

# **Jan Milíč of Kroměříž and Emperor Charles IV: Preaching, Power, and the Church of Prague**

Eleanor Janega

UCL

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I, Eleanor Janega, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own.  
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been indicated in my thesis.

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## Abstract

During the second half of the fourteenth century Jan Milíč of Kroměříž became an active and popular preacher in Prague. The sermons which he delivered focused primarily on themes of reform, and called for a renewal within the church. Despite a sustained popularity with the lay populace of Prague, Milíč faced opposition to his practice from many individual members of the city's clergy. Eventually he was the subject of twelve articles of accusation sent to the papal court of Avignon. Because of the hostility which Milíč faced, historians have most often written of him as a precursor to the Hussites. As a result he has been identified as an anti-establishment rabble-rouser and it has been assumed that he conducted his career in opposition to the court of the Emperor Charles IV.

This thesis, over four body chapters, examines the careers of both Milíč and Charles and argues that instead of being enemies, the two men shared an amicable relationship. The first chapter examines Milíč's career and will prove that he was well-connected to Charles and several members of his court. It will also examine the most common reasons given to argue that Charles and Milíč were at odds, and disprove them. The second chapter focuses on Milíč's work in the city of Prague and shows that the preacher was of assistance to the emperor in his quest to remake the city as a new spiritual capital of the Holy Roman Empire. The third chapter examines the concept of the 'Church of Prague' championed by both Milíč and Charles, and the efforts of both men to promote it throughout the Empire. The fourth chapter discusses Milíč's ability to assist Charles in the acquisition of power in Bohemia, the Empire, and away from the church.

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## Abbreviations

A	Jan Milíč of Kroměříž, <i>Abortivus</i> .
FRB	<i>Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum</i> .
G	Jan Milíč of Kroměříž, <i>Gratia Dei</i> .
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
RVNT	Matěj of Janov, <i>Regulae Veteris et Novi Testamenti</i> , ed. Vlastimil Kybal, 4 vols. (Innsbruck, 1908–1913).

# Introduction

## *The Life of Milíč*

The popular preacher, Jan Milíč of Kroměříž, known throughout medieval Europe as Milicius, died in Avignon in 1374. He had travelled to the papal city earlier in the year from his home in Prague in order to defend himself against accusations of heresy. Meanwhile in his home city, his followers were subjected to interrogations at the hand of inquisitors, and Jerusalem, his community for preachers and repentant prostitutes, was disbanded and the houses given over to the Cistercian order. In this way, in a few short months an ignoble end was brought to over a decade's worth of concentrated effort and widespread support. In contrast to this, his death under a cloud of controversy, Milíč's life began in comfortable circumstances. The preacher was most likely born around the year 1320 in the small Moravian town of Tečovice near modern day Zlín, to noble parents Bohunko and Rychka of Tečovice.<sup>1</sup> Unlike his two brothers who were wed by around the year 1350, Milíč took up religious orders with great zeal. By the spring of 1358 he had left behind his native Moravia for life in Prague, where he joined the imperial chancery and began a steady climb through its ranks.

Up to this point, his life and career were very much what one would expect for a man of the cloth born of nobility. By Christmas 1363, however, something had changed. Milíč announced his resignation from the chancery, and withdrew to the small town of Horšovský Týn in the Šumava Mountains. When he reappeared in the capital in the autumn of the next year his career had little in common with his old life at the chancery. The Milíč who returned was an outspoken and ascetic preacher, dedicated to addressing what he saw as a moral crisis within the church. The best method that he saw to deal with what he considered to be the overwhelming spiritual decay of the church was preaching. Accordingly, Milíč soon found audiences throughout Prague, and could be found preaching at various locations in the city up to five times a day in Latin, Czech, and German.

The message that the preacher delivered to the city's crowds was one of unremitting pessimism. In the sermons from Milíč's first collection *Abortivus*,

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<sup>1</sup> The date 1320 has been proposed by both Loskot and Kaňák. See, František Loskot, *Milíč z Kroměříže. Otec české reformace* (Prague, 1911), pp. 15–16; Miloslav Kaňák, *Milíč z Kroměříže. Na českých překladech z Milíčova díla spolupracoval Karel Červený* (Prague, 1975), p. 11.



compiled between 1363 and 1365, audiences were warned that the world was then in its third and final phase, and that the advent of Antichrist was upon it.<sup>2</sup> In these earlier stages of his preaching career, preoccupied as he was with the end times, Milíč was like many other preachers involved in Antichrist prediction. After attaining some fame in Prague he had prognosticated that the Final Enemy would come either in 1365 or 1367. Milíč was so convinced of the danger of the times, and the accuracy of his predictions, that he took it upon himself to warn the papacy of Antichrist's imminence. Accordingly, in 1367 he travelled to Rome where he hoped to meet with Pope Urban V (1310–1370), who was en route to the eternal city from the papal palace in Avignon.

It was in Rome that Milíč first ran into serious theological opposition. He was arrested soon after his arrival, subsequent to nailing a sermon about Antichrist to the door of St. Peter's where he intended to deliver it the next day. The preacher was then held in the open air of the cloister of a Franciscan monastery in the Lateran where he underwent interrogation for his beliefs. This would not be the first time that Milíč had faced resistance, for he had written to the pope earlier in that year that eight friars minor had been attending his sermons in order to yell that what he was teaching was not 'the gospel and epistles.'<sup>3</sup> It was the first time, however, that his preaching resulted in actual legal proceedings.

Thanks to the sympathetic intervention of the pope's brother, Cardinal Angel (also known as Angelic) de Grimoard (c. 1315–1388), the preacher was released upon the pontiff's arrival in Rome. Milíč returned home to Prague soon thereafter and once again took up preaching. During these years Milíč continued to deliver eschatological sermons. He would even return to Rome in 1369 in a further attempt to convince the pope of the imminent coming of Antichrist. Regardless of his continued preoccupation with the End Times, he would not stray into the controversial practice of Antichrist prediction again. Meanwhile, his popularity in Prague continued to grow and he became the primary preacher at St. Giles

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<sup>2</sup> Peter C. A. Morée has written a detailed account of the most likely dates for the composition of Milíč's sermons in his *Preaching in Fourteenth-century Bohemia: the Life and Ideas of Milicius de Chremsir (+1374) and His Significance in the Historiography of Bohemia* (Slavkov, 1999), pp. 93-99. This study accepts his findings as correct.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ecce, non contra sectam et tyrannidem Tibi bellum imminet, sed contra tot proelia, quot sunt impugnationes evangelicae veritatis de quorum numero sunt quidam Minores, qui contra me in Bohemia publice in ambone stantem, quorum octo fuerant numero, clamaverant, quidquid praedicarem, (quod) non esset evangelium et epistolae.' Milíč, 'Ad Papam Urbanum V', in, Milan Opočenský and Jana Opočenská (eds.), *The Message for the Last Days: Three Essays from the Year 1367* (Geneva, 1998), p. 30.

church in the Old Town [Staré Město]. From 1371 to 1372 Milíč produced his second sermon collection, *Gratia Dei*, and the fame that he had attracted from his preaching allowed him to undertake yet more ambitious projects.<sup>4</sup>

By the year 1372 he had begun the project for which he would be best known, his religious community called Jerusalem. The group began in the house of one former madam, presumably swayed from her life as a brothel-keeper by the preacher. It would go on to inhabit the houses of several former such businesses, in Prague's 'worst and most horrible neighborhood'.<sup>5</sup> Jerusalem grew at a rapid pace, attracting repentant prostitutes who were seeking a way out of their circumstances, as well as aspiring preachers eager to work alongside the popular Milíč. Eventually the community had become large and influential enough that it took over the house of the city's most prominent brothel, Venice [Benátky]. It was at this point that new legal challenges began to arise for the preacher.

In 1373 two of Milíč's students were accused, in January and April respectively, of having slandered prelates in their sermons. They were forced to discontinue their preaching until their cases were heard in front of the archiepiscopal court. Later Milíč himself was the target of legal action. The parish priest at St. Stephen's church near to Jerusalem lodged a complaint with the archbishop regarding the incomes from the houses of the community. Previously, the priest claimed, his parish had received the tithes from Jerusalem's houses. According to the priest, since the preacher had established a chapel at Jerusalem however, St. Stephen's had been losing income and his livelihood was threatened, as people from the neighbourhood were attending services with Milíč instead. Milíč was asked to surrender the patronage rights of the chapel to the archbishop's vicar general, a situation which he objected to with vehemence.<sup>6</sup>

The state of affairs continued to deteriorate for Milíč from then on. Before the end of the year a group of mendicants and clergy members from Prague had

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<sup>4</sup> Again, this study accepts Morée's contention regarding the dating of Milíč's sermons. See, Morée, *Preaching*, pp. 101–102.

<sup>5</sup> '...videlicet vicum illum pessimum et horrendum, qui dicebatur „Venecie”, utique a Venere nuncupate, et in linguaio boemico „Benatky”.' See, Matej of Janov, *Narracio de Myliczyo*, in, *RVNT*, vol. III, p. 362.

<sup>6</sup> Ferdinand Tádra (ed.), *Soudní akta konsistoře pražské, (Acta Judiciaria Consistorii Pragensis). Z rukopisů archivu kapitolního v Praze*, vol. I (Prague, 1893), p. 51.

lodged a series of complaints against the preacher at the papal court.<sup>7</sup> The accusations attested that: 1) In 1366, Milíč affirmed that the Antichrist had been born; 2) He preached that individuals involved in real estate and money trading were damned and should be driven from the community of the faithful; 3) He claimed that for clergy to receive rental income from houses or lands was usury; 4) He proclaimed that it was necessary for the salvation of everyone, including the laity, to receive communion at least twice a week, or even every day; 5) He ordered daily or twice-weekly communion as a form of penance; 6) The members of the Jerusalem community, both male and female wore habits. Furthermore, women were prevented from leaving the houses of Jerusalem, and were beaten for perceived transgressions; 7) After Milíč's application to have the chapel at the Jerusalem community raised to a parish church was rejected, 'he rose and publicly preached that there was no truth in the pope, cardinals, bishops, prelates, parish priests, the religious, and other priests, and that none of them would lead to the truth of life';<sup>8</sup> 8) After being told that he could be excommunicated because the Jerusalem community constituted a new religious order, Milíč responded that if the pope excommunicated him, the emperor would defend him;<sup>9</sup> 9) He preached that the study of the liberal arts was a deadly sin, and that students studying them were heretics; 10) He preached against women wearing even modest ornamentation, and once even snatched and destroyed a garland worn on the head of a young woman attending one of his sermons; 11) Milíč had proclaimed that he had done more to turn people toward Christ than Jesus himself. Moreover, if his efforts were frustrated, they would still be accomplished by 'the hands of the princes and the powers of the secular arm';<sup>10</sup> 12) He preached that priests should only hold property in common.

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<sup>7</sup> For the accusations see, František Palacký (ed.), *Über Formelbücher. zunächst in Bezug auf böhmische Geschichte*, vol. II (Prague, 1842–1847), pp. 183–184. I am deeply indebted to Professor Paul Freedman for helping me to obtain a copy of the pages in question before I was able to locate the second volume of Palacký's work.

Loskot has postulated that the accusations were formulated before the end of 1373. See, Loskot, *Milíč*, p. 93.

<sup>8</sup> 'Sed quia canonici et capellani ei in hoc consentire noluerunt, surrexit et publice praedicavit, quod in papa, cardinalibus, episcopis, praelatis, plebanis, religiosis, et aliis sacerdotibus, veritas nulla esset, et nullus ex eis duceret, ad vitam veritatis...' Palacký (ed.), *Über Formelbücher*, vol. II, p. 183.

<sup>9</sup> '...respondit, quod si papa eum excommunicaret, ipse per imperatorem se defendere vellet.' Ibid., p. 184.

<sup>10</sup> 'Et quidquid de suis conceptibus et erroribus secundum voluntatem ad effectum perducere non potest, hoc per manus principum et potestatem brachii secularis ad effectum perducit, eosdem suis erroneis suggestionibus informando et super hoc contra statum totius clerici excitando.' Ibid.

Pope Gregory XI (1329–1378), unlike his predecessor Urban V, was disinclined to excuse the accusations. On 14 January 1374, multiple papal bulls were sent out, to the Archbishop of Prague as well as to the bishops of neighbouring dioceses, demanding that Milíč's preaching be stopped.<sup>11</sup> Yet the pontiff was not content to alert church authorities to the situation. Accordingly, Gregory also sent a letter to Emperor Charles IV (1316–1378) in which he commanded that the ruler address the situation.<sup>12</sup> The case attracted significant interest, as well as the attentions of at least one Prague theologian, who declared that if the accusations as written were in fact true, then Milíč was a heretic.<sup>13</sup>

Milíč had little choice but to defend himself at the papal court and thus took himself to Avignon where he would die. The preacher was to be cleared of wrongdoing while at the papal palace, as well as have the opportunity to preach during the celebration of Pentecost at the request of the still-apparently friendly Cardinal de Grimoard. This outcome did little to protect his reputation or followers in Prague, however, and they were subjected to questioning at the hands of inquisitors. They were then turned out of Jerusalem when it was re-christened St. Bernard on 13 December 1374 after Charles IV made a gift of it to the Cistercians.<sup>14</sup>

While the events of Milíč's life after his decision to preach were dramatic, his turbulent career took place in one of the most stable and prosperous regions of fourteenth-century Europe. In contrast to the rest of the continent which had been ravaged by the effects of the Black Death, Bohemia had remained largely unscathed by the plague. In fact, the kingdom even saw its population increase over the course of the fourteenth century as individuals from neighbouring regions sought a life there. Though Bohemia had undergone a period of upheaval before Charles accession, it was by the second half of the century enjoying a security that would have been enviable in comparison to other European regions. In contrast, at the same time France and England were entrenched in the Hundred Years War, violent popular revolts had sprung up from Estonia to England, and Rome was undergoing a series of revolutions. Indeed, the situation in Rome was considered so dangerous that the papacy had

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<sup>11</sup> Palacký (ed.), *Über Formelbücher*, vol. II, p. 182.

<sup>12</sup> Odoricus Raynaldus (ed.), *Annales Ecclesiastici ab anno quo desinit Card. C. Baronius: 1198 usque 1534*, vol. XVI (Cologne, 1691), p. 526.

<sup>13</sup> Palacký (ed.), *Über Formelbücher*, vol. II, pp. 183–184.

<sup>14</sup> Kaňák, *Milíč*, p. 30.

removed itself to Avignon in 1309, following considerable intervention and encouragement from the French king.

Although other parts of Europe were suffering, Bohemia, and Prague more specifically, were flourishing. Milíč's Prague was a city in the midst of sweeping change. Charles IV was working to recreate the Bohemian capital as the new capital of the Holy Roman Empire and had begun a massive new building campaign there. In order to impress upon others the importance of the new capital, the castle was rebuilt, the cathedral was raised to an archiepiscopal seat, a new bridge across the Vltava river was built, a university was established, and an entire new part of the city, the New Town [Nové Město] was created. The new metropolis attracted traders eager to sell their wares in one of the largest market squares north of the Alps, and to cater to the expanding court of the emperor. The ongoing legal and religious battles that Milíč found himself involved in were thus one of the most contentious and dramatic happenings then underway in the capital. Indeed, the very stability which the city was enjoying helps explain why there was so much ire directed at the preacher. Milíč's detractors were engaged with him in a battle for influence in the most prominent and successful city in the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>15</sup> Milíč's success was thus its own drawback, and a significant reason that he faced the opposition which he did.

### ***Milíč's Place in History***

The rapidity with which Milíč and his work were condemned, and a historiographical tendency to view all late medieval Czech reformers as part of an unbroken succession culminating with the Hussites, has led to a common view of Milíč as a radical. He is most often characterised by historians as bent on a total reorganisation of both church and society. This conception began to assert itself in the historiography of Milíč during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as a part of the Czech national revival [*České národní obrození*].<sup>16</sup> This movement sought to distance the Czech and Slovak lands from what were

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<sup>15</sup> David C. Mengel has written an extensive examination on religious space in Prague during the reign of Charles IV, and the subsequent disagreements between members of the Prague clergy which arose as a result. See his *Bones, Stones, and Brothels: Religion and Topography in Prague Under Emperor Charles IV (1346–78)*, PhD, University of Notre Dame, 2003.

<sup>16</sup> For more information on the Czech National Revival, see Jíří Kořalka, *Tschechen im Habsburgreich und in Europa 1815–1914. Sozialgeschichtliche Zusammenhänge der neuzeitlichen Nationsbildung und der Nationalitätenfrage in der böhemischen Ländern* (Vienna, 1991); Josef Kočí, *České národní obrození* (Prague, 1978); Tomáš Masaryk, *Česká otázka. Snahy a tužby národního obrození* (Prague, 1895).

considered to be the negative forces of the imperial context. In so doing it placed a new emphasis on the cultivation of Czech language and culture. The national revival's goals were adumbrated by historian František Palacký (1798–1876), who wrote the monumental *History of the Czech Nation in Bohemia and Moravia*.<sup>17</sup> In it he stated that...

...[t]he chief content and basic feature of the whole history of Bohemia-Moravia is ... the continual association and conflict of Slavdom with Romandom and Germandom. ... [And] that Czech history is based chiefly on a conflict with Germandom, that is on the acceptance and rejection of German customs and laws by the Czechs.<sup>18</sup>

The same idea would later be reiterated by the first Czechoslovak president and professor of philosophy Tomáš Masaryk (1850–1937). During a conference called to honour the five hundredth anniversary of the death of Jan Hus (1370–1415) he declared that...

...[e]very Czech who is aware of his nation must choose either in favour of the Reformation, or the Counter-Reformation, for the Czech idea or the Austrian idea, the institution of the Counter-Reformation and European backwardness.<sup>19</sup>

Palacký's thinking in particular, and his characterisation of Milíč as a 'great and lasting force in the Czech nation' would have great influence on the historiography of the preacher.<sup>20</sup> Historical works on Milíč in this period thus focused on his influence on the Hussites and his theoretical 'Czechness'. Further to this, Loskot proclaimed that the preacher was a 'Czech human by birth', engendered with a specifically Czech desire for reform and inborn opposition to the church.<sup>21</sup> For these historians, the preacher could only be considered within the context of the impending Hussite movement, for it was the Hussites who defined what it was to be a religious man concerned with reform in the Czech lands, or indeed simply Czech.

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<sup>17</sup> The work was first published as *Geschichte von Böhmen grössentheils nach Urkunden und Handschriften* in five volumes from 1836 to 1867 (Prague), and from 1848 to 1867 in Czech as *Dějiny národu českého v Čechách a na Moravě* (Prague). Numerous reprints, particularly of the Czech edition, have been made.

<sup>18</sup> Following the translation of Joseph F. Zacek in, *Palacký, The Historian as Scholar and Nationalist* (The Hague, 1970), p. 84.

<sup>19</sup> 'Každý Čech, znalý svého národa, musí se rozhodnout pro reformaci nebo protireformaci, pro ideu českou nebo pro ideu Rakouska, orgánu protireformace a evropského zpátečnictví.' Quoted in Jan Herben, *Chudý chlapec který se proslavil* (Prague, 1930), p. 89.

