

in Bohemia, this is a startling lacuna. In this essay I would like to provide a basic framework for a deeper examination of these issues and then make a few preliminary observations. But to begin, a brief review of basic facts about the peculiar case of Bohemia may be in order.

The Rise and Fall of the Reformation in Bohemia

In the Kingdom of Bohemia (and in the adjacent and incorporated but largely autonomous Margravate of Moravia), the breakdown of religious uniformity dates to the fifteenth century.¹ Here, the Reformation started a century before the outbreak of the Lutheran movement. The Hussite revolution of 1419–1434 not only destroyed the institutional structures of the Roman church in wide areas of Bohemia (and to some extent Moravia) and facilitated the secularization of its properties but also gave rise to a body of reformed teaching and to a largely autonomous Calixtine or Utraquist church. The reception of communion in both kinds—*sub utraque*—was its essential characteristic and its constitutive symbol. Utraquist belief was sanctioned by the so-called *Compactata*, a compromise settlement that was negotiated with the Hussites at the Council of Basel in 1433 and proclaimed as law in 1436. The dependence of the Utraquist church on Rome was reduced to the principle of apostolic succession (Utraquist priests were ordained by bishops of the Roman church), and its organizational structure was based on a wholly independent administration and jurisdiction under its own administrator and consistory. Thus, Bohemia and Moravia were in fact divided by faith long before the German Protestant Reformation began.

For several decades after the *Compactata*, the balance between the Calixtine and Catholic camps was particularly unstable, as the papal curia endeavored to put an end to the schism by provoking Catholic magnates to rebel and foreign rulers to intervene. But the peace of 1485 between the major religious factions definitively secured the coexistence of two creeds in Bohemia. Although the doctrinal divergences between the Roman church and the Utraquists do not seem unbridgeable when viewed in light of the Reformations of the sixteenth century, and although the Utraquist church never disavowed apostolic succession, the jurisdictional and administrative split turned out to be durable in practice. The otherness of Utraquist belief and the autonomy of the Utraquist church, guarded by the Utraquist estates of Bohemia, outlasted all attempts at ecclesiastical union. The church maintained its independence until its destruction in the seventeenth century.²

Secondly, in eastern Bohemia after 1450, a religious sect emerged that traced its origins to the theologically radical but pacifist strands of the Hussite movement. With a pronounced separatist character, they emphasized the practical aspects of Christian life as opposed to the close study of doctrinal thought. After decades

Chapter 1

CONSTRUCTING AND CROSSING CONFESSIONAL BOUNDARIES

The High Nobility and the Reformation of Bohemia



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For any historian who has ever dealt with the history of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, the Kingdom of Bohemia has been a familiar place. Given the broadly recognized particularity and importance of the historical processes taking place in this territory, significant research has been invested here. Besides the local historiography, the contribution of international scholarship has been remarkable. With respect to all this research, however, a marked deficit in our knowledge—and thus an interesting challenge—remains. We have rather fragmentary knowledge of the confessional composition of the nobility in Reformation Bohemia, despite the fact that research on early modern elites in this region has been booming for two decades. This is because the issues of the Reformation have generally been viewed through the prism of either denominational or political history, mapping the emergence, doctrinal consolidation, and organizational development of the churches on the one hand, and the estates' struggle for religious tolerance, confessional liberty, and political rights on the other. Thus the denominational preferences of several prominent nobles, normally political leaders or significant patrons of confessional churches, have been highlighted, but we know little about the management of confessional diversity in the day-to-day affairs of the noble elite. Considering the unique history of the Reformation

of seclusion and occasional persecution by both Catholics and Utraquists, these "Brethren" gradually reformulated their theological position concerning political authority and social hierarchy and slowly engaged broader Bohemian society. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Brethren had established their congregations in many urban communities. They found protection from the nobility and even had sympathizers among some high-ranking families. In the 1530s, the Unity of Brethren finally opened itself to the higher estates as a group of nobles was solemnly admitted in 1530. The Brethren remained a notable presence on the confessional map of Bohemia until the triumph of the Counter-Reformation after 1620. Numerically small but influential, this religious society was organized in distinct local congregations around their houses of worship. These were independent of the existing parish structures dividing Catholic and Utraquist. Though occasionally exposed to sanctions (namely after 1547, when a large-scale persecution forced the leadership to relocate their organizational center to Moravia), the Brethren were effectively sheltered and supported by their noble patrons.³

Thirdly, given this "reformation before the Reformation," the impact of the Lutheran movement in Bohemia was more complicated than in other countries. While the regions and towns that had repulsed the Hussites and remained loyal to the Roman church during the fifteenth century (namely, though not only, the German-speaking regions of western and northern Bohemia bordering Saxony) proved to be markedly receptive to Lutheran Protestantism from its very beginnings,⁴ neither the Utraquist church nor the Brethren were ready to give up their confessional identities and merge fully with the new Reformation movement. However, the long-term relationship to the Lutheran Reformation was different in the case of the Brethren and the Utraquists. The Brethren, after a period of collaboration and exchange with Wittenberg, drifted apart from the Lutherans. In the early seventeenth century, the mutual relations between them and orthodox Lutherans were strained if not hostile. The Utraquists were more sympathetic to the German Reformation in the long run, and in fact, their theological positions were influenced by Lutheranism in the course of the sixteenth century. Consequently, as the Utraquists adopted elements of Lutheran belief and practice, they began to lose their distinctive confessional contours. In Moravia, where the organizational structure of the Utraquist church was underdeveloped, Utraquists gradually adopted Lutheran doctrine.⁵ In Bohemia, on the other hand, where the Utraquist church was organized around its autonomous consistory and the University of Prague, there were always influential voices that opposed this growing affinity. While it may be possible to distinguish between Utraquist and Lutheran within the clergy, it is much less apparent at the level of the laity. As a result, some historians have thought it necessary to make a distinction between orthodox "Old Utraquists," who inclined toward Rome rather than Wittenberg, and the Lutheran-inspired "Neo-Utraquists." Other historians, however, have insisted on the principal homogeneity and orthodoxy of Utraquism.⁶

Finally, the Swiss Reformation had an impact on the confessional situation of Bohemia as the Unity of Brethren underwent a type of "Calvinization" beginning in the last decades of the sixteenth century. The influence of Calvinism on the Brethren included the nobility as well. Many young noble members of the Brethren were sent to study at Calvinist universities in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century.⁷

With the coexistence of two beliefs and two churches since the Hussite movement, Bohemia in the sixteenth century turned out to be a truly multiconfessional territory. One of this society's distinctive features resulting from the early Reformation was the growth of toleration during the last decades of the fifteenth century. Such a phenomenon was an outcome of both the gradual acceptance of the biconfessional reality of Bohemia and the erosion of royal authority in favor of the estates—the group that profited most directly from the Hussite *Ständerevolution*.⁸ The fact that religious liberty was closely linked to the estates' privileges appears to be very important. Though new religious groups may have been exposed to persecution on a local level in certain circumstances (as with the Brethren in the early sixteenth century), and though Ferdinand I (1526–1564) attempted several times to suppress both the Brethren and the Lutherans, there was a general distaste among the Bohemian estates for the use of force in matters of conscience—an attitude that emerged as a consequence of the religious peace of 1485 that settled relations between Catholics and Utraquists. Thus, there was neither a struggle for religious uniformity nor an authority that wished to enforce such policies in Bohemia.⁹ In Moravia, the degree of religious tolerance was even higher. Even Anabaptists were integrated into rural society, becoming a part of the feudal web of relations.¹⁰ It was only in the second half of the sixteenth century that plans for religious unification on a broad scale emerged, instigated by external agents of the Counter-Reformation, and it was only in the late part of the century that attempts at radical change sporadically reached the local level.

