

ÁGNES RITOÓK\*

## CHALICE OF THE CALIXTINES – INSCRIBED BOHEMIAN CHALICES FROM THE CARPATHIAN BASIN

*In memory of Sándor Tóth (1940–2007)*

**Abstract:** Three sixteenth-century inscribed Bohemian chalices are known from the Carpathian Basin: one is from Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, RO) and the other two are from the western Hungarian villages of Csönge and Egyházashetye. These objects have appeared numerous times in exhibitions and catalogues since the end of the nineteenth century, but their origin and history were never investigated. Aside from a description of the inscription and the stylistic features of the decoration, only the remarks ‘Slav inscription’ or ‘Hussite’ referred to the historical context. This study is an attempt to rectify this omission by uncovering the identity of the patrons, ascertaining how and when the chalices arrived in the Carpathian Basin, and establishing the circumstances in which the objects were acquired by new owners.

**Keywords:** Carpathian Basin, 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries, chalice, Bohemian inscription, emigration because of religious persecution, Předslavice, Pyšely, Praha-Nové Město, Kolozsvár, West-Transdanubia

*Dals krev z těla vycediti / dáváš v užitku ji píti / takto chtě nás obživiti / své milosti.*

*That we never should forget it, / Gave He us His flesh, to eat it, / Hid in poor bread, gift divine, /  
And, to drink, His blood in the wine*

Jan Hus<sup>1</sup>

The congregation of Kolozsvár's (Cluj-Napoca, RO) Central Reformed Church of Farkas Street owns a silver gilt chalice from southern Bohemia<sup>2</sup> that has a donation inscription in both Czech and Hungarian (Fig. 1).

Description of the chalice: The chalice rests on a six-lobed foot with a vertical ribbon attached to its horizontal rim, decorated with a series of rhombuses separated by rods, framed by strongly abraded, slightly protruding beading. In one of the lobes, the upper surface bears an engraving of *Agnus Dei* enclosed in a laurel wreath. The curved, tapered stem is joined to the undecorated, bulbous cup by an ellipsoidal

node. The top and bottom of the node are bordered by a triple reeded element. The surface of the node is divided into six opposing, rounded, drop-shaped leaves, with small, four-petalled rosettes in rhombus-shaped frames.

An inscription in Czech in all capitals runs along the edges of the lobes (Figs. 2–6), continuing onto the perimeter of the foot and below the perimeter in a simple line frame:

LETA·PANIE·1587·SP/VSOBEN·GEST·TENTO·  
K/ALICH·KZADVSSI·PRZE/  
D·SLAWSKIMV·ZAPANOW/  
ANI·VROZENEHO·PANA//WRATISLAWA·MLADSSI/  
HO·ZMITKOWICZ·NAMNISSKV·A·ZALEZLIH·A·ZAK/  
NIEZE·PAWLAWOLINSK/EHO·SPRAWCZI·TEW/  
OSATI·///A ZAKOSTELNIKU·IANA·HAWLOWICZ·WA  
WRZINCZE·KWIEHA.<sup>3</sup>

\* Ágnes Ritoók PhD, Hungarian National Museum, Budapest; e-mail: ritook.agnes@hnm.hu



Fig. 1. Chalice in Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca, RO), congregation of the Central Reformed Church of Farkas Street (photo: Judit Kardos)

The inscription using today's spelling rules reads: Léta páně 1587 způsoben jest tento kalich k záduší předslavskému za panování urozeného pana Vratislava mladšího z Mitrovic na Mníšku a Zálezlich a za kněze Pavla Volyňského správce té osady a za kostelníků Jana Havlovic (a) Vavřince Kvěha.<sup>4</sup> ("This chalice was made for the church foundation of Předslavice in 1587, during the lordship of his honourable Vratislav z Mitkovic the Younger of Mníšek and Zálezly, when Pavel Volyňský was the priest and parish administrator, and Jan Havlovic (and) Vavřinec Kvěh were sacristans.")

The lower third of the stem has an inscription in Hungarian in all capitals: DÓBREI/KATA A/DGYA-IS/

TEN DICS/ÓSIGIRE. Following today's spelling rules: Döbrei Kata adja Isten dicsőségére [Donated by Kata Döbrei for the glory of God].

The height of the chalice is 22.2 cm, the diameter of the foot is 13.2 cm, and the diameter of the cup is 11.2 cm.

The silversmith refers to the donor as: ZMITKOWICZ. The estates mentioned in the inscription – Mníšek and Zálezly – make it clear that the donor was Vratislav z Mitrovic the Younger. His family purchased the castle of Mníšek, 30 km to the south of Prague, along with the town and all its dependencies in 1487, and Vratislav z Mitrovic the Younger was among the family members to take possession of it.<sup>5</sup> Through his marriage to Barbora Zálezlska z Prostého, he acquired her family's property, Zálezly, along with Předslavice, in southern Bohemia, in the northern foothills of the Šumava Mountains (Fig. 7).<sup>6</sup> The only Protestant among the otherwise Catholic z Mitrovic family was Vratislav the Younger, who – like his wife's family<sup>7</sup> – belonged to the Calixtine faction of the Hussites.<sup>8</sup>

On the foot of the chalice, the inscription encloses a depiction of *Agnus Dei* framed by a laurel wreath: blood flows into the chalice from the breast of the Lamb (Fig. 8). This same image appears on one of the side panels of the late Gothic baptismal font in the church of Předslavice (Fig. 9).<sup>9</sup> The best-known example of this depiction is found in Jan van Eyck's Ghent altarpiece, which was made, according to its inscription, in 1432. This same image was engraved on the inside cover of the mid-fifteenth century 'chalice' ciborium commissioned by the town of Hradec Králové.<sup>10</sup> In 1524 it appeared in Martin Luther's translation of the Old Testament, illustrated by Lucas Cranach the Elder, next to the author's (and the work's) emblem, the 'Luther rose'. Luther endowed this ancient symbol with new meaning: only the Lamb carries the sins of the world, and it is through his sacrifice on the cross that these sins are forgiven.<sup>11</sup> The lamb, whose blood flows into the chalice, stands at the foot of the cross in the epitaph of Jan Jetřich z Žerotína and Barbora z Bíberštejna (Opočno, castle), which Czech researchers consider an exceptional example of the pictorial representation of Luther's teachings.<sup>12</sup>

In the 1570s in southern Bohemia, Catholic churches were in the majority; by the end of the century, the ratio was the reverse: in 1596 only 366 of the country's 1366 parish churches were Catholic.<sup>13</sup>

The year in which the chalice was donated together with the beneficiary church are linked to Vratislav's wife.



Fig. 2. Czech inscription on the Kolozsvár chalice (photo: Judit Kardos)



Figs. 3–6. Czech inscription on the Kolozsvár chalice (photo: Judit Kardos)



Fig. 7. Predslavice and its environs (google.maps)

Barbora Zálezska died on 18 March 1587.<sup>14</sup> According to the inscription on the chalice, the parish priest in Predslavice at the time was Pavel Volyňský, whose name means Paul from the neighbouring town of Volyně. The image of a chalice appeared in Volyně's coat of arms already in the fifteenth century.<sup>15</sup> In 1580 a church was

founded there, which later served as a burial chapel and today it is classified as Calixtine architectural legacy.<sup>16</sup> Volyňský himself was a follower of the Calixtine teachings. Barbora Zálezska's family appointed him priest of the Predslavice parish prior to 1562, replacing the 'proper, ordained, earlier priest.'<sup>17</sup> According to the inscription on the bench that stood in the nave of the church until 1747, Volyňský's wife, Katerzina, died in 1562 and was buried in the crypt on 14 March.<sup>18</sup> In 1574, the church was listed among the 'non-Catholic parishes' (which at the time were in the minority) in the district of Volyně (Fig. 10).<sup>19</sup> Pavel Volyňský's service in Predslavice ended at the latest in 1600. At that time, Predslavice and Zálezly already had a new owner.

The Farkas Street church in Kolozsvár also received the chalice as a donation, from a donor with a Hungarian name. To my knowledge, no direct information exists concerning the chalice's arrival in Hungary, Transylvania or Kolozsvár. The history of Predslavice and its ownership may be a good place to begin a search for possible links.