<sup>20</sup> '...provozovalo v národu Českém moc velikou a trvalou.' František Palacký, *Dějiny národu českého v čechách a na Moravě*, vol. III (Prague, 1939), p. 9.

<sup>21</sup> 'Milíč jest Český člověk svým narozením...' Loskot, *Milíč*, p. 7.

So influential was the national revival that its ideas were accepted even outside Czech academic circles and held sway into the later twentieth century. While Milíč was considered as a hero to Czechs on account of the way he supposedly inspired Hus, other audiences agreed that the preacher was indeed on par with the heretics. Conversely, unlike the Czechs, these scholars considered that an association with the Hussites, rather than laudable, was proof of xenophobia and religious radicalism. The German Catholic historian Constantin Höfler (1811–1897), who made open reference to his own mission to work against Czech nationalism in the Bohemian historiography, thus argued that Milíč's views were much like that of the Fraticelli.<sup>22</sup> Konrad Burdach echoed these sentiments claiming that Milíč was a sectarian who criticised non-Czechs in his sermons.<sup>23</sup> Further afield, even those with no political interest in the debate either way adhered to the prevailing line of thinking. Subsequently, individuals such as English historian R. R. Betts wrote of Milíč as an intrinsically anti-Catholic agitator.<sup>24</sup>

It is this conception of Milíč which this thesis seeks to argue against, although it is not the first work on the preacher to do so. In 1999, Peter C.A. Morée wrote his *Preaching in Fourteenth-Century Bohemia*. The work is a thorough study of Milíč's sermon collections, in which Morée sought to ascertain the years in which they were most probably compiled, and to analyse the most common themes on which he preached. The work also provided a detailed historiography of Milíč.<sup>25</sup> David C. Mengel has also worked on Milíč, publishing a critique of one of Milíč's biographies, in which he proved that it was based in part on a hagiography of Bernard of Clairvaux, the *Vita prima*. Mengel also devoted a chapter of his PhD dissertation to Milíč's impact on the religious topography of Prague, which was later published as a separate article.<sup>26</sup> The work of both historians has been

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<sup>22</sup> See, Carl Adolf Constantin von Höfler, *Concilia Pragensia. 1353–1413. Prager Synodal-Beschlüsse. Zum ersten Male zusammengestellt und mit einer Einleitung versehen von C. Höfler* (Vienna, 1972), p. XXXII.

For more on Höfler's career, see František Kutnar and Jaroslav Marek, *Přehledné dějiny českého a slovenského dějepisectví. Od počátku národní kultury až do sklonku třicátých let 20. století* (Prague, 1997), p. 350.

<sup>23</sup> Konrad Burdach, 'Zur Kenntnis altdeutscher Handschriften und zur Geschichte altdeutscher Litteratur und Kunst', *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, vol. VIII (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 1–21.

<sup>24</sup> R. R. Betts, 'Some Political Ideas of the Early Czech Reformers', in, *Essays in Czech History* (London, 1969), pp. 63–85.

<sup>25</sup> Morée, *Preaching*, pp. 197–246.

<sup>26</sup> David C. Mengel, 'A Monk, a Preacher, and a Jesuit: Making the Life of Milíč', in, Zdeněk V. David and David R. Holec (eds.), *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, vol. 5.1: *Papers from the Fifth International Symposium on the Bohemian Reformation and Religious*

valuable for the study of the preacher in particular, and for the practice of preaching as a whole. While useful, these studies also highlight that there is still much research to be done in consideration of both the preacher and his work in its contemporary context.

This study will begin to fill this gap, and aims, like those of Morée and Mengel before it, to consider Milíč's work within his fourteenth-century context. Unlike previous studies, however, it examines the impact that the preacher had not only in Prague and the Czech lands, but also in Europe in general. Such an examination is necessary because the association of Milíč with the Hussites has led historians to examine the preacher's influence only within the bounds of Bohemia. This compartmentalisation continues to occur, irrespective of the fact that Milíč travelled widely during his preaching career, and that his sermon collections reached further still. This thesis will address the preconceived idea of Milíč as anti-establishment agitator with a following limited to Prague through the analysis of his relationship with one of the most frequently cited objects of his supposed ire: Emperor Charles IV. In so doing it will provide for a deeper understanding not only of Milíč's career, but of the relationships between religious personages and secular leaders in late medieval Europe as a whole.

### ***The Importance of Sermons in the Medieval Period***

This study is more than a discussion of the life of Milíč and a rebuttal to former characterisations of the preacher as an anti-monarchical agitator. It is also an examination of the relationship between rulers and preachers, and the lengths to which they considered that the influence of religious personages could reach. All evidence indicates that such an assumption is well founded. Sermons from the late thirteenth century onwards survive to us in impressive numbers, and are indicative of a generalised interest in preaching and preachers in the period. Indeed, Johannes Schneyer has made an impressive study of the voluminous sermon collections of the German lands, which fills eleven volumes, and yet stops more than a decade before the time period discussed in this thesis.<sup>27</sup> The manuscripts which survive to us in such great quantity are filled with examples of

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*Practice* (Prague, 2004), pp. 33–56; 'From Venice to Jerusalem and Beyond: Milíč of Kroměříž and the Topography of Prostitution in Fourteenth-century Prague.' *Speculum*, 79 (2004), pp. 407–442.

<sup>27</sup> Johannes Schneyer, *Repertorium der Lateinischen Sermones des Mittelalters. Für die Zeit von 1150–1350*, 11 vols. (Münster, 1969–1990).



model sermons and were not read out verbatim. Because the great majority of preachers in the fourteenth century had been educated either at cathedral schools or in universities, they were literate and able to read the Latin sermons contained in such collections. The preachers would then deliver vernacular version of the sermons they had read in the collections to their lay audiences. The spoken versions of the sermons could be further embellished by rhetorical flourishes or specific references to the issues faced by the local community.

The sermon collections that these preachers referred to differed in function according to their size. Some smaller volumes were intended as portable models for travelling preachers, the size of which allowed them to be taken as the preacher moved from place to place. Other larger and more opulent versions were intended as educational texts for preachers. The collections were intended to allow men to hone their skills while studying, or for parish priests to use in the confines of their own church. Sermon collections were also created in various ways depending upon the financial circumstances of their users. Poorer preachers could take advantage of the *pecia* system, which developed to allow individuals to copy selected works from particular collections, and thereby save on the production cost of an entire text.<sup>28</sup> In contrast, wealthy institutions such as universities or monasteries could commission more sumptuous versions to be created by their own or other professional scribes.

These collections helped to serve a multiplicity of preachers who had risen as a result of the *Pastoralis cura* of Pope Gregory the Great (c. 540–604). *Pastoralis cura* was in essence a reaction to a perceived lack of lay access to appropriate religious instruction through sermons. Gregory commanded his readers to preach to their followers in order to ensure that the laity avoided the manifold pitfalls of sin. This would mean ensuring that different groups in his audience were treated in different ways according to the sins that had ensnared them. In 1215 such instruction was further codified during the Fourth Lateran Council, which called upon preachers to intercede with the unlearned and ensure that they were receiving a uniform sort of instruction with an emphasis on virtuous living.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> David d'Avray, *The Preaching of the Friars: Sermons Diffused from Paris before 1300* (Oxford, 1985), p. 103.

<sup>29</sup> For more on the Fourth Lateran Council and its implementation see, Paul B. Pixton, *The German Episcopacy and the Implementation of the Decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council 1216–1245: Watchmen on the Tower* (Leiden, 1995).

This focus on preaching led to a movement to establish the exact ways in which the *ars praedicandi* should be undertaken. Alexander of Ashby, an early thirteenth-century Augustinian prior, borrowed techniques from classical rhetorical works in his *De modo praedicandi* to determine a format which sermons ought to follow in order to sufficiently move listeners.<sup>30</sup> Thomas of Salisbury, sub-deacon of the cathedral, and later a scholar in Paris, would further elaborate on these ideas in his *Summa de arte praedicandi*. In this work he urged preachers to continue to work to improve their skills through reading, writing, and disputation.<sup>31</sup>

The frameworks that individuals such as Alexander and Thomas provided allowed the authors of model sermon collections to follow a designated form and ensure the ready comprehension of any interested readers. To make certain that readers would understand model sermons without difficulty, collections adhered to this generalised format throughout the medieval period. In addition, many sermon collections, including those of Milíč, were laid out according to the liturgical year to allow ease of reference to readers. The sermons in collections were written for and pertained to one feast day or Sunday in particular, meaning that most sermons were themed. A Sunday in advent would usually include reflections on the birth of Christ, for example, whereas a sermon written for St. George's day would pertain to the saint. The model introduced a format to be applied to the spoken sermon, thoughts about the day's gospel readings, and *exempla* to expand on these ideas. Sermons were also given credence through reference to various church authorities, who were often quoted at length.

Because the sermons in collections were intended to be reused for years, they had to remain generalised. The authors of sermon collections could not know who would be using their work, or even in what year they would be doing so. As such they had to craft messages using imagery and examples that would appeal to a broad swathe of listeners and refer to the circumstances that surrounded them. In this way authors ensured that individuals from differing social strata could relate to the messages imparted in a model sermon. This in turn helped model sermons to be diffused to large and varied audiences. Over a period of

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<sup>30</sup> For more on the *ars praedicandi*, see, James J. Murphy, *Rhetoric in the Middle Ages, A History of Rhetorical Theory from Saint Augustine to the Renaissance* (Berkeley, London, and Los Angeles, 1974), p. 331; On Alexander, see *Ibid.*, p. 313; Morée, *Preaching*, pp. 84–87.

<sup>31</sup> Murphy, *Rhetoric*, p. 129.

several years a single sermon collection could be taken up by many other users who could then pass the sermon collections on again at the request of others. Those who compiled a collection thus had an opportunity to have their sermons preached across borders, and in numerous vernacular languages.

The ease with which sermon collections could be understood, copied, and read from makes them, as d'Avray has argued, a sort of medieval mass media.<sup>32</sup> Preachers were careful to craft messages that would adhere to a particular formula in order to make them accessible to other preachers. In addition, the messages contained in model sermons had to resonate with as large an audience as possible. As a result sermon collections were one of the best ways to spread religious ideas across both borders and time.<sup>33</sup> It was this international dissemination of ideas which Milíč set out to accomplish, and which he realised.

Surviving copies of Milíč's sermon collections *Abortivus* and *Gratia Dei* are found throughout the former Holy Roman Empire in impressive numbers.<sup>34</sup> The manuscripts are found in modern day Germany, Austria, the Czech Republic, Poland, Romania, and even Sweden.<sup>35</sup> The geographical spread of his manuscripts proves that while Milíč was preaching mainly in Prague, his sermons were not bound to a single region. By means of his sermon collections he could provide pastoral care in his own city, and also ensure that audiences further abroad were receiving the message that he felt they were in need of. The survival rate of Milíč's collections and the places in which they exist thus show that he was very much taking part in a mass communication exercise. What is more, the fact that he was as successful as he was in this undertaking helps to explain why Charles IV would choose to work with him in order to promote his own projects across Europe.

## Sources

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<sup>32</sup> David d'Avray, 'Method in the study of medieval sermons', in, Nicole Bériou and David d'Avray (eds.), *Modern Questions about Medieval Sermons: Essays on Marriage, Death, History and Sanctity* (Spoleto, 1994), pp. 3–29; d'Avray, *The Preaching*, p. 170.

<sup>33</sup> d'Avray, *The Preaching*, p. 248.

<sup>34</sup> On the surviving manuscripts see Pavel Spunar (ed.), *Repertorium Auctorum Bohemorum Profectum Idearum Post Universitatem Pragensem Conditam Illustrans*, tomus I (Wrocław, 1985), pp. 171–192.

<sup>35</sup> It must be acknowledged that the Swedish location of Milíč's *Gratia Dei* collection is most likely a result of the Swedish Sack of Prague in 1648. The sack took place at the close of the Thirty Years War following the Battle of Prague.

In order to study the relationship between Milíč and Charles, this thesis will focus on a number of sources, and in particular the writings of both men. There has been significant enough curiosity surrounding Milíč's career that several of his works have been published. Even given this interest, the great majority of his sermons remain unprinted, though they have survived to us in multiple manuscripts. Whenever possible manuscript versions of the relevant texts have been used in the interest of minimising deviations from the original medieval texts. This thesis will examine selected works from his two sermon collections *Abortivus* and *Gratia Dei*, neither of which exists in printed editions. In particular manuscripts I.D.37, XII.D.1, and XIV.D.5 held at the National Library of the Czech Republic [Národní knihovna České republiky] in Prague will be examined. These manuscripts were selected because Morée also utilised them for his own work, thus allowing for continuity in the most recent studies of Milíč.

The manuscripts have an interesting history and originated in the library of the Třeboň monastery in South Bohemia.<sup>36</sup> Třeboň was a very influential Augustinian monastery founded by the powerful Rožmberk family in 1367. Třeboň's acquisition of these rich manuscripts is indicative of the importance that the monastery placed on Milíč's work, and the interest which he inspired in others. The value of these manuscripts is further underscored by the fact that they were sent to the Klementinum library in Prague after Třeboň was closed by Emperor Joseph II (1741–1790) in 1786 as a part of his secularisation of monastic libraries. This movement took place even though the majority of medieval manuscripts within the Holy Roman Empire were considered valueless at the time and destroyed to spare the cost of moving them.<sup>37</sup> The Klementinum remains a library of import, having been established in 1773 by Empress Maria Theresa (1717–1780) in the buildings of a former Jesuit college. The rehoming of the manuscripts in the Klementinum is again indicative of the worth of these specific copies, and a deciding factor in their use for this study.

Also cited will be Milíč's synodal sermons. While the sermons were printed in an edition in the 1970s this study will refer to manuscript versions of the texts.<sup>38</sup> In

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<sup>36</sup> For more on the history of the manuscripts see, Morée, *Preaching*, pp. 38–39.

<sup>37</sup> See, Friedrich Buchmayr, 'Secularization and Monastic Libraries in Austria', in, James Raven (ed.), *Lost Libraries: The Destruction of Great Book Collections since Antiquity* (New York, 2004), pp. 145–162.

<sup>38</sup> Jan Milíč of Kroměříž, *Iohannis Milicii de Cremsir, Tres Sermones Synodales*, eds. Vilém Herold and Milan Mráz (Prague, 1974). Manuscript versions examined for this thesis include

order to ensure accuracy, the sermons were compared across several manuscripts held in both the Czech Republic and Germany. The synodal sermon manuscripts examined were selected first for their geographical range. Because Milíč's texts circulated so widely, it was essential to this study ensure a sample from a similar range of regions. Further to this, the Historical Archive of Cologne City [Historisches Archiv Köln] manuscript GB f<sup>o</sup> 75 was selected as an example of one of the most westernly manuscript locations. Bavarian City Library Munich [Bayerische Staats Bibliothek München] manuscript 28398, in turn, was examined as an example of a southernly manuscript.

The synodal sermon manuscripts examined in the National Library in Prague were selected as Bohemian examples to their Bavarian and Cologne counterparts. In order to ensure the greatest possible similarity, the Bohemian manuscripts are compendia, like the German versions. Czech national library manuscript I.E.20 was chosen because it has a fifteenth century provenance, like both German manuscripts. Because I.E.20 lacks the sermon 'Sacerdotes Contempserunt', however, manuscript X.D.5, which has a later fourteenth-century provenance, was selected to supply it. The fact that several of these manuscripts date from the century after Milíč's death is significant, as it proves that there was an on-going interest in the preacher's work within the Holy Roman Empire despite the difficulties he faced at the papal court.

The synodal sermons are included in this study because they are an excellent example of what are termed *sermones ad status*, or sermons created for a particular group and for a particular reason. As David d'Avray has noted, such sermons are a valuable tool because they allow for a more nuanced understanding of the circumstances of the particular group to whom a sermon is addressed.<sup>39</sup> In the case of each of these sermons, we are therefore afforded an opportunity to apprehend more about the Prague clergy at large. The study of these sermons thus provides a more specific idea of what Milíč thought of his contemporaries, some of whom would later denounce him before the papal court.

In terms of printed sources, this study looks in particular at a series of apocalyptic works: Milíč's *Libellus de Antichristo*, 'Sermo de Die Novissimo Domini', and his

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Národní knihovna České republiky MS I.E.20, fol. 181 v.–190 r., and X.D.5., fol. 132 v.–147 r. Historisches Archiv Köln Mss. GB f<sup>o</sup> 75, fol. 130 v.–138 v., Bayerische Staats Bibliothek München MS 28398, fol. 149 v.–154 v.

<sup>39</sup> David d'Avray, *The Preaching*, p. 80.

letter 'Ad Papam Urbanum V'. These texts were published and translated together in the work *The Message for the Last Days*. This edition was selected for this thesis because of its current high circulation. *The Message for the Last Days* was printed by the World Alliance of Reformed Churches for the stated purpose of making 'some basic texts of the First Reformation and its precursors available to the international community.'<sup>40</sup> The small paperback version is as a result found in ready availability, in contrast to other copies of the same works, and is therefore the edition which most individuals would come in contact with when searching for Milíč's writings now. Using this version therefore facilitates ease of reference for interested parties and provides continuity. Unfortunately, the translations of these works are not at times reliable, and as such only the Latin will be cited here, with my own translations. The texts of the *Libellus* and 'Ad Papam Urbanum V' in this edition have been checked against other published sources and can be confirmed as accurate.<sup>41</sup> As the text of the 'Sermo de Die Novissimo Domini' was found in National Library of the Czech Republic manuscript X.A.2, the manuscript version will be used for this study in keeping with the stated desire to use the original medieval versions of Milíč's sermons.

The writings of the emperor which this thesis examines come from Charles IV's autobiography, translated and published by Balázs Nagy and Frank Schaer.<sup>42</sup> The emperor's autobiography is relevant to this discussion because it allows for a concrete idea of how Charles wanted his rule and his interests to be perceived by others. Nagy and Schaer's edition of the autobiography has been published along with a full life of the Bohemian patron saint and Charles's ancestor Wenceslas (c. 907–935), which the emperor also authored.<sup>43</sup> Both of these works will be analysed alongside those of Milíč, allowing for the comparison of both men's religious ideas.

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<sup>40</sup> Milan Opočenský, 'Preface', in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message for the Last Days*, p. 5.

<sup>41</sup> It should be noted that the *Libellus de Antichristo* included in this edition was entitled 'Prophecia et Revelatio de Antichristo' by the editors. This study finds it more acceptable to reference the work by its more usual title.

<sup>42</sup> Balázs Nagy and Frank Schaer (eds.), *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum Vita ab eo ipso Conscripta et Hystoria Nova de Sancto Wenceslao Martyre / Autobiography of Charles IV and his Legend of St. Wenceslaus*, intro. Ferdinand Seibt (Budapest and New York, 2001).