Legal arrangements helped sustain confessional coexistence in Bohemia. As of 1436 Utraquists and Catholics possessed equal rights, and even when the pivotal *Compactata* was later rejected by Rome, it did not lose its legal force in Bohemia until the second half of the sixteenth century. In fact, the biconfessional legal arrangement protected other groups as well. Utraquism served as a type of "legal umbrella," a catch-all category for many who did not necessarily share the views and values of traditional Utraquism of the fifteenth century. In contrast, Ferdinand I insisted on a narrow definition of Utraquism and hoped to enforce the *Compactata* strictly in order to halt the spread of Lutheranism and other "heretical" sects while preserving the Catholic-Utraquist nature of Bohemia.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, the non-Catholic estates attempted to secure a more general legalization of their status. At the Diet of 1575 they negotiated the so-called *Confessio Bohemica*, a common doctrinal statement for Utraquists, Lutherans, and Brethren. Though they received only a verbal com-

mitment to honor the statement from Maximilian II, in 1609 they finally forced Rudolf II, in the course of a dynastic crisis and under extreme pressure, to sanction the *Confessio Bohemica*. Rudolf's approval by means of the so-called Letter of Majesty not only meant legal security for those of the estates espousing the *Confessio Bohemica* but also granted freedom of faith and worship to commoners. The *Confessio Bohemica* borrowed heavily from the Augsburg Confession and did not refer directly to the *Compactata*. However, the long tradition of Utraquism as a common platform for religious-political resistance continued to create solidarity among Bohemian non-Catholics and provided a common front to oppose the Habsburg kings. The self-portrayal of all non-Catholic estates as "the estates of both kinds" (*stavové pod obojí*) helped overcome doctrinal division. In the eyes of Lutheran and Calvinist theologians, however, the *Confessio Bohemica* was nothing more than a pragmatic and patchwork statement quickly compiled to achieve legal protection for their co-religionists.¹¹

The legal safeguard of 1609 did not stop the struggle between the Protestant estates and the Catholic dynasty. Rather, it helped polarize both camps. After the suppression of the Estates' Uprising of 1618–1620, the dynasty initiated an unforgiving campaign against Protestantism in the Bohemian and Austrian lands. In Bohemia, Protestant nobles were given a dire choice in 1627/28: convert or emigrate. Large-scale property confiscations that impoverished many ancient noble families and the introduction of a new and loyal foreign nobility to Bohemia in the 1620s made the process easier for the Habsburgs. Thus Catholic uniformity was quickly enforced among the kingdom's nobility in the years after 1620 and the Catholic victory at White Mountain. Several non-Catholic wives of Catholic nobles remained the only, and temporary, exception.¹²

High Nobility and the Denominations: Numbers and Contours

This is only a brief outline of the complex history of the rise and fall of the Bohemian Reformation as it is usually told. I do not intend to challenge this picture; rather, I suggest that it is worth trying to tell the story from another viewpoint, examining the confessional attitudes of noble society. Little attention has been paid to this matter. Instead, historians have traditionally written church history from an institutional and doctrinal perspective. In doing so, they have occasionally shed some light on those individual nobles who were important members or supporters of a specific religious group. Similarly, historians who examined the struggle between royal religious policy and the political maneuvering of the estates have cursorily explored the religious allegiances of the key protagonists in this contest between king and estates without placing the question of confessional affiliation in a broader diachronic framework. Naturally, biographies of individual nobles, genealogical literature, and other genres of historical writing

provide some useful, though mostly perfunctory and often repetitive, data. To this point there has been no systematic examination of the religious allegiances of the high nobility as a social class. There is not even a general survey that attempts to elucidate how nobles managed the interplay and gradual overlap of the various Reformations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹³

The scanty literature that does exist on nobles in the Bohemian Reformation is based on a series of debatable presuppositions. First, scholars have assumed that there was a more or less linear development from Utraquism to a decidedly Protestant orientation. Second, there has been a presumption that the religious composition of the nobility mirrored the broader religious makeup of society. Though historians have noticed a somewhat greater proportion of Catholics among the lords (*páni*), identifiable at the beginning of the seventeenth century, they have generally explained this fact as a result of the wave of conversions to Catholicism that began in this time. During the sixteenth century, on the other hand, Utraquist nobles seem to have turned seamlessly into Neo-Utraquists or redefined themselves as Lutherans or Brethren. According to the rough estimations we have for the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, major segments of noble society in Bohemia were predominantly Protestant; this state of affairs has then been projected back to an earlier period.¹⁴

This assumption, however, may be misleading, and the evidence indicates that reality was much more complex. In his challenging, posthumously published study of faith and piety in Bohemia under the Jagellonian kings (1471–1526), Josef Macek argues that all the families of the high nobility (*páni*) in Bohemia had returned to Rome before the Habsburgs ascended the throne in 1526.¹⁵ Though this claim may be exaggerated, Macek's assertion that Utraquism gradually lost the high nobles' support in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century is corroborated by other evidence. There was a revival of Catholic forms of piety among the high nobility around 1500. Certain Catholic aristocrats, unlike their predecessors who alienated church property during the Hussite wars, even founded new monasteries for mendicant friars in this time. If Macek's claim does have some merit, there are a number of important consequences.

First, Macek reminds us of the social distribution of confessions within the nobility. It seems that the religious profile of the lords was significantly different from that of the knights (*rytíři*) in the early sixteenth century. Knights were predominantly Utraquist while lords were predominantly Catholic. The situation may have been different in Moravia, where, according to another prominent historian, both lords and knights chiefly adopted Utraquism after the Hussite wars.¹⁶ There were substantially more knights than lords in Bohemia. But even if not all lords could be labeled as magnates (in the sense of rich, powerful, influential nobles), and even if there were several magnates who were knights, the ruling elite of the kingdom were members primarily of the high nobility. The following discussion will concentrate on the lords exclusively. Second, Macek's claim implies that the

Lutheran Reformation and the new noble participation in the Unity of Brethren may have had a greater impact on the Bohemian aristocracy than is usually supposed. If the *páni* were predominantly Catholic in the 1520s, how could it happen that only a quarter of this estate espoused the Roman faith in 1609? In fact the wave of noble conversions to Roman Catholicism had already begun in the 1590s, so it is likely that the figure estimated for 1609 may be even higher than that of two decades earlier. For Macek to be correct, dozens of nobles must have apostatized during the sixteenth century, yet no historian has examined this subject in significant detail.