Fig. 8. The Kolozsvár chalice with the depiction of Agnus Dei (photo: Judit Kardos)

### *The New Landlord*

In 1597, Vratislav z Mitrovic the Younger sold his property of Zálezly to Jindřich Hýzrle z Chodů.<sup>20</sup> When he was ten, Hýzrle, who came from a Protestant family, joined the court of the royal council and military commander Jan z Pernštejna. According to his autobiography, 'I remained here for two years, where, through the abundant and generous goodness and holy grace of the almighty and merciful God, inspired by the gift of the Holy Ghost, I followed in the path of my forebearers and became acquainted with the Catholic faith, and thus came to praise the name of the Lord forever'<sup>21</sup> – in other words, he converted to Catholicism.

In 1601, Hýzrle, as the patron of the church of Předslavice, asked Zbynek Berka z Dube, the bishop of Prague, to install the Catholic priest who had been active in the parish of Předslavice since the feast of St.



Fig. 9. Předslavice, Church of the Holy Trinity and St. Wenceslas, baptismal font (<http://sumavskcyklotrasy.euweb.cz/fotogalerie39/predslavice8.html>)



Fig. 10. Předslavice, Church of the Holy Trinity and St. Wenceslas, southern façade ([https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:P%C5%99edslavice,\\_kostel\\_Nejsv%C4%9Bt%C4%9Bj%C5%A1%C3%AD\\_Trojice\\_a\\_svat%C3%A9ho\\_V%C3%A1clava.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:P%C5%99edslavice,_kostel_Nejsv%C4%9Bt%C4%9Bj%C5%A1%C3%AD_Trojice_a_svat%C3%A9ho_V%C3%A1clava.jpg))

Gall (16 October) of the previous year, as 'I cannot leave the parish without a proper priest and Catholic ecclesiastical governor.' In his letter, he reported that the communities belonging to the parish had – at the encouragement of their landlords – refused to pay tithes.<sup>22</sup> He also included a few sentences by the candidate priest, who complained not only about the refusal to pay tithes but about the practice by children and adults – likewise at the urging of the landlords – of taking communion under both kinds and without confessing. The situation did not improve: the candidate priest was greeted with hostility. Instead of receiving the tithes that were due, he was struck ten times with a stick. As a result, the priest applied to another parish (Vimperk), where the congregation was advocating the removal of 'the present Calvinist preacher because of his Godless (blasphemous) speech'.<sup>23</sup> The church of Předslavice remained without a priest for some time. Hýzrle encouraged his subjects to attend the church of the neighbouring village (Malenice), whose priest was a 'mild Calixtine' who, if he could, would serve the parish of Předslavice, too.<sup>24</sup>

In 1603, Jindřich Hýzrle was forced to sell Zálezly (together with Předslavice) because of his serious debts. The hostile environment facilitated his decision: he was attacked by armed Protestants.<sup>25</sup> The buyer was Jindřich's uncle, Karel Mikuláš Hýzrle. In 1612, Karel's heirs – the previous owner, Jindřich, and his brother Bernard – divided up his estate. The centre of the estate, Zálezly, for which the property was named, was reclaimed by Jindřich Hýzrle, while Předslavice went to his younger brother, who was sympathetic to Protestant teachings.

### *Decisive Years: 1618–1620*

In 1618, Jindřich Hýzrle finally relinquished ownership of Zálezly for good.<sup>26</sup> It was purchased by a member of a Protestant family: Anežka Říčanská z Hodějova. Her husband, Pavel Kavka Říčanský, was one of the leaders of the uprising by the Bohemian estates in May 1618, the year of the acquisition, and a member of the board. Anežka Říčanská's nephew, the well-educated Smíl Hodějovský, who also wrote poetry,<sup>27</sup> was organizer of the assembly that elected Elector Palatine Frederick V as King of Bohemia. In addition, Hodějovský was a member of the delegation of the Czech Kingdom invested with the power to negotiate an alliance with the Transylvanian prince Gábor Bethlen (1613–1629) in Besztercebánya in June 1620.<sup>28</sup>

Although Catholic, Bernard Hýzrlé did not share his brother's unconditional loyalty to the emperor. On 26 August 1618, he signed the charter dethroning Ferdinand II of Habsburg and declaring Elector Palatine Frederick V to be King of Bohemia.

The rebel military units arrived in the area of Předslavice in the early summer of 1618. They were met by the imperial forces under the command of generals Dampierre and Buquoy. Those under Buquoy were reinforced by Hungarian contingents under the leadership of a certain Jiří Čakalety and Jan Heřman. The Hungarians quartered in Volyně looted the local estates of noblemen who had participated in the uprising, burning down some two hundred villages and – according to Buquoy's statement – causing damage valued at 300,000 pieces of gold.<sup>29</sup>

#### *After White Mountain ...*

As part of retribution for the Battle of White Mountain (8 November 1620), a special court condemned Pavel Kavka Řičanský to the loss of capital and property. In 1621 his sentence was changed to time in prison, from which he was freed in 1627. Through the mediation of Polixena Lobkowicz, one-quarter of his former property – it just so happened the estate of Zálezly – was returned to his wife, Anežka Řičanská, as compensation for war damages in 1622.<sup>30</sup> Later both of his sons left the country. One of them, Přech, served the Prince of Neuburg prior to 1627 and later, after 1627, served the Spanish king in the Netherlands. The other, Jan Oldřich, fled to Hungary in 1628 for religious reasons.<sup>31</sup> Their departures in 1627–28 are explained by the 'Renewed Land Ordinance' (*Verneuerte Landesordnung*) introduced in Bohemia in 1627 and Moravia in 1628, which barred the practice of Protestantism.<sup>32</sup> Many of the noblemen, citizens and peasants forced into exile after the decree escaped to Hungary. The central region of the country was under Ottoman rule, but the Protestant lords and the towns in the northern and western parts of the country offered shelter to the new arrivals (Fig. 12).<sup>33</sup>

On 21 May 1629, Karol ze Žerotína the Elder, a Moravian lord and patron of the Unity of Brethren wrote a letter to Pavel Řičanský: he expressed his sorrow for being unable to meet with him personally or write as freely as he would have liked and said that his son would later explain the reasons for moving to Hungary. Furthermore, he advised Řičanský to avoid the road to Trenčín (Trenčín, SK) because of bandits and ruffians and instead stay in Szabolca (Skalice,

SK), where he should enquire about routes of safe passage. He promised to recommend him to Illésházy<sup>34</sup> or other lords, such as Berger,<sup>35</sup> who was a member of the Szabolca elite.<sup>36</sup> Not only were family connections emphasized several times in the letter (the two men were brothers-in-law), but so too was their shared desire to peacefully resolve differences. This tone suggests that Žerotín had a close friendship with Pavel Kavka Řičanský,<sup>37</sup> who was of the same age but presumably died that year.<sup>38</sup>

The account book of 1631 for the town of Trenčín shows the name of a gentlemanly refugee, 'pan z Řičan,' who was living in the home of the Lessenyei family and had paid the town four pieces of gold as 'refugee tax.' By 1632 his name had disappeared from the records; he had departed for an unknown location. This information was discovered by Pavel Horváth, who identified this Trenčín refugee as the recipient of Žerotín's letter.<sup>39</sup> Pavel Řičanský, however, was no longer alive at that time; therefore, the lord who surfaced in Trenčín must have been his son, Jan Oldřich Řičanský. At present, Jan's later path in life is unclear, but he died in Hungary in 1644 without any heirs.<sup>40</sup>

Smíl Hodějovský, the above-mentioned nephew of Anežka Řičanská, left Bohemia in the entourage of the Elector Palatine Frederick; while absent he was sentenced to death and the forfeiture of property. In 1622, he was living in the Hague.<sup>41</sup>

Because Bernard Hýzrlé had not attacked the Catholic faith, he was able to retain his property, but he had to 'voluntarily' offer 600 gold coins to the Jesuit College of St. Clement in Prague in 1629.<sup>42</sup>

The war, however, had by no means come to an end in Předslavice and its environs. Protestant preachers battled Jesuit missionaries for people's souls. Casting the former in a negative light, a chronicler noted in 1623 that a Jesuit who had met with success elsewhere could not even gain an audience in Předslavice. In 1629, however, Johannes Antaly, a monk from St. Clement who happened to be of Hungarian ancestry, was forced to flee immediately.<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, these and other episodes in the area failed to prevent the aggressive and merciless Counter-Reformation from triumphing in the 1630s.<sup>44</sup> The forces passing through destroyed property. As a consequence, the inhabitants of the surrounding villages raised black flags with skulls and crossbones, and armed with scythes, pitchforks and hatchets, they vowed to ruthlessly protect their women and property.<sup>45</sup> They took refuge in the forests, and some returned to their villages every morning to 'take of the Lord's body.' As punishment, vari-

ous imperial regiments were quartered in Předslavice and its environs until 1645.<sup>46</sup> The last known report of Hungarian soldiers in the region was from 1639.<sup>47</sup> No information has survived, however, about any serious damage – looting, burning or demolition of houses or churches – inflicted by them.