<sup>43</sup> The dates of composition for both Charles's autobiography and his Vita of St. Wenceslas have continued to elude scholars. The Life of St. Wenceslas in particular has been dated at various times, with estimates ranging from 1344 to 1358. For more on the Vita, see Petr Kubín, *Svatý Václav. Na památku 1100. Výročí narozením knížete Václava svatého* (Prague, 2010).

Added to these sources will be a collection of other contemporary works, which help to contextualise the writings of Milíč and Charles. Considered are several high and late medieval chronicles, which allow for an idea not only of the events in medieval Bohemia, but the way in which they were portrayed to interested parties.<sup>44</sup> The visitation protocol of Prague Archdeacon Pavel of Janovice will also be utilised.<sup>45</sup> Although it was composed after Milíč's death, from 1379 to 1382, the protocol nonetheless provides a view of the religious milieu of Prague in the later fourteenth century, and reports on the shortcomings of the clergy which the preacher so often railed against. Milíč's biographies are also examined, as they provide a clear idea of the events of the preacher's life.<sup>46</sup> While, as Mengel has shown, they must be read with care because of the hagiographical nature, (and in one case the inclusion of another individual's hagiography altogether), they nevertheless provide a general outline of the preacher's life and works. Further, the biographies can be analysed for evidence of Milíč's follower's intentions and can provide answers to some of the more puzzling episodes from the preacher's life.

### ***Arrangement of this Thesis***

The analysis of these documents will take place over four chapters. The first is concerned with establishing the connection between Milíč and the emperor's court in general, and with Charles IV more specifically. The chapter will examine prevailing ideas in the historiography regarding the relationship between the preacher and the emperor. It will then move on to discuss Charles's interest in the works of reformers in order to establish whether he was predisposed to supporting individuals like Milíč. Finally, the chapter will prove that there are multiple indications that Milíč was favoured at court. In order to do so it will discuss, among other matters, Milíč's career progression, appellations, his work

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<sup>44</sup> Chronicles examined include: Cosmas of Prague, *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, trans. and ed. Lisa Wolverton (Washington D.C., 2009); Francis of Prague, *Chronicon Francisci Pragensis*, in Jana Zachová (ed.), *FRB, Series Nova*, vol. 1 (Prague, 1997); Beneš of Krabice Weitmil, *Chronicon Ecclesiae Pragensis*, in Josef Emler (ed.), *FRB*, vol. IV (Prague, 1884), pp. 457–548; Petr Žitavský, *Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, in Josef Vítězslav Šimák (ed.), *FRB*, vol. VI, (Prague, 1907), pp. 106–317; Petr Žitavský, *Zbraslavská kronika. Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, ed. Zdeněk Fiala, trans. František Heřmanský and Rudolík Mertlík (Prague, 1976); Národní knihovna České republiky (ed.), *Kronika tak řečného Dalimila* (Prague, 2005); as well as Zdeněk Uhlíř (ed.), *Tales from the Chronicle of Dalimil: the Paris Fragment of the Latin Translation* (Prague, 2006).

<sup>45</sup> Ivan Hlaváček and Zdeňka Hledíková (eds.), *Protocollum visitationis archidiaconatus Pragensis annis 1379–1382 per Paulum de Janowicz archidiaconum Pragensem factae*, (Prague, 1973).

<sup>46</sup> Josef Emler (ed.), *Vita venerabilis presbyteri Milicii, praelati ecclesiae Pragensis*, in *FRB*, vol. 1, (Prague, 1871–1873), pp. 403–430; Matěj of Janov, "Narracio de Myliczyo", in *RVNT*, vol. III, pp. 358–436.

at the Prague synods, the articles of accusation formulated against the preacher by the Prague clergy, and his community at Jerusalem. Having established that there is ample proof that the preacher and emperor respected one another and worked together, the chapter will then delve more deeply into the possible reasons that this fact has been ignored up until this point. In particular we will discuss one of the most frequently cited anecdotes regarding Milíč – his supposed identification of Charles IV as Antichrist during a sermon. This incident will be analysed in depth in order to ascertain its veracity, including a discussion of Milíč's eschatological ideas, and the possible motivations of his biographer and historians in recounting this story.

As the first chapter will show, there is little evidence to suggest that there was a fraught relationship between Milíč and Charles. In fact, to the contrary, the two men shared an amicable connection. Having proven that this is the case, one must ask why the emperor was interested in supporting the work of the preacher. While Charles was interested in reformers in general, there was no denying that Milíč was a target for the aggression of a great many individuals in Prague. Indeed, the preacher was also the object of the papacy's disapproval on multiple occasions. Why then bolster someone whose work engendered conflict?

The answer to that question will be debated in the next three chapters of this thesis. Each chapter will argue that the reason the crown sought to encourage Milíč's ideas and work was that the preacher supported the efforts of Charles both at home in Prague and across Europe. The second chapter of this study will take a closer look at the efforts and interests of both men in Prague in particular. It will first examine some of the most common themes in Milíč's sermons, and by extension the most pressing issues that he felt his work needed to address. The discussion will then seek to elucidate some of the conditions of life in late fourteenth-century Prague in order to ascertain how Milíč came to the conclusions he did regarding social and religious ills. The chapter will argue that the problems which Milíč urged his audiences to work against in his sermons were in fact realities of life for the preacher. Moreover, it will show that Milíč saw himself as tasked with curbing these issues through his sermons.

Having established the problems that Milíč's sermons were written to combat, the chapter will then move on to consider the ambitions of Charles IV and his intentions for Prague. This discussion will also introduce one of the most



significant facets of the collaboration between Milíč and Charles, its international focus. While the undertakings of both preacher and emperor discussed in this chapter take place firmly within the capital of the Czech lands, it is the contention of this thesis that these works were intended to be presented to audiences within the Holy Roman Empire, the papacy, and Christendom as a whole. Understanding the intentions that Charles had for Prague, and what he saw as its function as a religious beacon, will help to explain some of the features of Milíč's efforts there.

The works that the preacher undertook can be understood in this context as a part of the larger programme of religious revivification promoted by the emperor and intended to promote the city abroad. It will be argued that because Charles wished to promote Prague as a new spiritual capital, as has long been argued by historians, it was necessary to have individuals such as Milíč at work within the city. Milíč's work helped to address the problems in Prague which would prevent it from being seen as a religious bastion. Finally, the discussion will contend that Milíč's fame and reputation also helped to confirm the city as holy.

Having argued for Milíč's utility to Charles as a result of his ministrations in Prague, this thesis will then explore both men's preoccupation with what they termed 'the Church of Prague', and their determination to popularise both it, and the attendant cults of the Bohemian saint abroad. The chapter will first examine the concept of the Church of Prague in depth. Afterwards, it will show through the timing of the inclusion of the term in Milíč's written works that both men were working together to promote the idea of the 'church'. The discussion will then analyse the works of both men in order to prove the differing ways in which they hoped to engender interest in the saints of the Czech lands, whom they saw as the founders of the 'church'. This will establish in a conclusive manner that both men sought to advance what they saw as the religious exceptionality of Prague to a foreign audience together.

In its final chapter, this study will examine the ways in which Milíč's work helped to assist Charles IV in his accumulation of temporal power. It will first consider the attempts of both the preacher and the emperor to link the new Luxembourg dynasty in Bohemia to Charles's ancestral line, the Přemyslids. In so doing, it will outline the issues that the young Charles faced as he came to power in Prague as a result of the policies (or lack thereof) of his father. The benefits of Charles

being considered as the logical successor to the Přemyslid line will be discussed, as well as the attempts of both Milíč the emperor to engender the idea in others.

The thesis will then move on to discuss the fraught relationship between Charles and the Bohemian nobles [*šlechta*]. From the tenth to the twelfth centuries the nobility in the Czech lands had derived their power from stewardship grants given to them by the Přemyslids in return for services. In the thirteenth century, this situation would change, and the upper nobility, or lords [*pánský*], expanded their influence. During this time many noble families were in permanent possession of their own castles, and in control of their own local courts. This discussion will highlight the attempts of Milíč and Charles to uphold the supremacy of the Bohemian throne generally, and Charles in particular, over the interests of the powerful nobility. Having demonstrated that both men were interested in consolidating Charles's power at home, the discussion will move to consider their efforts in the same area abroad. The chapter will analyse the efforts of both the preacher and Charles to encourage the reconsolidation of the Holy Roman Empire's lands and power under the imperial throne. Finally, the discussion will elucidate the ways in which both Milíč and Charles sought to bolster the position of the emperor in relation to the papacy.

Prague was the backdrop for Milíč's eventful and contentious life. It gave him a platform on which to preach his message, a community which would copy his sermon collections and create new preachers to carry on his ideas, and an opportunity to come into contact with arguably one of the most powerful patrons of the fourteenth century, Charles IV. As this thesis will prove, however, for both the preacher and the emperor success inside the capital was not enough. Prague was the starting point, Christendom as a whole was the audience.

## Chapter 1

### Milíč and Charles: Rivalry or Collaboration?

Thus far, historians have disagreed on the way in which to characterise the relationship between Milíč and Charles IV. Some have argued that Milíč was bolstered by the support of the court, while others insisted that the preacher conducted his career in opposition to it. Both arguments have had their own champions over time, with differing interpretations on the subject often being divided along political and national lines. For example, Palacký, the champion of the Czech cause of the *národní obrození*, considered that the preacher was ‘supported...by the highest offices [both] secular and spiritual’.<sup>47</sup> Therefore, he argued, the preacher enjoyed the support of the crown. In contrast to Palacký’s glowing depiction of Milíč as part of a quintessentially Czech reforming legacy, Höfler wrote of Milíč as a radical degenerate, bent on the condemnation of the emperor, bishops, cardinals, and pope.<sup>48</sup> Similarly, Burdach insisted that Milíč’s legacy was to undo the reforms which Charles IV and Archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice (1297–1364) had worked to achieve in the city.<sup>49</sup>

While notable historians other than Palacký argued for a positive relationship between the court and Milíč, it is much more common to find lines of reasoning which assert that the preacher was locked in a permanent battle with the court. As a result, the latter interpretation has proved more common across political and nationalistic affiliations. Loskot, for instance, depicted Milíč as a consummate Czech reformer. Yet because of this, the historian felt that the preacher resented Charles IV because the emperor...

...enriched the church and included in it a secular lustre, but [in doing so] also violated it! [And as such] was complicit in the moral corruption in the society of the church.<sup>50</sup>

Elaborating on this assumed hostility, Uhlíř wrote that Milíč worked in his sermons to advance the position of the Bohemian nobility in opposition to the

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<sup>47</sup> Palacký, *Dějiny*, vol. III, p. 25.

<sup>48</sup> Höfler, *Concilia pragensia*, p. XXXII.

<sup>49</sup> Burdach, ‘Zur Kenntnis altdeutscher Handschriften’, pp. 11–21.

<sup>50</sup> ‘Obohatil církev a zahrnul ji leskem a slávou světskou, ale tím i porušil ji! Je spoluvinem mravní korupcí ve společnosti církevní.’ Loskot, *Milíč*, p. 65.

crown.<sup>51</sup> So common is this interpretation that it can be found even in the works of those outside of the overtly political context of the Czech and German lands. R. R. Betts, for example, stated that, 'Milíč never saw either in the king or in the secular arm, which he had renounced, a possible instrument of reformation.'<sup>52</sup> The great majority of historians have therefore argued that Milíč viewed both Charles and his court with nothing but repugnance.

Clearly then, a great deal of disagreement surrounding the interpretation of the relationship between Milíč and the court of Charles IV remains. Taking this variance into account, this chapter will analyse aspects of and events in the lives and careers of the emperor, select individuals in his court, and the preacher, and analyse some of Milíč's writings. It will argue that rather than being at odds, as the majority of studies have suggested, there was a clear and amicable connection between the court and Milíč. Further to this goal, this chapter will first examine Charles's support of other reformers to ascertain whether he held an interest in other controversial figures. Once established, the relationship between Charles and other reformers will help explain the emperor's willingness to extend support to Milíč as well.

Having investigated and confirmed Charles's interest in aiding reformers, the chapter will then move on to discuss Milíč's career. It will analyse each stage of Milíč's life, from his beginnings in Moravia, to his move to the chancery and cathedral in Prague, and finally his work as a preacher. This will prove a pattern of interest in his career on the part of multiple members of the court. Once a connection between Milíč and Charles IV and his court has been established, this chapter will analyse the most obvious possible reason that a beneficial relationship has not yet been accepted as the correct interpretation of events. This discussion will re-examine interpretations both of Milíč's connections at court, and the involvement of Charles IV's circle. In so doing, it will allow for greater consideration of preachers as engaged with, and useful to rulers and their courts.

### ***Charles and Reformers***

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<sup>51</sup> Zdeněk Uhlíř, *Literární prameny svatováclavského kultu a úcty ve vrcholném a pozdním středověku* (Prague, 1996), p. 22.

<sup>52</sup> Betts, 'Some Political ideas of the Czech Reformers', in, *Essays in Czech History*, p. 69.

In contrast to much of the extent historiography, there is extensive evidence to suggest that Charles IV held a personal interest in the ideas of reform preachers in general. In point of fact, it can be shown that the emperor was interested in allowing, and in some cases supporting, their work in Bohemia. One indication of Charles's interest in reform ideas comes in his unlikely correspondence with Cola di Rienzo (1313–1354). Rienzo had been the leader of the revolutionary Roman government in 1347 that promised to usher in a new age of justice in the city.<sup>53</sup> Upon taking control of the eternal city, he began a campaign to bring the Holy Roman Empire under Roman control. Accordingly, Rienzo sent legates to Ludwig of Bavaria (1282–1347) and Charles IV in an attempt to summon the then rival claimants to the imperial throne to hear his arbitration, and confirm them as subject to Rome.<sup>54</sup> Irregardless of his political pretensions, or perhaps because of them, by the end of the year Pope Clement VI (1291–1352) had excommunicated Rienzo and his regime was ousted from the city.

For the next few years Rienzo drifted between the castles of individuals sympathetic to his cause. He eventually found his way to the Monti di Maiella, where he came into contact with the Fraticelli leader, Fra Angelo of Montecielo (d. 1337).<sup>55</sup> Fra Angelo introduced Rienzo to the sibylline oracle *Oraculum S. Cyrillo* (otherwise known as the *Angelic Oracle of Cyril*), and proclaimed that Cola could be identified in the text as Sol, the future saviour of Rome.<sup>56</sup> Armed with this new understanding of himself as a divine redeemer, in 1350 Rienzo travelled to Bohemia. There he hoped to meet with Charles IV and gain the emperor's support in retaking Rome.

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<sup>53</sup> For more on the life and career of Cola di Rienzo, see John Wright (trans. and intro.), *The Life of Cola di Rienzo*, 4 vols. (Toronto, 1975); Konrad Burdach and Paul Piur (eds.), *Briefwechsel des Cola di Rienzo*, 5 vols. (Berlin, 1912–1929); Ronald G. Musto, *Apocalypse in Rome: Cola di Rienzo and the Politics of the New Age* (Berkeley and London, 2003); Ferdinand Seibt, 'Cola di Rienzo', in *Karel IV. Císař v Evropě (1346–1378)* (Prague, 1999), pp. 207–214.

<sup>54</sup> The contest between Ludwig and Charles for the imperial throne will be discussed in greater detail in the fourth chapter of this thesis. See Chapter 4, pp. 177–178.

<sup>55</sup> Also known as Fr. Angelo of Monte Volcano. For more on Fra Angelo, see Burdach and Piur (eds.), *Briefwechsel*, vol. 5, p. 301.

<sup>56</sup> The Oracle of Cyril was attributed to St. Cyril of Constantinople (1126–1224) and had supposedly been brought to him by an angel while he was celebrating the Mass. The text began circulating in the late thirteenth century, accompanied by a lengthy pseudo-Joachemite commentary, which most probably dates from the same time period, though it purported to have eleventh-century roots. The oracle enjoyed extensive popularity in the medieval period, and the attention of scholars ranging from Arnold of Villanova (c. 1235–1313) to the possibly fictitious Telesphorus of Cosenza. For the oracle see, Esprit Julien (ed.), *Divinum oraculum S. Cyrillo, carmelitae Constantinopolitano, solemnne legatione angeli missum, cui adjungitur commentarius R. P. F. Philippo a Sanctissima Trinitate* (Lyon, 1663); and Burdach and Piur (eds.), *Briefwechsel*, vol. 4, pp. 221–327. On Sol, the saviour of Rome see *Ibid.*, p. 252.

Upon his arrival in Prague in August, Rienzo went to the court to seek the help of Charles.<sup>57</sup> There, he announced that he had heard the vision of Fra Angelico, and that Charles was the Last World Emperor.<sup>58</sup> With this eschatological revelation, Rienzo showed that much like Milíč he was convinced that the Antichrist would soon be upon the world. Also like Milíč, the tribune argued that the Final Enemy's arrival was presaged by the plagues and earthquakes then devastating Italy.<sup>59</sup> He claimed he had been sent to the emperor by Fra Angelico as an ambassador to announce the coming of the time of the Holy Spirit.<sup>60</sup> He then predicted the death of the pope at the hands of an unruly Avignonese mob. After the pope's death Rienzo claimed a new Roman 'angelic' pope would be elected, return the papacy to Rome, and crown both Charles and himself as the Holy Roman Emperor, and the King of Rome and Italy, respectively. Rienzo further insisted that he and Charles together were the bearers of the Holy Spirit, and charged with defeating the forces of Antichrist.<sup>61</sup>

In spite of these theological eccentricities, Rienzo was given an initial welcome at court. Yet soon in the face of both pressure from the papal court at Avignon and

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<sup>57</sup> Anonimo Romano, *Vita di Cola di Rienzo: Cronica*, ed. Giuseppe Porta (Milan, 1979), XXVII, II, pp. 31–54.

<sup>58</sup> The Last World Emperor was an eschatological figure said to be descended from Alexander the Great. It was believed that he would lead the Christian faithful in a battle against the forces of Islam and then those of the demonic hordes of Gog and Magog. Afterwards, he would make his way in triumph to Jerusalem, where he would rule in peace for ten and a half years. The emperor would then relinquish his crown to God Himself on the Mount of Olives, and die, at which point Antichrist would be born. The Last World Emperor first appeared in a work which scholars today call the *Pseudo Methodius*. It was alleged to have been written in the third century by Bishop Methodius of Olympus (d. c. 311) and then called the *Revelations*. In actuality the text is more likely to have been of Syrian provenance, written in about 691 AD. One of the so-called Sibylline Oracles, the *Pseudo Methodius* and the idea of the Last World Emperor enjoyed widespread popularity in medieval exegesis, even influencing several versions of the *Glossa Ordinaria*. On the *Pseudo Methodius*, see Ernst Sackur (ed.), *Pseudo Methodius*, in *Sibyllinische Texte und Forschungen* (Halle, 1898), pp. 1–96; Horst Pieter Rauh, *Das Bild des Antichrist im Mittelalter. Von Tychonius zum deutschen Symbolismus*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie und Theologie des Mittelalters, n.s. 9 (Münster, 1973), pp. 142–152. On the Last World Emperor, see Paul J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition*, ed. and intro. Dorothy DeF Abrahamse (Berkeley and London, 1985), pp. 48–50; Sackur (ed.), *Sibyllinische Texte*, pp. 89–94. For the *Pseudo Methodius*'s influence on the Gloss, see Richard Kenneth Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art and Literature* (Manchester, 1981), p. 48. On Charles as the Last World Emperor, see Burdach and Piur (eds.), *Briefwechsel*, vol. 2, pp. 191–197, 198–213, 279, 332.