Clearly, we need to examine the religious practice and conduct of the nobles more closely to be able to verify and interpret these figures. Given our present state of knowledge, this is not an easy job. The so-called *tituláře* (registers enumerating names and titles of all adult noblemen in the kingdom and published several times throughout the sixteenth century) list approximately 200–300 male members of the lords' estate in Bohemia.¹⁷ These several hundred noblemen and probably as many noblewomen belonged to several dozen families, some of them with multiple branches, others with only a few members. The available literature, however, allows us to reconstruct the long-term confessional profiles of only a few of these houses. I offer four examples here.

The story is quite simple in the case of the lords of Jindřichův Hradec (Neuhaus). Although a branch of the family joined the Utraquist party during the Hussite wars, the house seems to have been faithfully obedient to the Roman church afterward, from the middle of the fifteenth century until 1604 when it died out in the male line. The male descendants preferred to marry Catholics, although several interconfessional marriages took place as well. Jindřich/Henry (d. 1507), one of the leaders of the Catholic party and a devout promoter of the Marian cult, married the daughter of a prominent Utraquist nobleman from Moravia. Another example is provided by Zacharias (1527–1589), whose second wife Anna Hedvika funded a Czech edition of a book by Lucas Osiander in 1589—an apparent sign of her sympathy for the Reformation. From the 1540s on, Jáchym (1526–1565) even had a brother-in-law who supported the outlawed Unity of Brethren (and was punished by royal sanctions in 1547), though he supposedly joined the Brethren only after he married Jáchym's sister in 1543. During its last generation the family became more militantly Catholic. In 1594 they helped the Jesuits establish a college in the family's residential town of Jindřichův Hradec. In order to safeguard the family's patrimony in Catholic hands, the family also contributed to the conversion of a relative who became Catholic before he married the sister and heiress of the last lord of Jindřichův Hradec. This relative was the famous Vilém/William Slavata (1572–1652), the highest-ranking of those three Catholic radicals defenestrated by the Protestant estates in 1618.¹⁸

The lords of Rožmberk (Rosenberg), one of the wealthiest Bohemian families, made up the kingdom's most prominent house. They follow a similar pattern, but

the end of their story is different. After some hesitation at the beginning of the Hussite revolution, the Rožmberks became fierce opponents of radical Hussitism. They were involved in all the major military confrontations between Catholics and Calixtines up to the peace settlement of 1485. The family maintained their Catholic affiliation into the sixteenth century, even when Petr of Rožmberk (1462–1523) married an Utraquist noblewoman in 1483 after promising to respect her faith. In the late 1550s, however, Petr Vok/Peter Wok (1539–1611), the younger of two brothers in the last generation, wavered as his Lutheran sympathies slowly grew. After a long period of internal reflection, and after a critical marriage to a young noblewoman who was heiress to a domain in Moravia belonging to a house that supported the Brethren, he joined his wife's church in 1582. Later, he became a devoted benefactor of the Brethren and one of their most influential patrons. He even left a sizable bequest in his will to establish a school for adherents of the *Confessio Bohemica*. His brother Vilém/William of Rožmberk (1535–1592) stood in decided contrast. Though he did not hesitate to marry two German Lutherans for reasons of prestige and politics (1557, 1561), he became a more ardent Catholic supporter in the 1580s, and with encouragement from the papal nuncio, he launched the Counter-Reformation in his own domain.¹⁹

In contrast, the religious profile of the lords of Kunštát and Poděbrady changed markedly and repeatedly. Viktorín (d. 1427), the founder of this family branch, was a zealous supporter of the Utraquists. His only son Jiří/George (1420–1471), due to his social connections, economic resources, and diplomatic gifts, eventually became the leader of the Utraquist party among the Bohemian estates. As such, he played a central role in the regency before young King Ladislav entered his majority. After Ladislav's death, Jiří was even elected king of Bohemia by the estates in 1458, which resulted in new tensions between Utraquists and the Roman curia and led to a new series of wars as malcontent Catholic magnates allied with Mathias Corvinus, the interventionist king of Hungary. Realizing the impossibility of ensuring the succession of his descendants, Jiří worked to ensure that his sons would at least have a privileged social position among the nobility of Bohemia and in the incorporated territories. Besides being heirs to their father's domain in eastern Bohemia, the sons became lords of several duchies in adjacent and purely Catholic Silesia, there establishing a new social identity as "dukes of Münsterberg." In order to preserve this uneasy legacy in a delicate religious environment, all four sons renounced Utraquism soon after the "Hussite king" had died.

Within one generation, the Poděbrads/Münsterbergs lost most of their landed property in Bohemia, and by the beginning of the sixteenth century their fortunes lay in Silesia, although they repeatedly sought marriage alliance with Bohemian nobles. For several decades, they fully observed their new role as Catholic princes, placing daughters in cloisters, burying family members in Catholic churches (preferably monasteries), and preferring Catholic marriage partners. But

the return to Catholicism did not last more than two generations. The growth and spread of Lutheranism changed the family strategy once again. After several female members of the family had left nunneries in the 1520s, and after Karel/Charles of Münsterberg (1476–1536), who had earlier flirted with Protestantism, had died, his sons joined the German Reformation. By 1540, the descendants of the Hussite king in the paternal line were Lutherans, and they remained so until the dynasty died out in 1647.²⁰

Finally, there is the similar but even more colorful story of the lords of Pernštejn. They were a high noble family from Moravia who expanded their domain to Bohemia around 1500, quickly becoming one of the wealthiest houses of the region. After the Hussite wars, the scions of the family held with the Utraquist estates. Even during the reign of Mathias Corvinus—who, after his election as a rival king in 1471, usurped Moravia and other territories from the Kingdom of Bohemia—Vilém/William of Pernštejn (1438–1521) remained Utraquist. Only after the death of Corvinus in 1490 did Vilém convert in order to win the favor of the Jagiellonian king who had succeeded the Hungarian as ruler of Moravia. Both of his sons, however, returned to Utraquism again, and Jan/John of Pernštejn (1487–1548) even supported the Utraquist church's doctrinal shift toward the German Reformation. The generation of his sons eventually split. The youngest son Vojtěch/Albert (1532–1561) kept his father's faith while opposing the Brethren, to whose teaching his wife inclined. In contrast, his brothers Jaroslav (1528–1560) and Vratislav (1530–1582) joined the Roman church. In 1555, Vratislav married a Spaniard, an attendant of the future Empress Mary. She helped create a purely Catholic network of relatives and succeeded in transforming the Pernštejns into religious militants and sympathizers of the Counter-Reformation.²¹

Thus we have four stories displaying different ways of managing religious diversity within a noble house over five or six generations: lords of Jindřichův Hradec, keeping the Catholic faith; lords of Rožmberk, holding with Rome in the era of confessional dualism though splintering afterward; lords of Kunštát and Poděbrady (later dukes of Münsterberg) becoming Utraquists, then converting to the Roman church before joining the Lutheran Reformation; and the lords of Pernštejn, abandoning Utraquism, then adopting it again in a more radical form, and then reverting to Rome. If we move from secondary literature to source material, we could easily multiply these stories many times over, finding confessional divisions within houses, branches, and families, between generations, and between brothers and sisters, but such an examination still waits to be undertaken.