By the 1650s, life had returned to normal. Bernard Hýzrle's sons divided up their inheritance in 1653. Catholic priests held mass in the church of Předslavice; in 1655–56 the old building was even renovated. In 1747 the bench containing the epitaph of Katarzina Volyňská was removed from the nave of the church.

Based on the information presented above, the chalice made in 1587 for the church of Předslavice and whose inscription and decoration both link it to Protestantism could have suffered the following fates:

1. It could have been sold at the earliest by Jindřich Hýzrle. His justification for doing so may have been hostilities towards Protestants, since the sale of one chalice would not have significantly improved his financial circumstances.
2. It could have been seized by Hungarians quartered in Volyně during the looting of the church. This is contradicted by records kept by Bohemian rebels, which noted which settlements had been preyed upon by the Hungarians and the damage incurred: Předslavice was not listed among these. Moreover, the bench inscribed in 1562 still stood in the church in 1747.
3. With his aunt's permission, Smil Hodějovský might have brought the chalice to Besztercebánya as

a gift to his hosts in order to facilitate negotiations. However, given the gravity of the issue at hand and the value of typical diplomatic gifts at that time,<sup>48</sup> the Předslavice chalice would have been a modest offering. Furthermore, the church was not a part of the property purchased by Anežka Řičanská.

4. During the period of turmoil following the crushing of the insurrection, but most likely after Protestantism was banned in 1624, Anežka Řičanská may have been able to easily acquire the chalice (perhaps with the aid of Bernard Hýzrle, who was not antagonistic towards Protestants). Later she could have entrusted it in the care of her son Jan Oldřich, who fled to Hungary.

5. The chalice may have been sold in 1655 at the time the church was renovated.

The most likely scenario is the fourth: it was brought by Jan Oldřich Řičanský. The exact circumstances in which it arrived in Hungary/Transylvania, however, are still difficult to establish. What we do know is that it showed up – along with another chalice – in the 1699 inventory of the Kolozsvár parish as a donation of Kata Döbrei (Figs. 11, 12.1-A).<sup>49</sup>

*Donated by Kata Döbrei for the glory of God*

To date, I have not managed to discover information related to Kata Döbrei aside from the 1699 inventory of the Kolozsvár parish.<sup>50</sup>

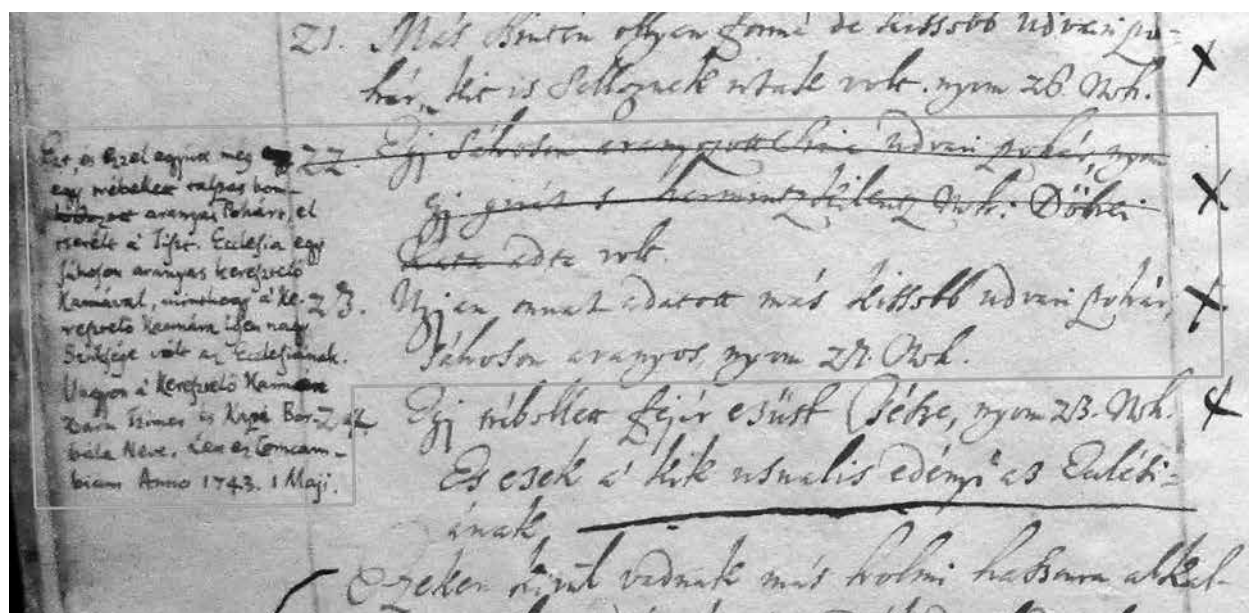


Fig. 11. Inventory of the Kolozsvár parish, 1664



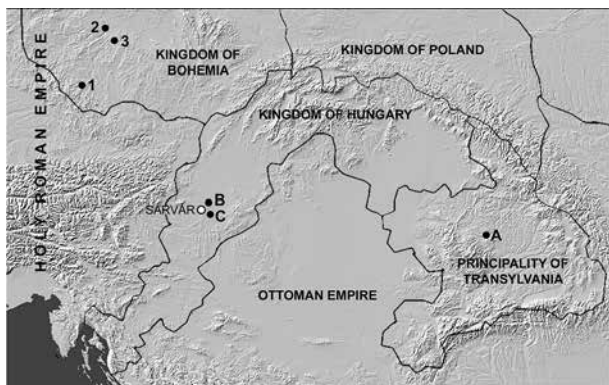


Fig. 12. Central Europe in the first half of the seventeenth century: places of origin and preservation of chalices with Czech inscriptions in the Carpathian Basin.

- 1: Předslavice – A: Kolozsvár;  
 2: Prague-Nové Město – B: Csönge;  
 3: Pyšely – C: Egyházashetye (prepared by Balázs Holl)



Fig. 13. Chalice from Csönge, Lutheran congregation (photo: Endre Véssey)

In the inventory, donors can be classified into two groups according to their recorded donations. The first group, which consisted of all male donors except for Döbrei and one married couple, presented the church with *clenodia* made of precious metal. The most valuable objects (a gold cup and plate in a case, 350 gold pieces, three silver ewers and one silver baptismal font with ewer) were bestowed by the Transylvanian prince György Rákóczi (1630–1648). Another gift of significant value (comprising a silver gilt chalice with paten, two silver gilt ewers, a silver gilt cup with plate and a silver gilt plate) was donated by János Kemény the Younger (1662–1701), the grandson of prince János Kemény and his wife, Anna Teleki. In addition, a silver gilt chalice and paten was presented by Lukács Stin, a member of a wealthy bourgeois family,<sup>51</sup> while a silver gilt cup was given by ‘Sir’ István Miskolczi ‘to the parish when his horse was struck by lightning from under him’. This fortunate donor was presumably the same citizen of Kolozsvár who, in 1688 as moneylender and in 1694 as a home owner, appears on two Kolozsvár estate inventories.<sup>52</sup> The last benefactor in the series, and the only ‘single’ woman, was indicated by name only, without any title: ‘22. Egy sáhoson aranyozott sima udvari pohár nyom egy girát és harminczkilencz nehezéket: Döbrei Kata attá volt [A gilt, simple court cup on a table cloth weighs one *gira* and thirty-nine counterweights: donated by Kata Döbrei]; 23. Ugyan onnat adatott más kisebb udvari pohár sáhoson aranyos nyom 27 nehezéket [Also from the same, a smaller gold court cup on a cloth weighing 27 counterweights.]’<sup>53</sup>

The other group consisted of distinguished women who donated valuable textiles,<sup>54</sup> although here, too, there was an exception: the late Lord Mihály Budai.