<sup>59</sup> Rienzo reiterated this conviction to the emperor in a letter from July 1350, stating that 'God had sent the great plague and the earthquake because of unreformed pastors and peoples.' See Burdach and Piur (eds.), *Briefwechsel*, vol. 2, pp. 193–194.

For more on Rienzo's presentation at the court in Prague, see Anonimo Romano, *Vita di Cola*, vol. II, pp. 26–46; and Burdach and Piur (eds.), *Briefwechsel*, vol. 2, pp. 198–213.

<sup>60</sup> Rienzo also insisted that Angelico had sent another ambassador to the pope in Avignon. Ludovico Antonio Muratori (ed.), *Chronicon Estense, Gesta Marchionum Estensium complectens*, in *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, vol. 15 (Milan, 1729), p. 460.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*

the evidence of Rienzo's questionable eschatological views, Charles ordered that Cola be imprisoned in some style at his castle in Roudnice. Charles then compelled Rienzo to repeat his predictions at length before local theologians, who declared them heretical. Pope Clement VI wrote to Charles, asking that the prisoner be interrogated using specific articles of inquisition which he had prepared, and afterwards be sent to Avignon forthwith.<sup>62</sup> Clement had every reason to expect Charles's obedience in this matter, given that he had been the emperor's tutor during his youth at the French court.<sup>63</sup> Furthermore, as will be discussed in greater length in the fourth chapter of this thesis, Clement had been instrumental in Charles's election as King of the Romans.<sup>64</sup> Regardless of this relationship, Charles ignored the pope's directives and held Rienzo in the castle for two years. During this time the papal court made repeated efforts to convince Charles to release his prisoner to itself. Instead, Charles chose to have Rienzo interrogated by his own archbishop, Arnošt of Pardubice.

During this time, the two also kept up a correspondence. In his letters the tribune insisted that the emperor must unite the Empire, much as St. Francis of Assisi had the church. Rienzo maintained in his correspondence that Charles must wield full temporal power on earth, as the church was prevented from doing so by its moral imperative to remain spiritually poor. Of course numerous reformers, including Milíč, argued for the apostolic poverty of the church throughout the medieval period, and in the fourteenth century in particular. Even given this context, however, Rienzo's insistence that the necessity of the church's poverty meant that its power over the Papal States was illegitimate was unusual. Such arguments may nevertheless have been of interest to the imperial court, in spite of their uncommon nature. Indeed, from the moment of Charles's elevation, he had been working to reconsolidate power under the imperial throne throughout the Empire.<sup>65</sup> Less appealing was Rienzo's caution to Charles that all of Italy would reject the emperor should he continue to hold him captive. For his part,

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<sup>62</sup> See, Amanda Collins, *Greater than Emperor: Cola di Rienzo (ca. 1313–54) and the World of Fourth Century Rome* (Ann Arbor, 2002), p. 22.

<sup>63</sup> The relationship between Pope Clement VI and Charles IV has been much celebrated. The most famous example of their friendship comes from Charles's autobiography, in which he recounted that in a meeting with his old tutor, 'He said to me, "You will yet be king of the Romans." I responded to him, "You will be pope before that."' Following the English translation in, Nagy and Schaer (eds.), *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum*, p. 145. (Nagy and Schaer's English translation will be followed throughout this study, where applicable.)

<sup>64</sup> See Chapter 4, pp. 177–180.

<sup>65</sup> Charles's work to consolidate the imperial lands is discussed in greater detail in the fourth chapter of this dissertation. See pp. 170–172.

Charles argued against these claims, insisting to Rienzo that it was not possible for any man to know the time of the Lord's coming. The emperor suggested that the tribune had misinterpreted the oracle and that he ought to seek answers in biblical sources rather than in prophecies. Furthermore, Charles insisted that he was more concerned with the judgment of God, which compelled him to incarcerate those whom the church condemned. This, the emperor insisted, was his first priority, whether or not his Italian subjects would be angered by the imprisonment of Rienzo.<sup>66</sup>

Although Charles made his disagreement with Rienzo's predictions clear in his correspondence, the tribune's writings were soon circulating in the capital's chancery. In letters entitled 'The True Manifesto of the Tribune against Matters Schismatic and Erroneous,' and 'The Tribune's Oration in Reply to Caesar on the Eloquence of Charity', Rienzo insisted that Charles could unify all of Italy behind his cause. The tribune said Charles would enter Rome in triumph for his imperial coronation by Pentecost 1351, should he heed his captive's pleas.<sup>67</sup> The letters also contained marked complaints about the profligacy of the papal curia at Avignon, which was contrasted with Rienzo's idea of the divinely favoured Charles. These letters received no response from Charles himself, though they did attract interest at the Prague court. While Charles did not reply to these claims in his correspondence with Rienzo, however, nor did he reject them. The closest thing to a rebuttal to come from the court on this matter was the archbishop's response to the letters which critiqued Cola's past presumptions in Rome. The archbishop referenced the Acts of the Apostles to remind the tribune that if his visions were divine in origin they would spread in spite of the suspicion of others.<sup>68</sup>

The lack of action on Charles's part when faced with an interpretation of himself as prophesied saviour of the Empire, and a scathing criticism of the excesses of the church, is telling. His silence on the matter, combined with his archbishop's tepid rebuke, indicates a willingness to allow Rienzo's visions to continue to diffuse. This inaction distanced the court from Rienzo enough that Avignon could not charge it with complacency in the matter, while still allowing the favourable interpretations of Charles to circulate. While Charles may not have been in

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<sup>66</sup> Musto, *Apocalypse*, p. 283.

<sup>67</sup> Burdach and Piur (eds.), *Briefwechsel*, vol. 3, pp. 57–58.

<sup>68</sup> Acts 5:38; Burdach and Piur (eds.), *Briefwechsel*, vol. 3, pp. 43–46.



agreement with Rienzo on his oracular interpretations, the emperor's actions nevertheless indicate that he was aware of their possible usefulness.

Beyond the potential utility of Cola's visionary writings, Charles saw that the tribune was also politically astute. Although Rienzo's incarceration was necessary, Charles still valued the tribune's ideas enough to use him as an advisor in an unofficial capacity on Italy up until the spring of 1351. Charles also relied on Rienzo upon receiving a letter from the Roman poet laureate Petrarch. The poet had written to ask Charles to travel to Italy, unify the warring states, and return the seat of the Empire to Rome. Charles had Rienzo write a rebuttal to his personal friend and political ally on the emperor's behalf. Rienzo insisted in his reply that Rome was a sinking ship, which could not be put to rights with a military campaign led by a northern emperor. Any such an undertaking, wrote the tribune, ought to be a last resort.<sup>69</sup> Because this argument was laid out by a compatriot and friend of Petrarch, it had a credence which would have been interpreted as callousness had the emperor responded himself. It is clear then that Charles, notwithstanding his disagreements with the rebel's eschatological beliefs, was able to identify specific areas of Italian politics in which Rienzo could be used to achieve the goals of the throne.

Aside from his utility as a polemical writer and advisor on Italian affairs, Charles had yet another motive for keeping Rienzo in his custody. Although he was elected as King of the Romans in 1346, Charles had by this time still not been crowned as Holy Roman Emperor by Pope Clement VI. He therefore may have been holding back Rienzo against the wishes of the papal court in a bid to use the tribune as leverage and ensure his coronation.<sup>70</sup> The implication was that until Charles received the imperial crown, Rienzo would stay in Prague, a move which damaged the papacy's claim to dominion over the affairs of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>71</sup> In the end, however, Charles relented and sent Rienzo on his way to face the inquisitors in Avignon in July 1352.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Burdach and Piur (eds.), *Briefwechsel*, vol. 3, p. 71.

<sup>70</sup> On Charles's coronation as King of the Romans see, Nagy and Schaer (eds.), *Karoli IV*, p. 145. Clement VI's unwillingness to see Charles crowned as emperor will be discussed in greater detail in the fourth chapter of this work. See Chapter 4, pp. 177–180.

<sup>71</sup> For more on papal-imperial relations on the medieval period see Chapter 4, pp. 180–181.

<sup>72</sup> Mario E. Cosena, *Petrarch: The Revolution of Cola di Rienzo* (New York, 1913; Reprint 1986), p. 187.

The Rienzo episode is indicative of Charles's ability to manipulate eschatological reformers, no matter how extreme and regardless of whether or not he agreed with their ideas, to gain his own ends. Rienzo's End Times ideas were unusual, and went well beyond those of Milíč, in that the tribune named individuals as particular eschatological figures. While the emperor did not share Rienzo's ideas, when he identified an area in which the Roman could be of utility he made use of him. In some cases, that included the compelled composition of arguments against the very ideals that Rienzo held dearest. In others the tribune's continued incarceration was enough to convey a message. In either instance the message was clear; Charles was not afraid to use the radical ideas of others to achieve his own goals, even if he came into conflict with his subjects, or even the papacy, when he did so.

The emperor's continued interest in the works of reformers was also demonstrated through his involvement with the work of the Austrian preacher Konrad Waldhauser (c. 1326–1369). Waldhauser came to Prague in the year 1363, and would later become close with Milíč when the two men worked together at the parish of our Lady before Týn in the Old Town.<sup>73</sup> An Augustinian canon from Waldhausen in northern Austria, Waldhauser had by that time been preaching in Vienna at the behest of the local duke. In so doing he had fashioned a formidable reputation for himself as a talented orator.<sup>74</sup> His passionate sermons, which called for a new focus on personal morality, a

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<sup>73</sup> On his arrival in Prague, see Konrad Waldhauser, 'Apologia Konradi in Waldhausen', in, Konstantin Höfler (ed.), *Geschichtschreiber der Husitischen Bewegung in Böhmen*, vol. 2, *Scriptores rerum Austriacarum*, 1.6.2 (Leipzig, 1865; Reprint, Graz, 1969), p. 37. It should be noted that Waldhauser is often referred to in the overtly hagiographic language of the *národní obrození* as one of the principal forerunners of the Hussites, much in the way that Milíč was often characterised. The major *národní obrození* text on Waldhauser is that of František Palacký, written under the *nom de plume* J. P. Jordan, *Die Vorläufer des Husitentums in Böhmen* (Leipzig, 1846), which has had a great influence on most subsequent studies.

Waldhauser and Milíč's work overlapped by some four years, from 1365 to 1369. It has been posited by historians such as Ladislav Klicman and František Loskot that the two preachers enjoyed a close enough relationship (which the writers have characterised as a friendship) that perhaps Waldhauser had written to Cardinal Angel de Grimoard, and asked him to intercede on Milíč's behalf when he was imprisoned in Rome. See, Ladislav Klicman, 'Milíč, Jan', in, *Ottův slovník naučný*, vol. XVII (Prague, 1888–1909), p. 339; and Loskot, *Milíč*, p. 75. On Milíč and Waldhauser as friends, see Loskot, *Milíč*, p. 81. While this is, perhaps, an overstatement, it is undeniable that the two men shared a similar view of contemporary religious life and a workplace, indicating that they must have been in some sort of regular contact.

<sup>74</sup> Waldhauser stated in a letter dated to 1364 that he had been preaching to the 'entire population of Vienna' ('Haec dilectissimi compatriotae mei praesertim in Vienna et per totam Austriam constituti...'), and 'the Duke of Austria' ('...dominus noster, dux Austriae...'). See, Ferdinand Menčík, *Konrad Waldhauser, mnich řadu svatého Augustina* (Prague, 1881), p.18.

cleansing of the clergy, and often criticised the mendicant orders, were said to have been some of the finest delivered anywhere.

As a result of Waldhauser's successes in Vienna, Charles invited him to the new capital so that he could minister to the German-speaking citizens of Prague.<sup>75</sup> Further to this, the emperor dispatched his Supreme Chamberlain, Lord Petr Rožmberk (d. 1347), to bring Waldhauser to the city.<sup>76</sup> The deployment of so eminent a personage as Rožmberk to escort the preacher to Prague is indicative of Charles's desire to secure him. Charles would not send a person as important as Rožmberk to Vienna unless he considered the acquisition of Waldhauser to be vital. It is unlikely that Charles would risk offending Rožmberk, a prominent lord and important member of his court on a minor errand. Instead, this situation is indicative of Charles's awareness of Waldhauser's connections in Vienna, and a genuine interest on his part to entice him north to Prague.

In order to ensure that Waldhauser would be fully provided for after his arrival, Charles also secured him a royal parish benefice in Litoměřice, some sixty kilometers from Prague.<sup>77</sup> As Mengel has shown, Charles had control over very few Prague benefices, and as a result was unable to find a position for Waldhauser in the capital itself.<sup>78</sup> The Litoměřice benefice was nevertheless enviable, as the town was the seat of an archdeaconry, and the All Saints parish to which Waldhauser was appointed was rather wealthy.<sup>79</sup> While the town was important and the position lucrative, the implication was that Waldhauser would leave the parish in the hands of its vicars, a common occurrence in the fourteenth century, and go to work in the capital.<sup>80</sup> The fact that Charles granted Waldhauser such an important benefice is once again indicative of the emperor's

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<sup>75</sup> On Waldhauser's talent for oration, see, Jan Sedlák, *M. Jan Hus* (Prague, 1915; Reprint, Olomouc, 1996), pp. 1–2, 66–67.

<sup>76</sup> On the Lord Rožmberk's deployment, see Waldhauser, 'Apologia', in, Höfler (ed.), *Geschichtschreiber*, p. 37. For more on Lord Rožmberk see Chapter 4, p. 162.

<sup>77</sup> On Litoměřice, see František Tingl and Joseph Emler (eds.), *Libri confirmationum ad beneficia ecclesiastica Pragensem per archidiocesim*, vol. 1.2 (Prague, 1867–1889), p. 16.

<sup>78</sup> Mengel, *Bone, Stones, and Brothels*, p. 163.

<sup>79</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>80</sup> On Waldhauser's absenteeism from Litoměřice, which he claims was necessary in order to combat the mendicants, see Waldhauser, 'Apologia', in, Höfler (ed.), *Geschichtschreiber*, pp. 21, 32–33. The absence of parish priests, and its commonplace occurrence in fourteenth-century Bohemia is attested to by numerous complaints on absenteeism in the visitation of the archdeaconate in 1379–1382. See, Hlaváček and Hledíková, (eds.), *Protocollum visitationis archidiaconatus Pragensis*, pp. 73, 79–80, 90. While it would seem that the practice was common, it was frowned upon by those left without pastoral care, perhaps explaining Waldhauser's justification of his own arrangement. The problems with absentee priests in Prague will be discussed in more depth in the next chapter of this thesis. See Chapter 2, pp. 70–73.

desire to encourage the work of the preacher. A position as lucrative and prominent as the Litoměřice benefice was would only be offered to an individual that the crown wished to please and support.

In Prague, Waldhauser soon found a place to preach at St. Gall in the Old Town.<sup>81</sup> It is unclear from his own descriptions, however, whether he had received an actual benefice there as a preacher, or whether he gave sermons there on invitation.<sup>82</sup> What is plain is that upon his arrival, Waldhauser won the Prague community over so quickly that the church lacked the capacity for his audience. As a result, on occasion he was obliged to preach in the marketplace outside.<sup>83</sup>

His audiences were treated to sermons on the necessity of ecclesiastical reform, and in particular a need for the reform of the mendicant orders. It was Waldhauser's contention that the local mendicants were simonious 'false prophets'<sup>84</sup> who were seducing the people of Prague, an accusation that Milíč would echo at length in his own sermons.<sup>85</sup> Waldhauser claimed that the begging orders had become wealthy trading prayers for money, dined on rich food unbecoming of their positions, and that they owned far more books than were necessary.<sup>86</sup> The preacher also insisted that the very basis upon which the mendicant orders had been founded was tendacious, as Jesus had not begged for food, and therefore his friars ought not to do so either.<sup>87</sup> Moreover, as a result of the poor instruction that they had been providing the people of Prague,

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<sup>81</sup> The date of Waldhauser's acceptance is known by his resignation from the benefice at Litoměřice. See, Tingl and Emler (eds.), vol. 1.2, *Libri confirmationum*, p. 59.

<sup>82</sup> Waldhauser gives conflicting accounts of his work at St. Gall, at one point asserting that he preached across from the parish ('...juxta S. Galli ecclesiam...' Waldhauser, 'Apologia', in, Höfler (ed.), *Geschichtschreiber*, p. 22), and at another claiming that he was the preacher of the church ('...ad sanctum Gallum praedicatoris...' Menčík, 'Konrad Waldhauser', p. 14).

<sup>83</sup> 'Ego Conradus in Walthausen ... verbum dei in civitate Pragensi quasi per annum continuum predicassem iuxta sancti Galli ecclesiam in foro coram omni populo quia in ecclesia, licet magna, locum habere non potui.' Waldhauser, 'Apologia', in, Höfler (ed.), *Geschichtschreiber*, p. 22.

<sup>84</sup> '... tunc surgent multi pseudoprophete et seducent multos...' Ibid., pp. 22–23.

<sup>85</sup> Milíč's preaching on the mendicants and his concern for what he termed 'false prophets' or 'false teachers' will be discussed at greater length in the next chapter of this work. See, Chapter 2, pp. 73–76.

<sup>86</sup> Waldhauser, 'Apologia', in, Höfler (ed.), *Geschichtschreiber*, pp. 27, 29.

<sup>87</sup> 'Sed bene verum est quod, disputans de paupertate seu mendicitate Christi cum quibusdam fratribus in privato, cum dixissent Christum omnino pauperum fuisse nec quidquam proprio habuisse, respondi, hoc non dicatis, cum dicatur Christum loculus habuisse quia ut audivi fratres ordinis vestri qui hoc irrationabiliter tenebant et dicebant, fuerunt in curia cremati...' Ibid., pp. 34–35.

Waldhauser held that the mendicants were the spring from which all of the sinful predilections of the city's populace flowed.<sup>88</sup>

The mendicants, of course, did not react well to these slights, and a union of the friars minor was created with the explicit purpose of combating Waldhauser and his work.<sup>89</sup> They asserted that the preacher had turned the people so against them that they were called heretics and threatened with physical violence in the streets. Perhaps most tellingly, they also claimed that Prague's citizens no longer heard their pleas for alms.<sup>90</sup> Accordingly, several complaints about Waldhauser were lodged before the archbishop. The preacher was thus forced to account for himself at the archbishop's palace in the Hradčany, a situation that his friend Milíč would find himself in ten years later.

