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A UNIQUE TESTAMENT OF BOHEMIAN UTRAQUISM:¹
PAVEL BYDŽOVSKÝ'S 1554 TREATISE
ON THE ENGLISH MARTYRS

An Overview – A Paragon of Bohemian Utraquism

The author of the treatise *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum* (1554), Pavel Bydžovský, was born in 1496 in Nový Bydžov near Hradec Králové in Eastern Bohemia, and died in Prague on November 23, 1559. Having studied at the University of Prague, he obtained a Bachelor of Arts degree. He was then ordained to priesthood in the Utraquist Church, which represented the moderate branch of the Bohemian Reformation, a movement that had started in protest against the burning of Jan Hus by the Council of Constance in July 1415.²

Bydžovský's Church had been originally challenged by the radical branch of the Bohemian Reformation, the Taborites. Its own antecedent was initially known as the Prague Party in the 1420s, later – especially after receiving a precarious recognition as a part of the Roman Church from the General Council of Basel in the *Compactata* of 1436 – it was officially called *Církev podobojí*, that is, the Utraquist Church. It was administered by its own Consistory, exempt from the jurisdiction of the Roman Catholic Archbishops of Prague, as well as the papal nuncios, but legally recognized by the king and the diet of the Kingdom of Bohemia.³ The Utraquist Church enjoyed the loyalty of most of the Czech population, until the onset of the Counter Reformation, following the Battle of White Mountain (1620).⁴ The radicals, the warlike Taborites, had been suppressed by King George of Poděbrady in 1452, and their place on the left wing of the Bohemian Reformation was taken over by the pacifistic Unity of Brethren, organized in 1457. The Unity remained in a perpetual schism from the Utraquist Church, and eventually adopted a more Calvinist rather than Lutheran character.⁵

¹ Based on a presentation at the Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice International Symposium (BRRP 13), held in the Filosofický Ústav AV ČR (Institute of Philosophy of the Czech Academy of Sciences) in Prague on June 20, 2018.

² Bydžovský, Pavel. In: *Ottův slovník naučný: Illustrovaná encyklopaedie obecných vědomostí* [Otto's Encyclopedia: Illustrated Encyclopedia of General Knowledge]. Vol. 4. Praha 1891, 999-1000; Bydžovský, Pavel. In: *Rieger*, František L. (ed.): *Slovník naučný* [Encyclopedia]. Vol. 1. Praha 1860, 1012.

³ *David*, Zdeněk V.: *Finding the Middle Way: The Utraquists' Liberal Challenge to Rome and Luther*. Washington, D.C., Baltimore 2003, 26-27, 30-31, 40.

⁴ *Ibid.* 321-329.

⁵ *Ibid.* 31, 40, 61. The Unity of Brethren received a legal recognition in Bohemia only in 1575; see *David*: Utraquists, Lutherans, and the Bohemian Confession of 1575. In: *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 68 (1999) 2, 294-337, here 297-298. While the

After his ordination, Bydžovský was appointed parson at the Church of St. Gallus in the Old Town of Prague in 1535. The Utraquist Church then faced the challenge from the side of the German Reformation to its attachment to medieval theology and liturgy. Bydžovský's opposition to Lutheran influences involved him in conflict with Jan Mystopol, who served as Administrator of the Utraquist Consistory since 1542, and who initially favored certain aspects of Luther's teaching. Ferdinand I, the King of Bohemia (1526-1564), however, protected Bydžovský, and the latter reconciled with Mystopol, who by 1546 had abandoned his interest in Lutheran doctrines. Bydžovský was also supported in his anti-Lutheran stand by the prominent Prague statesman and Chancellor of the Old Town, Sixt of Ottersdorf.⁶

Bydžovský's theological and philosophical erudition was comparable to that of his colleague, Bohuslav Bílejovský (ca. 1480-1555), a member of the Utraquist Consistory since 1534, who displayed his theological expertise in his famous *Kronyka Cyrkevní* (The Church Chronicle).⁷ Bydžovský's own knowledge was manifest in a substantial command of patristic literature (both Greek and Latin).⁸ His theological erudition likewise covered the medieval doctors of the church, decisions of both ancient and medieval church councils, provisions of canon law (particularly the Decretum of Gratian),⁹ and the classics of Utraquism, as well as Luther's and Melancthon's doctrines. This whole gamut of learning was displayed in the discussion of major theological propositions.¹⁰

Utraquist Church was absorbed into the Roman Church after the onset of the Bohemian Counter Reformation in 1620; see *David: Finding the Middle Way* 349-354 (cf. fn. 3); the Unity of Brethren survived in exile and exists to this day, even in the United States and Canada, under the name of the Moravian Church; see *ibid.* 387, note 7.

⁶ Bydžovský, Pavel. In: *Ottův slovník naučný* 999-1000 (cf. fn. 2); Bydžovský, Pavel. In: *Rieger* (ed.): *Slovník naučný* 1012 (cf. fn. 2). Otterdorf, subsequently, as Chancellor of the Old Town of Prague, was to lead, in 1575, the towns' opposition in the Bohemian Diet against legalization of the Confession of Augsburg under the name of Bohemian Confession. See *David: Finding the Middle Way* 171 (cf. fn. 3).

⁷ *Bílejovský*, Bohuslav: *Kronyka Cýrkewnj* [The Church Chronicle]. Praha 1816; originally published as *Kronyka česká* (Bohemian Chronicle) in Nuremberg in 1537.

⁸ See *Bydžovský*, Pavel: *Děťátka a neviňátka hned po přijetí křtu sv. Tělo a Krev Boží, že přijímají mají* [Infants and Innocents, Right after Baptism, Should Receive the Holy Body and Blood of God]. Praha 1541, f. B2r; citing Pseudo-Dionysius, *Le Fèvre d'Étaples*, Jacques: *Theologia vivificans: Cibus solidus: Dionysii coelestis hierarchia: Ecclesiastica hierarchia: Divina nomina: Mystica theologia: Undecim epistolae: Ignatii undecim epistolae: Polycarpi epistola una*. Parisius 1515. A copy is available at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, D.C.; call number: Folio B667.D4 A1 1515 Cage.

⁹ *Bydžovský*: *Děťátka a neviňátka*, f. B4r (cf. fn. 8).

¹⁰ For instance, see *Bydžovský*: *Knížky o přijímání Těla a Krve Pána našeho Ježíše Krysta pod obojí způsobou* [Booklets about the Reception of the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ in Both Kinds]. Praha 1539, 52-55; *Bydžovský*: *Tato Knížka toto try ukazuje* [This Booklet Demonstrates These Three Things]. N.p. 1542, 14-16; *Bydžovský*: *Tento spis ukazuje, že Biskupové Biskupa, a Biskup kněží, a kněží od řádných Biskupů svěceni Těla a krve Boží posvěcovati mají* [This Treatise Shows that Bishops and Priests Should be Ordained by a Bishop, and Priests, Ordained by Proper Bishops, Should Consecrate the Divine Body and Blood]. N.p. 1543, 12-15; see also *Jireček*, Josef: *Rukověť k dějinám literatury české* [A Manual for the History of Czech Literature]. Vol. 1. Praha 1875, 114-115.

More specifically, Bydžovský deferred to the views of Basil the Great, Cyprian, Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, John Damascene, Origen, and Theophylactus of Ochrida on such issues as communion *sub utraque* (in both kinds), the real presence of Christ in the Eucharist, and sacramental priesthood, including the principles of apostolic succession.¹¹ He also published a translation of the canon of the Greek mass into Czech in 1549, although this elicited much contemporary critical dismay even in Utraquist circles.¹² The typically Utraquist respect for the priestly – as distinct from administrative and judicial – function of the bishop of Rome in the Western Church was reflected in Pavel Bydžovský's celebration of the martyrdom of Thomas More (1478-1535) and John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester (1469-1535), who gave up their lives rather than deny the pope's role in the Church.¹³

Above all, through Bydžovský's theological discussions, including a review of the Utraquist theology during the first century of its existence, he in fact helped to set the theological canon and agenda in the Utraquist Church for the second century of its existence. During his service as a priest, particularly after the Lutheran challenge had subsided by 1544, he augmented his contribution in that regard by training those who would fill the ranks of the Utraquist clergy in the next generation. He helped to prepare theology students for examinations before the Consistory, prior to their departure for ordination in Italy.¹⁴ One of his grateful disciples, Jakob Srnec of Varvažov, dedicated to his mentor – whom he called a man of rare honesty – a poem as a New Year's Day gift (1557), beginning with the following verses:

Oh Paul, you were the first to support me in my studies,
 You were my first benefactor.
 You were the first to stimulate my poetry-writing and supported my talent,
 Oh, you are my shield and my pride.¹⁵

In a broader perspective, the theological works of Bydžovský, together with Bilejovský's *Kronyka česká* (The Bohemian Chronicle), came to constitute a kind of benchmark at the midpoint of what would turn out to be the time-span allotted to

On Bydžovský's knowledge of Luther's and Melancthon's doctrines, see *David: Finding the Middle Way* 114-128 (cf. fn. 3).