It was customary, as we can infer from the church inventory, for women to lavish the Reformed Church of Kolozsvár with cloths or handkerchiefs embroidered or crocheted with metal thread. Nevertheless it was a well-known practice in later medieval wills for wealthy women to donate a chalice or chalices to the church and to frequently bequeath other metal objects that could be used as raw materials by the church.<sup>55</sup> That Kata Döbrei’s name was recorded without a title suggests she had simple origins. In 1699, Döbrei may have still been alive; thus we can speculate that rather than bequeathing the chalices to the church in her will, she donated them to the glory of God after she had perhaps inherited them herself.<sup>56</sup>

The church of Předslavice’s chalice, crafted to commemorate the death of Barbora Zálezlska, made



a long journey to the Kolozsvár parish, arriving in a community whose beliefs were similarly rooted in Protestantism, via another woman, Kata Döbrei.

### *'Hussite' chalices in Transdanubia*

Two more chalices with Slavic inscriptions and frequently labelled 'Hussite' are known in Hungarian collections. Their modelling is finer and their decoration richer than that of the Kolozsvár work. One belongs to the Lutheran congregation of Csönge (Vas County)<sup>57</sup> and the other to the Catholic parish of Egyházashetye (Vas County).<sup>58</sup> As these chalices have appeared in several recent collections and catalogues,<sup>59</sup> I have omitted detailed descriptions of them in this present study.

The origins of the Csönge chalice can only be tentatively surmised based on the inscription referring to the donor and the maker's mark on the bottom (Fig. 12. 2-B; Figs. 13–14): IAN \* SIN WACLAWA MLINARZE \* ZSSIROKI VLICE \* ("Jan, son of the miller Waclaw from Wide Street"). Two maker's marks were hammered beneath the inscription: one is a 'P', which

according to Marc Rosenberg referred to a Prague workshop (while the other is a 'G' and refers to a presently unknown master).<sup>60</sup> The absence of the settler's name in the inscription on the chalice suggests that the commissioner lived where the chalice was made. There was only one Wide Street in the cluster of settlements that made up late medieval Prague: from 1464 onwards one street in Nové Město bore this name.<sup>61</sup> In 1571 'Jan syn Václava mlynáře' was granted rights as a citizen in Nové Město.<sup>62</sup> If this new citizen of Nové Město and the commissioner of the chalice are the same person, the chalice was made in the last third of the sixteenth century.

According to church tradition, which was recorded in 1924, László Ostffy (1420–50), the former landlord of Csönge and a royal soldier, had earlier fought against the Hussites in the town of Tábor, where he acquired the chalice and donated it to the church of Csönge.<sup>63</sup> In 1980, Judit H. Kolba performed a stylistic critical analysis of the chalice and determined that it had been made in the sixteenth century. Furthermore, similarly relying on family as well as church tradition, she linked the object to the



Fig. 14. Inscription on the Csönge chalice (photo: Endre Véssey)



Fig. 15. Chalice from Egyházashetye, Catholic parish (photo: József Rosta)

Battle of White Mountain.<sup>64</sup> Although more recent publications have restated this claim, the need for harmonizing the date and the historical event has been emphasized, as no credible historical data substantiates the supposition.<sup>65</sup> If the chalice arrived in Csöngé as a gift of Ostffy, then it most likely happened in the first half of the eighteenth century: in 1698 Catholic visitors paid a visit to the church of Ostffyasszonyfa, adjacent to the seat of the Ostffy family estate. According to the inventory, the church had a silver chalice in bad condition, which had earlier been used by the Lutherans and was accompanied by 'a gilded paten and altar cloths. In fact, the Lutheran landlord has it, but he refuses to give it back despite the orders of His Highness.'<sup>66</sup> As the Catholics in the end had to have a new chalice made in 1755,<sup>67</sup> we can surmise that the landlord donated this clenodium (originally used by the Lutherans) to the Lutheran congregation of Csöngé.

Despite the uncertainties expressed in earlier publications about the origins and inscription of the chalice of *Egyházashetye*, an accurate identification can be made based on the coats of arms together and monograms (Fig. 12, 3–C; Figs. 15–17).<sup>68</sup> The inscription in Czech reads: *TENTO \* KALICH \* GEST \* VDIELAN \* KECTI \* ACHWALE \* PANV \* BOHV \* KOSTEV \* WPIS \* SELICH \* K \* SWATEMV \* KRIZI \* Anno Domini 15+88* ("This chalice was made for the honour and glory of the Lord in the church of the Holy Cross in Pyšely in 1588").

Two maker's marks appear between the text and the year: one is circular and the depiction is abraded, while the other shows a lily in a Renaissance shield. Rosenberg identified the lily as a symbol of Hamburg,<sup>69</sup> while Elemér Kőszeghy believed its origins were in Kassa and determined the mark belonged to the goldsmith Tamás Szegedy (nobilis Thomas Zegedy), active in Kassa (Košice, SK) at the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>70</sup> Neither addressed the actual text. Kőszeghy's conclusion was accepted in the Hungarian professional literature. In 1984 the inscription was finally deciphered – with the exception of the place name.<sup>71</sup>

Pyšely lies 35 km to the southeast of Prague. The church of the Holy Cross (kostel Povýšení svátoho Kříže) was built in the twelfth century and owes its present appearance to Gothic and later eighteenth and nineteenth century reconstructions.<sup>72</sup>

One of the heraldic charges – a white beard and a silver arrow above it – belonged to the Mracky/Mračský z Dubé family,<sup>73</sup> with the monogram above it referring to Karel Mračský z Dubé. The other shield contains two sets of deer antlers, the emblem of the z Donina/Dohna family,<sup>74</sup> and the monogram of Maria Magdalena Purkrabince z Donina. In 1584 Karel Mračský acquired Pyšely. Later – presumably in 1587 – he married Maria z Doniná and gave the town and neighbouring villages to her. The date 1588 suggests the making of the *Egyházashetye* chalice was associated with this series of events. Further corroborating this identification is the presence of the chalice's heraldic charges and monograms on the baptismal font, made in 1609, of the Pyšely church. Three coats of arms can be found on the side of the font: the centre depicts a beard and arrow with the inscription *K\*Z\*D\*G\*M\*C\*R* (Karel [Mračský] z Dubé G[ra]lho Milosti Cýsařské Raddy) above it; the charge on the left shows two sets of antlers, with *M\*P\*Z\*D* (Maria Purkrabince z Donina) above it; the charge on the right depicts an eagle with *W\*Z\*O* (Waclav[?] Čejka z Olbramovic) above it.<sup>75</sup> Given the patron and the



Fig. 16. Coat of arms of Karel Mračský z Dube and Maria Magdalena Purkrabince z Donina from the Egyházashetye chalice (photo: József Rosta)

geographical distance, it is doubtful the chalice was the work of a metalsmith in either Hamburg or Kassa.

Mračský and his family were Protestant. Preserved in the Pyšely church is a wrought iron plaque from the first half of the seventeenth century whose depiction and German inscription conveys the essence of Luther's teachings. In September 1620, the Elector Palatine Frederick, elected King of Bohemia by the Bohemian insurgents, was a guest in the Pyšely castle of Karel Mračský, who served as his advisor. The relatives of Mračský's wife (Abraham and Christoph von Dohna), as envoys of Frederick, were in contact with Gábor Bethlen.<sup>76</sup> Following the Battle of White Mountain, Mračský's properties were confiscated, but because his children were Catholicized, they received a portion of them. He was no longer alive in 1623. In 1629, his family bought back Pyšely<sup>77</sup> – the church's furnishings were difficult to move, which may explain why those objects not made of precious metal survived; the chalice, however, was probably no longer there.

