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# Introduction

## The 2010 Symposium

Over fifty people participated in the Ninth Symposium of the Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice held from 23–25 June 2010. Of these, twenty-three presented papers providing for three very full days of reflection and animated discussion. The symposium, since 2008, has been held under the auspices of the Collegium Europaeum – Research Group for the History of European Ideas which is, itself, jointly sponsored by the Philosophical Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic and the Philosophical Faculty of the Charles University. The symposium was held at the newly finished Academic Conference Centre of the Academy of Sciences located in the heart of the Old Town of Prague and which is equipped with all the modern technological facilities that have become a necessity for academic conferences today as well as providing a pleasant and comfortable work environment. Once again, David R. Holeton and Zdeněk V. David organised the symposium but could not have done so without the support of Petr Hlaváček. Coordinator of the Collegium Europaeum, and his colleague Ota Pavlíček.

This volume contains eighteen of the papers presented at the 2010 Symposium. Zdeněk David, remained principal translator into English and all but one of the articles submitted in Czech is his handiwork. Jan Volek translated one article as a test to see if he might get the taste to become a regular BRRP translator. David Holeton continued as principal editor of the texts but was joined by Phillip Haberkern who has been added to the editorial team as Assistant Editor. We are grateful to Grace Leahey and Aislyn Kavaldjan who served as research assistants to Zdeněk David at the Woodrow Wilson Center in Washington and who did some very careful copy reading before passing texts on to Prague for editing. Dan Török has taken on the job of formatting our texts for which he also deserves our gratitude.

## Vilém Herold

Not long after the end of the 2012 Symposium of the BRRP many were greatly saddened by the news of the death of Vilém Herold who can, in many senses

be regarded as the founding patron of the BRRP. During the proceedings of the one-day symposium on the Bohemian Reformation held in the context of the 1994 World Congress of the Czechoslovak Society of Arts and Sciences (*Společnost pro vědy a umění – SVU*) at the Technical University in Prague (ČVUT), Vilém Herold approached the symposium's organisers and offered to see the papers published should we be able to gather, translate and edit them. Two years later, at the next meeting of the symposium, Vilém Herold arrived just before the opening session followed by an assistant carrying a large box with copies of BRRP 1 in hand – still warm from the press.

When, in 2000, BRRP had grown to a size where it could become a self-standing organization, it was Vilém Herold who undertook to find the funds to underwrite our meetings at the Vila Lanna Conference Centre in Prague's Bubeneč district. As Ota Pavlíček, a recent disciple and junior colleague of Herold, has written:<sup>1</sup> It was remarkable that – despite the burden of all his important posts and functions – Vilém Herold was always ready to help others. His demanding posts, just to name the principal ones, was service from 1993 as a member of the Academic Council of the Academy of Sciences of the Czech Republic (AV ČR), holding a position on its executive board, which was responsible for the area of the humanities and social sciences. Later he served as Director of the Philosophical Institute of AV ČR, and as head of the Institute's Division of Early Czech and European Philosophy which he significantly expanded. A good example of his readiness to assist in a challenging cause was this present symposia series, *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice* (BRRP), which has dealt with manifold aspects of the phenomenon of the Bohemian Reformation. Since its beginning in the 1990s, he found a place for the series within the framework of the Academy (initially within the Library of the Academy of Sciences), and assisted the editors and later his friends, David HOLETOV and Zdeněk David, with the independent status of BRRP, its organization, and the publication of its periodic volumes of which the present one is the ninth. He also helped in shifting the activities of BRRP into a new institutional framework to come by 2008 under the auspices of the Collegium Europaenum-Research Group for the History of European Ideas, under the leadership of Petr Hlaváček, and with the *Filosofický časopis* becoming the publisher of the BRRP series. The symposia series, which is now (since 1994) enjoying a twenty year long tradition, undoubtedly would not have attained the high distinction, for which it is known today, had it not been for Herold's participation, documented also by his carefully maintained archive of correspondence, as well as his regular scholarly contributions to the BRRP symposia.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ota Pavlíček, "In memoriam Vilém Herold," trans. Zdeněk V. David, *Bulletin de philosophie médiévale* 54 (2012) 523–532 and idem, "Odešel Vilém Herold (15. 9. 1933 – 10. 9. 2012)," *FČ* 60,6 (2012) 944–953.

<sup>2</sup> Vilém Herold regularly published articles, translated by Zdeněk V. David, in the BRRP: "Platonic Ideas and 'Hussite' Philosophy," BRRP 1(1996) 13–17; "How Wyclifite Was the Bohemian Reformation?" BRRP 2 (1998) 25–37; "The University of Paris and the

In the last volume, we asked three specialists representing various areas of research related to the Bohemian Reformation to write on the future directions they envisage for their disciplines. For this volume, we have asked Pavel Kolář to write about liturgy and sacramental theology and Petr Hlaváček to write about the Confessional Identity of the Czech Utraquist Church.