¹¹ *Bydžovský: Tato knížka toto try ukazuje* 9-10, 18 (cf. fn. 10); *Bydžovský: Tento spis ukazuje, že Biskupové Biskupa* 6-7 (cf. fn. 10).

¹² *Borový, Klement: Jednání a dopisy konsistoře katolické a utrakvistické* [Protocols and Letters of the Catholic and the Utraquist Consistories]. Vol. 1. Praha 1868, 247; *Jireček: Rukověť k dějinám* 116 (cf. fn. 10).

¹³ *Bydžovský, Pavel: Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum, quibus Deus suam ecclesiam exornare sicut syderibus coelum dignatus est*. Praha 1554, f. B2r, B3v.

¹⁴ *David: Finding the Middle Way* 130 (cf. fn. 3).

¹⁵ "Tu primus fueras studiorum, Paule, meorum/autor, Mecaenas tu mihi primus eras./Tu primus dederas stimulum atque in carmina vires,/O et praesidium dulce decusque meum." See: *Srnec z Varvažova*, Jakub: Apophoreta aliquot in Epiphaniis Domini, amicis dedicata. Praha 1557, f. B3r. See also *Hejnic, Josef/Martínek, Jan* (eds.): *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě od konce 15. do začátku 17. století* [Manual of Humanist Poetry in Bohemia and Moravia from Late Fifteenth to the Early Seventeenth Centuries]. Vol. 5. Praha 1982, 157-158; *Truhlář, Josef: Rukověť k písemnictví humanistickému* [A Manual to Humanistic Literature]. Vol. 1. Praha 1908, 175.

the Utraquist Church for its development. Both Bydžovský and Bílejovský would be, in fact, cited as authoritative Utraquist theologians in the confessional statements of the Utraquist Church in 1572 and 1575.¹⁶ References by Jesuit Václav Šturm to Bydžovský as a Utraquist authority in his *Krátké ozvání* (A Brief Response, 1584) also attest to his long-range influence.¹⁷

Sponsorship

Bydžovský's treatise, under discussion, is dedicated to the Supreme Judge of the Kingdom of Bohemia, Jan the Elder of Lobkowitz and Zbiroh. Its publication was approved by the Administrators of the Utraquist Consistory, and by Oldřich Dubanský of Dubany, the Captain of the Prague Castle (presumably from the side of the Roman Church). The Administrators of the Utraquist Consistory included Jan Mystopol (1542-1555) and, most likely, one of his predecessors either Jan Hortensius (1541) or Martin Klatovský (1539-1541).¹⁸ Oldřich Dubanský of Dubany is not well known, although he was at the same time the Supreme Subchamberlain of the Land (nejvyšší zemský podkomoří, 1552-1569). He died in 1571. The approval of Bydžovský's treatise from both the Utraquist and the Roman Catholic sides reflected the equal legal status of the two religious denominations in the Kingdom of Bohemia, originally recognized under the above-mentioned *Compactata* of 1436 and reconfirmed by the Treaty of Kutná Hora of 1485.

Jan III Popel z Lobkovic, also known as the Elder (starší), stemmed from the Chlumec branch of the Lobkowitz family, and was the founder of the family's Zbiroh branch. He was born in 1490 (the exact date is not known) as the son of Ladislav I Popel z Lobkovic on Chlumec and his wife Anna Krajířová z Krajku. He held high offices within the government of the Kingdom of Bohemia as the Supreme Judge of the Country (nejvyšší zemský sudí, 1541-1554), and from 1554 until his death as the Supreme Steward of the Court (nejvyšší hofmistr). He married Anna Žehrovská of Kolowraty and fourteen children followed. He died on June 14, 1569 in Libochovice.

Lobkowitz remained loyal to the Roman Church, acting as a protector of the Jesuit College of Prague. During the anti-Habsburg uprising in Bohemia in 1547, he supported King Ferdinand I in his conflict with the rebellious estates. At the same time, he assisted the King's struggle against the Protestant Imperial estates of Germany in the so-called Schmalkaldic War of 1546-1547. During these conflicts, Lobkowitz

¹⁶ *Hrejsa*, Ferdinand: Česká konfese: Její vznik, podstata a dějiny [The Bohemian Confession: Its Origin, Substance, and History]. Praha 1912, 188, fn. 2.

¹⁷ *Šturm*, Václav: Krátké ozvání [...] proti kratičkému ohlášení Jednoty Valdenské neb Boleslavské [A Short Response [...] to the Very Brief Manifesto of the Waldensian or Boleslav Unity]. Praha 1584, 131-132. On Bydžovský, see also *David*: Finding the Middle Way 15-16, 102, 130-132 (cf. fn. 3).

¹⁸ *Tomek*, Václav V.: O církevní správě strany pod obojí v Čechách od r. 1415 až 1622 [On the Ecclesiastical Administration of the Utraquist Party in Bohemia, 1415-1622]. In: *Časopis českého muzea* 22 (1848) 5, 441-468, here 463-468.

loaned the King money for military expenses, and represented him as negotiator with the insurgents in the Empire.¹⁹

However, Lobkowicz was a liberal Catholic, as well as a dedicated moralist. He translated from Latin into Czech the treatise of Desiderius Erasmus of Rotterdam. *Knihá jakby se člověk k smrti hotoviti měl* (A Book How a Man Should Prepare for His Death), published in 1563 by Jiří Melantrich z Aventina. Lobkowicz also composed a moralistic treatise, *Napomenutí ke všem lidem, aby jsouce na světě na věci budoucí se rozvzpomínali* (Admonition to All People That While in This World, They Should Remember the Matters of the Future Life). Finally, Bydžovský's eulogistic references to his patron's literary interest and activities reflect Lobkowicz's endeavors to publish the literary legacy of his own ancestor Bohuslav Hasištejnský of Lobkovic (1462-1510), an author and poet of the Humanist school.²⁰

Motivation

Bydžovský's treatise was published in 1554 during the period of a brief, but virulent, Counter Reformation in England (1553-1558) conducted by Queen Mary and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Reginald Pole. Although there had been important, even crucial, points of contact between religious thought in England and the Bohemian Reformation at the turn of the fourteenth century,²¹ it might seem surprising that, even in the mid-sixteenth century, English religious events should arouse such a lively response on the part of a prominent Utraquist theologian. It is likely, however, that exactly at this time England again attracted special attention in Bohemia due to the Habsburg dynastic involvement in English affairs. This was highlighted by the marriage of Queen Mary in 1554 to King Philip II of Spain, nephew of Ferdinand I, the King of Bohemia. In addition, Mary was a daughter of Henry's first wife Catherine of Aragon (1485-1536) who, in turn, was an aunt of Ferdinand I, as well as of his brother, the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V. Thus, Mary, in her turn, was the first cousin of both Ferdinand I and Charles V, as well as Philip II's first cousin once removed.²² Important government officials of Bohemia, like Lobkowicz and Dubanský, would naturally welcome, or even elicit, Bydžovský's information on matters touching on the highest reaches of the ruling Habsburg dynasty and monarchy.

A lively Bohemian interest in English affairs is also documented by the circulation of the *Cosmographia* by encyclopedist Sebastian Münster, as well as the histories of Johannes Carion and Johannes Sleidan.²³ References to events in England were like-

¹⁹ Kasík, Stanislav / Mašek, Petr / Mžyková, Marie: Lobkowiczové: Dějiny a genealogie rodu [The Lobkowicz: A History and Genealogy of the Family]. České Budějovice 2002, 31.

²⁰ Jurík, Pavel: Lobkowiczové: Popel jsem a popel budu [The Family Lobkowicz]. Praha 2017, 30-31; Kasík / Mašek / Mžyková: Lobkowiczové 109, 216 (cf. fn. 19).

²¹ David: Finding the Middle Way 34-38 (cf. fn. 3).

²² David: Utraquism and Sixteenth-Century Anglicanism, an Imperfect Parallel: Bydžovský on Erastianism. In: The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice 10 (2015) 327-345, here 335.

²³ Hejnic, Josef / Martínek, Jan (eds.): Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na

wise frequent in the chronicle of Johannes Cochlaeus (1549), who was a familiar figure on the Bohemian scene also for his sharp critique of Hus and the Bohemian Reformation.²⁴ In addition, Carion's chronicle was published in a Czech translation in 1541, and Münster's *Cosmographia* in 1554.²⁵ Finally, the knowledge of English affairs in Bohemia was summed up later in the sixteenth century in a compendium of Marek Bydžovský of Florentin (no relation to our Pavel), *The First Part of the Annals, or What Occurred under King Ferdinand*.²⁶

Sources (Especially, Venerable Bede, Reginald Pole, and the Guildhall Report)

Bydžovský on the Church of England

Bydžovský started his treatise with a lengthy discussion of the papal role in the foundation of the Church of England.²⁷ Concerning this topic, he focused his attention on the missionary zeal of Pope Gregory I the Great, who dispatched his emissary Augustine (later Archbishop of Canterbury) in A.D. 597 to convert the Anglo-Saxons and to establish an ecclesiastical organization for them.²⁸ In emphasizing the crucial role of Gregory the Great, Bydžovský openly relied on the *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* by Venerable Bede (672/3-735), written about A.D.