The circumstances in which the chalice of Egyházashetye made it to Hungary, however, are as much a mystery as those surrounding the arrival of the Csönge

chalice. In any case, it is conspicuous that Egyházashetye and Csönge are close to each other and almost the same distance from Sárovar, the seat of one of the most important holdings of the Nádasdy family (Fig. 12). The male members of the family held the highest offices in Hungary in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>78</sup> Until 1643, as uncompromising followers of Luther's doctrines, they refused to welcome even Calvinists on their properties. In 1619, Pál Nádasdy (1598–1633) supported the Transylvanian prince Gábor Bethlen. In the years following the loss of the Battle of White Mountain, he and later his wife, Judit Révay, sheltered refugees.<sup>79</sup> In 1636, their 13-year-old son, Ferenc, enlisted the aid of his teachers in translating from Latin to Hungarian the treatise 'Fidelis Admonition', which addressed the persecuted Bohemian and Moravian Lutherans (Wittenberg 1625).<sup>80</sup> Seven years later, Ferenc – among the last of the western Hungarian aristocrats – was Catholicized. The majority of small landowners of the region, however, remained Protestant.

A portion of the Nádasdy estates neighboured on the holdings of the similarly distinguished Batthyány family. Judit Révay, the wife of Pál Nádasdy, was



Fig. 17. Maker's marks on the chalice of Egyházashetye (photo: József Rosta)

raised in the court of Éva Lobkovicz Poppel (1585?–1640), wife of Ferenc Batthyány II, who was of Bohemian descent.<sup>81</sup> Numerous exulans found refuge on the Batthyány properties;<sup>82</sup> one was Diviš Petrassek, a minister from Kutna Hora, who dedicated his work, printed in Prague in 1618 and 1619, to Éva Lobkovicz Poppel in 1625.<sup>83</sup>

Refugees may have brought to Hungary not only books, which were acquired by various aristocratic libraries, as well as an entire printing house transported to Trencsén, but clenodia, too. Because many

among the exiled continued their preaching activities, the objects rescued from Bohemia could have been used by Hungarian Protestant congregations. I believe the chalices of Csöngye and Egyházashetye may have been among these items.

The stopping points along this path, however, are unclear, and very few of those who made the 'journey' have been identified. Discovering and grasping the details of this exodus requires further research into the interwoven histories of the people of seventeenth-century Central Europe.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ANGYAL 1910 – ANGYAL, Dávid: Jelentés a herczeg-Dohna család schlobitteni levéltárában található magyar történeti anyagról [Report on the historical Hungarian material on the Schlobitten archive of the princely Dohna family], *Századok* 44. 1910. 867–868.
- BARNA–RIDOVICS 2015 – BARNA, Gábor – RIDOVICS, Anna: Hutterite, Haban Culture in Central Europe, *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica* 2015.
- BÍLEK 1882 – BÍLEK, Tomáš Václav: *Dějiny konfiskací v českých po r. 1618*, Praha, 1882.
- BŮŽEK–GRUBHOFFER–JAN 2014 – BŮŽEK, Václav – GRUBHOFFER, Václav – JAN, Libor: Wandlungen des Adels in den böhmischen Ländern, *Bohemia* 54. 2014. 271–318.
- DIENES 1999 – DIENES Dénes: *I. Rákóczi György és a cseh morva atyafiak* [György Rákóczi I and the Bohemian-Moravian cousins], 1999 – [http://www.patakarchiv.hu/wa\\_files/cseh-morva.pdf](http://www.patakarchiv.hu/wa_files/cseh-morva.pdf) (downloaded: 25 Feb. 2017)
- DVORSKÝ 1869 – DVORSKÝ, František Ivan: *Staré písemné památky žen a dcer českých* [online], V MKP 1. vyd. Praha: Městská knihovna v Praze, 2013 [př.

- cit. 2017-02-05], downloaded: [http://web2.mlp.cz/koweb/00/03/91/13/90/stare\\_pisemne\\_pamatky.pdf](http://web2.mlp.cz/koweb/00/03/91/13/90/stare_pisemne_pamatky.pdf).
- V. ECSÉDY 2017 – V. ECSÉDY, Judit: Zsolna – egy különleges nyomdahely [Zsolna – an unusual printing place], in “Üstököst látni”. Az 1680. évi üstökös művelődés- és tudománytörténeti emlékei, eds. FARKAS, Gábor Farkas – SZEDELÉDI, Zsolt – VARGA, Bernadett – ZSOLDOS, Endre, Budapest, 2017.
- FÜROVÁ 2013 – FÜROVÁ, Mirka: *Výzdoba Bible králické* – <http://www.nase-reformace.cz/2013-2/bible-kralicka/bible-kralicka/> (downloaded: 26 Feb. 2017)
- GREGORICH 2014 – ZÁGORHIDY CZIGÁNY, Balázs – TAKÁCS, Ferenc – PINTÉR, Attila – MESTERHÁZYNÉ JÁNOSA, Magdolna – FEKETE, György – GREGORICH, Ferenc: *Ostffyasszonyfai Nagyboldogasszony-templom története és otthoni adó környezete* [The history of the Church of Our Lady of Ostffyasszonyfa and its environs], ed. GREGORICH, Ferenc, Ostffyasszonyfa, 2014.
- HALADA 1992 – HALADA, Ján: *Lexikon české šlechty I*, Praha, 1992.
- HALADA 1993 – HALADA, Ján: *Lexikon české šlechty II*, Praha, 1993.
- HEREPEI 1965 – HEREPEI, János: Néhány adat menekült huszita papokról a 30 éves háború idejéből [Some information about the Hussite priests during the Thirty Years' War], in *Adattár XVII. századi szellemi mozgalmaink történetéhez I. Polgári irodalmi és kulturális törekvések a század első felében. Herepei János cikkei*, Budapest–Szeged, 1965. 354–358.
- HETÉSSY 1967 – HETÉSSY, István: A Nádasdy-uradalom gazdaszerteinek termelési és elszámolási vitája 1623/24-ben (Der Streit der Ökonomen der Nádasdy-Domäne über den Anbau und die Verrechnung in 1623/24), *Agrártörténeti Szemle* 1967. 457–480.
- HORNIČKOVÁ 2010 – HORNIČKOVÁ, Kateřina: Utravistické ciborium se dvěma lžičkami, in *Umení české reformace (1380–1620)*, eds. HORNIČKOVÁ, Kateřina – ŠRONEK, Michal, Praha 2010, No. VI/12. 211–212, 226 (photo).
- HORNIČKOVÁ 2013 – HORNIČKOVÁ, Kateřina: Beyond the chalice. Monuments manifesting Utraquist religious identity in the Bohemian urban context in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, *European Review of History. Revue européenne d'histoire* 20.1.2013. 137–152.
- HORNIČKOVÁ–ŠRONEK 2016 – *From Hus to Luther. Visual Culture in the Bohemian Reformation (1380–1620)*, eds. HORNIČKOVÁ, Kateřina – ŠRONEK, Michal, Turnhout, 2016. (Brepols Medieval Church Studies 33)
- HORVÁTH 1971 – HORVÁTH, Pavel: *Česká pobělohorská emigrace v Trenčine, in Otázky dějin střední a východní Evropy*, ed. HEJL, František, Brno, 1971.
- HRUBÝ 1937 – HRUBÝ, František: *Moravské korespondence a akta z let 1620–1636* 2. Listy Karla St. z Žerotína 1628–1636, Brno, 1937.
- Ige-Idők 2019 – *Ige-Idők. A Reformáció 500 éve* [Grammar and grace. 500 years of Reformation], exhibition catalogue, eds. KISS, Erika – SZVITEK, Róbert – ZÁSZKALICZKY, Márton – ZÁSZKALICZKY, Zsuzsanna, Budapest: Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, 2019. 1–2. in print.
- JAKUBEC 2016 – JAKUBEC, Ondřej: Epitaphs in Bohemian Protestant Culture, in HORNIČKOVÁ–ŠRONEK 2016, 247–280.
- KELÉNYI 2015 – KELÉNYI, Borbála: *Késő középkori magyar fő- és köznemesi női végrendeletek* [Late Hungarian wills of noble and lower noble women], Doctoral dissertation (PhD), Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Bölcsészettudományi Kar, Történettudományi Doktori Iskola, Budapest, 2015.
- KEMÉNY [1986] – *Kemény János önéletrása* [Autobiography of János Kemény], eds. MÁTIS, Livia – W. WINDISCH, Éva, Budapest, 1986.
- KISS 2009 – KISS Erika: *Ötvösművek a 16–17. századi Magyarországon* [16th–17th century metalware], in MIKÓ–VERŐ 2009, II, 99–113, 164–166.
- KISS M. 2005 – KISS Melinda: Késő reneszánsz és korai barokk síremlékek Sopronban [Late Renaissance and early Baroque sepulchres], *Soproni Szemle* 2005:2. 66–87.
- KISS M. 2007 – KISS Melinda: Síremlékek Sopronban [Sepulchres in Sopron], *Credo. Evangélikus Műhely* 13. 2007. 5–41.
- KOLBA 1980 – H. KOLBA Judit: Gótikus kelyhek az evangélikus gyülekezetekben [Gothic chalices in Lutheran congregations], *Diakónia* 1980:2, 49–57.
- KOLBA–LOVAG 1984 – H. KOLBA, Judit – LOVAG, Zsuzsa: A szombathelyi egyházmegye ötvösművészeti emlékei (Goldschmiedearbeiten der Diözese von Steinamanger [Szombathely]), *Művészettörténeti Értesítő* 1984. 135–140.
- KOLTAI 2002 – KOLTAI, András: *Batthyány Ádám és könyvtára* (Adam Batthyany und seine Bibliothek), Budapest–Szeged, 2002.
- KOVÁCS KISS 2012 – KOVÁCS KISS, Gyöngy: *A kolozsvári osztóbirói intézmény és a kibocsátott osztálylevelek* [Kolozsvár's probate court and documents issued], Kolozsvár, 2012.
- KÓSZEGHY 1936 – KÓSZEGHY, Elemér: *Magyarországi ötvösjegyek a középkortól 1867-ig* (Merkzeichen der Goldschmiede Ungarns von Mittelalter bis 1867), Budapest, 1936. (reprint: Budapest, 2007.)
- KROUPA–ŽIŽKA 1995 – KROUPA, Pavel – ŽIŽKA, Jan: Ke stavebnímu vývoji kostela Pozdvížení sv. Kříže v Pyšelicích (okr. Praha-východ) Potvrzení románského jádra stavby, upřesnění jednotlivých stavebních etap kostela, *Průzkumy památek* 1995:1. 94–100.
- LORENZ 1973 – LORENZ, Vilém: *Nové Město pražské*, Praha, 1973.
- MACÚREK 1969 – MACÚREK, Jozef: *české země a Slovensko (1620–1750): studie z dějin politických, hospodářských a interetnických vztahů*, Brno, 1969.
- MARKSCHIES 1991 – MARKSCHIES, Christopher: „Hie ist das recht Osterlamm”. Christuslamm und Lammsymbolik bei Marin Luther und Lucas Cranach, *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte* 102. 1991. 209–230.
- MENDELOVÁ 2011 – MENDELOVÁ, Jaroslava: *Knihy měšťanských práv na Novém Městě pražském 1518–1581*, Praha – Ústí nad Labem 2011.
- MIKÓ–VERŐ 2009 – Mátyás király öröksége. Késő reneszánsz művészet Magyarországon (The legacy of King Matthias. Late Renaissance Hungarian art) I–II, eds. MIKÓ, Árpád – VERŐ, Mária, Budapest, 2009.
- MONOK 1996 – MONOK, István: *A Rákóczi-család könyvtárai* (Bibliotheken der Familie-Rákóczi) 1588–1660, Szeged Scriptum, Szeged, 1996.
- MONOK 2005 – MONOK, István: Aristocrats and Book Culture at the Border of Two Empires in the 16th and 17th Centuries. The Bánffy Family's Court in Alsóindva and Its Book Culture – The Nádasdy Courts in Sárvár and Potten-