Crossing and Constructing Confessional Differences

Admittedly, the stories retold above are simplifications. They are based on the assumption that the high noble society of Bohemia was marked by clearly dis-

tinguishable confessional affiliations that we, many centuries after the fact, are able to chart. Both of these assumptions are questionable. In most cases, it is impossible to identify the faith of a high noble with certainty, and in many cases the conclusions we can draw come only from indirect testimony, small clues in confessional behavior based on rituals (marriages, deaths, last wills, burial places, etc.). An important question still remains. How were these differences in creed among the high nobility perceived and respected by their contemporaries? Josef Válka, in a discussion primarily based on Moravia at the beginning of the sixteenth century, has argued that “a large number of noblemen acknowledged no confession whatsoever”—rather, their stance toward religion was characterized by a “non-confessional” or “supra-confessional Christianity.” According to Válka, this attitude grew out of decades of futile controversy in the fifteenth century when Catholics sparred with Utraquists and was strengthened by the early confessional character of the Hussite Reformation.²² Such a claim is in line with recent findings that have highlighted the growth of confessional indifference across early modern Europe. Scholars have brought to our attention many examples of irenic-minded personalities and syncretic attitudes in confessionally mixed societies.²³

Josef Válka is certainly right in disputing the strength of confessional boundaries within elite society of that time. There is no doubt there was much less attention to matters of confession among the nobility around 1500 than there was one hundred years later. Válka's remarks suggest that confessional awareness may have grown and declined, which opens up a series of interesting questions: how were confessional affiliations expressed, how were confessional divisions perceived, and how can historians approach this issue if the determination of religious allegiance remains obscure and unsure?

On the other hand, the very fact that the confessional affiliations of nobles were so rarely and casually articulated in written documents does not necessarily imply full ignorance on matters of religious diversity. We should be aware that “absence” may sometimes signify “presence,” and as Keith P. Luria has recently pointed out, peaceful coexistence did not override confessional divides and at times could even heighten awareness of confessional difference.²⁴ Noble conversions to Rome under the Jagiellonian kings suggest that confessional preference certainly played a role even in Válka's heyday of “non-confessional Christianity.”

In any case, important changes began to occur in the 1520s as noble society in Bohemia felt the effects of the Reformation. Obviously, certain circles of the high nobility remained indifferent or hostile to the new creeds. Others, however, quickly displayed a noticeable enthusiasm—for instance, several German-speaking families in the border region of northwest Bohemia, such as the Šliks/Schlicks, quickly adopted Lutheran teachings. Kunrát/Conrad Krajč of Krajek (d. 1542) stands out as another example of the fascination the new creeds exerted on the nobility in this time. In 1501 he founded a cloister for mendicant Minim

frirs in a remote part of his manor at Nová Bystrice in southern Bohemia. The Minims were a new religious order founded in the 1470s by St. Francis of Paola. The order moved across the Alps in 1491 and established several cloisters in Upper Austria and southern Bohemia with the support of high noble families of that region (Polheim and Harrach in Austria, Rožmberk and Krajčů in Bohemia). In 1507 Krajčů emended his will to include a mass for the souls of his ancestors, relatives, and himself once a year. In 1513 the superior of the order, who was visiting Bohemia, apparently admitted him as a tertiary. All this evidence seems to indicate that his sympathies lay with Rome and not with Utraquism.

Krajčů's sympathy for the Minims, however, shifted to another, very different religious community soon after. In 1512/13 his sister Johanna, an aging widow who for decades had sheltered the Brethren on her vast manor, Mladá Boleslav, northwest of Prague, left her possessions to Kunrát and joined the Unity of Brethren as a common sister. Moving to Mladá Boleslav himself, Kunrát contacted the Brethren and adopted their teachings. In 1530 he and his noble friends, neighbors, and clients solemnly received a second baptism in accordance with the Brethren's practice at that time (only in 1534 did the Brethren cease to practice adult baptism). Thus he joined the outlawed group despite the threat of severe punishment. Though before 1530 a few nobles (especially women) had secretly joined the Brethren, this is the first recorded instance of a public conversion, and such a development had significant ramifications for this group's social standing. In the following years, Kunrát became a devoted supporter and defender of the Brethren. He fought for toleration and transformed Mladá Boleslav into the group's main center. In 1535 he defended their teaching during an audience with Ferdinand I. On his deathbed, he thanked the Brethren for having delivered him from darkness and error. This break with his Catholic past had serious consequences for Kunrát and his family. The next two generations struggled on without royal favor and would be punished after the suppression of the estates' revolt of 1546/47.²⁵

Krajčů's avowal of the Brethren's teachings in 1530 recalls the case of his contemporary Leonhard of Liechtenstein (1482–1534), who not only harbored Anabaptist refugees on his estate at Mikulov/Nikolsburg in southern Moravia but submitted to rebaptism himself by Balthasar Hubmaier in 1526. Other lords in the area opened their estates to the Anabaptists as well. Leonhard's support for this group did not waver, even when they encountered fierce persecution under Ferdinand I and then began to quarrel among themselves. His successor, however, did not share the same sympathies toward the illegal (though widely tolerated in Moravia) Anabaptists.²⁶

As suggested above, a remarkable decrease in the number of Catholic aristocrats must have occurred sometime between the 1520s and the end of the sixteenth century. This transformation within the high nobility was not only a process of confessional restructuring and differentiation, for at the same time it resulted in

more transparent confessional divides. The emergence of confessional difference was a slow process. Church leaders' efforts to determine and assert clear distinctions between emergent groups, to enforce policies of confessional discipline, and to stir up religious fervor may well have produced a gradual awareness of religious borders. A recent study on the strategies adopted by the bishop of Olomouc, Stanislav Pavlovský (d. 1599), with the Moravian nobility is a good example of this phenomenon. At the same time, Pavlovský's case illustrates to what extent the elites themselves were increasingly disposed to participate in the construction of religious divides on their own.²⁷

For the greater part of the sixteenth century this ideal of clear divides, so much wished for by the church leaders, was more notional than real. People in the everyday world vacillated or at times consciously dissimulated. Thus, David von Tannenberk, to quote an Austrian example, was in 1580 recognized "as Catholic for he stands during the mass on feasts, but *ex conversatione* he does not seem to be so." According to a letter of the militant Catholic Georg Eder, who commented on this case, Tannenberk had in fact "some doubts as *de communione sub utraque, de invocatione sanctorum, de purgatorio, maybe de sacrificio missae* as well and more like this."²⁸ For Eder, Tannenberk's allegiance to Catholicism was very much in doubt. This example illustrates that though certain forms of ritual behavior were confessionally distinguishable, religious allegiance was a more complicated matter and often difficult to determine.