Moravě od konce 15. do začátku 17. století [Manual of Humanist Poetry in Bohemia and Moravia from the Late Fifteenth to the Early Seventeenth Centuries]. Vol. 1. Praha 1966, 245. See Münster, Sebastian: *Cosmographia: Beschreibung aller Lender*. Basel 1544; Carion, Johannes: *Chronica durch Magistru Johan Carion, vleissig zusammen gezogen, meniglich nützlich zu lesen*. Wittenberg 1532; Sleidan, Johannes: *De statu religionis et reipublicae Carolo V. Caesare Commentariorum libri XXVI*. Strassburg 1555.

²⁴ Cochlaeus, Johannes: *Commentaria Joannis Cochlaei de Actis et Scriptis Martini Lutheri Saxonis, Chronographice, Ex ordine ab Anno Domini M.D. XVII. usque ad annum M.D. XLVI: Inclusiue, fideliter conscripta: Adiunctis Duobus Indicibus, et Edicto Vuormaciensi*. Moguntia 1549. [Reprint: Farnborough/Hants. 1968], with references to England on pp. 47, 64-65, 68-70, 155, 232-233, 284-285, 288, 292-293. On his concern with religious events in Bohemia, see Cochlaeus: *Historiae Hussitarum. Libri duodecim*. Moguntia 1549.

²⁵ Carion, Johannes: *Kniha Kronik o všelikých znamenitých věcech od počátku světa zběhlých* [A Book of Chronicles about Diverse Notable Matters Occurring Since the Beginning of the World]. Litomyšl 1541, 349, 359, 362, 367-368, 368-369, 397-398, 404 (on Henry VIII), 347, 407, 412 (on Edward VI), 412, 415, 421 (on Queen Mary), 368-369, 415, 421 (on Queen Elizabeth), 367-368 (on Thomas More); Münster, Sebastian: *Kosmografia česká* [A Bohemian Cosmography]. Praha 1554, for instance, f. 153v. Subsequently, a second Czech edition of Carion's book, enlarged by Daniel Adam of Veleslavín, appeared as *Kronyka Světa* [A Chronicle of the World]. Praha 1584; this second version was a basis of the modern edition, as Vorel, Petr (ed.): *Dějiny evropského světa 1453-1576* [A History of the European World 1453-1576]. Praha 2008, in which references to English events are on pp. 87, 91, 92, 97, 131, 134, 141, 143, 150.

²⁶ *Bydžovský z Florentina*, Marek: *Prima pars annalium seu eorum, quae sub Ferdinando rege contigerunt* [manuscript]. Národní knihovna (NK), Praha, XXII A 6, esp. f. 49b-50a, 145a, 149a, 165b-166a, 168a, 172b 175b, 186a.

²⁷ *Bydžovský*: *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. A1v-A2v (cf. fn. 13).

²⁸ On Augustine of Canterbury see, for instance: Augustine, St. In: *Dictionary of National Biography*. Vol 1. Oxford 1921-22, 727-729.

731.²⁹ He referred to the book as *Historia Gentis Anglorum* and quoted from it verbatim by book (liber) and by chapter (cap.). In Bydžovský's time, Bede's history was available in several printed editions: the first one was from Strasbourg in 1475; another edition also from Strasbourg (in 1500) combined Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* with Eusebius of Caesaria's *Ecclesiastica historia*; and finally an edition of his *Opera* appeared in a six volumes edition in Paris (in 1544-45).³⁰ There is also the record of a contemporary manuscript of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* in Prague.³¹

Bydžovský's choice of Bede as his authority was not accidental. In fact, judging from the publication record up to the mid-sixteenth century, Bede's writings were more popular on the Continent than in England. Specifically, in sixteenth-century Bohemia, the interest in Bede covered not only his *Ecclesiastical History*, but his exegetical and homiletical works as well. In particular, Bilejovský in his *Bohemian Chronicle* (1537) referred to Bede's discussion of St. Luke's gospel in the context of affirming the seven sacraments. Bede's commentaries on the New Testament were available in his *Opera*, published in Paris in 1521, of which the second volume covered the gospels, including that of Luke.³²

Beyond this, the knowledge of Bede's writings went back to the beginnings of the Bohemian Reformation, which also indicates that Bede's works were available in Bohemia in manuscripts even before the invention of printing. Thus, Jakoubek of Stříbro referred to Bede in 1414 as an authority on lay communion *sub utraque* in his treatise of 1414, *O Boží krvi* (About the Blood of God).³³ Above all, Jan Hus appears to have been particularly fond of citing Bede's exegetical writings in his own homiletical works. In his Czech-language sermons, the references to Bede are exceeded only by those to Augustine and Jerome.³⁴

²⁹ A modern bilingual edition is available in *Beda Venerabilis: Baedae Opera historica*. 2 Vols. London, New York 1930.

³⁰ Bede. In: Dictionary of National Biography. Vol 2. Oxford 1921-22, 98-105, here 102.

³¹ Prague, St. Vitus Chapter 27 (Archiv IX (1847), 474), listed in: *Laistner*, Max L. W.: A Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts. Ithaca 1943, 101.

³² *Bilejovský*: Kronyka Cýrkewnij 99 (cf. fn. 7); *Beda Venerabilis: Opera Venerabilis Bedae Presbyteri*. Paris 1521; new edition in *Beda Venerabilis: Bedae Venerabilis Opera*, Pars II: Opera exegetica. Vol. 3: In Lucae Evangelium expositio; In Marci Evangelium Expositio. Turnholt 1960. See also Bede. In: Dictionary of National Biography 103 (cf. fn. 30).

³³ *ze Stříbra*, Jakoubek: Dvě staročeská utrakvistická díla [Two Old-Czech Utraquist Works]. Ed. by Mirek Čejka and Helena Krmíčková. Brno 2009 (Spisy Masarykovy univerzity v Brně. Filozofická fakulta 379) 58-59.

³⁴ In Hus's *Česká nedělní postila* (Czech Sunday Sermon) and *Česká sváteční kázání* (Czech Feast-Day Sermons), the number of references to Bede equals those to Bernard of Clairvaux and Gregory the Great, and exceeds those to Ambrose, Anselm, Aquinas, Chrysostom, Remigius, or Origen; see: *Opera omnia Magistri Iohannis Hus*. Vol. 2-3. Praha 1975-1995; see *Beda Venerabilis: Homilies on the Gospels*. Vol. 1: Advent to Lent. Kalamazoo/MI 1991 (Cistercian Studies Series 110). See also *David*, Zdeněk V.: Hus a anglická homiletika: Beda Ctihodný a Wyclif v Husových českých spisech [Jan Hus and English Homiletics: The Venerable Bede and Wyclif in Hus's Czech Writings]. In: *Hlaváček*, Petr (ed.): O felix Bohemia! Studie k dějinám české reformace: K počtě Davida R. Holetona [O felix Bohemia! Studies on the History of the Bohemian Reformation: In Honor of David R. Holetón]. Praha 2013 (Europeana Pragensia 5) 59-80.

To document the papal foundation of English Christianity, Bydžovský cites from Book 2, Chapter 1 of Bede's *Historia gentis Anglorum*, which gives credit to Pope Gregory I for having converted the English nation from the "power of Satan to the faith of Christ" (de potestate Satanae ad fidem Christi).³⁵ He then amplifies Gregory's merits by a long citation from Bede, which stresses two facts. In the first place, thanks to Gregory, the English were converted to a Church of Christ, while previously they had been held in bondage by a worship of idols. Secondly, Gregory deserved to be called an Apostle. Although he might not have been an Apostle universally, he was an Apostle for the English. Through the seal of his apostolate the English nation was united with God. The identical statement of Bede and Bydžovský is as follows:

[...] he made our nation a Church of Christ, which had been ever till that time the bond-slave of idols, so that we may lawfully pronounce of him that saying of the apostle: that if he be not an apostle to others, yet he is so to us; for the seal of his apostleship are we in Christ.³⁶

Bydžovský's knowledge of Bede's history is further exhibited by his relating episodes from the lives of famous English rulers' following Pope Gregory's intervention. Again citing verbatim from Bede, he tells the story of the goodness of St. Oswald, King of Northumbria (c. A.D. 604-642), who was famous for his charity to the poor and pilgrims, quoting from Book 3, Chapter 6 of Bede's *History*. At a feast, Oswald not only gave away all the food served to him, but also ordered a large silver dish broken up and the fragments distributed among the indigents. Impressed by his magnanimity, a present bishop bestowed a special blessing on the King's charitable right hand, which then never decayed even after his death.³⁷ Concerning Oswald, Bydžovský then cites the story from Bede's Book 4, Chapter 14 about the holy king's stopping a deadly plague.³⁸ Next, Bydžovský quotes from Bede's *History*, Book 3, Chapter 18, the eulogy of another English ruler, Sigeberht, King of the East Angles (c. A.D. 630-35), who was not only saintly, eventually preferring life of a heavenly warfare in the monastery to a secular one in the outside world, but also a lover of learning, who established an exemplary school for boys.³⁹ Bydžovský further lifts out of Bede's *History*, Book 3, Chapter 19, the story of a saintly man in the reign of Sigeberht, whose soul would leave the body during the night and join a company of angels, listening to their songs glorifying the holy men and "the God of gods" on Sion.⁴⁰

³⁵ *Bydžovský*: *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. A1v (cf. fn. 13); cited verbatim from Bede, see *Beda Venerabilis*: *Baedae Opera historica*. Vol. 1. London, New York 1930, 184.