On the occasion of his second review before the archbishop on 11 December 1363, Waldhauser decided to offer more than a simple refutation of the accusations and also caused a riot.<sup>91</sup> He did so by informing the crowd at one of his sermons that the mendicants were plotting to murder him. Afterwards, the enraged listeners followed the preacher to his audience at the archiepiscopal court. Waldhauser insisted to the archbishop on arrival that he had not incited the throng, and did not control it, but that they had come along of their own volition to protect him.<sup>92</sup> It is probable that the disavowal of responsibility for the mob had to do with the fact that both en route to, and away from the audience with the archbishop, the crowd abused the Dominican members of the house of St. Clement, asserting that they were heretics.<sup>93</sup> Whether or not he took responsibility for the actions of his followers, Waldhauser had sent a clear message to the mendicants in Prague, and the citizens of the city in general: he was both willing and able to work his followers into a frenzy to meet his own ends.

Given the rabble-rousing capabilities of Waldhauser, one would assume that it would not be in the best interests of Charles IV to support such a controversial and disruptive figure. Indeed, it has been argued that although the king invited

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<sup>88</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 48.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 23–25.

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 24–25.

<sup>91</sup> For more on the riot, and its sociopolitical meaning in Prague, see Mengel's *Bones, Stones, and Brothels*, pp. 207–209.

<sup>92</sup> Waldhauser, 'Apologia', in, Höfler (ed.), *Geschichtschreiber*, pp. 19–20, 29–30.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20, 30.

Waldhauser to preach in Prague, he was ignorant of the virulent anti-mendicant stance that would be espoused when the preacher arrived.<sup>94</sup> Yet the idea that Charles knew nothing of Waldhauser's predilection for battling with mendicants is belied by the sophistication of his arguments against them. As Mengel has shown, Waldhauser's *Apologia*, composed just a year after his arrival in Prague, contains a number of arguments first posited by antimendicant thinkers such as William of Saint-Armour. It also applied 'standard antimendicant Biblical texts and images'<sup>95</sup> to his adversaries, calling them false prophets, Pharisees, and *penetrantes domos*, or those who 'penetrate houses' in order to deceive women.<sup>96</sup> The erudition of the arguments in Waldhauser's writing thus suggests that he held these views long before he arrived in Prague.<sup>97</sup> Indeed, a previous preaching visit to the city before Waldhauser took up residence, which likely inspired Charles to extend his invitation to the preacher, would no doubt have included sermons on the same subject.<sup>98</sup>

Even with the trouble that he caused within the city, Waldhauser nonetheless enjoyed sustained support in Prague. He was even invited to preach at esteemed institutions with direct links to the crown, such as the University.<sup>99</sup> What is more, Waldhauser also remained popular with the citizens of Prague, as indicated by his eventual acceptance in 1365 of a place at the church of Our Lady before Týn on Old Town Square, where he and Milíč would work together. Týn was one of the most famous and well-endowed parishes in the city, enjoying the patronage of the wealthy patrician Konrad of Litoměřice, who may have been instrumental in moving Waldhauser's benefice from his hometown to the church.<sup>100</sup>

It is therefore obvious that Charles IV had a significant interest in encouraging Waldhauser's work, regardless of the disruptions it caused in the city. While at

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<sup>94</sup> See, Mengel, *Bones Stones and Brothels*, p. 177.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 186.

<sup>96</sup> See, *Ibid.*, p. 187; Waldhauser, 'Apologia', in, Höfler (ed.), *Geschichtschreiber*, p. 23. On William of St. Armour's antimendicant biblical imagery, see, Penn R. Szittyá, *The Antifraternal tradition in Medieval Literature* (Princeton and Guildford, 1986), pp. 181, 313–314.

<sup>97</sup> Mengel, *Bones Stones and Brothels*, p. 190.

<sup>98</sup> Waldhauser, 'Apologia', in, Höfler (ed.), *Geschichtschreiber*, p. 37.

<sup>99</sup> František Loskot, *Konrad Waldhauser. Řeholní kanovník sv. Augustina, Předchůdce Mistra Jana Husa*, vol.1, *Velcí mužové české reformace* (Prague, 1909), p. 31.

<sup>100</sup> On Týn and its history, see, Ludvík Kessner, *Pražské kostely a církevní památky. O chrámu Matky Boží před Týnem zejména* (Prague, 1939); Paul Crossley and Zoë Opačić, 'Prague as a New Capital', in, Jiří Fajt and Barbara Drake Boehm (eds.), *Prague: The Crown of Bohemia* (New York, New Haven, and London, 2005), p. 70.

first it seems difficult to ascertain why the king should favour such a troublemaker, it is clear that Charles was aware of Waldhauser's potential to enrage others. The emperor supported the preacher notwithstanding any possible confrontations with the local mendicants that could arise as a result of his addition to Prague's religious community. As such, it is probable that Charles saw the very presence of the preacher in the city as an advantage, and was able to overlook the trouble that often went along with it. Having a well-known preacher in Prague heightened the religious reputation that Charles was seeking to bestow upon it, as will be discussed in greater detail in the second chapter of this thesis.<sup>101</sup>

While it is only possible to speculate as to why Charles IV went out of his way to extend support to Waldhauser, the fact remains that he did so in the face of multiple complaints and civic unrest. It is thus clear that whatever the motivation behind Charles's invitation to and support of Waldhauser, the king held a strong enough interest in continuing the work of the preacher to overlook the trouble sometimes caused as a result. Whether this affinity was a result of interest in reform themes, enhancing the reputation of Prague in Europe, or some other as yet unidentified motivation, it is plain that Charles wished to see Waldhauser's career continue and flourish in his capital, whatever the cost.

### ***Charles and Milíč***

Given his involvement with other controversial reformers such as Rienzo and Waldhauser, it is unsurprising that there are several indications that Charles IV sought to encourage and support the work of Milíč as well. It is probable that Charles's close advisor and second archbishop, Jan Očko of Vlašim (d. 1380), was behind the court's initial familiarity with the preacher.<sup>102</sup> The archbishop and Milíč seem to have enjoyed a close relationship, possibly beginning while Očko was still Bishop of Olomouc from 1351 to 1364. It has been argued that it was there that Milíč embarked upon his religious career when he was educated at the cathedral school.<sup>103</sup> While the origins of his instruction are obscure, it is certain

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<sup>101</sup> On Prague's religious revivification, see Chapter 2, pp. 85–110.

<sup>102</sup> For more on Jan Očko of Vlašim see Ferdinand Břetislav, *Starožitnosti a památky země české* (Prague, 1860), pp. 154–156.

<sup>103</sup> Jan Očko was appointed the second Archbishop of Prague following the death of the first, Arnošt of Pardubice, and a direct request from Charles IV to Pope Urban V. See, Fredericus [Bedřich] Jenšovský (ed.), *Monumenta Vaticana res gesta Bohemica illustrantia: edidit archivum*

that he went on to a position within the cathedral chancery. Eventually he was associated in close enough a manner to the cathedral to be referred to as a cleric of the Olomouc diocese by the court of Pope Innocent VI (1282/85–1362).<sup>104</sup> Furthermore, as a result of Milíč's appellation 'of Kroměříž', one can surmise that he worked not in the main cathedral in Olomouc, but in Kroměříž, home to the bishop's summer residence, and where a branch of his chancery operated. Milíč's position at the Kroměříž chancery allowed him ample time, and a convenient placement from which to get to know the bishop. Otherwise, it is possible that Milíč may have had associations with Jan Očko during his education, and was able to parlay his relationship into a position at the chancery when his studies were completed.

Milíč's relationship with Jan Očko from his time in the Olomouc diocese is further implied by the place which he later received at the imperial chancery in Prague. To take up the offer, Milíč moved to the capital and accepted a position as a *registrator*, which was confirmed on 29 June 1358.<sup>105</sup> While Jan Očko did not become archbishop in Prague until six years after Milíč's acceptance of the role, he was a trusted advisor to Charles IV long before he accepted the position. Očko would therefore have been readily able to make such a recommendation. It was this position which would bring Milíč into the emperor's retinue. From these initial beginnings Milíč was able to work his way up in the Prague chancery, becoming in short order a *corrector* in September 1360, and a *notarius* in November of the same year.<sup>106</sup> Outside the chancery, Milíč was appointed in 1362 to work as vicar-archdeacon to Jan of Maroli, Prague's archdeacon from 1362 to 1367.<sup>107</sup> In 1361 he had also received a benefice by papal provision, and

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*terrae Bohemiae* (Prague, 1944), p. 210 no. 357.

On Milíč's education see, Loskot, *Milíč*, p. 16; Morée, *Preaching*, p. 61.

<sup>104</sup> '...Miliczii de Chremser clerici Olomucensis dioc. ...' Jan Bedřich Novák (ed.), *Acta Innocentii VI: Pontificis Romani 1352–1362* (Prague, 1907), p. 471 no. 1174.

<sup>105</sup> Johann Friedrich Böhmer (ed.), *Regesta Imperii VIII. Die Regesten des Kaiserreichs unter Kaiser Karl IV., 1346–1378*, ed. Alfons Huber, (Innsbruck, 1877), p. XLIII.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>107</sup> While there are no records of this appointment, Morée has shown that the account in the *Vita venerabilis presbyteri Milicii* attesting to Milíč's position as archdeacon is reliable, with some qualifications. It is certain that Jan of Maroli held the actual archdeaconate position during the dates above, but it is probable that as was common in the medieval period, he did not carry out the work himself. It is therefore likely that he preferred to delegate the responsibilities to a vicar-archdeacon in his stead. Such an arrangement allowed the archdeacon to dispose of the duties attendant to the position while still claiming the title and income associated with it. From 1360 to 1362 a certain Václav, Deacon of St. Giles, was the acting vicar-archdeacon. It is probable that Milíč, who would later be a frequent preacher at St. Giles was in regular contact with Václav before that time, and took up the role after his colleague vacated it. See, Morée, *Preaching*, p.



in 1363 he became a canon of the cathedral, trusted with guarding the tomb of St. Wenceslas.<sup>108</sup>

This benefice in particular is indicative of the relationship that Milíč had cultivated, not only with the second Archbishop of Prague, but also with Jan of Středa (c. 1310–1380), Bishop of Litomyšl and then chancellor to Charles IV.<sup>109</sup> Jan of Středa had played an important role at court for years by that time, and was also a member of Charles's father John of Luxembourg's (1296–1346) chancery.<sup>110</sup> It was Jan of Středa who petitioned Avignon to secure the papal benefice at the cathedral on Milíč's behalf.<sup>111</sup> It is therefore clear that in three years from his arrival, Milíč had managed to impress some of the best-connected individuals in the chancery hierarchy to the point that they were willing to work to ensure him a successful career. As two of the highest religious authorities within the kingdom, the Archbishop of Prague and Bishop of Litomyšl saw fit to approve Milíč's work. It is therefore reasonable to assume that Charles would have accepted it as well.

Milíč's rise through the chancery, and popularity with his superiors, gave him ample chance to establish connections with other members of the court as well as the emperor. In his capacity as *registrator* Milíč travelled in Charles's entourage as he made a trip to Nuremberg in autumn 1358, Wrocław in January of 1359, and Nuremberg once more in January 1362.<sup>112</sup> These visits either mirrored Charles's own movements from the same period, or took place a short time afterward, with the king travelling to Nuremberg from July to September of 1358, to Wrocław in November 1358, and back to Nuremberg from September

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56. On Václav, see Václav Vladivoj Tomek, *Dějepis města Prahy*, vol. V (Prague, 1882–1906), p. 131.

<sup>108</sup> Novák, *Acta Innocentii VI*, p. 471 no. 1174.

<sup>109</sup> Jan of Středa was known in Latin as Johannes Novoforensis, and in German as Johann von Neumarkt. He served as chancellor to Charles IV from 1354 to 1374. For more on Jan of Středa, see Eduard Winter, *Frühhumanismus, Seine Entwicklung in Böhmen und deren europäischen Bedeutung für die Kirchenreformbestrebungen im 14. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1964), p. 60; Milan Michael Buben, *Encyklopedie českých a moravských sídelních biskupů* (Prague, 2000), pp. 333–335.

<sup>110</sup> For more on John of Luxembourg, see Chapter 4, pp. 148–150.

<sup>111</sup> 'Supplicat S<sup>ti</sup> V<sup>re</sup> humilis creatura vestra Johannes episcopus Luthomuslensis, [d.] f. vestri domini Karoli Romanorum imperatoris cancellarius quatenus sibi in personam dilecti sui Miliczii clerici Olumucensis dioc., imperialium litterarum correctoris, specialem gratiam facientes, ei de beneficio ecclesiastico cum cura vel sine cura, vacante vel vacaturo, spectante communiter vel divisim ad collacionem, presentacionem etc. archiepiscopi ecclesie Pragensis, et eciam si in ecclesia ipsa fuerit, cum acceptacione etc. et omnibus non obstantibus et executoribus dignemini providere.' Novák, *Acta Innocentii VI*, p. 471 no. 1174.

<sup>112</sup> Loskot, *Milíč*, p. 19; Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii*, pp. XLIII, 228.

1361 to April 1362.<sup>113</sup> This close travel, while not indicative of a relationship between Milíč and Charles himself *per se*, does show that he was very much a part of the court for an extensive period of time prior to beginning his preaching practice. This gave him ample time to impress the other courtiers in the king's orbit.

The close relationship between Milíč and Archbishop Očko seems to have continued even after Milíč left his benefice in 1363 to devote himself to preaching. By 1364, Jan Očko had become the second Archbishop of Prague, and was responsible for overseeing the biannual synods of the Prague diocese. The synods had been put in place by first Archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice, and took place on St. Vitus's and St. Luke's days each year (on the 15 June and 18 October, respectively).<sup>114</sup> On at least three occasions between the years 1364 and 1373 Archbishop Jan looked to Milíč to complete the task.<sup>115</sup>

The synods served a specific function for Prague's archbishops: they were an opportunity to correct the excesses and abuses of the city's clergy. In keeping with the synods' theme of personal reform, Milíč delivered sermons with decidedly eschatological themes when invited. On each occasion he warned of the dangers of simony, and stressed the necessity of the purity of the clergy, lest their flocks be led into sin. The first of Milíč's synodal sermons had the unambiguous title 'Sacerdotes Contempserunt'.<sup>116</sup> In it he warned his colleagues that their violations of the law had led them all to the time of the persecution under Antichrist.<sup>117</sup> His second sermon he named 'Grex Perditus',<sup>118</sup> and he used it to warn the Prague clergy that while the church was capable of inspiring good, it could also be a source of evil.<sup>119</sup> In the sermon he also made specific apocalyptic references to 2 Timothy 3, 'be sure of this, that in the world's last age there are perilous times coming.' The sermon also made oblique allusion to the

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<sup>113</sup> See, František Kavka, *Vláda Karla IV. za jeho císařství (1355–1378). Země české koruny, rodová, říšská a evropská politika*, vol. I (Prague, 1993), pp. 121, 129, and 187.

<sup>114</sup> Loskot, *Milíč*, p. 43.

<sup>115</sup> It is impossible to say with certainty exactly when each of the sermons was delivered. Loskot has proposed that the sermons were presented in either 1366, 1368, 1370, or 1371, based upon when Milíč began his preaching practice, when he was in the city, and when he was not busy with his work at Jerusalem. (See, *Ibid.*, p. 44.)

Similarly, Morée has posited that they were most likely given between the years 1364 and 1366, 1368 and 1369, and 1370 and 1371, as these were the years that Milíč was in Prague, and in the least amount of legal trouble. See, Morée, *Preaching*, p. 72.

<sup>116</sup> Milíč, 'Sacerdotes Contempserunt', in X.D.5, fol. 132 v.–136 r; I.E.20, fol. 181 v.–185 r.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, X.D.5, fol. 132 v., col. 2.

<sup>118</sup> Milíč, 'Grex Perditus', in X.D.5, fol. 136 r.–141 v; I.E.20, fol. 185 r.–190 v.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, X.D.5, fol. 137 r., col. 2.

visions of Daniel, warning his audience of the 'desolation' to come.<sup>120</sup> In his final synodal sermon 'Audite Reges', Milíč reminded his audience that all power is given by God, and as such they are responsible to Him.<sup>121</sup> He further warned the Prague clergy that through sin and a love of luxury one can become a member of Antichrist.<sup>122</sup>

The themes of these sermons are of note because of their explicitly exegetical message. One might assume that the cathedral would be wary of the ideas in such sermons. The repeated invitations that Jan Očko sent to Milíč, however, show that the archbishop was more than happy not only to allow the preacher to disseminate his eschatological views, but also to provide him with a platform on which to do so. Further, the majority, if not all of Milíč's appearances at the Prague synod came after he had found himself imprisoned in Rome for his Antichrist sermons. As a result, Archbishop Očko had ample reason to be aware of Milíč's Antichrist beliefs, and his desire to share them.

It is also certain that the archbishop knew of the affront that these works sometimes caused to prominent church members. The multiple invitations to the synod thus indicate an ongoing relationship between the preacher and the archbishop. The repeated requests to speak at the synod also show an approval of the message which Milíč wished to impart to his audiences on the part of the cathedral. If there were no extant relationship or interest it is doubtful that the highest religious office in the Czech lands would invite a man once accused of heresy to instruct its wayward members on the same topic for which he had been charged.

Later evidence for a relationship between Milíč and Archbishop Očko can be seen during the afore-mentioned legal challenge to the Jerusalem chapel's patronage rights. When the priest at St. Stephen's complained to the archiepiscopal court, and the vicar-general of the archbishop stripped its patronage from Milíč, the preacher was irate.<sup>123</sup> Hoping to recover his financial losses, Milíč appealed to the papal court at Avignon. While such an action might give the initial impression of a rift between Milíč and the archbishop, the reverse

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<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 139 r., col. 1.

<sup>121</sup> Milíč, 'Audite Reges', X.D.5, 141 v.–147 r.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid., 142 v., col. 1.

<sup>123</sup> Tádra (ed.), *Soudní akta konsistoře pražské*, p. 51.

is true, for Milíč later rescinded his appeal at the request of Jan Očko.<sup>124</sup> The respect that Milíč had for the archbishop is demonstrated by his willingness to forego what was apparently a substantial enough sum of money to provoke legal action, as well as accept a humiliation. Had the preacher no connection to the cathedral it is likely that he would have carried on with his appeal, the very existence of which is evidence of his considerable rancor regarding the issue. Clearly then, Milíč and the archbishop enjoyed an amicable relationship, even given the legal troubles that the preacher sometimes found himself in.