Another example that illustrates the nebulous nature of confessional affiliation is the fascinating case of Zbyněk Berka of Dubá (1551–1606). Berka, who is often described as the scion of a faithful Catholic family, was an important Counter-Reformation archbishop of Prague (1593–1606).²⁹ Many members of this multi-branched house, however, adopted Lutheranism after 1550. Some seemed to have joined the Brethren as well, and even Zbyněk's confessional pedigree was obviously not pure. After Rudolf II nominated him as archbishop, the papal nuncio Cesare Speciano denounced the candidate in the course of the canonical process, claiming that Berka had been "a Hussite heretic" as a child since he had received the Eucharist in two kinds without giving auricular confession. Furthermore, Speciano claimed, both of his parents were members of that "sect" and had died as "Hussites."³⁰ Consequently, the Roman Curia required that Berka forswear these Utraquist errors before his ordination. Berka, however, protested. As a canon of Salzburg and administrator of the Regensburg bishopric, he regarded his treatment as humiliating. He claimed that he had never been a heretic, and that his father, though he received the sacrament in both kinds, was a faithful Catholic.³¹ Moreover, even though Berka acknowledged that his mother was a "Hussite" (as the nuncio put it), he refused to condemn her, since he did not share the view that the Utraquists, once legalized by the *Compactata*, were heretics.³²

At the beginning of the controversy the nuncio, whose acquaintance with Berka's family background was based only on the information of a witness, resolutely

argued that both parents were “Hussites.” But in the course of the quarrel he seems to have realized the weak point of his claim: it was apparently impossible to find any direct evidence determining whether Berka’s father had confessed as a Catholic or as an Utraquist. Berka’s father Zdeněk had died in 1572, two decades earlier, and his confessional allegiance is unknown to historians. All we know is that his father Jindřich/Henry (d. 1541), the archbishop’s grandfather, died a Catholic (we can assume so from the fact that he was buried in the St. Vitus Cathedral at Prague Castle). Zbyněk (d. 1578), one of Zdeněk’s brothers and the archbishop’s uncle, was a Catholic as well. In his last will, composed in 1574, he named Catholic guardians for his children and complained about his relatives who had apostatized. He was anxious that they could possibly make “some nuisance concerning my children and churches.”³³ His brother Václav (d. 1575), on the other hand, was obviously a Protestant. His last will, also drawn up in 1574, expressed similar concern for the religious future of his subjects (he was childless), but this time it was the “Papists” (*papeženci*) who were to be excluded from positions of church leadership.³⁴ The archbishop’s father was buried in a church building on his manor, and it is not clear who administered it at the time. No wonder that the nuncio was puzzled and later in the dispute focused instead on the mother’s confessional allegiance, since in his mind there was unambiguous evidence: she was buried in the Týn church in the Old Town of Prague, the symbolic center of Utraquism.³⁵

This misunderstanding between the nuncio and the nominated archbishop illustrates on the one hand competing categorizations of Utraquism, heresy, or orthodoxy, thus inviting us to analyze religious allegiance as a process in which self-identification and external categorization interacted, rather than relying on the problematic concept of confessional identity.³⁶ On the other hand, it reveals how difficult it was, even for contemporaries, to be sure about the confessional affiliation of others. Theoretically, we could determine an individual’s confessional commitment by identifying the worship in which he or she participated, but documentation here is thin. We are also unsure to what extent differences between Catholic and Utraquist laity could be blurred in practice through the celebration of the Eucharist. Could communion be administered *sub una* or *sub utraque* to Catholics and Utraquists by the same priest during the same service? Such arrangements may not be improbable, for there were many religiously mixed households. In the case of the Brethren, differentiating is less problematic as their worship was distinct, and their priests and congregations had no link to an Episcopalian church. On the other hand, many nobles did not make their attachment to the Unity public during periods of persecution. How, then, can denominational allegiances be approached and interpreted by historians if they were often expressed so opaquely?

Starting with the assumption that confessional affiliation for elite society can neither be taken for granted nor even viewed as stable in the sense that there

were distinct borders between religious groups, we should not simply ask which confession specific nobles professed. Instead, we should identify situations and practices in which confessional divisions were recognizable and identifiable for contemporaries, or those that by contrast were viewed as confessionally neutral. Insufficient documentation does not allow us to track the confessional composition of high noble society decade by decade, but we may learn much more about conduct in the matter of confession if we examine situations in which confessional borders were constructed.

A sample of 217 wills of Bohemia’s high nobility (Figure 1.1) reveals how confessional sentiments were gradually affecting the consciousness of the ruling elite.³⁷ Prior to 1550 these last testaments contained dispositions of property but usually held no direct references to the confession of testators. Starting in the middle of the 1560s, however, some testators included confessionally specific language, and the percentage slowly grew over the decades. Normally, such clauses concerned admonitions to the testator’s children, particularly sons, to remain faithful to the paternal creed; the education of children in the testator’s faith; legacies for religious purposes; the sepulcher of the testator; or religious rules for the testator’s domain. After the defeat of the Protestant estates in 1620, the number of last wills that identified the testator as Catholic not surprisingly surged, while clauses mentioning non-Catholic confessions disappeared. By the end of the Thirty Years’ War, the writing of a last will in Bohemian noble society was in most cases an act of Catholic self-identification. Initially, it was only men who included confessional language in their wills, but from the 1590s onward noble women started to do the same and were soon represented proportionally. Initially, it was high-ranking officers who followed this practice. Catholics adopted it before non-

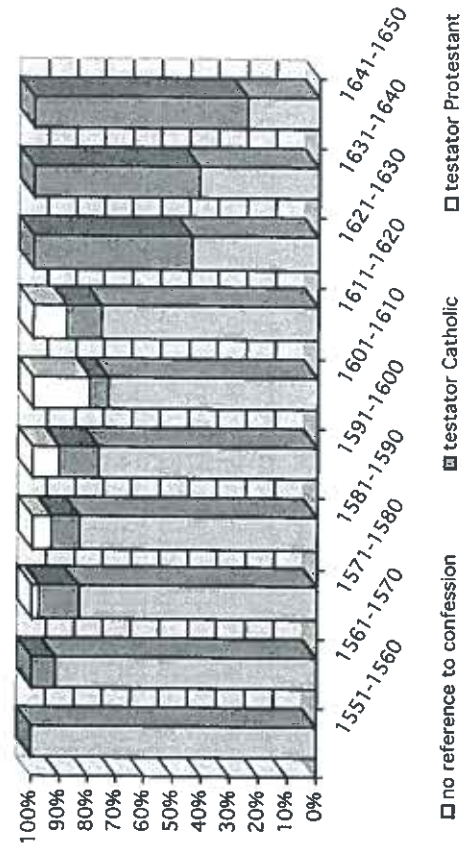


Figure 1.1. Last Wills of Lords (*páni*), 1551–1650 (217 in total)

Catholics, although the latter followed suit after one or two decades. Brethren nobles, however, rarely mentioned confession in their wills—apparently it was too risky as the Unity was outlawed. In general, non-Catholic nobles simply identified themselves as sub *utraque* (“*pod oboji*”), thus blurring other possible affiliations.