³⁶ *Ibid.* The English translation here and in the subsequent notes follows that of J. E. King in *Baedae Opera historica*.

³⁷ *Bydžovský*: *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. A2r (cf. fn. 13); *Beda Venerabilis*: *Baedae Opera historica*. Vol. 1, 352 (cf. fn. 35).

³⁸ The parallel text is in *Bydžovský*: *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. A2r (cf. fn. 13); and *Beda Venerabilis*: *Baedae Opera historica*. Vol. 2. London, New York 1930, 80, 82.

³⁹ *Bydžovský*: *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. A2v (cf. fn. 13); and *Beda Venerabilis*: *Baedae Opera historica*. Vol. 1, 412 (cf. fn. 35).

⁴⁰ "[...] and from evening until cockcrow being out of the body he was thought worthy to behold the sight of the angelical company, and to hear their blessed thanksgivings. Further,

Bydžovský's Critique of Henry's Policies: Reginald Pole's Invectives

In seeking the source of Bydžovský's harsh interpretation of Henry VIII's behavior, it is necessary to look beyond the earlier mentioned chronicles concerning English affairs that were available in sixteenth-century Bohemia. The problem with these sources is their rather bland treatment of Henry VIII's part in the events of the 1530s, concerning especially the burning issues of his marital problems, his execution of Fisher, More and the Carthusian monks, as well as his break with Rome. These treatments lack the passion and the indignation of Bydžovský's narrative. As an illustrative example, it is possible to cite the dispassionate account in the Czech translation of Münster's *Cosmographia* (1554):

[...] to whose [Henry VII's] place Henry VIII succeeded and still in our age has ruled. Having taken as his first wife Catherine, the daughter of the Spanish King Ferdinand, and having lived with her for several years, he put her into a cloister, and took two other daughters of English lords. One bore him a son Edward and died during the childbirth. He ordered the other one beheaded; I do not know the reason, unless that some had accused her of adultery. Then he married the sister of the Duke of Jülich, but he did not love her for long either. This Henry collected and appropriated the annual payments, which his ancestors, for the sake of religion, were giving to the Apostolic See.⁴¹

The account in Carion's *Knihy Kronik o všelikých znamenitých věcech od počátku světa zběhlých* (A Book of Chronicles about Diverse Notable Matters Occurring Since the Beginning of the World, 1541) is similarly innocuous.⁴² Even the treatment in the chronicle of Johannes Cochlaeus (1549), in which one might expect more passion from a noted Roman Catholic controversialist, is rather anodyne. In fact, Cochlaeus seeks to relativize or historicize Henry's actions by comparing his treat-

he was wont to tell that among other things he openly heard them sing; "Holy men shall go from virtue to virtue." And again: "The God of gods shall be seen in Sion." The Latin text, identical in Bydžovský and Bede, is as follows: "[...] fuisse, et a Vespera usque ad gallicantum corpore exutum. Angelorum agminum atque aspectus intueri et auribus percipere laudes beatas, meruisse scribit. Referre autem erat solitus, quod aperte eas inter alias resonare audiret, scilicet, ibunt Sancti de virtute in virtutem, et iterum, Videbitur DEVS Deorum in Syon." *Bydžovský*: *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. A2v (cf. fn. 13); and *Beda Venerabilis*: *Baedae Opera historica*. Vol. 1, 418 (cf. fn. 35).

⁴¹ "[...] na jehožto místo nastoupil Jindřich Osmý a za tohoto našeho věku ještě panoval. Pojav sobě první manželku Kateřinu, dceru Ferdinanda krále Hyspánského a několik let s ní jsa, do kláštera ji dal a jiné dvě pánů/englických dcery sobě pojal. Jedna mu splodila syna Edvarda a při porodu umřela. Druhou stíti kázal; nevím z které příčiny, než že ji někteří cizoložstvem nařkli. Potom pojal sestru knížete Julického, ale tu také nedlouho miloval. Tento Jindřich zase sobě přivedl a vzal roční plat, kterýž jsou předkové jeho z náboženství stolici apoštolské dávali." *Münster*: *Kosmografia česká*, f. 152v (cf. fn. 25).

⁴² *Carion*: *Knihy Kronik o všelikých znamenitých věcech* 362 (cf. fn. 25), in *Vorel* (ed.): *Dějiny evropského světa* 87 (cf. fn. 25). "1535: Henry VIII ordered Thomas More beheaded in July because he did not want to approve the King's divorce. For many years he held the office of Chancellor, the second highest after the King. Retired from it with King's permission to devote himself to intellectual pursuits, as Erasmus (his excellent friend) had reminded him. Yet, he did not enjoy his free life for long, since ill-will and envy soon cut him down, as often happens to good and virtuous people at the courts." *Ibid.* 367-368, in *Vorel* (ed.): *Dějiny evropského světa* 91 (cf. fn. 25).

ment of More to the sentencing of Socrates by the Athenian Senate, and, in the case of Fisher, bringing up Pope Paul III's provocation by appointing the prosecuted bishop as a cardinal.⁴³

The most likely source of Bydžovský's invectives and harsh treatment of Henry's attitudes and actions was another book, almost certainly available in Bohemia and published in plenty of time for Bydžovský to use in the mid-1550s. It was Reginald Pole's *Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione, libri quatuor* (In Defense of the Unity of the Church, Book Four), two editions of which were published in Rome in 1536 and 1539 respectively.⁴⁴ The Bohemian connection was strengthened by the support Pole (1500-1558) was given by the Habsburg dynasty, especially by Emperor Charles V, who wished to redress Henry's injury to his aunt Queen Catherine and her daughter Mary.⁴⁵ Pole was a distant relative of Henry who helped to finance his early education, but the book signaled Pole's formal break with the King and, Henry was additionally antagonized, when Pole received the rank of Cardinal Deacon from Pope Paul III in December 1536. At the time, when Bydžovský's treatise was published in 1554, Pole had returned to England as a papal legate after the accession of Queen Mary to the throne and was then appointed Archbishop of Canterbury.⁴⁶

Like Bydžovský in his treatise, Pole in *Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione* sharply attacks Henry on his claim to the status of the Supreme Head of the Church. Pole addresses Henry, "With the ruin of your kingdom, with the slaughter and murder of the very best men [...] you had made a clear path for yourself to the title of supreme head of the Church in England. Nothing more ignominious could ever have been imagined than this pretentious title."⁴⁷ Like Bydžovský, Pole attributes animal passions to Henry. Discussing what epitaph the King might deserve on his tomb, he suggests that of Sardanapalus: "I had those things that satiated my passionate desires" which, according to Aristotle, "might better have been inscribed on the tomb of a cow rather than upon the tomb of a king."⁴⁸ Likewise, Pole excoriates Henry's cruelty, comparing him to the Turks.⁴⁹ Having had More and Fisher put to death, Henry proved himself to be worse than Roman Emperors, Nero and Domitian.⁵⁰

⁴³ *Cochlaeus*: Commentaria Joannis Cochlaei 284 (cf. fn. 24).

⁴⁴ Pole, Reginald [Reginaldi Poli Cardinalis Britannii]: *Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione, libri quatuor*. Romae 1536; *Pole*: *Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione, libri IV*. Romae 1539. A modern English translation of Pole's treatise was published as *Pole: Pole's Defense of the Unity of the Church*. Westminster 1965.

⁴⁵ Pole, Reginald. In: *Dictionary of National Biography*. Vol 16. Oxford 1921-22, 35-46, here 36.

⁴⁶ He would be consecrated archbishop of Canterbury in 1556, and die in London on November 17, 1558. After the appearance of *Pro ecclesiasticae unitatis defensione*, Henry had avenged himself by having Pole's mother and brother executed. *Ibid.* 35-46.

⁴⁷ *Pole*: *Pole's Defense of the Unity* 288, see also 39, 209 (cf. fn. 44).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* 288. "Sardanapalus... was the legendary last king of Assyria, who according to the ancient account was the 30th and most dissolute of a line of effete sovereigns." Sardanapalus. In: *Encyclopedia Americana*. Vol. 24. Danbury/Conn. 1994, 260.

⁴⁹ *Pole*: *Pole's Defense of the Unity* 247 (cf. fn. 44).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* 260.

