube kazame vaml. omilowa  
 me swacho blumcho. krew se cte w swatky powelice noat. az  
 do swateho ducha.

Cena dnica corpus et sanguis xpi

8. The Last Supper  
 New Testament, Vienna, ÖNB cod. 485 f. 55b.  
 About 1440.