- dorff and Their Book Culture – The Batthyány Court in Némethújvár and Its Book Culture, in *Blue Blood, Black Ink. Book Collection of Aristocratic Families from 1500 to 1700*, ed. MONOK, István, Budapest, 2005. 11–16, 61–104.
- Ötvösmű 1884 – *A magyar történeti ötvösmű-kiállítás lajstroma* [List of objects in the Exhibition of Hungarian Historical Metalworks], (Exh. cat.), Budapest, 1884.
- Památky 1869–1870 – *Památky archeologické a místopisné*, Praha, 1869–1870.
- PAPP 2013 – PAPP, Ingrid: *Biblikus cseh nyelvű gyászbeszéd a 17. századi Magyarországon. A nyomtatott korpusz bemutatása és irodalomtörténeti vizsgálata* [Funeral sermons in Biblical Czech in the seventeenth-century Hungarian Kingdom. Presentation and literary analysis of the printed corpus], Doktorai disszertáció (PhD), Miskolci Egyetem, Bölcsészettudományi Kar, Irodalomtudományi Doktori Iskola, 2013.
- PAPP 2016 – PAPP, Ingrid: Az erdélyi fejedelem kapcsolata Illésházy Gáspárral és a cseh exulánsokkal [The connection of the Transylvanian prince to Gáspár Illésházy and the Bohemian exiles], in *Műhelyszeminárium: A hatvanéves Gyapay László köszöntése*, eds. FEKETE, Norbert – PORKOLÁB, Tibor – ROSTÁS, Édua, Miskolc, 2016, 83–94.
- PAYR 1924 – PAYR, Sándor: *A dunántúli evangélikus egyházkerület története* [History of the Transdanubian Lutheran diocese], Sopron, 1924.
- PODLAHA 1908 – PODLAHA, Antonín: Pyšely – farný kostel Pozdvížení sv. Kříže, in *Soupis památek historických a uměleckých v království českém. Od pravěku do počátku XIX. století. Politický okres vinohradský*, Praha, 1908, 126–133.
- POKORNY 2000 – POKORNY, Pavel, R.: Vídeňský rukopis cvp 8330, *Sborník archivních prací* 2000. 395–431.
- ROSENBERG 1911 – ROSENBERG, Marc: *Der Goldschmiede Merkzeichen*, Frankfurt, 1911.
- SEDLÁČEK 1889 – SEDLÁČEK, August: *Hrady, zámky a tvrze království českého*, Vol. 6. (Podbrody), Praha, 1889.
- SEDLÁČEK 1897 – SEDLÁČEK, August: *Hrady, zámky a tvrze království českého*, Vol. 11. (Prachensko), Praha, 1897.
- SEDLÁČEK 1926 – SEDLÁČEK, August: *Děje Prácheňského kraje*, Písek, 1926.
- ŠMÁHEL–PAVLÍČEK 2015 – ŠMÁHEL, Jan – PAVLÍČEK, Ota: *A Companion to Jan Hus*, Leiden, 2015.
- SZÁDECZKY 1914 – SZÁDECZKY, Lajos: Bethlen Gábor levelei Illésházy Gáspárhoz [Gábor Bethlen's letters to Gáspár Illésházy], *Történelmi Társ.* 27. 1914.
- TEPLÝ 1906 – TEPLÝ, Frantisek: *Farní osada Předslavice na Volyňsku*, Praha, 1906.
- TEPLÝ 1933 – TEPLÝ, Frantisek: *Dějiny města Volyně a okolí, II. doplněné vydání*, Písek, 1933.
- TESZELSZKY 2014 – TESZELSZKY, Kees: Elias Berger Historia Ungarica című művének keletkezése és háttere (1603/4–1645) (The Composition, Content and Background of Elias Berger's "Historia Ungarica" 1603/4–1645), in *Clio Inter Arma. Tanulmányok a 16–18. századi magyarországi történetírásról*, ed. TÓTH, Gábor, Budapest, 2014. 149–168.
- VISKOLCZ 2013 – VISKOLCZ, Noémi: *A mecénatúra színhelyei a főúri udvarban. Nádasdy Ferenc könyvtára* (Schauplätze der Bildung am Hof eines Hochadligen aus dem 17. Jahrhundert. Die Bibliothek von Ferenc Nádasdy), Szeged, 2013.
- VLČEK 2016 – VLČEK, Pavel: *Bohemian protestant church architecture*, in HORNÍČKOVÁ–ŠRONEK, 2016, 143–164.
- WINTER 1909 – WINTER, Zikmund: *řemeslnictvo a živnost 16. věku v Cechách*, Praha, 1909.
- ŽIVOT – HYZRLE Z CHODŮ, Jindřich Michal: „Život v němž se obsahují někdejší jízdy a tažení” – <https://texty.citanka.cz/hyzrle/z1-0b.html> (downloaded: 2 Jan. 2017)

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This quote is the fourth verse of the only song known today linked to Jan Hus (‘Jezu Kriste šedry kněze’). ŠMÁHEL–PAVLÍČEK 2015, 299. (English translation by George MacDonald.)