The martyrdom of More and Fisher is a central theme for Pole as it is for Bydžovský. These martyrs are the principal figures of the book.⁵¹ Pole stresses their characteristics as saints, asking,

Were these not the very men from whose virtues and literary talents England derived such a great enjoyment? By their lives they provided England with a singular saintly example [...]. These are the same men, however, who defended ecclesiastical affairs with their learning, religious devotion, and written works [...].⁵²

In addition Pole, like Bydžovský, conspicuously features the Carthusians as the most prominent victims of Henry's next to More and Fisher.⁵³

Description of Thomas More's Trial⁵⁴

The description of More's trial by Bydžovský coincides with Pole's account, especially in the stress on the length and intricate character of the articles of accusation. More comments that the charges brought against him were so numerous that he could recall hardly one third of them.⁵⁵ He refused to state his opinion about the law he was accused to malign, because having been sentenced to lifetime imprisonment, he was already dead as a citizen. He just wished to meditate on the passions of Christ, the Redeemer. The king's advocate (i.e. Thomas Audley, the Chancellor) then construed his silence as a crime. It was a sign of a malicious mind.⁵⁶ More objected that he could not be condemned because of his silence. His silence indicated an approval rather than an opposition to the law. Both note the rapid assembling of twelve men to pronounce the verdict, according to the custom of England. Although writing in Latin, both Pole and Bydžovský insert the English word "Giltie" into the Latin text, when citing the jury's verdict.⁵⁷

The Enigma of the Guildhall Report

However, certain aspects of More's trial and its circumstances, which Bydžovský cites accurately according to the so-called Guildhall Report, are not included in Pole's account of the trial. These are to begin with: More's alleged collusion with

⁵¹ For instance, *ibid.* 38, 259-263.

⁵² *Ibid.* 204-205

⁵³ *Ibid.* 204, and *Bydžovský: Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. D2r (cf. fn. 13).

⁵⁴ *Kelly, Henry Ansgar/Karlin, Louis W./Wegemer, Gerard B. (eds.): Thomas More's Trial by Jury: A Procedural and Legal Review with a Collection of Documents.* Woodbridge/UK 2011, 196-209. Also *Pole: Pole's Defense of the Unity* 219-220 (cf. fn. 44); *Bydžovský: Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. B3v-C2v (cf. fn. 13).

⁵⁵ *Bydžovský: Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. Br-r (cf. fn. 13); *Pole: Pole's Defense of the Unity* 218 (cf. fn. 44); *Kelly/Karlin/Wegemer (eds.): Thomas More's Trial* 197-198 (cf. fn. 54).

⁵⁶ *Bydžovský: Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. Br-v (cf. fn. 13); *Pole: Pole's Defense of the Unity* 218-220 (cf. fn. 44); *Kelly/Karlin/Wegemer (eds.): Thomas More's Trial* 197-198 (cf. fn. 54).

⁵⁷ *Bydžovský: Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. Br-v; C1-v (cf. fn. 13); *Pole: Pole's Defense of the Unity* 219-220 (cf. fn. 44); *Kelly/Karlin/Wegemer (eds.): Thomas More's Trial* 199-201 (cf. fn. 54). Bydžovský also cites the verdict in his Latin text as "Gylthi," *Bydžovský: Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, C1-v (cf. fn. 13).

Fisher against Henry's laws; destruction of treasonable correspondence with Fisher; and referring to Henry's laws as "a double-edged sword."⁵⁸ Other examples are the following: (1) After being sentenced, More revealed his mind on the issue that no lay person could be head of a spiritual order; whereupon the Chancellor rebuked him that he could not contradict the judgment of all the bishops, the nobility and the people of England, to which More retorted that he had, on his side, many more teachers of the church, general councils and, all the kingdoms of the Christian world.⁵⁹ (2) The Chancellor charged More with malice, and More responded that the decree under which he was convicted was invalid; and feeling that the main reason for his conviction was his opposition to the king's second marriage. (3) More stated that he prayed he would be reunited with his judges in heaven just as St. Paul was with St. Stephen whom he had martyred on earth.⁶⁰ (4) Finally, Bydžovský's description of More's two encounters with his daughter Margaret, when led back to jail after his sentencing. These four statements of Bydžovský are also missing in Pole's account, but are verbatim in the Guildhall Report.⁶¹

Method of Execution

Returning to Pole's account, his highlighting of the martyrdom of Reginaldus monachus, Richard Reynolds (c. 1487-1535), a Bridgettine monk,⁶² to whom Bydžovský also devotes an entire section of his treatise *De D. Reginaldi theologi martyrio, responsis, et sententia Mortis propter fidem Ecclesiae*,⁶³ is particularly telling. Both extoll Reynolds' remarkable erudition. Pole praises him for his knowledge of the liberal arts, which he could study in their original form, as he knew the relevant tongues.⁶⁴ Bydžovský calls attention to Reynolds' remarkable knowledge of theo-

⁵⁸ *Bydžovský*: *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. C1-r - C1-v (cf. fn. 13); these episodes are not recorded in *Pole: Pole's Defense of the Unity* (cf. fn. 44), but they were, in fact, parts of More's trial, as recorded in the *Guildhall Report*, published in *Kelly/Karlin/Wegemer* (eds.): *Thomas More's Trial 186-195* (cf. fn. 54). It is not clear how Bydžovský secured access to a copy of the *Guildhall Report*, or to another corresponding record.

⁵⁹ *Bydžovský*: *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. C1-v - C2-r (cf. fn. 13); these episodes are not recorded in *Pole: Pole's Defense of the Unity* (cf. fn. 44), but again they were, in fact, parts of More's trial, as recorded in the *Guildhall Report*, published in *Kelly/Karlin/Wegemer* (eds.): *Thomas More's Trial 192* (cf. fn. 54).

⁶⁰ *Bydžovský*: *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. C2-r (cf. fn. 13); again these episodes are not recorded in *Pole: Pole's Defense of the Unity* (cf. fn. 44), but they were, in fact, parts of More's trial, as recorded in the *Guildhall Report*, published in *Kelly/Karlin/Wegemer* (eds.): *Thomas More's Trial 193* (cf. fn. 54).

⁶¹ *Bydžovský*: *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. C2-v (cf. fn. 13); likewise, these episodes are not recorded in *Pole: Pole's Defense of the Unity* (cf. fn. 44), but they were, in fact, parts of More's trial, as recorded in the *Guildhall Report*, published in *Kelly/Karlin/Wegemer* (eds.): *Thomas More's Trial 193-194* (cf. fn. 54).

⁶² "Behold the Bridgettine Order! [...] I cannot do this without calling by name upon one whom I knew intimately. His name was Reynolds." *Pole: Pole's Defense of the Unity* 253 (cf. fn. 44), see also 292 no. 9; also Reynolds, Richard. In: *Dictionary of National Biography*. Vol. 16. Oxford 1921-1922, 953-954; Reynolds, Richard, Bl. In: *New Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 12. New York 1967, 455-456.

⁶³ *Bydžovský*: *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. C3v (cf. fn. 13).

⁶⁴ *Pole: Pole's Defense of the Unity* 253 (cf. fn. 44).

logy covering fifteen centuries, which included the decrees of the General Councils and the works of Church doctors and patristic writers, especially St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory.⁶⁵

Finally, perhaps the most revealing parallel is the virtually identical description of the standard triple stage executions, inflicted on Henry's victims. First, the victims were hung, but taken down, before they suffocated. Second, their sexual organs, and their hearts were cut out, and burned in the fire. Third, their heads were cut off, their bodies quartered and these remains placed above gates and into other public places in the city of London. Both authors emphasize that, as an added cruelty, these proceedings were carried out in sequence so that the next victim in line could observe the sufferings of the preceding one.⁶⁶

Witness from Silence

There is also a negative feature – missing pieces of narrative – which connects Bydžovský with Pole. Neither of them develops the parallel of Henry and Anne Boleyn with Herod and Herodias/Salome, featuring Fisher in the role of John the Baptist. This parallel was relished particularly by sixteenth-century English recusant writers. Thus, this biblical simile between Herod Antipas and Henry was employed by Nicholas Harpsfield (1519-1575). Anne Boleyn was compared to Herod's half-niece and half-brother's wife Herodias, whom Herod married after repudiating his own first wife. John the Baptist condemns Herod's divorce and remarriage, so Herodias's daughter Salome pursues revenge against the prophet demanding John the Baptist's head. Harpsfield is very anxious to point out that both Salome and Anne ended up decapitated. Anne by Henry's executioner, Salome in an accident by two sheets of ice.⁶⁷ As their narratives stand, Bydžovský's contains one fleeting reference to Fisher as a John the Baptist, and Pole's one biblical reference to Anne concerns Jezabel; neither Herodias nor Salome figures in either Bydžovský's or Pole's account.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ *Bydžovský*: *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. C4r-C4v (cf. fn. 13).

⁶⁶ *Pole*: *Pole's Defense of the Unity* 206 (cf. fn. 44), and *Bydžovský*: *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. D1v (cf. fn. 13). The one difference in the accounts is that Bydžovský speaks of severed "sexual organs" thrown in the fire, while Pole merely of "entrails." It is possible that the American Catholic translator of Pole in the 1960s shied away from the term.

⁶⁷ *Harpsfield*, Nicholas: *A treatise on the pretended divorce between Henry VIII and Catharine of Aragon*. Westminster 1878 (Works of the Camden Society, new series 21) 249-252. See also *Higley*, Christopher: "A Pestilent and Seditious Book:" Nicholas Sander's *Schismatis Anglicani and Catholic Histories of the Reformation*. In: *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68 (2005) 1-2, 151-171, here 157-158. Harpsfield's treatise was completed at the death of Mary and not permitted to be printed under Elizabeth. The account of the Anne/Salome parallel appeared in Nicholas Sander's *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism* in 1588, as *Sander*, Nicholas: *De origine ac progressu schismatis anglicani*. Ingoldstadii 1588; transl.: *Sander*: *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*. London 1877.