Yet one need not look solely to Milíč's other contacts at the court to make the connection between preacher and throne, for there is no doubt that his later endeavours caught the eye of Charles himself. By 1372, the preacher had begun his work at his religious community Jerusalem, and had received the initial houses from his benefactress Katherine, the former brothel keeper. As a more extensive discussion on the house in the next chapter of this thesis will note, the community was then enhanced when the emperor took an interest in the project. Charles revoked the charter of the Venice brothel there, and donated the house to Milíč.<sup>125</sup> Such direct intervention in the Jerusalem project is an undeniable indication of Charles's interest in it, and his desire to see it come to fruition. Without the express participation of the court there would be no mandate to close the chartered brothel, and thus the project might never have succeeded. What is more, had Milíč not received the houses after the charter was revoked, it is doubtful that he and his followers would have been able to acquire enough property to create a large community on account of their limited income.<sup>126</sup> It is also evident that Charles took a special pride in his intervention at Jerusalem. The foundation of the community was included in his commissioned chronicle by Beneš Krabice of Weitmil, although in it the emperor alone is mentioned as the prime motivator behind the destruction of the brothel.<sup>127</sup> Nonetheless it is clear that at some point Charles became interested enough in the work of Milíč to feel direct involvement in the preacher's work was necessary. It was therefore the

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<sup>124</sup> Milíč's appeal, and subsequent withdrawal at the Archbishop's request, are found in *Ibid.*, pp. 65–66.

<sup>125</sup> For more on Jerusalem's establishment, see Chapter 2, pp. 87, 102–110. On the donation of the houses, see Weitmil, *Chronicon Ecclesiae Pragensis*, in *FRB*, vol. IV, p. 454.

<sup>126</sup> Milíč held no benefice of his own by this time, and was dependent upon income he received from preaching at various parishes and donations from his followers.

<sup>127</sup> Krabice, *Chronicon Ecclesiae Pragensis*, in *FRB*, vol. IV, p. 546.

emperor's monetary support and interest that made the most famous of Milíč's endeavors come to fruition.

The relationship between Milíč and Charles IV is further attested to by the account in the *Vita venerabilis presbyteri Milicii* of a letter from the preacher to the emperor, which reports on the (rather ungracious) 'tenor' of the missive. The account claims the letter was written to inform the court of the death of Milíč's rival in the papal curia, one Master Jan Klenkrok, who had overseen the proceedings against him there. According to the *Vita* the letter read:

Your serenity, I signify that one of them who wanted to darken me, while infaming the stage of every virtue and the nature of the beauty of the Bohemian Kingdom has departed from this light, namely Master Jan Klonkoth [sic], God have his soul.<sup>128</sup>

While their initial meeting was acrimonious, owing to the suspicion that Milíč was under, the supposed letter attested that master Klenkrok's antipathy towards Milíč was soon assuaged. The letter stated that upon examination Klenkrok found 'no evil' in either the preacher or his work.<sup>129</sup> It also claimed that Milíč was thereafter invited to preach to and dine with the cardinals while in Avignon.

This description is of note because it suggests that Milíč was in a comfortable enough position while in Avignon to deliver at least a few sermons during his stay. This can be verified in that the sermons to which the letter referred still survive today, an indication of the favour that they received when given, and the import that it was felt they held.<sup>130</sup> It is also believable that Milíč received a warm reception upon arrival in Avignon due to his already established relationship with Cardinal Angel de Grimoard, brother of the by then deceased Pope Urban V. De Grimoard was at that time dean of the Sacred College of Cardinals, a title which he had attained in November 1374. Given that it was Cardinal de Grimoard who

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<sup>128</sup> '...et tenor in eisdem literis est talis : Serenitati vestrae significo, quia unus ex illis, qui scenam omnis virtutis et pulchritudinis formam regni Bohemiae infamando in me obtenebrare volebant, ab hac luce migravit, videlicet magister Johannes Klonkoth, cujus deus animam habeat!' Emler (ed.), *Vita*, in, *FRB*, vol. I, p. 427. The *Vita* also asserts that a similar letter was sent to Archbishop Očko.

'Klenkrok' is the accepted form of the master's name, although 'Klonkoth' has been used by Emler, and 'Klenkoth' by Loskot. See, František Šmahel, *Husitská revoluce*, vol. II, *Kořeny české reformace* (Prague, 1993), p. 185; Emler (ed.), *Vita*, in, *FRB*, vol. I, p. 427; Loskot, *Milíč z Kroměříže*, p. 142.

<sup>129</sup> '...magister videlicet Klonkoth...dicebat: ego nihil mali invenio in homine isto...' Emler (ed.), *Vita*, in, *FRB*, vol. I, p. 426.

<sup>130</sup> According to Spunar, some of Milíč's sermons from his time at Avignon survive in the Bibliotheque d'Avignon Manuscrit 606. These include, 'Sermones super appropinquavit redemptio' (MS 606, fol. 8r), as well as two versions of a sermon entitled 'Veniat Dominus' (MS 606, fol. 10 r.–12 r., and fol. 12 r. sq.) See, Spunar, *Repertorium Auctorum Bohemorum*, p. 182.

had interceded with his brother, the pope, on behalf of Milíč when he was arrested in Rome in 1367, it is probable that there was at least some interest on his part in the work of the preacher.<sup>131</sup> Cardinal de Grimoard, like his brother, was known to be sympathetic towards reformers, and it is likely that he again interceded on the preacher's behalf in this instance. Therefore, it is also believable that, as the letter attests, Milíč was invited to dine with at least some of the cardinals while in Avignon, assuming that Angel de Grimoard was one. The report on the letter is thus a reliable witness on at least two grounds.

As helpful as it would be for this argument to accept the *Vita's* account of this letter as veracious, no actual copy has ever been identified. What is more, as both Morée and Mengel have shown, the *Vita* was written as an overt hagiography of Milíč in an attempt to rehabilitate his image during the Counter-Reformation. As a result one must consider unsubstantiated accounts such as this to be unreliable.<sup>132</sup> Despite the doubtful authenticity of the letter, there was a factual basis to some of what it reported. Whether or not the *Vita's* author was giving an actual account of an extant document, the inclusion of the story is also instructive. This is so as the description of the letter is indicative of an awareness on the part of the *Vita's* compiler of a relationship between Milíč and the emperor, and on the part of potential readers. Without a prior assumption of familiarity between the two men, the missive, and its familiar 'tenor' would have made little sense.

In fact, as the final indicator of the crown's support for Milíč makes clear, it was commonplace in the medieval period to assume that Charles took a personal interest in allegations made against the reformer. This piece of evidence comes from one of the most negative critiques of his work – the accusations made against him by the Prague mendicants to the papal court of Gregory XI in 1373.<sup>133</sup> The first pieces of this evidence can be found in the accusations themselves. In particular the ninth accusation is telling, as it asserted that when Milíč was told he could be excommunicated for starting an unofficial order at Jerusalem, he retorted that the emperor would defend him in this case. The eleventh accusation is also relevant, as it claimed that Milíč had bragged that he

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<sup>131</sup> On Cardinal Angel de Grimoard, and Milíč's release from prison, see, Klicman, *Ottův slovník naučný*, vol. XVII, p. 339, and Loskot, *Milíč z Kroměříže*, p. 75.

<sup>132</sup> See Morée, *Preaching*, pp. 35–53; Mengel, 'A Monk, a Preacher, and a Jesuit', pp. 33–47.

<sup>133</sup> See Introduction, pp. 10–11.

had done more than Christ, and what he could not finish in his own projects would be completed by secular powers. While one must, of course, consider the antagonistic and politicised context of these accusations, one must also concede that they may have also held some kernel of truth within them.

While the assertion that Milíč made an overt claim that the crown would protect him from excommunication is somewhat dubious, it is not unreasonable to assume that he did at times make reference to his connections at court when accused of wrongdoing. Indeed, his fellow reform preacher Konrad Waldhauser had often used this same tactic during his disagreements.<sup>134</sup> It is therefore not improbable that Milíč saw the efficaciousness of this practice when used by Waldhauser and employed it himself in order to rebut or intimidate his adversaries. The eleventh accusation is also persuasive for the same reasons. As shown above, it is certain that Milíč did enjoy the secular patronage of his theologically questionable project at Jerusalem, for it was secular patronage which made the endeavor at all feasible from the outset.

It is therefore practicable that Milíč had reminded his detractors that the court had a vested interest in seeing Jerusalem succeed when its validity was attacked. Conversely, if the accusations were without merit and Milíč did not make such claims about his imperial support, the allegations still indicate that there was some link between the preacher and the emperor. While Milíč may not have been so bold as to boast of his patronage, it is clear that his detractors were convinced enough of its reality that they felt the need to complain of it. The frequent references to Milíč's political connections and the protection which they afforded him can therefore be read as indicating that Milíč did enjoy the support of the emperor.

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<sup>134</sup> Waldhauser's tendency to refer to his powerful allies can be seen throughout his career. On one occasion Prague's mendicant community claimed that Waldhauser was working in Prague illegally, in that he, an Augustinian, was working in a church that was in no way affiliated with his order. Waldhauser replied to his accusers that he was working in the city at the behest of the king, as well as the Rožmberk family (the head of which had been sent to fetch him to Prague, as discussed earlier), and that the archbishop was well aware of his status, as was his prior in Waldhausen. (Waldhauser, 'Apologia', in Höfler (ed.), *Geschichtschreiber*, p. 36.) On at least one occasion he also requested that his supporters on the Prague council castigate a man whom Waldhauser claimed had been disparaging him (Ibid., p. 31). His predilection for reminding others of his noble and cathedral connections seems to have begun well before his move to Prague. Waldhauser, for example, mentioned his patron the Duke of Austria in a letter to the Bishop of Passau. (Menčík, 'Konrad Waldhauser', p. 15 no. 2.) It is of note that Waldhauser's supporters, the noble Rožmberks, also seem to have had an interest in Milíč's work, and collected his sermons. See, Loskot, *Milíč z Kroměříže*, p. 133. This may account for the presence of the manuscripts used for this study at the Třeboň monastery, which was founded by the Rožmberks, before the collections were moved to Prague.

Another suggestion of the truth behind the supposed boasts is the authority to which the aggrieved mendicants sent their complaints: the papal court. In contrast, during the disagreement with well-connected anti-mendicant preacher Konrad Waldhauser, the Prague friars minor had gone to the archiepiscopal court with their articles of prosecution. When Waldhauser was called to court to account for himself, the mendicants' endeavour had ended in utter failure, with each of the twenty-four accusations against the preacher being dismissed outright.<sup>135</sup> Having learned from this defeat a decade past, it would seem that the friars felt they would receive a more favorable response in the case against Milíč if their accusations were sent to Avignon. At the papal court connections to the local cathedral and court did not apply.

Taking into consideration the visibility of the relationships which Milíč had cultivated with both the archbishop and the emperor, and the interconnectedness of these individuals with his work, it is safe to assume that Milíč's detractors felt they fared even less of a chance in a local trial than they did in the case of Waldhauser. As such, they circumvented the local authorities so as to improve their chances of a successful prosecution of Milíč. This move in and of itself therefore indicates that Milíč's supposed boasting had some truth to it, and if the mendicants had lodged their complaints in Prague the court would see that nothing came of them. It is in this most hostile of documents that one is thus able to surmise that Milíč's career was smiled upon by Charles IV.

### ***The Imperial Antichrist Accusation and its Veracity***

While the above factors make it clear that Charles IV and his court held a general interest in the work of reform preachers, and a more specific interest in Milíč, it has most often been asserted that the preacher reviled the emperor. As a result it has also been held that the archiepiscopal court persecuted him. This common supposition seems to have its roots in one of the most popular stories about Milíč's career. In it the preacher was said during a sermon to have pointed at Charles, who was in attendance, and declared 'here is the great Antichrist.'<sup>136</sup> As a result of this shocking denunciation, many historians have posited that Archbishop Jan Očko ordered that Milíč be incarcerated forthwith. Later, in a

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<sup>135</sup> Waldhauser, 'Apologia', in Höfler (ed.), *Geschichtschreiber*, pp. 24–25.

<sup>136</sup> 'Hic indutus zelo quasi toraci, inperatorem [sic] predictum aggressus, digito indicavit et dixit sibi coram omnibus, quod ille sit magnus Antychristus.' Janov, *Naraccio*, in, *RVNT*, vol. III, p. 361.



show of extreme generosity of spirit, it has been argued that Charles pardoned the preacher for this transgression.<sup>137</sup> Indeed, if Milíč is referred to by Western historians at all in their writings about Charles IV, it is usually to recount this anecdote and move swiftly on.<sup>138</sup> As a result of this story, the emperor's willingness to overlook such a virulent accusation has since become the stuff of legend, and is cited as proof of his extreme religious tolerance.<sup>139</sup> When Milíč's work on Antichrist is examined, however, the tale becomes almost immediately suspect.

To understand why such a story makes little sense, one must first consider that in the medieval period there were two distinct categories in which application of the concept of Antichrist can be grouped. These concepts have been dubbed by McGinn as Antichrist language and Antichrist application. Antichrist application, as the name implies...

...occurs when a conscious and concentrated effort is made to understand historical events, recent and contemporary, in the light of the Antichrist legend as part of an apocalyptic view of history.<sup>140</sup>

Antichrist language, on the other hand is characterised as the 'use [of] the term *Antichrist* and its equivalents only as a weapon to smear opponents, paying no attention to the general course of salvation history.'<sup>141</sup>

Antichrist language and Antichrist application were often used in the medieval period in an attempt to explain contemporary events. Examples of Antichrist application range from Wulfstan's (d. 1023) contention in his *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* (c. 1010) that the invasion of the Danes signalled the coming of Antichrist, to Jean of Rupescissa's (c. 1310–c.1365) insistence that the 'piling up of innumerable corpses'<sup>142</sup> caused by the Great Plague was a sign of his arrival.<sup>143</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> See, for example, Loskot, *Milíč*, pp. 66-67. In an interesting variation on this theme, Novotný has argued that Milíč was pardoned as a result of one of his examiners, Master Raňkův's, interest in reformers. See, Václav Novotný, *Náboženské hnutí české ve 14. a 15. stol. Část I. Do Husa* (Prague, 1915), pp. 70–71, 140–141.

For more on M. Raňkův see note 179, pp. 58–59.

<sup>138</sup> See, for example, Fredrich Heer, *The Holy Roman Empire*, trans. Janet Sondheimer (London, 1968; 2<sup>nd</sup> edn. Phoenix, 1996), p. 115; Bernard McGinn, *Visions of the End: Apocalyptic Tradition in the Middle Ages* (New York, 1979), p. 259.

<sup>139</sup> See, for example Betts, 'Jan Hus', in, *Essays*, p. 184, where he writes glowingly that '[Charles IV] was not even shaken in his support [of reformers] when Milíč accused him of being Antichrist.'

<sup>140</sup> Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of Human Fascination with Evil* (San Francisco, 1999), pp. 120–121.

<sup>141</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 120.

<sup>142</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 175.

Such general applications of the Antichrist concept sought to explicate the current human experience, and the horrors endured within it, in line with Christian cosmology.

The application of apocryphal imagery to current events also had a polemical use that, as argued by Henri de Lubac, grew from the medieval predilection to make biblical imagery real by applying it to contemporary circumstances.<sup>144</sup> This tendency can be seen throughout the medieval period, but became more pronounced in the twelfth century as debates about church reform began to coalesce.<sup>145</sup> In this context, Antichrist language was used to smear opponents, as in the notable case of Pope Gregory VII's (c.1015–1085) attacks against the Antipope Clement III (c. 1029–1100, also known as Wibert Archbishop of Ravenna) wherein the pontiff declared his rival 'an antichrist, and a heresiarch'.<sup>146</sup> Later, a certain Cardinal Benno would rebut the pope, insisting that Gregory was 'either a member of Antichrist, or Antichrist himself'.<sup>147</sup> As this case illustrates, Antichrist language was often employed, if in an unproductive manner, when seeking to discredit an opponent.

In comparison, the polemical uses of Antichrist application were also myriad. Unlike the fruitless campaigns of Antichrist language, this polemical device was often implemented in the hopes of affecting change. During the debates of the Great Reform, for instance, theologians utilised Antichrist application to highlight and eradicate what they saw as the greatest challenges to church unity. In this manner, for example, Gerhoh of Reichersberg (1093–1169) used Antichrist application to combat what he saw as a crisis of simony within the church.<sup>148</sup> He proclaimed that those guilty of simony were 'new and modern antichrists'<sup>149</sup> and

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<sup>143</sup> On Wulfstan's prediction, see Wulfstan, *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, (ed.) Dorothy Bethurum (Oxford, 1957), p. 267.

On Jean of Ruprecissa see Jeanne Bignami-Odier, *Études sur Jean de Roquetaillade (Johannes de Rupescissa)* (Paris, 1952).

<sup>144</sup> Henri de Lubac, *Exégèse Médiévale: Les quatre sens de l'Écriture*, vol. 1.2 (Paris, 1961), p. 548.

<sup>145</sup> For more on this development see McGinn, *Antichrist*, pp. 114–142.

<sup>146</sup> Gregory VII, *The Registry of Pope Gregory VII, 1073–1085: An English Translation*, trans. HEJ Cowdrey (Oxford, 2004), p. 370.

<sup>147</sup> Cardinal Benno, *Gesta Romanae ecclesiae contra Hildebrandum*. ca. 1084, in, K. Francke (ed.), *MGH, Libelli de Lite*, vol. II (Hanover, 1892), pp. 369–373.

<sup>148</sup> For more on Gerhoh see Erich Meithen, *Kirche und Heilsgeschichte bei Gerhoh von Reichersberg* (Leiden, 1959); and McGinn, *Visions of the End*, pp. 96–100.

<sup>149</sup> Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *The Praise of Faith*, in, D. van den Eynde and A. Rijmersdael (eds.), *Opera Inedita*, vol. 1 (Rome, 1955–1956), p. 197.

that '[f]rom the proliferation of such simoniacs...will come the final Antichrist.'<sup>150</sup> With this Antichrist application, Gerhoh warned his fellow clergy members that they must work to root out simoniac practices in the church lest they add to the work of Antichrist, and bring about his coming.

Like other medieval thinkers, Milíč saw the events of his time as being expressions of Antichrist's looming advent. He made extensive use of Antichrist application to point to what he saw as issues within the church and society, to warn others of the dangers they represented, and to curb their spread. To Milíč it was apparent that Antichrist's advent was imminent. He stressed in his sermons that...

...the church [was] being pushed through the seventh and last generation of the peace of Christ...because the last hour [was] here and it [was] the end of ages.<sup>151</sup>

So convinced was Milíč of the pending arrival of the Final Enemy that he made an attempt to calculate the time of his coming using the number of days mentioned in the prophecies of Daniel.<sup>152</sup> Milíč claimed that the Holy Spirit had inspired him to make these predictions. The preacher considered that each day of the 1,290 days of the abomination of desolation and 1,335 days which the blessed would endure should be counted as a year. He then identified the beginning of the abomination of desolation with the destruction of the temple in Jerusalem, which he believed occurred in 75 AD, and then added the 1,290 years to reach the year 1365.<sup>153</sup> The 1,335 days, in turn, he calculated from the passion of Christ, and reached the year 1367.<sup>154</sup> Those who had survived to the present year Milíč proclaimed to be blessed because they would be lucky enough to undergo torment at the hands of Antichrist, and therefore be given the

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<sup>150</sup> Gerhoh of Reichersberg, *The Fourth Watch*, II, trans. McGinn, in, *Visions of the End*, p. 104.