The giving of Christian names to children in high noble society reveals a similar trend. Until the very end of the sixteenth century, first names were used irregardless of confessional orientation. Matters changed in the first decades of the seventeenth century, as the name František (Francis) and the female variant Františka, both extremely rare in elite circles until this time, began to spread among Catholics. Between 1605 and 1625, at least thirteen children, all from Catholic couples, were given these names. There may have been more such cases as our evidence is incomplete due to high infant mortality. The Jesuit name Ignác (Ignatius) had a similar career. It first appeared in 1586 and then was chosen at least five times between 1611 and 1625. Catholics also began to use the names of several female saints in similar fashion. As with the case of wills, Catholics were in the forefront of this trend. Protestants do not seem to have adopted a similar strategy with names.³⁸

In contrast, confessional boundaries were probably perceived much earlier in burial practices. Unlike the writing of wills or the choice of names, this was an act that by definition addressed confessional matters directly. Nobles were most regularly buried in churches, and the confessional affiliation of a church was admittedly clearer than that of the nobles themselves. Indeed, burial was one cultural practice where a family was compelled to make their confessional affiliation visible. When a noble or even an entire family converted, burial places were often relocated, or at times the church itself changed its confessional affiliation. Some burial spaces were kept strictly mono-confessional. This was supposedly the case with St. Vitus Cathedral, although this question has not been fully examined. As far as I have been able to determine, only one non-Catholic was buried in the cathedral. Despite the fact that he was under the papal ban, the Utraquist “Hussite king” George was entombed here in 1471. Symbolically, though, his bowels were deposited in the Týn church.³⁹ On the other hand, the remains of non-Catholics—particularly women, as cross-confessional marriages were widespread—were sometimes deposited in family crypts of Catholic monasteries. The lords of Rožmberk serve as one example. They owned a vault in the Cistercian abbey at Výšší Brod/Hohenfurt, their medieval foundation. No less than ten generations of family members were buried here, including both Protestant wives of Vilém (d. 1592) and—even more significantly—the last lord of Rožmberk (d. 1612) and his wife (d. 1601), who had both joined the Unity of Brethren. Petr Vok had intended to break with family tradition and build another burial place for his wife and himself in his residential town, Český Krumlov. He failed to realize his plan only because he was forced to sell the town in order to redeem his debts.⁴⁰

As can be seen from these examples, confessional sentiments slowly but surely affected a broad array of social and cultural activity. Their impact, though, is not always easy to gauge as they intersected with other factors, be it social and gender identification or family traditions, that often proved stronger than the new religious currents. The approaches outlined above account for this complexity and may substantially deepen our knowledge of these confessional attitudes and the role they played in the lives of early modern nobles.

Conclusion

The story of how the Reformation influenced the behavior of the Bohemian nobility, especially its higher echelons, is not only the narrative of a political process (the Protestant estates’ struggle for religious toleration and legalization) but also the story of the construction and deconstruction of confessional boundaries. Closer exploration of this sociocultural process is needed, and the present essay suggests only some directions for further research. In the meantime, we might consider two further issues.

The first is the shift in the confessional composition of the lords’ estate. In the first stage, a split between Catholic and Calixtine nobles came about as a consequence of the Hussite wars. It was followed by the Catholicization of the high nobility, which occurred, surprisingly, under the weak rule of the Jagiellonian dynasty (1471–1526). Under the Habsburgs, both the authoritative Ferdinand I and the moderate Maximilian II (1526–1564; 1564–1576), the tide shifted once more and the lords adopted Protestantism in ever increasing numbers, though the rate of this change was initially slow. Given the data we have, it seems likely that many of these conversions did not occur until after 1550. This dynamic changed once more in the 1590s as many of the high nobles returned to the Catholic camp, preparing the ground for the forced re-Catholicization after 1620. Many questions remain unanswered concerning these broader patterns. How did these changes arise in the first place? What prompted these social shifts, and how were these changes in confessional allegiance managed in practice?

The other concerns the change in the depth of confessional awareness: the ways confessional divides were identified and expressed and the ways individuals were sensitized to them. Crossing confessional divides was common within the confessionally mixed nobility of Bohemia in the sixteenth century. But the divides we are thinking of were still rather fluid and actually only then crystallizing. The emergence of confessional borders within this noble society was a long-term process that did not follow a straightforward pattern until at least the middle of the sixteenth century. In all likelihood, many nobles had little interest in doctrinal matters, and as Josef Válka has suggested, a significant number of them were ready to accept a broad understanding of Christian community that resisted con-

fessional distinctiveness. Even then, it is not clear whether this resulted in confessional indeterminacy, as the fragmentary evidence may suggest (as well as the lack of a systematic examination). Despite a type of trans-confessional accommodation, certain confessional markers (communion, for instance) may have always existed, at least in a latent form. Whatever the case may be, vast areas of noble life remained untouched by these religious divisions for a long time. Only in the late sixteenth century did this process of religious polarization really began to accelerate, whereupon catalysts of confessionalization such as papal nuncios helped generate a confessional and political conflict with far-reaching consequences.