⁶⁸ On Bydžovský's reference to "the imitator of the most blessed John the Baptist, John the Bishop of Rochester," see *Bydžovský*: *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, A3r (cf. fn. 13). For the reference to Jezabel, see *Pole*: *Pole's Defense of the Unity* 258, 281 (cf. fn. 44).

There is another notable missing piece of the narrative that – by a testimony from silence – points to Pole’s book as the source of Bydžovský’s account. While Pole describes in gory details the process of the three-stage execution, especially applied in the case of the Carthusian monks, he notably does not inform the reader that Fisher and More were spared such grisly proceedings, that were reserved for Henry’s opponents (as traitors), and that the two were – by a special dispensation from the King – simply beheaded.⁶⁹ This qualifying information is also absent in Bydžovský’s account.

Thomas More’s Epitaph

This leaves us to account for the source of the text of an epitaph for Thomas More, cited by Bydžovský, and for his use of the canon law in discussing Henry’s marital complications. The epitaph, “The Tablet Attached to the Tomb of Thomas More,” constitutes another separate section of Bydžovský’s treatise.⁷⁰ It turns out to be a verbatim reproduction of the Inscription, which More had included in a letter to Erasmus. The text is published in Nicholas Harpsfield’s *The Life and Death of Sr Thomas Moore ... Describing the Trial and Death of More; More’s Indictment; and More’s Epitaph*.⁷¹ The editor, Elsie V. Hitchcock, dates the letter to June 14, 1532, and cites *Des Erasmi Roterdami Epistolarum Opus* (Basel: Officina Frobeniana, 1538) as the source.⁷² Bydžovský presumably had access to the text of the Epitaph in the Frobenius edition, especially since a Bohemian, Zikmund Hrubý of Jelení (Gelenius, 1497-1554) was assisting Frobenius in publishing Erasmus’s works.⁷³

The Canon Law

As for his references to canon law in relation to marriage, mentioned above,⁷⁴ Bydžovský could safely rely on his earlier knowledge of this field. He had previously employed it in his arguments in 1541 to document that infant communion had enjoyed a traditional acceptance, specifically in the Western Church, into the second millennium of Christianity. After all, its classical justification in the Decretum of Gratian dates to the mid-eleventh century. From canon law he cited from Distin-

⁶⁹ On More and Fisher being spared the type of execution designed for traitors, see *Mackie*, John D.: *The Earlier Tudors: 1485-1558*. Oxford 1952 (The Oxford History of England 7) 362-363; *Ridley*, Jasper: *Henry VIII*. New York 1985, 247-249. A Statute of November 1534 declared that “the King was Supreme Head of the Church of England,” and another Act defined as treason: “to deny any of the King’s titles.” *Ibid.* 244.

⁷⁰ “Tabula affixa ad sepulchrum Thomae Mori,” cited by *Bydžovský*: *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, C2v-C3v (cf. fn. 13).

⁷¹ The text of the epitaph is in *Harpsfield*, Nicholas: *The Life and Death of Sr Thomas Moore, knight, sometyes lord high chancellor of England*. Ed. by Elsie Vaughan Hitchcock. Oxford 1932, 279-281, see also reference to epitaph, *ibid.* 60-61.

⁷² See *ibid.* 278.

⁷³ Zikmund Hrubý of Jelení (Gelenius, 1497-1554) in 1523 left for Basel, where he worked as editor in the publishing house of Frobenius; see: Hrubý z Jelení Zikmund (Gelenius). In: *Malá československá encyklopedie* [Small Czechoslovak Encyclopedia]. Vol. 2. Praha 1985, 859.

⁷⁴ *Bydžovský*: *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. A3v (cf. fn. 13).

ctio 4, *Canon Si qui vel hi qui*, which provided that those who after baptism and confirmation were unable to walk, either because of young age or handicap, should be carried to receive communion. Further, *Distinctio 4, Canon Eccles* stated that their lack of understanding did not bar the infants from the Body and Blood of Christ, the reception of which enabled the attainment of eternal life.⁷⁵

He had also displayed formidable knowledge of canon law on another occasion in 1543, adducing at least twelve *Distinctiones* and *Causae* from the *Decretum* of Gratian, particularly those defining the respective status of the bishops and the priests (*Causa 1* and *24*,⁷⁶ *Distinctio 92* and *95*⁷⁷) and those bearing on the proper consecrations of the Eucharist (*Distinctio 2*⁷⁸). Thus, unlike Luther – who had denounced this type of legislation as *summa injuria tyrannis* – Bydžovský had no qualms about resorting to arguments from canon law.⁷⁹ In this Bydžovský also followed in the tradition of the Bohemian Reformation. According to Jiří Kejř, especially Jan Hus had referred in his writings to the *Decretum* of Gratian more often than to any other source except the Scripture.⁸⁰

Bydžovský's Utraquism

Bydžovský and the Papacy

While questioning Rome's authority in ecclesiastical governance, particularly its zest for micromanagement, and Rome's claims to absolute infallibility in biblical interpretation, the Utraquists evidently acknowledged the Roman See as the fountain-head of sacerdotal power – at least as far as Western Christendom was concerned. This conclusion is supported by Bydžovský's equation of "Roman" priestly ordina-

⁷⁵ *Bydžovský*: Děťátka a neviňátka, f. A7r-A7v (cf. fn. 8).

⁷⁶ *Bydžovský*: Tento spis ukazuje, že Biskupové Biskupa 6, 9, 14 (cf. fn. 10), cited from *Friedberg*, Aemilius (ed.): *Corpus Iuris Canonici*: Editio Lipsiensis Secunda. Vol. 1: *Decretum Magistri Gratiani*. Lipsiae 1879, col. 359, 977-980.

⁷⁷ *Bydžovský*: Tento spis ukazuje, že Biskupové Biskupa 15 (cf. fn. 10), cf. *Friedberg* (ed.): *Corpus Iuris Canonici*. Vol. 1, col. 317-318, 332 (cf. fn. 76).

⁷⁸ *Bydžovský*: Tento spis ukazuje, že Biskupové Biskupa 14 (cf. fn. 10), cf. *Friedberg* (ed.): *Corpus Iuris Canonici*. Vol. 1, col. 1343-1342 (cf. fn. 76).

⁷⁹ *Winter*, Zikmund: O životě na vysokých školách pražských: Kulturní obraz XV. a XVI. století [On the Life in the University Schools of Prague: A Cultural Image of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries]. Praha 1899 (Spisů musejních 67) 357. While Luther rejected classical canon law, the Anglican Church retained its substance after eliminating the elements of papal centralization, see *Bray*, Gerald: *The Anglican Canons, 1529-1947*. Woodbridge/UK 1998; *MacCulloch*, Diarmaid: *Thomas Cranmer: A Life*. New Haven, London 1996, 327, 351, 377, 449; see also *Provost*, James H.: *Canon Law*. In: *The Encyclopedia of Religion*. Vol. 3. New York 1987, 69-72, here 70; *Canon Law*. In: *Lueker*, Erwin L. (ed.): *Lutheran Cyclopedia*. St. Louis 1975. Revised edition, 133. Bydžovský's and other Utraquist theologians' view of canon law may be assumed to have come close to that of Erasmus, see *Maurer*, Wilhelm: *Erasmus und das Kanonische Recht*. In: *Vierhundertfünfzig Jahre lutherische Reformation, 1517-1967*. Festschrift für Franz Lau zum 60. Geburtstag. Göttingen 1967, 222-232.

⁸⁰ *Kejř*, Jiří: Jan Hus jako právní myslitel [Jan Hus as a Legal Theorist]. In: *Lášek*, Jan B. (ed.): *Jan Hus mezi epochami, národy a konfesemi* [Jan Hus among Epochs, Nations, and Confessions]. Praha 1995, 197-207, here 197.

tion (kněží římského svěcení) with a proper ordination (kněží řádně svěcení).⁸¹ The bond between the Utraquists and Rome persisted in consequence of the central position of the Eucharist and of frequent communion in the Utraquist liturgy. Their insistence on a canonically consecrated Eucharist led to a corresponding insistence on a canonically ordained priesthood. This fact, in turn, conditioned the Roman Curia's reciprocal view of the validity of Utraquist priesthood.⁸²

Bydžovský's acceptance of the papacy and of the apostolic succession is reflected in the section of his treatise, titled *About Cruel Slaughter of Others for Testimony to Truth*:

The Prior of the Carthusian Monastery in London approached the Almoner of the King, Doctor Latmet, and yet another Doctor, and stated that he wished to say three things in order to relieve his conscience: "First, it is necessary to know that Our Lord JESUS CHRIST granted his deputies spiritual power through his Gospel statement: 'And to you I give the keys to the Kingdom of God,' and no-one of the teachers of the Church has ever maintained that these words were addressed to anybody else other than St. Peter, from whom this power is transmitted to other Apostles and subsequently to the Popes and the Bishops. How then can the King interpret these words to mean that He Himself would be the Supreme Head and the Primate of the English Church?!" On hearing this, the Royal Secretary retorted: "Thus, you want that the King became a priest?" and he prohibited the Prior to speak anything further.⁸³