<sup>151</sup> 'Ita nunc ecclesia septima et ultima generatione rapiatur in pace Christi, tenens iustitiam, ambulans cum Deo sicut Enoch et zelans pro lege Domini ut Helias, quia hora novissima est et Consumatio seculi.' Milíč, 'Dominica XII post Trinitatus', in, A, I.D.37, fol. 234 v.

<sup>152</sup> The prophecies in the Book of Daniel were some of the most influential biblical passages on eschatological thought, despite the fact that they never used the term 'Antichrist'. This came about because in each gospel of what is termed 'the Little Apocalypse', in which is included Jesus' own prophecy about the end of the world, Christ refers to the 'abomination of desolation spoken about by the prophet Daniel'. See, Matthew 24:15; Luke 21:20; Mark 13:14.

<sup>153</sup> Milíč, *Libellus*, in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 60. The destruction of the temple is held by most historians to have occurred in AD 70, rather than 75. See, for example, John M. Lundquist, *The Temple of Jerusalem: Past, Present, and Future* (London and Westport CT, 2008), p. 101.

<sup>154</sup> Milíč, *Libellus*, in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 60.

opportunity to suffer for their faith.<sup>155</sup> This seems to imply that Milíč believed that Antichrist had already been in the world by the year 1365, but that his power would be increased in the year 1367, and his torments soon begin.

In making this prediction Milíč crossed into ambiguous theological territory, for there were many who argued that such prophecies hurt the faith. These detractors insisted that Matthew 24:42 warned that men are unable to predict the end of days,<sup>156</sup> and that Jesus preached that only the Father knew when the time would come.<sup>157</sup> In *De civitate Dei* Augustine (354–430) used this argument and further asserted that the Matthew passages in which Christ spoke of the end of time are vague and are therefore impossible to interpret with accuracy.<sup>158</sup> During the medieval period many other theologians echoed Augustine's sentiments. Milíč's contemporary in Italy, Vincent Ferrer (1350–1419) continued to preach the folly of attempted prediction, declaring that 'no man ...knows the day, hour, month, or year of the coming of Antichrist'.<sup>159</sup> Boniface VIII (1235–1303) also took exception to men predicting Antichrist's coming, asking in frustration 'Why look for the end of the world?'<sup>160</sup> Indeed, as discussed earlier in this thesis, Charles IV had warned Rienzo that such predictions were impossible. Notwithstanding these objections, the practice of Antichrist prediction remained popular throughout the medieval period, as exegetes struggled to make sense of the place of their era within the linear Christian view of time. Clearly then, Milíč was just one of many to extend Antichrist application to prediction.

Milíč's writings on the subject of Antichrist also make it clear that he saw groups of individuals as being involved in bringing about the advent of the Man of Sin. In particular he found fault within the church itself, and he claimed that there are 'many who seem to be Christians [but] do more harm to the church than pagans,

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<sup>155</sup> 'Beatus ergo, qui usque ad hunc annum beatitudinis pervenit, non ut sit beatus in pace, quam dat mundus ... sed beatus secundum illud evangelii: Beati, qui persecutionem patiuntur propter justitiam, et maxime propter verbum Dei, et hoc sub Antichristo, qui venit.' Ibid.

<sup>156</sup> 'Keep awake, therefore, for you do not know on what day your Lord is coming.'

<sup>157</sup> See Mark 13:32.

<sup>158</sup> 'Omnium vero de hac re calculantium digitos resoluit et quiescere iubet ille, qui dicit: *non est vestrum scire tempore, quae Pater posuit in sua potestate.*' Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, in, B. Dombart and A. Kalb (eds.), *Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina*, vol. 48 (Turnhout, 1995), p. 652. The passages in question are Matthew 24:9–12, 17–22, and 29–30, respectively.

<sup>159</sup> '...nullus homo, quantumsumque devotus, seit diem, horam, mensem aut annum adventus Antichristi...' Vincent Ferrer, 'De Antichristo', in, Sigismund Brettle (ed.), *San Vincente Ferrer und sein literischer Nachlass* (Münster, 1924), p. 181.

<sup>160</sup> 'Cur expectant finem mundi?' Heinrich Finke (ed.), *Aus den Tagen Bonifaz VIII. Funde und Forschungen*, vol. 2 (Münster, 1902), p. 222.

and create many Antichristian abominations.<sup>161</sup> These false Christians degraded the church at every level of the hierarchy, a clear sign that '[t]he abomination of desolation and of the awful Antichrist [had] come.'<sup>162</sup> Such sinners could be found at every level of the church hierarchy, including among the cardinals, whom Milíč called 'the partners of thieves';<sup>163</sup> bishops, whom he saw as 'having the mark of the beast clearly on their foreheads';<sup>164</sup> and the mendicant orders, which, like Waldhauser before him, he claimed were composed of false prophets serving and announcing the coming of Antichrist.<sup>165</sup> The laity also had members who could be considered harbingers of the Final Enemy. In particular Milíč decried those whom he termed 'tyrants' and whom he believed engaged in a number of sinful acts against the faithful and weak. These sins included the execution of unjust judgments, the waging of war, the oppression of the poor, and a concentrated effort to dissuade others from the true faith.<sup>166</sup>

While these far-reaching condemnations may seem shocking, it is of note that none of them refer to any one person or opponent as Antichrist. Hundreds of Milíč's sermons survive, and while they allege that individuals are servants of the Final Enemy, or part of his army, at no point does he refer to a single individual as Antichrist in any of his works. Indeed, in his *Libellus* he claims to have asked the Holy Spirit who was then speaking within him 'who is [the Antichrist] by name, and is he the great one expected at the end of the world...?' To this the spirit replied that it was 'not for [him] to know perfectly at present, but only through

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<sup>161</sup> 'Periculosiora enim sunt tempora quam tunc fuerunt, cum multi qui videntur esse christiani, magis noceant ecclesie quam pagani, multas abominationes antichristianas facientes. Caveamus ergo nobis sicut cavet nobis beatus Ambrosius super Lucam, libero decimo, capitulo secundo, dicens, "Abominatio desolationis et execrabilis antichristi adventus est.'" Milíč, 'Sabato in quattuor temporibus', in, *GD*, XIV.D.5, fol. 25 r.

<sup>162</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>163</sup> 'Principes Tui, socii furum, omnes diligent munera, secuntur retributiones, pupillo non iudicant et causa viduae, videlicet ecclesiae sanctae, non ingreditur ad eos.' Milíč, 'Ad Papam Urbanum V', in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 18.

<sup>164</sup> '...sed [episcopis] habent potius characterem bestiae in fronte manifeste scelus ypocrisis et symoniae exercent in manu autem dextera, dum sinistrum opus palliant, quasi sit dextrum et rectum.' *Ibid.*, p. 22.

<sup>165</sup> 'Religiosi etiam indifferentur audiunt confessiones non petita licentia vel gratia dyocesani, et hoc ferre in toto mundo. Ex hiis omnibus apparet, Antichristum venisse... Dan id est Antichristus, serpens antiquus, in homine Antichristo colens umbram caecitatis momordit ungulas equorum, videlicet pseudoprophetarum, id est, affectiones eorum solidas veneno iniquitatis infecit...' Milíč, *Libellus*, in, *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>166</sup> 'Et quomodo reges et principes... Quia gentiliter vivunt, et superbia et vanitate injuste iudicant, pauperes opprimant, inter se bella gerunt, ecclesia non obediunt, immo eam persecutur, usuras et mercimonia sive negotiationes injustas exercent...' *Ibid.*, p. 64.

'...nam et si desunt tyranni, qui nos a fide avertant.' Milíč, 'Kathedra S. Petri', A, I.D.37, fol. 57 r. The significance of 'tyrants' in Milíč's eschatological works will be discussed in greater detail in the last chapter of this thesis. Please see Chapter 4, pp. 152–154, 165, 173–176.

conjecture.<sup>167</sup> This assertion that the Holy Spirit claimed it was impossible to name the Man of Sin therefore precluded Milíč from using Antichrist language himself.

It is not only a lack of Antichrist language in Milíč's eschatological works which makes the anecdote dubious, but also the signs of the Final Enemy's advent of which the preacher warned his audiences. Milíč was concerned with the breakdown of order and hierarchy as a sign of Antichrist. He demonstrated this worry in concerns about sinful members of secular and religious establishments, and applied it to an oft-cited cause of the end times – the dissolution of the Empire.<sup>168</sup> Milíč appeared to concur with the idea that the Roman Empire was the restraining force which held back Antichrist. Consequently, he wrote that 'According to the Gloss, the Lord will not come to judgment, unless the separation first comes, i.e. unless first the nations leave Roman rule'.<sup>169</sup> Milíč argued that the separation necessary to release Antichrist had already occurred, and he bemoaned that 'the Empire is broken apart and every day is distracted...And into how many kingdoms and empires is the Empire of the Romans divided?'<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>167</sup> 'Et dixi, quis est ex nomine vel utrum est ille magnus, qui in fine mundi expectatur futurus aut venturus? Et respondit mihi spiritus: Non est tuum ad praesens scire perfecte, sed conjecturative.' Milíč, *Libellus*, in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 66.

<sup>168</sup> The expectation of the fall of the Roman Empire prior to the Antichrist's arrival was common among early Christians, who argued that Rome was the power described as holding back Antichrist in 2 Thessalonians 2:6. Even after the fall of the Roman Empire in the fifth century the expectation was common enough to be repeated throughout the medieval period. Indeed, it was widespread enough to gain inclusion in the *Glossa Ordinaria*, 'the ubiquitous text of the central Middle Ages', (Lesley Smith, *The Glossa Ordinaria: The Making of a Medieval Bible Commentary* (Leiden and Boston, 2009), p.1). One version states, 'Quia eos scire dicit quid detineat nec aperte exponit et omnino nos helcimus nisi quod quidam suspicanti de romano imperio dictum fuisse donec tollatur vel de medio fiat.' K. Froehlich and M. T. Gibson (eds.), *Biblia Latina cum glossa ordinaria, facsimile reprint of the edition princeps Adolph Rusch of Strassburg 1480/1*, vol. IV (Turnhout, 1992), p. 402.

For more on the collapse of the Roman Empire as a sign of Antichrist's coming, see Wilhelm Bousset, 'Signs and Forewarnings – The Fall of the Roman Empire Before the End – Origins of the Antichrist', in, A. H. Keane (trans.), *The Antichrist Legend: A Chapter in Christian and Jewish Folklore* (London, 1999), pp. 124–125.

<sup>169</sup> 'Et nota primo de tempore adventus sui. ... Item in tempore scismatis et discordie. Paulus II, ad Th 2, cap. 3: Ne quis vos seducat ullo modo, quasi instat dies Domini i.e. iudicii et nisi veniat discessio i.e. nisi prius gentes discedant a Romano imperio, vel discessio ecclesiarum a sprituiali obediencia. Secundum Glosam [sic] non veniet Dominus ad iudicium, nisi prius venerit discessio i.e. nisi prius gentes discedant a Romano imperio, vel discessio ecclesiarum a spirituali obediencia.' Milíč, 'Sermo de Die Novissimo Domini', in, X.A.2., fol. 66 r, col. 2.

<sup>170</sup> 'Et si vultis recipere, discessio ab Imperio facta est. Ex quo ita distractum est, et cottidie distrahitur, quod dominus Imperator non possit ex eo panem habere, nisi haberet de Bohemia. Et quomodo in plura regna et imperia divisum est imperium Romanorum?' Milíč, *Libellus*, in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 68.

The dissolution of the Empire as a sign of Antichrist's coming and the role of the emperor will be discussed further in the final chapter of this thesis. See Chapter 4, pp. 170–175.

It is clear then that Milíč felt that the waning influence of the Empire was allowing the coming of Antichrist. To his way of thinking, when kingdoms left the Empire, or withheld their duties to it, they took away the ability of the institution to protect against the coming of the Final Enemy.<sup>171</sup> The Empire existed, in Milíč's opinion, to order the secular powers of the world and channel them into support for the divine work of the church. To ignore this structure was therefore tantamount to ignoring the faith and the church, and inviting Antichrist into the world. It is therefore clear that Milíč considered the Empire as a force for good in the world.

As someone who saw himself as tasked with fighting the coming of Antichrist, it is unlikely that Milíč would attack the emperor, the very individual at the forefront of what he saw as the last bastion of Christendom. What is more, his obvious reverence for the hierarchical structures of the fourteenth century, and his conviction that corruption within them was a sign of the coming of the Man of Sin indicates that he would not condemn the emperor. Added to these factors is the complete lack of any other instance of the use of Antichrist language in the preacher's writings, as well as his conviction that the divine wished to withhold the identity of Antichrist from him. When all of these considerations are taken into account it becomes clear that the imperial denunciation story, as dramatic as it is, is simply that – a story.

When the source of the anecdote is considered, still more credence can be added to this argument. Milíč's theoretical denunciation of the emperor is contained within the *Narracio de Myliczyo*. This account of the preacher's work was penned by Matěj of Janov (d. 1394), who considered himself a disciple of the older preacher. Janov, born into a family of lower nobility, first came to Prague sometime around the year 1370, when he began to study at the University.<sup>172</sup> He would later continue his education in Paris, earning him the occasional title 'Parisiensis.' By 1381 Janov had returned to Prague, eager to take up a papal appointment as a canon of the cathedral, granted to him by Urban VI (1318–1389). Following a series of difficulties in having his position confirmed, however, in 1384 he abandoned this aim. Janov soon began preaching throughout the city

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<sup>171</sup> 'Et num quid non est discessio ab ecclesia facta, ex quo nullus fuit adiutor ex tot filiis ecclesiae, regibus et principibus, qui a persecutione societatis, quam in tot annis passa est, ecclesiam defendisset!' Milíč, *Libellus*, in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 68.

<sup>172</sup> For more on Janov, see František Loskot, *Matěj z Janova* (Prague, 1912), and František Palacký, 'Předchůdcové hustiví v Čechách', in, *Dílo Františka Palackého* (Prague, 1941), pp. 64–114.

in an attempt to keep Milíč's message of asceticism and religious devotion alive. Much as his mentor before him, the preacher soon found himself embroiled in controversy. Janov's troubles first came as a result of his advocacy for daily lay communion, although there had been a declaration of the Prague synod in 1388 that stated they could receive it no more than once a month. In 1389 Janov was forced by another synod to withdraw his teachings on the subject, and he was banned from carrying out priestly functions. His troubles continued into 1392 when he was forced to turn himself over to the custody of the Archbishop Jan of Jenštejn (1348–1400). Janov would remain in custody until his death in 1394.

Janov left behind a massive tract, his *Regulae veteris et novi testamenti*, which he composed from 1384 to 1394. In it he attempted to write a set of rules for leading a Christian life. The work consisted of five volumes, the third of which contained the *Narracio*, as well as a copy of Milíč's *Libellus de Antichristo*. When one takes into consideration the significant legal trouble which Janov was experiencing during the composition of his *Regulae*, it becomes obvious that the work was not a comprehensive overview of his religious beliefs, but also an apologia. It was therefore intended to explain his position to a hostile Prague clergy. In the *Regulae* Milíč's life and work are presented alongside Janov's own writings, which include an extensive discussion of the younger preacher's Antichrist theories. It is probable that the appearance of these writings side by side was an overt attempt on Janov's part to encourage his audience to view his own work as an extension of Milíč's. Indeed, this supposition is supported by Janov's writings in defence of his own Antichrist beliefs. The preacher at one point stated that if his audience chose not to believe him he would not blame them, but he was simply reporting on the truth he had witnessed at the foot of his predecessor.<sup>173</sup>

Despite Janov's insistence, even a cursory review of his work reveals that he deviated from his master's eschatological thought on many occasions, and most especially in his multiple uses of Antichrist language. At various times Janov proclaimed that Charles IV's son, then Holy Roman Emperor Wenceslaus

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<sup>173</sup> 'Quantum ad presentem inquisitionem attinet, alius Helyas, id est vir habundans spiritu Helye requiratur, qui diutinum rupit silencium de adventu Christi ultimo et Antychristi. Et si wltis [sic] accipere, quantum noticia gestorum michi asserendum inducit, ipse est Myliczius, venerabilis presbyter et predicator, potens in opere et in sermone, cuius verbum tamquam facula ardebat... Et obsecro hic unum quemque lectitantem, ne michi indignetur, si testimonium perhibeo hiis, que oculis vidi et meis auribus audivi et manus mee tractaverunt;' Janov, *Naraccio*, in, *RVNT*, vol. III, pp. 356–357.



[Václav] IV (1361–1419) was Antichrist;<sup>174</sup> that the Holy Roman Empire itself as a whole was Antichrist;<sup>175</sup> and that the Antichrist was certain to come from within the church in the person of the man in the ‘state of highest priesthood’,<sup>176</sup> which is to say the pope was Antichrist.<sup>177</sup> In each of these cases Janov makes specific reference to his targets as ‘the beast’, the seven headed monster said to represent Antichrist in the Apocalypse, or simply as ‘Antichrist’.

It is therefore clear that when Janov made these identifications he was very much of the opinion that he was unveiling the real threat to humanity. He hoped with these accusations to call others to intervene and prevent the individuals he named from destroying the world. Beyond the use of Antichrist language in these condemnations, the examples cited also show that Janov saw figures and institutions of authority as a source of moral decay. This is in stark contrast to Milíč, who looked to hierarchical structures as a source of unity. It is thus clear that there were vast differences, contrary to Janov’s contentions, in the eschatological views of both men.

Yet if the two preachers differed so greatly in their interpretation and application of Antichrist theory, why did Janov make such a concentrated effort to portray their views as aligned? It is probable that Janov, then under interdict, was attempting to justify his own problematic thoughts by linking them to those of Milíč who enjoyed a sustained popularity in Prague and the Empire after his death. When this goal is taken into consideration it becomes clear that Janov most likely constructed the story describing Milíč’s denunciation of Charles IV in order to justify his own work. With this anecdote Janov could imply that the still admired Milíč had engaged in the same behaviours that had brought his student

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<sup>174</sup> ‘Multa etenim sunt in christianitate regna, multi principatus et ducatus, nullum habencia respectum adinvicem, nullam concordiam, nullam connexionem in tempore hoc, cui ista visio bestie est coaptata, sed magis scissa ab invicem, propter negligenciam inperii et inobedienciam ac discessionem...’ Ibid., vol. IV, p. 208.

<sup>175</sup> ‘Que bestia significant potestarem secularem, scilicet imperatoriam et militariam cum universis regnis christianorum carnalium...’ Ibid., p. 198.

<sup>176</sup> ‘Sed neque erit [Antichristus] aliquis christianus potens, tyrannus et persecutor manifestus Jhesu Christi tantum, quia talis nondum ad plenitudinem iniquitatis perveniret, quoniam nequior eo foret, qui sub specie sanctitatis et summe religionis sanctos deciperet et introduceret in ecclesiam contemptum dei sapientie et virtutis Jhesu Christi; neque insuper talis summum locum attingeret dignitatis, quia superior valde eo foret status ecclesie sacerdotum, presertim status summi sacerdotis.’ Ibid., vol. III, p. 9.