Notes

1. The complicated and dissimilar religious developments in the other dependencies of the composite monarchy of Bohemia (Silesia and Upper and Lower Lusatia) cannot be addressed here.
2. František Kavka and Anna Skýbová, *Husitský epilog na koncilu tridentském a původní koncepce habsburské rekatolizace Čech* (Prague, 1968), 175–180; Winfried Eberhard, *Konfessionalbildung und Stände in Böhmen 1478–1530* (Munich, 1981); František Šmahel, *Die Hussitische Revolution*, vols. 1–3 (Hanover, 2002); Zdeněk V. David, *Finding the Middle Way: The Ultraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther* (Washington, D.C., 2003).
3. Anton Gindely, *Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder*, vols. 1–2 (Prague, 1857–1858); Joseph Theodor Müller, *Geschichte der Böhmischen Brüder*, vols. 1–3 (Herrnhut, 1922–1931); Rudolf Růčan, *Die Böhmischen Brüder* (Berlin, 1961).
4. Frederick G. Heymann, "The Impact of Martin Luther upon Bohemia," *Central European History* 1 (1968): 107–130; Winfried Eberhard, "Die deutsche Reformation in Böhmen 1520–1620," in *Deutsche in den böhmischen Ländern*, ed. Hans Rothe (Cologne, 1992), 103–123.
5. František Hrubý, "Lutersví a kalvinismus na Moravě před Bílou horou," *Český časopis historický* 40 (1934): 265–309 and 41 (1935): 1–40, 237–268; Hrubý, "Lutersví a novoutrakvismus v českých zemích v 16.–17. stol.," *Český časopis historický* 45 (1939): 31–44.
6. The forenamed perspective, developed by Ferdinand Hrejsa, *Česká konfesse, její vznik, podstata a dějiny* (Prague, 1912), and adopted by Winfried Eberhard, *Monarchie und Widerstand: Zur ständischen Oppositionsbildung im Herrschaftssystem Ferdinands I. in Böhmen* (Munich, 1985), was recently challenged by David, *Finding the Middle Way*.
7. Otakar Odložilík, *Jednotná bratrská a reformovaná francouzského jazyka* (Philadelphia, 1964); František Hrubý, *Éruditions ichéiques aux écoles protestantes de l'Europe occidentale à la fin du XVIIe et au début du XVIIIe siècle* (Brno, 1970).
8. The interpretation coined by Ferdinand Seibt, *Hussitica: Zur Struktur einer Revolution* (Cologne, 1965).
9. Winfried Eberhard, "Zu den politischen und ideologischen Bedingungen öffentlicher Toleranz: Der Kurtenberger Religionsfrieden (1485)," *Zeszyty naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Prace historyczne* 100 (1992): 101–118; Jaroslav Pánek, "The Question of Tolerance in Bohemia and Moravia in the Age of the Reformation," in *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, ed. Ole Peter Grell and Robert W. Scribner (Cambridge and New York, 1996), 231–248; František Šmahel, "Pax externa et interna: Vom heiligen Kriteg zur erzwungenen Toleranz im hussitischen Böhmen (1419–1485)," in *Toleranz im*

10. Thomas Winkelbauer, "Die rechtliche Stellung der Täufer im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert am Beispiel der habsburgischen Länder," in *Ein Thema – zwei Perspektiven: Juden und Christen in Mittelalter und Frühneuzeit*, ed. Eveline Brugger and Birgit Wiedl (Innsbruck, 2007), 34–66.
11. Hrejsa, *Česká konfesse*; Jaroslav Pánek, "The Religious Question and the Political System of Bohemia before and after the Battle of the White Mountain," in *Crown, Church and Estates: Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, ed. R. J. W. Evans and T. V. Thomas (New York, 1991), 129–148; Joachim Bahleke, *Regionalismus und Staatsintegration im Widerstreit: Die Länder der Böhmisches Krone im ersten Jahrhundert der Habsburgerherrschaft (1526–1619)* (Munich, 1994).
12. Jiří Mikulec, *Rekatolizace šlecht v Čechách: Či je země, toho je náboženství* (Prague, 2005); Alessandro Catalano, *La Boemia e la riconquista delle coscienze: Ernst Adalbert von Harrach e la Controriforma in Europa centrale (1620–1667)* (Rome, 2005); Tomáš Knoz, *Pobělohorské konfessace: Moravský průběh, středoevropské souvislosti, obecné aspekty* (Brno, 2006).
13. An exception here is Josef Válka's stimulating contributions on "non-confessional Christianity"; see note 22 below. There has been research on noble strategies during the Counter-Reformation. See Jiří Mikulec, "Mezi konverzí a emigrací: Vídeňský dvůr a náboženská lojalita šlecht v Čechách v prvních pobělohorských desetiletích," in *Šlechta v habsburské monarchii a císařský dvůr (1526–1740)*, Opera historica 10, ed. Václav Bůžek and Pavel Král (České Budějovice, 2003), 397–414. For an important recent study on noble converts to Catholicism see Thomas Winkelbauer, *Fürst und Fürstendotter: Gundaker von Liechtenstein, ein österreichischer Aristokrat des konfessionellen Zeitalters* (Vienna, 1999), 85–158.
14. František Dvorský, "Jaky byl číselný poměr katolíků vůči straně pod obloží 1. 1609," *Sborník historický* 2 (1884): 280–288; František Hrubý, "Moravská šlechta r. 1619, její jmění a náboženské vyznání," *Časopis Matice moravské* 46 (1922): 107–169. Both studies are exceptions because they examine the confessional composition of the nobility, not of the population, as most other studies do.
15. Jaroslav Macek, *Vzta a zbožnost jagellonského věku* (Prague, 2001), 161.
16. Jaroslav Mezník, "Česká a moravská šlechta ve 14. a 15. století," *Sborník historický* 37 (1990): 7–35, here 24–25.
17. Petr Mařta, *Svět české aristokracie (1500–1700)* (Prague, 2004), 575. The number seems to have been declining slightly. It increased only in the seventeenth century in connection with a general transformation of the lords' estate and the imposition of new titles and hierarchies: ibid., 67–76, 157–165.
18. Václav Bůžek, ed., *Poslední páni z Hradce*, Opera historica 4 (České Budějovice, 1998). Here and in the following I refer only to summarizing publications containing further references.
19. Jaroslav Pánek, *Poslední Rožmberkové: Velmoži české renesance* (Prague, 1989).
20. Otakar Odložilík, *The Hussite King: Bohemia in European Affairs 1440–1471* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1965); Stefan Glogowski, *Genealogia Podiebradův* (Gliwice, 1997); Ondřej Felcman, Radek Fukala, et al., *Poděbradové: Rod českomoravských pánů, kladských hrabat a slezských knížat* (Prague, 2008).
21. Josef Vorel, *Páni z Pernštejna: Vzestup a pád rodu zubří hlavy v dějinách Čech a Moravy* (Prague, 1999); Jaroslav Pánek, "Politika, náboženství a každodennost nejvyššího kancléře Vraťislava z Pernštejna," in *Pernštejnové v českých dějinách*, ed. Petr Vorel (Pardubice, 1995), 185–198; Josef Válka, "Politika a nadkonfesionální křesťanství Viléma a Jana z Pernštejna," in *Pernštejnové v českých dějinách*, 173–182.
22. Josef Válka, "Moravia and the Crisis of the Estates' System in the Lands of the Bohemian Crown," in Evans and Thomas, *Crown, Church and Estates*, 149–157, here 153; Válka, "Die