## Liturgy

From the beginning, the study of liturgy and liturgical practice in the Bohemian Reformation has occupied a firmly established place within the programme of the BRRP symposia, especially thanks to the scholarly specialisation of one of their founders, Professor David R. Holeton. Because of its character, the liturgical life of the Utraquist Church is a particularly suitable subject for a multidisciplinary approach. In the past, scholarship in this field was characterised by studies and publications in which their authors applied heterogeneous criteria: dogmatic (the dispute about remanence and lay communion *sub utraque*), musicological, literary, art historical, codicological, historiographic, and others. A special mark of the BRRP symposia has been to place the extant study of the liturgical practice during the Reformation into the context of liturgics, that is, the theological study of liturgy. Appropriate attention has not always been paid to the theological approach in the study of the Utraquist liturgical practice. Liturgical life with all its concrete manifestations can be rightfully regarded as one of the significant historic-cultural phenomena, and to be thus studied. From the viewpoint of liturgics these are important, but nevertheless secondary characteristics, because the primary meaning of liturgics is the celebration of God. The specific task of liturgics – in the context of the multidisciplinary study of Utraquist liturgical practice – is an integration of the bits of knowledge and approaches from the historical sciences and art historical disciplines within the framework of theological hermeneutics.

A natural way how to develop and apply the multidisciplinary approach to the study of the liturgical life in the Bohemian Reformation is the preparation of a critical edition of liturgical sources. Scholarly cooperation, as well as individual initiatives of members of the BRRP collegium have resulted, above all, in the scholarly series *Liturgica Bohemica*, edited by Professor Holeton and Docent Hana Vlhová-Wörner (including *Jistebnický kancionál*, *Litoměřický gradual*), as well as the publication of *Graduale Bohemorum*:

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Foundations of the Bohemian Reformation," BRRP 3 (2000) 15–24; "Wyclif's Ecclesiology and Its Prague Context," BRRP 4 (2002) 15–30; "Štěpán of Pálec and the Archetypal World of Ideas," BRRP 5/1 (2004) 77–87; "Vojtěch Raňkův of Ježov (Adalbertus Rankonis de Ericinio) and the Bohemian Reformation," BRRP 7 (2009) 72–79; "Master Jan Hus and St. Augustine," BRRP 8 (2011) 44–53.

*Proprium sanctorum*, edited by Jiří Žůrek. Because of the financial exactions and labour intensity, required by preparation of critical editions, it becomes a major task of further progress to select – for the preparation of such editions – the most salient liturgical sources that appropriately represent the overall character, as well as the heterogeneity of liturgical life in Utraquist Bohemia.

The work on critical editions of liturgical sources has gradually generated diverse databases. While musicological database of liturgical chants (musical settings for the ordinarium and proprium) and songs has grown remarkably, we still entirely lack an analogous database of liturgical prayers. Yet, this is an indispensable condition for the study of the mutual (genetic) relations among the individual Utraquist liturgical sources, or – as the case may be – of their dependence on agenda of Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, or other provenance. Because of the vernacular character of the Bohemian liturgy, it likewise becomes necessary to promote the study of contemporary translation practices not only from Latin, but also from modern European languages. Otherwise, it will become difficult to find sources of Czech liturgical prayers from foreign tongues, especially for the second half of the sixteenth century.

The study of the Utraquist liturgical tradition rests mainly on the extant manuscript or printed liturgical sources. Some of them, however, are of such a character that it is difficult to determine their actual relation to the concrete liturgical practice. An additional significant area of study is therefore the sources of administrative nature, especially the records of the Utraquist Consistory that contain disciplinary proceedings against Utraquist priests. Some of them are explicitly concerned with issues of violating the liturgical order or the liturgical customs of the Utraquist church. Thanks to these records, it has become possible to place certain liturgical manuscripts into a concrete context. These sources likewise help to discover the degree of authority applied within the administration of the Utraquist Church to the issues of liturgical practice and to its gradual diversification.

With a certain form of individualisation of liturgical practice since the mid-sixteenth century, there appears also an additional question worthy of scholarly interest within the framework of the BRRP, namely, the question of liturgical erudition and competence of Utraquist priests. It seems that some of them acquired heterogeneous excerpts from liturgical books, or copies of various prayers that appealed to them and that appeared suitable for certain occasions. From these materials, “local agenda” were constructed. Adam Táborský and Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský did not hide their desire to see their thus constructed agenda spread for a common use within the entire Utraquist church. The study of these heterogeneous texts – as to their quality, contents, and length – might in many ways help elucidate this issue of liturgical freelancing.

## The Confessional Identity of the Czech Utraquist Church

One of the key themes of research on the Bohemian Reformation, which our symposium has touched only marginally, is the problem of transformations in the ecclesial or confessional identity of the Czech Utraquist Church during the two hundred years of its existence.

The question of the construction of collective identities and their transformation on the cusp between the Middle Ages and modern times is a key topic in contemporary Humanities. Religious or confessional identities significantly formed both the particular identity of European nations and the specific cultural and political entity of Europe as a whole.