<sup>2</sup> Before appearing in the exhibition *Ige – idők* (‘Grammar and Grace’) in the Hungarian National Museum (27 April – 5 November 2017; see *Ige-Idők* 2019, 2. in print [No. III-28; RITOÓK, Ágnes]), the chalice was exhibited by the Reformed Church of Kolozsvár in the Exhibition of Hungarian Historical Metalwork in 1884: *Ötvösmű* 1884, 134 (No 23.B).

<sup>3</sup> The inscription as transcribed in *Ötvösmű* 1884, 134: *Whatislaw. Mladsscho. Zmitkowic Namniszku. A. Zaleglih. A. zaknice. Pawla. Wolnisleho. Sprawigi. Teldosatis. Spusoben. Gest. tento. Kalich. Kyadussi. Slavski-mem. Zapanoanl. MozenenehO. Panaleta Pánie 1587*:

<sup>4</sup> Transcription by PhDr. Aleš MUDRA, Ph.D. (Národní památkový ústav, Praha). I am grateful for his assistance.

<sup>5</sup> SEDLÁČEK 1889, 94–101. Today: Mníšek pod Brdy.

<sup>6</sup> SEDLÁČEK 1897, 276–277. Barbora Zálezlska's grandfather, Petr Zálezlský z Prostého, acquired Předslavice in 1545. In 1549 the family donated a bell to the church. The inscription reads: *Da pace[!] Domine in diebus nostris, quia non est alius, qui pugnat pro nobis nisi Tu 1549*. TEPLÝ 1906, 56 (with

a detailed description of the bell). In any case, Předslavice lies about 10 km from the birthplace of Jan Hus in Husinec.

<sup>7</sup> TEPLÝ 1906, 35, note 1.

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.prostor-ad.cz/pruvodce/okolobrd/mnisek/historie.htm> (downloaded: 21 October 2016); this is why Calixtine priests served in the church of Mníšek, the seat of the family's properties, from 1552 to 1612: [https://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kostel\\_svat%C3%A9ho\\_V%C3%A1clava\\_\(Mn%C3%AD%C5%A1ek\\_pod\\_Brdy\)](https://cs.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kostel_svat%C3%A9ho_V%C3%A1clava_(Mn%C3%AD%C5%A1ek_pod_Brdy)) (downloaded: 15 January 2017).

<sup>9</sup> <http://sumavskcyklotrasy.euweb.cz/fotogalerie39/predslavice8.html>

<sup>10</sup> HORNÍČKOVÁ 2010.

<sup>11</sup> For more details: MARKSCHIES 1991. The lamb of God became the symbol of the Bohemian Brethren too. It was depicted without the chalice, in an ornamental, vegetal frame referring to a crown of thorns, in various editions of the so-called Bible of Kralice, published in six volumes at the end of the sixteenth century and the beginning of the seventeenth: FŮROVÁ 2013.

<sup>12</sup> JAKUBEC 2016, 271.

<sup>13</sup> SEDLÁČEK 1926, 151–152. A more detailed and nuanced picture of the relationships between the Bohemian denomi-



nations is provided by: PAPP 2013, 15–21. (With further references) and more recently: HORNÍČKOVÁ–ŠRONEK 2016.

<sup>14</sup> She was buried in Mníšek: SEDLÁČEK 1889, 92–99; TEPLÝ 1906, 35, note 1.

<sup>15</sup> HORNÍČKOVÁ 2013, 139.

<sup>16</sup> VLČEK 2016, 252.

<sup>17</sup> TEPLÝ 1906, 37: ‘nekatolický farař’, without mentioning his name. The monograph about the parish was written by the archivist and local historian, the Catholic priest František Teplý (1867–1945). His otherwise very detailed work clearly reflects his bias against Protestantism.

<sup>18</sup> TEPLÝ 1906, 55. The text: ‘Leta Panie 1562 usnula w Pánu Katerzina vlastnj manzielka ctihodneo kněze Pawla Wolyńskéo, fararze przedslawskéo. ktera dne 14 martii we skljičku pochována g[es]t.’

<sup>19</sup> *Památky* 1869–1870, 470.

<sup>20</sup> SEDLÁČEK 1889, 277; TEPLÝ 1906, 35. From 1604 onwards, Jindřich Michal Hyzrle z Chodů/Heinrich Hiesslerle von Chodaw participated in military campaigns in Upper Hungary on the side of General Giorgio Basta: ŽIVOT.

<sup>21</sup> ŽIVOT: ‘... Kratičká zpráva zplazení mého [...] Tu sem pak 2 letě pořád zůstával, kdež mi všemohoucí a milosrdný Pán Bůh z hojné a štědré dobroty a z milosti své svaté, též z vnuknutí daru Ducha svatého po předcích mejch postoupiti a víru katolickou poznati a přijíti dáti ráčil, z čehož jméno boží rač na věky pochváleno bejt.’

<sup>22</sup> TEPLÝ 1906, 37.

<sup>23</sup> TEPLÝ 1906, 38.

<sup>24</sup> TEPLÝ 1906, 40; in 1574, the church of Malenice was also among the ‘non-Catholic parishes’. Its patron was Bartolomej Hodějovský: *Památky* 1869–1870, 470.

<sup>25</sup> TEPLÝ 1906, 40.

<sup>26</sup> SEDLÁČEK 1889, 277.

<sup>27</sup> Ottův slovník naučný: Hodějovský z Hodějova: <https://leforelo.info/hodejovsky-z-hodejova-jan-st> (downloaded: 5 February 2017)

<sup>28</sup> BÍLEK 1882, 155.

<sup>29</sup> TEPLÝ 1933, 177.

<sup>30</sup> BÍLEK 1882, 491; TEPLÝ 1933, 190. Řičanska’s request for mediation is published in: DVORSKÝ 1869, No 225. Information concerning its liberation: <https://leforelo.info/kavka-z-rican-pavel> (downloaded: 10 March 2017). Zálezly was inherited by their daughter, Anna, and her descendants.

<sup>31</sup> BÍLEK 1882, 662.

<sup>32</sup> BŮŽEK–GRUBHOFFER–JAN 2014, 295.

<sup>33</sup> DIENES 1999; PAPP 2013, 10. Thus far no detailed, comprehensive work about Bohemian and Moravian exiles who fled to Hungary has appeared. Although some attention has been given to Jan Amos Comensky/Comenius, Hungarian research in this area has focussed mostly on the Habáns – most recently: BARNA–RIDOVICS 2015. János Herepei presented data from Kolozsvár concerning ministers and also reviewed several volumes from the library of György Rákóczi I, which he purchased from a ‘segen morvabol ki üttetett predicatorot’ [‘poor banished preacher from Moravia’]: HERPEI 1965. These were later taken into account by István Monok: MONOK 1996. On their presses in Trenčsén (Trenčín, SK), later in Zsolna (Žilina, SK), and finally in Puhó (Púchov, SK): V. ECSÉDY 2017. On their graves in Sopron: KISS M. 2005, 2007.

<sup>34</sup> Gáspár Illésházy (1593–1648) was the lord lieutenant of Trenčsén and Liptó from 1608 onwards and also of Árva

County from 1626 onwards. His properties and the counties he governed bordered on Moravia. He was a prominent supporter of Protestant education and publishing: MONOK 2005, 150; V. ECSÉDY 2018, 488. A supporter of Gábor Bethlen: PAPP 2016. After the prince’s death (1629), he supported the Habsburgs.

<sup>35</sup> Most likely the historiographer Elias Berger (1562?–1644). He had a close connection to the Illésházy family and corresponded with Žerotín. One of his brothers was the minister on Žerotín’s Stražnice estate. TESZELSZKY 2014. The study is the most recent critical review of Elias Berger’s life and work.

<sup>36</sup> HRUBÝ 1937, 199 (No 121). Excerpts of the letter are quoted in: MACŮREK, 1969, 50, note 36; HORVÁTH 1971, 148.