- 'Politiques': Konfessionelle Orientierung und politische Landesinteressen in Böhmen und Mähren (bis 1630), in *Ständefreiheit und Staatsgestaltung in Osmittteleuropa: Übernationale Gemeinsamkeiten in der politischen Kultur vom 16.-18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Joachim Bahlecke, Hans-Jürgen Bömelburg, and Norbert Kersten (Leipzig, 1996), 229–241. The argument is further developed by Thomas Winkelbauer, "Überkonfessionelles Christentum in der 2. Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts in Mähren und seinen Nachbarländern," in *Dejiny Moravy a Maie moravská. Problémy a perspektivy*, ed. Libor Jan et al. (Brno, 2000), 131–146.
23. Kasper von Greyerz et al., eds., *Interkonfessionalität – Transkonfessionalität – binnenkonfessionelle Pluralität: Neue Forschungen zur Konfessionalisierungstheorie* (Gütersloh, 2003); Howard Louthan, *The Quest for Compromise: Peacemakers in Counter-Reformation Vienna* (Cambridge, 1997).
24. Keith P. Luria, *Sacred Boundaries: Religious Coexistence and Conflict in Early Modern France* (Washington, D.C., 2005).
25. Jos(ef) Mrštík, *Bývalý Paulánský klášter nejvůlejší Trojice u Nové Bystrice* (Tábor, 1883), 11–17; Jaroslav Kadlec, "Pavlání v jižních Čechách," *Časopis společnosti přátel starožimosti českých* 58 (1950): 40–52, here 43–44; Jiří Míhola, "K počátkům paulánského řádu a jeho rozšíření v českých zemích," *Školská práce Pedagogické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity v Brně* 153, Řada společenských věd 18 (2001): 25–36; Amedeo Molnár, *Bolslavští Bratři* (Prague, 1952). Konrád Krajř has received little scholarly attention so far. Quite symptomatically, the fact that the founder of the cloister and the famous follower of the Brethren were one and the same person has been overlooked so far. Not even the attentive Macek, *Věra*, seems to be fully aware of it.
26. Jarold Knox Zeman, *The Anabaptists and the Czech Brethren in Moravia 1526–1628: A Study of Origins and Contacts* (The Hague, 1968), 166, 185, 221ff.; Christoph Möhl, "Die Herren von Liechtenstein und die Wiederräuer in Mähren," *Jahrbuch des Historischen Vereins für das Fürstentum Liechtenstein* 77 (1977): 119–171; Martin Rothkegel, "Anabaptism in Moravia and Silesia," in *A Companion to Anabaptism and Spiritualism, 1521–1700*, ed. John Roth and James Stayer (Leiden, 2007), 163–215.
27. Ondřej Jakubec, *Kulturní prostředí a mecenáš obnovených biskupů potridemské doby* (Olomouc, 2003), 65–96.
28. "...für catholisch, das er bey der mess am feyrtag sten [= stehen] bleibs, aber ex conversatione befindt sichs wol anders..."; "...etliche dubia alls de communionis sub utraque, de invocatione S. S., de purgatorio, villeicht auch de sacrificio missae und dergl. mer." Viktor Bibl, "Die Berichte des Reichshofrates Dr. Georg Eder an die Herzoge Albrecht und Wilhelm von Bayern über die Religionskrise in Niederösterreich (1579–1587)," *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich* 8 (1909): 67–154, here 100, 102.
29. Winfried Eberhard, "Berka von Duba und Leipa, Zbynko," in *Die Bischöfe des Heiligen Römischen Reiches: 1448 bis 1648*, ed. Erwin Gatz (Berlin, 1996), 44–46.
30. "...il quale senza dubbio è Catholico, ma è però stato da figliuolino heretico Hussita, et si communicava sub utraque specie senza confessarsi sacramentalmente, della medesima setta furono suo Padre et Madre, et sono morti Hussiti," Natale Mosconi, ed., *La nunziata di Praga di Cesare Speciano (1592–1598)*, vols. 1–5 (Brescia, 1966), vol. 3, 20.
31. "...egli mi dice che solo la Madre era hussita, et ch'egli non si ricorda d'esser mai stato tale, et che suo Padre ancora che fosse degli communicanti sub utraque, ma [...] fosse catholico, perché si confessava sacramentalmente...," *ibid.*, 86. Alena Pazdzerová, who is preparing a critical edition of Speciano's correspondence, provided me with more a reliable transcription of this sentence, though a part of it remains illegible.
32. "...non essendo mai stato heretico, né volendo confessare che alcuno de suoi Padre, o madre sia stato tale...," *ibid.*, 185.
33. Národní archiv (Prague), Desky zemské věsti 20, C13–C16 ("...aby mi při dětech a kostelích nějakého neřádu nečinili...").
34. Miloslav Rohlík, ed., *Moravské zemské desky*, vol. 3: 1567–1641: *Kraj brněnský* (Prague, 1957), 122.
35. "... che non poteva egli [i.e., the nominated archbishop Berka] negare quello che era noto a tutti che sua Madre era morta heretica Hussita et sepolta in questa Chiesa principale delli Hussiti..." Mosconi, *La nunziata di Praga*, vol. 3, 187. The fact that Zdeněk's wife was buried separately from him and their children might imply that the archbishop's parents actually did disagree on the issue of confession. Her brother-in-law Václav was buried in the Týn church as well.
36. Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity,'" *Theory and Society* 29 (2000): 1–47; Frauke Volkand, *Konfession und Selbstverständnis: Reformierte Rituale in der gemischtkonfessionellen Kleinstadt Bischofszell im 17. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen, 2005), 9–47; Ronald G. Asch, "Religöse Selbstinszenierung im Zeitalter der Glaubenskriege: Adel und Konfession in Westeuropa," *Historisches Jahrbuch* 125 (2005): 67–100.
37. This inquiry aims at giving a sense of the development and is by no means intended to be more elaborated and systematic approach. Excluded were women descended from lords' families that married knights, and included were women from knights' families that married lords. Source: Národní archiv (Prague), Desky zemské věsti 10–12, 14–25, 27, 128–129, 131–132, 134, 136–138, 141–142, 146, 150–151, 256; Úřad desk zemských—listiny, box 50, 54. Some of these testaments have been carefully edited by Pavel Král, *Mezi životem a smrtí. Testamenty české šlechty v letech 1550–1650* (České Budějovice, 2002).
38. Petr Matá, "Vorkonfessionelles, überkonfessionelles, transkonfessionelles Christentum: Prolegomena zu einer Untersuchung der Konfessionalität des böhmischen und mährischen Hochadels zwischen Hussitismus und Zwangskatholisierung," in *Konfessionelle Pluralität als Herausforderung: Koexistenz und Konflikt in Spätmittelalter und Frühen Neuzeit. Winfried Eberhard zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Joachim Bahlecke, Karen Lambrecht, and Hans-Christian Maner (Leipzig, 2006), 307–331.
39. On the funeral of the Hussite king with the assistance of priests from both Catholic and Ultraquist sides see Odložík, *Hussite King*, 262, 267. On noble sepulchers in general see Pavel Král, "Tod, Begräbnisse und Gräber: Funeralrituale des böhmischen Adels als Mittel der Repräsentation und des Andenkens," in *Macht und Memoria: Begräbniskultur europäischer Oberhöflichen in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. Mark Hengerer (Cologne, 2005), 421–448. On the cathedral see Aněžka Merhautová, ed., *Katedrála sv. Víta v Praze. (K 650. výročí založení)* (Prague, 1994) (with more literature).
40. For other examples see Matá, *Vorkonfessionelles*, 320–325.

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Bergahn Books
NEW YORK • OXFORD

2011