We can recall that earlier in the beginning of his treatise, Bydžovský had paid a glowing tribute to the papal role in the Christianization of England by citing from Venerable Bede. He credited Gregory the Great, as the visible head of the holy Church militant, with freeing England from worship of idols and instead leading the country into the Church of Christ. Thus, Pope Gregory had become an Apostle, if not for the universal church, then in any case for England.⁸⁴

The English Martyrs and Erasmian Catholicism

At the time, when the Utraquist Church was defining itself against Luther's teaching, largely under Bydžovský and his colleague Bohuslav Bílejovský, opposing Luther's radical departures from the traditional medieval norms of theology and liturgy, their stance was unsympathetic to Henry VIII's and Archbishop Thomas Cranmer's religious policies, especially the complete break from the papacy. The views of these Utraquist theologians on ecclesiastical reform were closer to the Humanistic Catholicism of the Dutch theologian, Desiderius Erasmus (1469-1536) and his followers.⁸⁵ Paradoxically, as noted earlier, this brand of liberal Catholicism also brought them into sympathy with Thomas More and Bishop of Rochester, John Fisher, the arch-enemies of Henry's and Cranmer's reforms. The views of both

⁸¹ *Bydžovský*: Děťátka a neviňátka, f. A-2v (cf. fn. 8).

⁸² Utraquist priests during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were ordained mostly by itinerant Italian bishops, and later also by a Uniate Greek Bishop in Venice; see *David*: Finding the Middle Way 143-150 (cf. fn. 3).

⁸³ *Bydžovský*: *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. D1r (cf. fn. 13).

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* f. A1v - A2r; for the quote from Bede: see *Beda Venerabilis*: *Baedae Opera historica*. Vol. 1, 185 (cf. fn. 35).

⁸⁵ On the relationship between the Utraquists and Erasmus, see *David*: Finding the Middle Way 295-297 (cf. fn. 3).

More, and Fisher, were, in fact, in harmony with, and partly under the influence of, Erasmus,⁸⁶ and they both belonged to the circle of his correspondents, usually called the Erasmians.⁸⁷

It is, therefore, not entirely unexpected that – because of their own endorsement of papalism, albeit minimalist – the Utraquist theologians should feel sympathetic to the two English martyrs. In More's and Fisher's liberal ecclesiology they could recognize kindred reformist spirits. More and Fisher, in fact, literally gave up their heads for the pope as the chief of the sacramental system in the Western Church, while they wished to abolish his role as the monarch of an ecclesiastical state. In sum, More's and Fisher's liberal Catholicism resembled that of the Utraquists, and made understandable their eulogy by Bydžovský in his *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*.⁸⁸ Similarly, another prominent Utraquist author, Simon Ennius Klatovský, expressed a warm appreciation of More in the introduction to his own translation of Robert Barnes's *Kronyky*, containing biographies of the popes.⁸⁹

Rejection of Luther

Despite Bydžovský's relatively frequent and rather surprising praise of Luther and Melancton – in contrast to the stances of the Unity of Brethren (closer to the Calvinists) – it does become clear, on deeper probing in his writings, that he indeed rejected the basic framework of Lutheran doctrines, whenever they differed from the tenets of traditional mainline Utraquism. Without mentioning Luther or Melancton by name, he took a firm stand against the crucial Lutheran doctrine of justification *sola fide*. In a refreshing change, he no longer argued against the Brethren as had been his custom (happily, they also objected to solafideism).⁹⁰

⁸⁶ Reynolds, Ernest Edwin.: Thomas More and Erasmus. New York 1965. On Erasmus's influence on Fisher, see McConica, James K.: The English Reception of Erasmus. In: Mout, M.E.H.N./Smolinsky, H./Trapman, J. (eds.): Erasmianism: Idea and Reality. Amsterdam, Oxford, New York, Tokyo 1997, 41-46.

⁸⁷ On Erasmianism, see Augustijn, Cornelis: Verba valent usu: was ist Erasmianismus?. In: Mout/Smolinsky/Trapman (eds.): Erasmianism: Idea and Reality 5-14, here 6-11 (cf. fn. 86).

⁸⁸ Bydžovský: *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. B2r, B3v (cf. fn. 13). On More's and Fisher's opposition to the late medieval ecclesiastical "Befehlsstaat" see Bradshaw, Brendan: The Controversial Sir Thomas More. In: *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 36 (1985) 4, 535-569, here 563-564. More, in particular, has been called "a papal minimalist" in *Guy*, John: Thomas More. London 2000, 201.

⁸⁹ Barnes, Robert: *Kronyky: A životů sepsání nejvrchnějších Biskupů Římských jináč Papežů* [Chronicles: Biographies of the Supreme Bishops of Rome, Otherwise the Popes]. Nuremberg 1565, f. 195v. This work is a translation of: Barnes: *Vitae Romanorum Pontificum, quos Papas vocamus. Vvitebergae* 1536.

⁹⁰ In opposing Luther's solafideism, the Brethren insisted on the necessity of good works. Thus, Lukáš of Prague in his *Odpověď Bratří na spis M. Luthera* (Response of the Brethren to M. Luther's Treatise, 1523) wrote: "Although a person made righteous out of grace in Christ through the Holy Spirit is freed without works of his own, he still must not receive in vain this grace and righteousness in the covenant of the law and in consecration. There have to be works resulting out of it and along with it." Cited by Říčan, Rudolf: *The History of the Unity of Brethren: A Protestant Hussite Church in Bohemia and Moravia*. Bethlehem/Pa. 1992, 114.

Instead, he dedicated a pamphlet to refuting the views of “New Believers” (nowowercy), presumably Czech Lutherans, who opposed the religious requirement of good works.⁹¹ In his writings of the 1540s, Bydžovský seemed to avoid the term “Lutheran,” but in the treatise under review here he does speak of Lutherans or New Evangelicals (Quos novos Euangelicastro, intelligo Luteranos).⁹²

Bydžovský’s denunciation of Luther and the Lutherans in his treatise contains a reference to the German irenic theologian, Georg Witzel, who will be discussed subsequently, as well as a reference to the power of the keys, which was discussed earlier in connection with Bydžovský’s defense of the papacy:

These new Evangelicals (understand Lutherans) are admonished by Georg Witzel in his sermon of the First Easter Sunday in these words:

Be careful – outside the Ark (of the Covenant) – there is nothing but annihilation. Therefore, reconcile with the Church, make a confession, repent your heresy, and render an appropriate fruit of penance. The Church, which is entrusted with the keys of unbinding and binding, is a dove, and She shall receive you. If you do not do so, you will remain forever bound by the ropes of hell between heaven and earth. Why do you confide so pitifully in some hypocritical Bachelor [Luther?] and, despite your own erudition, you do not grasp what the Apostle says, namely, that if even an angel came from heaven and preached another Gospel, than that which is accepted in this world and which has been accepted in glory, he would be anathematized, as it is written in the Epistles to the Galatians (1,8) and to Timothy (1,3). In brief, the Church has received the Gospel, and her keys are for binding and unbinding [...].⁹³

Endorsement of Witzel’s Role

In his treatise, Bydžovský indicates that his ultimate choice for the correct course of church renewal in Central Europe was to follow Georg Witzel (1501-1573).⁹⁴ Witzel, an ordained Catholic priest, married and served as a Lutheran minister in Saxony in the 1520s. He rejoined the Roman Church as a married lay preacher after the Augsburg Confession in 1530. Subsequently, living mainly in Dresden, Berlin, and Mainz, Witzel proposed a remaking of the Roman Church in a way that resembled the desiderata of the Bohemian Reformation, including a liberal ecclesiology (based on patristics and eschewing scholastic formulae), lay communion *sub utraque*, vernacular liturgy, and de-emphasis on the veneration of saints.⁹⁵ Having visited Bohemia in the early 1540s, he gained the favor of King and Emperor, Ferdinand I (as subsequently that of his successor, Maximilian II).⁹⁶

⁹¹ “Sprawen jsem, že by jeden Kazatel z Nowowěrcůw kázati měl, proč jest Krystus se postil moha bez toho býti, a nic jiného w tom nespůsobil, nežli swár mezy Lidmi.” [I am informed that a Preacher of the New Believers was to wonder why Christ fasted, since he could have done without it, and accomplished nothing, except conflict among the people]. See *Bydžovský*, Pavel: Spis o Postu, lv. 51r-54v (53r-56v). In: *Knížky o přijímání Těla a Krve*, f. 51r (53r) (cf. fn. 10). See also *David*: Finding the Middle Way 117 (cf. fn. 3).

⁹² “[N]ovos Euangelicastro (intelligo Luteranos) [...]” *Bydžovský*: *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. B1r; see also A4v (cf. fn. 13).

⁹³ *Ibid.* f. B1r.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* f. B1r.

⁹⁵ Witzel. In: *New Catholic Encyclopedia*. Vol. 14. New York 1967, 984-985; Witzel. In: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*. Vol. 43. Berlin 1968. 2nd edition, 658-659.