A uniquely autonomous development can be followed in the example of the Kingdom of Bohemia. Czech political and religious elites in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries already were considered to be among the avant-garde of Western Christianity. A Czech mesianism appeared and Czechs saw themselves as a “New Israel” and the *sacrosancta natio bohémica*, i.e. a chosen people called to reform the entire Universal Church. This trend grew during the reign of the Bohemian King and Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV († 1378), who extended the Kingdom of Bohemia and turned Prague into one of the most important centres of the Holy Roman Empire and of all Europe. He also began the process now known as the Bohemian Reformation closely connected with the Prague University.

Jan Hus was burned in 1415 at Constance; by the following year he was being celebrated in the churches of Bohemia as a holy martyr. There was a growing eschatological tendency in the Bohemian Kingdom by which Czechs saw themselves as a “holy remnant”, which defied the coming Antichrist. Confronted by theological opponents and crusaders (1420–1431) a specific ecclesial consciousness was born whose hallmark became the distribution of the eucharist sub utraque specie. Following negotiations with the Council of Basel and the Basel Compactata (1433/36) the Czech Utraquist Church, which was considered a legitimate part of the Western Church, was established in Bohemia (and partly in Moravia). Initially, recognised by Rome as a separate liturgical rite, from 1462 it was perceived as schismatic. Finally, and this is our working hypothesis, the Church itself was considered as a specific ecclesial (or confessional) entity. In 1485 the Czech Utraquist Church settled with the Roman Church in Bohemia the so-called religious Peace of Kutná Hora out of which was born the “tolerance of necessity”. Interaction with the Roman Church, the radical Hussites (Taborites) and later with the Unity of Brethren, as well as from the experience with Eastern Christianity began in the Czech context the unique challenge to search for new definitions of the Church’s Catholicity/Universality.

The Czech Utraquist Church represented this branch of the Bohemian Reformation, which remained firmly anchored in ancient and medieval theological tradition. This church retained all the instruments of

traditional Christianity: the historic/apostolic succession, a firm belief in the Real Presence of Christ in Eucharist, the seven sacraments, veneration to the saints, images, liturgical books and vestments. From the perspective of the Roman (Catholic) Church the Czech Utraquists, after the repeal of the Basel Compactata in 1462, were regarded primarily as “schismatics”. They had a very reserved attitude to the Bishop of Rome (pope), insisted on communion “under both kinds”, practiced communion of children (*communio parvulorum*), venerated Saint Jan Hus and other new Utraquist saints, to whom they built altars. Its parish communities and deaneries in Bohemia (and Moravia) were administered by the elected archbishop Jan Rokycana until the year 1471 and then by the Utraquist Consistory in Prague headed by its Administrator until 1621. In the sixteenth century it came to occupy a middle position between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. Utraquist ecclesiology – after its eschatological phase of the early fifteenth century – was non-confrontational.

A major turning point was the birth of the European “reformations” of the sixteenth century, which also gained followers in the Kingdom of Bohemia. In our future research we want to verify how adequate are older terms such as their designation as “Hussites”, “Old Utraquism”, “New Utraquism” or “Reform Utraquism”, i.e. how the Czech Utraquist Church has retained its own confessional dynamics and identity. Who can be considered in the sixteenth century as the legitimate heirs of the Utraquist tradition? Did the removal in 1567 of the Basel Compactata from Bohemian law effectively end the continuity of the Czech Utraquist Church? Did Utraquism become just a symbol, a kind of refuge, for illegal confessions in Bohemia? How is the *Confessio Bohemica* of 1575 to be interpreted in light of this change? Is it an attempt to create a *Landeskirche* for all Bohemia? And the Letter of Majesty from 1609? Was it a way to unify Czech non-Catholics or a unique attempt to form a pluralist federation from different confessions and traditions? How does the “Czech situation” apply to the postulates of contemporary research on reformation history with the conception of so-called “confessionalisation”? These questions (both old and new) remain important for future research on the Bohemian Reformation, and especially on the Czech Utraquist Church, within our international symposium on the Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice.

Petr Hlaváček

The BRRP web page ([www.brrp.org](http://www.brrp.org)) continues to be well used. It is reported that 2013 saw 50,000 “hits” and it is clear from correspondence we have received and publications we have read that scholars from around the world who have no access to printed copies of the journal are reading and citing the internet version which is page accurate. We remain grateful to Professor David Mengel of Xavier University in Cincinnati who is responsible for the website.

The Tenth Symposium of the BRRP was held at the Academic Conference Centre from 20–22 June 2012 at which twenty-seven of its over fifty participants presented papers. The editorial process for the tenth volume of BRRP which will contain those papers is already underway. The Eleventh Symposium of BRRP will take place in Prague from 18–20 June 2014. Because 2015 marks the six hundredth anniversary of the death of Jan Hus at Constance, it was suggested at the Business Meeting at the end of our last symposium that this, our eleventh, symposium focus more specifically on the life and work of Jan Hus, those associated with him and his heritage in Bohemia and in the world over the ensuing centuries than has been our custom. From the titles of the papers proposed, it is clear that this wish is being fulfilled.

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