<sup>37</sup> In the trial, the witnesses attested to his efforts to achieve peace and thus his life was spared: BÍLEK 1882, 491.

<sup>38</sup> His exact date of death is unknown. According to some sources of information, he died the same year he was freed from prison (1627), while other sources indicate he passed in 1628, or ‘soon’ after. The letter suggests he was still alive in May 1629.

<sup>39</sup> HORVÁTH 1971, 147.

<sup>40</sup> BÍLEK 1882, 662. His wife was Anna Markvartova z Hradku, whose uncle, Diviš, was the husband of Pavel Kavka Řičanský’s daughter, also named Anna: HRUBÝ 1937, 94, note 4.

<sup>41</sup> BÍLEK 1882, 155.

<sup>42</sup> BÍLEK 1882, 204.

<sup>43</sup> TEPLÝ 1906, 42; KOVÁCS 2015, 37. Several Jesuits of Hungarian descent took part in the mission. Until 1628, a Hungarian Jesuit (Gergely Rumer) was the Minister Provincial of the Bohemian province, which had become independent in 1623.

<sup>44</sup> SEDLÁČEK 1926, 153–155. Another member of the Řičanský family, Jan Kavka Řičanský the Elder, played an important role in those with the support of Jesuits and armymen.

<sup>45</sup> As an envoy of Prince Gábor Bethlen, the Transylvania aristocrat János Kemény, who was travelling across Moravia, met with similar volunteers: ‘látva az falubéliek, hogy nyelvet nem tudva csak másodmagammal szélvedezek ott, köntösömről is esmérvén és lovaink szerszámáról, fegyverünkről, magyarnak lenni, egyébiránt is azelőtt nem sok idővel azon az földön pusztítván az magyarság, igen rossz affectussal lévén hozzájuk, kezdének gyülekezni dorongokkal, fejszékkel’ [‘seeing the villagers, and not speaking the language, I could only ride about, and they recognizing me as Hungarian from my robe, our horses’ tack and our weapons, as actually not too long ago Hungarians ravaged this land, having a bad effect on them, they began to gather with poles and axes’]. – KEMÉNY [1986] 50. In this instance, the Hungarians were the soldiers of Gábor Bethlen.

<sup>46</sup> TEPLÝ 1906, 42. In 1629, close to one hundred imperial soldiers were killed in the surrounding villages.

<sup>47</sup> TEPLÝ 1933, 225–226. In the winter and spring of 1638–1639, the ‘Farkacz’ regiment, consisting of Hungarians and some Croatian soldiers, were quartered in Volyně. Although the town had offered the regiment one fresh recruit, the ‘Farkacz’ contingent refused to leave. Because of the difficulties of supplying them, the town council turned to Lieutenant General Count Baltasar Marradas to aid in achieving their departure.

<sup>48</sup> KISS 2009, 102–103, 164.



<sup>49</sup> It does not yet appear in the 1664 inventory. The other chalice was replaced with a baptismal ewer, since the congregation had greater need for this. I am indebted to Erika Kiss, who provided me with the photographs of the inventory.

<sup>50</sup> I owe thanks to Előd Ósz and Annamária Jeney Tóth for their assistance and advice concerning my research.

<sup>51</sup> During the administration of the estate in 1627 and 1629, one of the heirs was the guardian of the younger siblings of his wife: KOVÁCS KISS 2012, 180–211.

<sup>52</sup> KOVÁCS KISS 2012, 384, 426.

<sup>53</sup> In 1669, the compiler remarked that the court cups that appear in the 1664 inventory had also been earlier labelled as 'selleg'. The note accompanying item no. 22 states that it, along with another gold cup, had been exchanged for a baptismal ewer in 1743, since the congregation had greater need for this.

<sup>54</sup> *Lorántfi Susanna Fejedelelem Aszszony, néhai Bánfffi Gáborné T. Dolhai Mária Aszszony, mélt Aszszony Székely Lászlóné, Olasz Andrásné aszszonyom, tek ngos iffju Kemény Jánosné Teleki Anna* ["Grand Princess Susanna Lorántfi; Mária T. Dolhai, wife of the late Gábor Bánfffi; the honourable Mrs. László Székely; Mrs. András Olasz; Anna Teleki, wife of honorable János Kemény the Younger"].

<sup>55</sup> KELÉNYI 2015, 112.

<sup>56</sup> For the more well-to-do families, similar inheritances appeared often in the published Kolozsvár charters, but only until the mid-1650s. After this, works of gold and silver scarcely appear in the estate inventories, and when they did they were most often clothing accessories of lesser value or perhaps cutlery: KOVÁCS KISS 2012. The phenomenon cannot be explained by a change in customs but rather by the historical developments in Transylvania after 1657.

<sup>57</sup> National Lutheran Museum, Budapest (deposit).

<sup>58</sup> Diocesan Museum, Szombathely. Inv. no. 2017.30.1. Many thanks to Ferenc Vass, who aided in the preparation of this study by providing numerous photos.

<sup>59</sup> MIKÓ-VERŐ 2009, I, 141 (No. IV-6: Csönge); 157–158 (No. V-2: Egyházashetye) with earlier literature; *Ige-Idők* 2018, 000 (No. I.2: Csönge; ZÁSZKALICZKY, Zsuzsanna). I am grateful to Pál Lóvei for calling my attention to these chalices.

<sup>60</sup> ROSENBERG 1911, No. 4989.

<sup>61</sup> <http://www.praha1.cz/cps/praha-1-jungmannova.html>; the development and history of the street through the end of the fifteenth century: LORENZ 1973, 159–178. The regulations for Nové Město's independent metalsmith guild were compiled in 1478: Centrum mediévistických studií: Czech me-

dieval sources online. <http://147.231.53.91/src/index.php?s=v&cat=10&bookid=821&page=438> (downloaded: 4 January 2018) Between 1526 and 1620, fifty-seven millers were granted their civil rights: WINTER 1909, 640.

<sup>62</sup> I am grateful to PhDr. Olga FEJTOVÁ (Odbor 'Archiv hlavního města Prahy' Oddělení historických sbírek a depozit) for calling my attention to this information and publishing its location: MENDELOVÁ 2011, 404–405.

<sup>63</sup> PAYR 1924, 324.

<sup>64</sup> KOLBA 1980, 56: 'One of the male members of the Ostffy family brought it from the Battle of White Mountain.'

<sup>65</sup> The sixteenth- and seventeenth-century history and activities of the Ostffy family are well known. There is no information about their participation in the Thirty Years' War: PAYR 1924, 321–322.

<sup>66</sup> GREGORICH 2014, 19.

<sup>67</sup> GREGORICH 2014, 32.

<sup>68</sup> A family descending from the same clan may have had the same or very similar coats of arms: The Mračský family had the same or almost the same coat of arms as those families descending from the Bešenov clan: HALADA 1992, 90, 137.

<sup>69</sup> ROSENBERG 1911, 362 (No. 1566).

<sup>70</sup> KÓSZEGHY 1936, 143 (No. 861): 'With Old Slav inscription from 1583'!

<sup>71</sup> KOLBA-LOVAG 1984, 120 and note 18.

<sup>72</sup> Archaeological excavation and wall research: KROUPA-ŽIŽKA 1995.

<sup>73</sup> HALADA 1993, 117–118.

<sup>74</sup> HALADA 1992, 44.

<sup>75</sup> PODLAHA 1908, 132; POKORNÝ 2000, No. 154.

<sup>76</sup> ANGYAL 1910: data from 1619–1620. One of them escorted Bethlen's bride, Catherine of Brandenburg, to Jablonka in 1626: SZÁDECZKY 1914, 81 (No. 70).

<sup>77</sup> BÍLEK 1882, 378–379.

<sup>78</sup> In 1603, Elias Berger recommended his book on the Hungarian-Ottoman war, published in Prague, to the captain general of Transdanubia, Ferenc Nádasdy (1555–1604): TESZELSZKY 2014, 154.

<sup>79</sup> HETYÉSSY 1967, 459. Only a fraction of the Nádasdy family archives have been examined, and those that have received the least study are the documents from this period.

<sup>80</sup> VISKOLCZ 2013, 38.

<sup>81</sup> KOLTAI 2002, 12.

<sup>82</sup> MONOK 2005 92.

<sup>83</sup> KOLTAI 2002, 89.