⁹⁶ *Trusen*, Winfried: *Um die Reform und Einheit der Kirche: Zum Leben und Werk Georg*

Bydžovský's attention might have been drawn to Witzel also by Johann Faber, Bishop of Vienna, who had been Witzel's sponsor since the mid-1530s.⁹⁷ The Utraquist translator of Barnes's *Chronicles*, and Bydžovský's contemporary, Šimon Ennius Klatovský was likewise familiar with Witzel's irenic position.⁹⁸ Subsequently, Witzel prepared a formula of concord (Pro concordia Ecclesiae repurgandae ac restituendae) for Ferdinand I to present to the Diet of Augsburg in 1555. Not surprisingly, in view of his liberal ecclesiology, he remained an opponent of the Council of Trent until his death in 1573.⁹⁹ Witzel's interest in Eastern liturgies, including the masses of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil, might have influenced Bydžovský in his above-mentioned translation of the canon of the Greek mass into Czech in 1549.¹⁰⁰ In any case in the treatise under review here, Bydžovský exhorts any Evangelicals or Lutherans (Euangelicastro, intelligo Luteranos) who might be in Bohemia, to listen to Witzel's voice.¹⁰¹ To the extent that Utraquism felt responsible for a general reform of the Western Church, as far as the Germans were concerned, Bydžovský recommended that they also learn from the exhortations of Witzel.¹⁰²

Conclusion

Thus, it is safe to conclude that Bydžovský's treatise does not only shed important light on the religious relationships between Bohemia and England in the mid-sixteenth century. Above all, it provides a solid testimony to the Utraquist theological and ecclesiastical *via media* between the Scylla of Rome and the Charybdis of Wittenberg (and Geneva). This unusual, but significant, aspect of Central European church history has been hitherto, by and large, neglected in historical scholarship.

APPENDIX I: The Treatise and Its Contents

The title of the treatise is: *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum (quibus Deus suam Ecclesiam exornare sicut syderibus Coelum dignatus est)* [Several Stories of English Martyrs (with Whom God Deigned to Decorate His Church Just Like the Heaven with Stars)], published in Prague by Ioannes Cantor in 1554. It consists of three and a half folios (A1-recto - D2-verso) or 28 pages. Copy in the Knihovna Národního muzea [Library of the National Museum, KNM], Praha, call no. 45 D 29.

Witzels. Münster 1957, 22-26; Henze, Barbara: Aus Liebe zur Kirche – Reform: Die Bemühungen Georg Witzels (1501-1573) um die Kircheneinheit. Münster 1995, 23.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* 33-34, fn. 188.

⁹⁸ Barnes: Kroniky: A životů sepsání nejvrchnejších Biskupů, f. 198r-198v (cf. fn. 89).

⁹⁹ Trusen: Um die Reform und Einheit der Kirche 31 (cf. fn. 96); for a general survey of his theological views, see *ibid.* 40-83.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* 65; Witzel. In: Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie 660-661 (cf. fn. 95); Borový: Jednání a dopisy konsistoře 247 (cf. fn. 12). Witzel's contemporary irenic theologian, the Croatian bishop Andreas Dudič, likewise was interested in Greek liturgy and copied the liturgy of Saint James from a manuscript in London in 1555. See Costil, Pierre: André Dudith, humaniste hongrois 1533-1589: Sa vie, son oeuvre et ses manuscrits grecs. Paris 1935, 228-231.

¹⁰¹ Bydžovský: *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum*, f. B1r (cf. fn. 13).

¹⁰² *Ibid.* f. A4v.

The treatise is divided into nine sections:

- I. Conversion of England to Christianity and Its Saintly Kings, f. A1-verso to f. A2-verso
- II. Tragic turn of events due to Henry VIII and his endorsement of gross immorality, including also bigamy and assumption of the headship of the English Church; opposition of Bishop John Fisher and Thomas More; f. A3-recto to f. A4-recto
- III. True priests expelled and replaced by imposters; appeal to Georg Witzel; eulogy of John the Elder of Lobkowicz and Zbiroh; f. A4-verso to f. B1-verso.
- IV. Captivity and martyrdom of Bishop John Fisher because of his opposition to the King's bigamy and his schismatic constitution; f. B2-recto to f. B3-verso.
- V. Thomas More's captivity, confiscation of property, and the ultimate punishment because of his confession of truth; f. B3-verso to f. C2-verso.
- VI. The tablet attached to the tomb of Thomas More; f. C2-verso to f. C3-verso.
- VII. About Richard Reynolds, the theologian's martyrdom, his defense and death sentence because of his fidelity to the Church; f. C3-verso to f. D1-recto.
- VIII. About the cruel slaughter of others for testimony to truth [the Carthusians: John Houghton, Robert Lawrence, and Augustine Webster, the Priors of the Charter Houses of London, of Beaulieu in Nottinghamshire, and the Isle of Axholme in Lincolnshire; as well as a secular priest, John Haile]; f. D1-recto to f. D2-recto.
- IX. Glossary of obscure terms; f. D2-recto to f. D2-verso.

APPENDIX II: Bydžovský's Published Works

- Bydžovský*, Pavel: Děťátka a neviňátka hned po přijetí křtu sv. Tělo a Krev Boží, že přijímáti mají [Infants and Innocents, Right after Baptism, Should Receive the Holy Body and Blood of God]. Praha 1541. Listed in: *Tobolka*, Zdeněk V./Horák, František/Wižďálková, Bedřiška (eds.): *Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků od doby nejstarší až do konce XVIII. století: Díl II: Tisky z let 1501-1800. Část II: Písmo B-Č: čís. 918-1808* [Bibliography of Czech and Slovak Prints from the Earliest Times to the End of the 18th Century: Part II: Prints from the Years 1501-1800: Section II: Letter B-Č: No. 918-1808]. Praha 1995, 67, No. 1388. Copy: Universitní knihovna [UK, today Národní knihovna (NK)], Praha, 54 K 19.480, appendage without title page and end.
- Bydžovský*: *Historiae aliquot Anglorum martyrum, quibus Deus suam ecclesiam exornare sicut syderibus coelum dignatus est*. Praha 1554. Muzejní knihovna [MK, Library of the National Museum, today KNM], Praha, 45 D 29; Národní a Universitní knihovna [NUK, today NK], Sd 493 adl. 1.
- Bydžovský*: *Knížky o přijímání Těla a Krve Pána našeho Ježíše Krysta pod obojí způsobou* [Booklets about the Reception of the Body and Blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ in Both Kinds]. Praha 1538-1539. Listed in: *Tobolka*, Zdeněk V. (ed.): *Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků od doby nejstarší až do konce XVIII. století: Díl II: Tisky z let 1501-1800: Část II [Bibliography of Czech and Slovak Prints from the Earliest Times to the End of the 18th Century: Part II: Prints from the Years 1501-1800: Section II]*. Praha 1941, 215-216, No. 1393. Copy: NUK, 54 E 133; MK 36 C 2. Contains three other items: (1) *Čechové, milí Čechové, jenž žádáte býti věrní* [Oh, Czechs, Dear Czechs, Who Wish to Remain Faithful], f. 28v-33. [1537?]. Listed in: *Tobolka* (ed.): *Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků* 215, No. 1387; no copy extant; (2) *Tyto knížky toto Try v sobě drží* [What Do These Three Booklets Contain], f. 34r-50v [34r-52v] [1539?]. Listed in: *Tobolka* (ed.): *Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků* 21, No. 1392; (3) *Spis o Postu* [A Treatise on Fast], f. 51r-54v [53r-56v].
- Bydžovský*: *Křestanské Víry upřímné o Těle a Krvi Boží vyznání* [A Sincere Christian Confession of Faith about the Divine Body and Blood.]. N.p. [after 1546]. Listed in: *Tobolka* (ed.): *Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků* 217, No. 1397. Copy: MK, 36 B 9.

- Bydžovský*: Odvolání jednoho Bratra z Roty Pikhartské [Appeal of a Brother from the Pikhart Squad]. Praha 1588. 2nd ed. Listed in: *Tobolka/Horák/Wiždálková* (eds.): Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků: Dodatky, 67, No. 1395. Copy: UK, f Zc 54 (photocopy). First edition: *Bydžovský*: Odvolání jednoho Bratra z Roty Pikhartské. Praha 1559. Listed in: *Tobolka* (ed.): Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků 216, No. 1394, no copy extant.
- Bydžovský*: Tato knížka toto try ukazuje [This Booklet Demonstrates These Three Things]. N.p. [1542]. Listed in: *Tobolka* (ed.): Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků 215, No. 1391. Copy: MK, 28 H 28.
- Bydžovský*: Tento spis ukazuje, že Biskupové Biskupa, a Biskup kněží, a kněží od řádných Biskupů svěcení Těla a krve Boží posvěcovati mají [This Treatise Shows that Bishops and Priests Should be Ordained by a Bishop, and Priests, Ordained by Proper Bishops, Should Consecrate the Divine Body and Blood]. N.p. 1543. Listed in: *Tobolka* (ed.): Knihopis českých a slovenských tisků 217, No. 1396. Copy: NUK, 54 I 12498; MK, 36 B 10.