<sup>177</sup> While Janov was writing his *Regulae* the papal schism was already in effect, and as such his insistence that the pope was Antichrist could have applied to three individuals within the given timeframe: The Avignonese Pope Clement VII (1378–1394), or the Roman Popes Urban VI (1368–1389) and Boniface IX (1389–1404). Given the vacillating allegiance of the Holy Roman Empire any given individual could have been the target for Janov’s accusations.

condemnation. The story, like Janov's insistence that his ideas were imparted to him by Milíč, is therefore in all likelihood nothing more than an attempt to justify the career of yet another embattled reformer. As a result it cannot be considered a legitimate record of an actual event.

It is thus obvious that Milíč never condemned the emperor, as is so often asserted. Although an imprisonment due to an attack on Charles is dubious, there is evidence, once again in the articles of accusation sent to Avignon, which makes it unequivocal that Milíč spent some time imprisoned by Archbishop Očko in 1366 for preaching on Antichrist.<sup>178</sup> While this incarceration may appear indicative of a rift between Milíč and the court, evidence demonstrates that this was not necessarily so. Instead it is likely that either Charles secured a pardon for the preacher, or that Očko came to believe that Milíč's preaching on the subject was not worrisome enough to necessitate his continued detention. The preferred interpretation of this event, as mentioned above, has long been the former.<sup>179</sup> If one is to accept this version of events, then one must also concede that Charles and Milíč must have enjoyed a close relationship. The willingness of Charles to overrule the wishes of the archbishop in order to intercede on Milíč's behalf could not have been born of indifference.

Popular though this interpretation may be, there is no evidence, other than its repetition, to suggest that Charles had a hand in freeing Milíč. Instead it is more likely that the archbishop was responsible for Milíč's release even though he also gave the order for his arrest. According to the second life of Milíč, after the preacher's arrest the Archbishop Očko retained the services of Vilhelm, a Deacon of Vyšehrad, and a Master of theology named Vojtěch [Adalbert] to examine him. The two men interrogated Milíč at length, and much to what must have been the chagrin of the preacher's detractors, declared that they could find nothing wrong in his sermons. The preacher was, subsequently, released.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> 'Primo quod ipse tenuit et affirmavit, quod in anno domini MCCCLXVI Antichristus fuisset natus, et quia eandem opinionem dimittere noluit, fuit per dominum Johannem archiepiscopum Pragensem incarceratus.' Palacký, ed., *Über Formelbücher*, vol. II, p. 183.

<sup>179</sup> See, for example, Loskot, *Milíč*, pp. 66–67. Here, however Loskot accepts Janov's implication that Milíč was imprisoned for calling the emperor Antichrist, rather than for Antichrist predictions in general.

<sup>180</sup> 'Et cum d. archiepiscopus eosdem sermones cuidam magistro sacrae theologiae viro illuminato, nomine Adalberto, praesentari fecisset, et d. Wilhelmo, decano Wissehradensi viro illuminato, idem vero magister eosdem sermones conspiciens, ita respondit: non est vero meum illa corrigere, quae per gratiam spiritus sancti sunt compilata.' Emler (ed.), *Vita*, in, *FRB*, vol. I, p. 408.

That these two men would dismiss the charges against Milíč at the wishes of the archbishop is unsurprising, given their religious affiliations. Vyšehrad, where Vilhelm was deacon, had long had connections to the court, as it was the site of Prague's original castle and a sacred landmark.<sup>181</sup> In the fourteenth century, the Vyšehrad collegiate church still held considerable royal interest, was included in royal and religious processions, and was the recipient of generous relic donations from Charles IV.<sup>182</sup> The castle in which the church was housed had also been refurbished by order of the king from 1348 to 1350 and was included in the New Town walls. Furthermore, during this time Charles had ordered that the church itself was to be expanded.<sup>183</sup> It can thus be assumed that the deacon at such a wealthy and well-connected church would be amenable to the wishes of the archbishop, and willing to forgive Milíč's Antichrist preaching. Vilhelm's partner in the investigation, the Master Vojtěch, would also have enjoyed some degree of association to the court, as he was a scholastic connected to the cathedral chapter, giving the archbishop ample influence over his opinion.<sup>184</sup> It would therefore seem that the two men were well suited to investigate Archbishop Očko's former protégé, and would have had little trouble pleasing him with their findings.

Yet the arrest of Milíč by his former mentor does prompt one to ask why such a step was taken at all. While preaching the coming of Antichrist was frowned upon it was by no means uncommon in the medieval period. Moreover, one would assume that a close relationship between the preacher and the archbishop would preclude the necessity of any intervention for such a practice. Milíč had been close to the archbishop since their time in Moravia, and as a result it would

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The individuals in question have been further identified by Kaňák as Magister Vojtěch Raňkův of Ježov and Deacon Vilém of Hazenburk. Kaňák, *Milíč*, p. 23. Tomek held a differing view and identified Deacon Vilém as being from Lestkov [Lestkow]. See Tomek, *Dějepis města Prahy*, vol. III, p. 299.

<sup>181</sup> For Vyšehrad's location, please see Map 1, p. 213. On Vyšehrad's legendary foundation see, Věra Brožová, *The Historic Faces of Vyšehrad*, trans. Alistair Millar (Prague, 2000).

<sup>182</sup> On Vyšehrad's involvement in the procession of the Imperial relics, see Francis of Prague, *Chronicon Francisci Pragensis*, in, *FRB*, Series Nova, vol. I, p. 211.

On its inclusion in Charles IV's coronation procession, see, Paul Crossley, 'The Politics of Presentation: The Architecture of Charles IV of Bohemia', in, Sarah Rees Jones, Richard Marks, and A. J. Minnis (eds.), *Courts and Regions in Medieval Europe* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 129–132, 166–172.

The church had become the recipient of an altar from Pisa, purported to have been created by St. Peter, at the behest of Charles IV. As a result, it became a site of pilgrimage following a petition from Charles to the pope to bestow pilgrims to the site with an indulgence. See Ladislav Klicman, *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia*, vol. II (Prague, 1903), pp. 139–140.

<sup>183</sup> B. Nechvátel, 'K stavebně historickému vývoji baziliky sv. Petra a Pavla na Vyšehradě', *Umění*, 22 (1974), pp. 117–138.

<sup>184</sup> Kaňák, *Milíč*, p. 23.

have been possible for Očko to speak with Milíč and ask him to retract or mitigate the controversial aspects of his Antichrist preaching. Indeed, the archbishop had done much the same thing when he asked Milíč to retract his papal complaint against the pastor of St. Stephen's in the matter of the Jerusalem chapel's patronage rights. When considering this case, however, it is necessary to take into account the fact that favoured or not, Milíč had a number of enemies within Prague. Any of these individuals could have made a complaint to the archiepiscopal court about his Antichrist predictions in an attempt to curtail his career. Faced with a direct complaint, Jan Očko would have to respond in order to avoid any allegations of favouritism towards the preacher.

Očko had a demonstrable enthusiasm for Milíč's work, as shown by the multiple invitations sent to the preacher to speak at the synod. It is this interest which explains the archbishop's willingness to intervene on the preacher's behalf, (although he had also been willing to have him arrested). All attempts by historians to ascertain when Milíč had preached at the synod agree that he must have done so at some point between 1364 and 1366, the very time when he was preaching that Antichrist had come, and facing the archbishop's theoretical wrath as a result. If Očko was in fact hostile towards Milíč's pronouncements, it is doubtful that he would have invited Milíč to deliver his eschatological sermons before the synod in the very same time period. It would thus seem that Jan Očko's displeasure with Milíč was fleeting, if it had ever existed at all, and that the incident was considered a minor interruption.

This is further attested to by the fact that the only records of the event are the accusation of the Prague clergy against Milíč, and Janov's possible misrepresentation of the episode in his biography of Milíč as involving an attack on Charles.<sup>185</sup> While Milíč's time spent in the Prague prison (whether as a result of slandering the emperor or preaching the coming of Antichrist) may therefore seem to indicate antipathy between the preacher and the members of the Prague court, in fact the opposite is true. It is more likely that the episode is indicative of an instance in which Milíč was the subject of a complaint to the cathedral court. As a result of this accusation, Očko was forced to ensure that the preacher was

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<sup>185</sup> Milíč's incarceration is also referred to in an oblique manner in his second biography, though the actual arrest is left out of the account most probably in an attempt to present Milíč as a saintly ideal. See note 179, p. 58.

examined, even though he was uninterested in actual punitive measures against Milíč.

Considering the obvious connections that Milíč enjoyed in the court of Charles IV, and the dubious nature of the imperial Antichrist accusation story, one is led to question why historians generally accept the interpretation of the preacher as an anti-monarchical rabble-rouser. Once again, it would appear that the answer lies within the overtly politicised context introduced to the Czech historiography during the national revival. Milíč, as a result of the controversial nature of his work, was deemed by historians to be a sort of proto-Hussite, engendered with a specifically Czech desire for reform and inborn opposition to the church and the crown. While it is certain that the Hussites did indeed display these characteristics, Milíč was by no means such an individual, and his designation as such has more to do with the political interests of those studying him than his own work.

Furthermore, given the preacher's continued popularity in Czechoslovakia and later in the Czech Republic, this tendency was exacerbated to 'save' Milíč and allow him to continue to be a part of the Czech nation rather than that of the Germans. In order to do so it was seen as necessary to insist that the preacher must have shared the ideas of the Hussites. What is more, the prevailing desire to characterise Charles as a magnanimous and pacific ruler has also contributed to this interpretation. The idea that the emperor would benevolently allow Milíč to go about his work unmolested even following his insistence that Charles was Antichrist enables historians to write of the ruler's calm demeanour and tolerance using just one ready example. There is therefore a double interest in propagating the story, for it allows one to prove the preacher as a radical and the emperor as a serene and tolerant ruler at the same time. As appealing as these depictions are, a careful consideration of the facts must lead one to discard the popular anecdote as presented by Janov as any sort of definitive proof in either case.

### ***Conclusions***

While most historians have posited that any relationship between Milíč and the court of Charles IV must have been acrimonious, a careful analysis of events, the work of both Milíč and Charles, and Milíč's career prior to taking up preaching, suggests otherwise. As the interactions between Charles, Konrad Waldhauser, and Cola Di Rienzo make clear, the emperor had an interest in reformers and

was able to at times use them to his own benefit. It is thus unsurprising that Charles may have also looked to Milíč, another well-known, outspoken reformer, to achieve his own ends. Indeed, when one considers Milíč's early career, from his beginnings at the Olomouc bishop's summer residence in Kroměříž, to his quick appointment to and rise through the imperial chancery, it is obvious that he enjoyed some sort of connection with the court of Charles IV. This link probably came through the former Bishop of Olomouc and later Archbishop of Prague Jan Očko, and certainly with Jan IX of Středa, Bishop of Litomyšl and chancellor of the Prague cathedral, who petitioned the papal court to secure Milíč a benefice. Even when Milíč abandoned his successful career at the chancery, it is evident that he still enjoyed the support of the court as his multiple invitations to preach at the bi-annual Prague synod testify.

The interest in Milíč and his work, however, did not end with various members of Charles IV's court. The emperor's participation in the Jerusalem project makes it plain that Charles was aware of Milíč's work and pleased to support it at times. A relationship between the two men is also indicated in written sources, including the report on the most likely spurious letter from Milíč to Charles while in Avignon. Notwithstanding the questionable authenticity of the anecdote, the 'letter' nevertheless is indicative of a general awareness of a connection between the two men. Additional evidence can be found in the accusations which the Prague clergy formulated against Milíč. These make specific reference to a close enough affiliation between the two that the preacher would be shielded from legal proceedings in Prague. Moreover, the fact that Milíč's detractors elected to bring their grievances to the papal court is of interest. It indicates that Milíč's detractors felt the preacher was too well connected in the city to ensure that their concerns would be heard if they complained instead to the archiepiscopal court.

This surplus of evidence indicates that there was an established association between Milíč and the court of Charles IV, leading one to wonder why such an obvious connection has been overlooked. The most probable reason is that Milíč's first biographer, his embattled student Matěj of Janov, made a concentrated effort to encourage just such an interpretation. His account of Milíč's denunciation of the emperor has long been the centerpiece of most arguments for the idea of the preacher as an anti-imperial firebrand agitator. A careful reading of Milíč's eschatological writings, however, shows that Milíč never

used such Antichrist language in any of his other writings on the subject. Milíč's obvious support of hierarchical systems in the fight against Antichrist, and his concern over the fate of the Empire speak still further against Janov's report. Additionally, that Janov was under interdict at the time of his writing suggests that he may have imagined the anecdote in order to bring Milíč's teachings into closer alignment with his own. In doing so he encouraged others to think of him as the logical heir to Milíč, and attempted to parlay the dead preacher's popularity into forgiveness for his more incendiary ideas. As stirring as the account is, it is probable that it is a fictional one, which has more to do with the author of the *Narracio* than the subject.

Given the evidence above it is clear that Milíč enjoyed the patronage of the Prague court in general and that of Archbishop Jan Očko, Bishop Jan IX of Středa, and Charles IV more specifically. Yet if one accepts that the crown supported Milíč in his endeavours, one must also ask why that was the case. It is undeniable that Milíč's work, while popular with many in Prague, was also divisive as attested by some of the very articles which prove his connections to the court. Taking the evidence into consideration, why then would Charles IV wish to link himself to an individual who could at any moment become a liability? What would such a relationship offer the court in general, and Charles in particular? The next three chapters of this work will attempt to answer those questions.

## Chapter 2

### The City

The connection between Milíč and Charles IV is thus obvious, but the reasons that the emperor would choose to favour such a controversial figure as the preacher are less so. This chapter will examine Milíč's sermons as well as his work at his religious community Jerusalem and consider them within the context of later fourteenth-century Prague. In so doing it will ascertain some of the reasons why Charles may have seen the preacher's work as enhancing his own. In particular, this chapter will examine some of Milíč's most commonly cited moral complaints: false teachers, (which include clergymen swayed by greed and lust, absentee priests, and the mendicant orders), and prostitution. It will argue that these themes were common in the preacher's sermons because he was responding to the problems of fourteenth-century Prague.

This can be ascertained using the reliable witness of parish life at the end of the century which survives to us in the Archdeacon Pavel of Janovice's exhaustive visitation protocol of 1378–1382. The protocol reported on a lengthy interview process with representatives from each of Prague's parishes as well as those of the surrounding countryside. What the archdeacon and his assistants recorded was a situation not so far different to that which Milíč claimed to be witness to a decade earlier. It is certain that Milíč was as aware of the same issues attested in Janovice's protocol during his own time as the preacher had ample time to confront similar problems when he had taken on a position as vicar-archdeacon to Jan of Maroli in 1362.<sup>186</sup> Much like Pavel of Janovice, it was at that time Milíč's duty to confront problems within the clergy and attempt to curb them.<sup>187</sup> Milíč must have done an admirable job in the role, as proven by his elevation to cathedral canon in the next year. It was shortly after his acceptance of the papal benefice, however, that Milíč's career changed. In 1363, in spite of his success, he made the decision to leave behind his position, and make his six-month stay in the small town of Horšovský Týn before returning to the city as a preacher. The timing of Milíč's change in career emphasis, and the subjects of the sermons which he began to preach afterwards, suggest that his experience as vicar-archdeacon, and the abuses of the clergy that he saw while in the position,

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<sup>186</sup> See Chapter 1, note 106, pp. 40–41.

<sup>187</sup> Novák, *Acta Innocentii VI*, p. 502.



instigated his dedication to preaching.

After examining Milíč's sermons and the conditions of Prague which inspired them, we will move on to discuss the emperor's extensive revivification of the city and the explicit religious character that he attempted to engender within it. The section will examine Charles's building works in the city, his support for new religious orders and churches, his relic collection and endowment, and his attempts to attract pilgrims to the city through the establishment of new imperial feast days. Having argued that Charles was in the midst of an attempt to establish Prague as a city of particular religious significance in the Empire, the discussion will then consider the ways in which Milíč's practice in the city assisted this goal. It will take into consideration the preacher's attempts to combat what he saw as the spiritual shortcomings of Prague, as well as his appearances at the local synods, and the preacher's work at Jerusalem. This analysis will show that Milíč was a valuable asset to Charles as he sought to revivify the city, and promote it as the religious centre of the Holy Roman Empire.

### ***Common Themes in Milíč's Sermons***

Milíč's sermons are for the most part pessimistic in nature, and often focus in particular on eschatological themes. While at times these ideas are discussed using Antichrist application, as in his *Libellus*, he also wrote about what he saw as the peril of Christendom caused by moral degradation in the world without explicit reference to the Man of Sin. Milíč felt that the earth was suffering from a general spiritual malaise. Within this universal religious decay he also found specific groups of individuals to be of particular concern, and attempted to address these groups in particular while warning his audiences about the dangers that they caused. Key among the issues that his sermons sought to address was what he saw as an epidemic of sinful clergy members, whom he sometimes termed false teachers, preachers, or prophets, and whom he characterised as the largest group of sinners in Christendom.<sup>188</sup> Milíč's concern regarding false teachers came in the first instance because he believed that all sin came from demonic sources. The false teachers, being mired in sin, were

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<sup>188</sup> 'Que est maior exaggeracio peccatorum, quis maior cumulus delictorum, ubi maior congeries scelerum, quam in sacerdotibus, qui non solum in se sunt omni iniquitate repleti, sed eciam aliis sunt occasio peccati et ruina dampnacionis eterne?' Milíč, 'Sermo synodales Sacerdotes Contempserunt', in, I.E.20. fol. 183 v., col. 2.

thus working as a part of the 'army of the devil.'<sup>189</sup> While all of these individuals were clearly swayed by demonic forces, and could be identified as a generalised group of sinners, the sins that had swayed them into Satan's army were particular. Milíč expounded on the various types and sins of the false teachers individually in an attempt to confront the sinners with their misdeeds and force them into introspection. By elucidating the effects that such sins could have on individuals and on society as a whole, he aimed also to dissuade others from the same transgressions.

### ***Greed***

One of the most common groups of sinners which Milíč identified as false were those willing to take money in exchange for their religious services. The preacher considered that those who were chosen by God to preach were the 'thunder bolts' and 'angels' of the Lord.<sup>190</sup> Therefore, if those lucky enough to have been called to serve expected to receive monetary gain for preaching or conducting masses they subverted God's intended plan and abused the gospels. Furthermore, he identified such abuses as rife at all levels of the church. Some of those demanding payment for their services could be recognised as parish priests who would attack their flocks if they did not give them extra alms toward their own personal expenses.<sup>191</sup> This was a particular issue for those who could lay claim to more than one prebend, in that they sought not to provide each of them with adequate care, but 'more cruel than wolves' simply took from the poor within them.<sup>192</sup>

Similar sins could be found even among bishops, Milíč claimed, and they would consecrate items, or turn a blind eye to concubinary priests in their districts in return for money.<sup>193</sup> When the clergy saw their flocks as no more than a source of revenue, Milíč insisted that they were no longer preachers, but merchants. In

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<sup>189</sup> 'Peccatores sunt arma dyaboli.' Milíč, 'Dominica II in XL', in, *GD*, XIV.D.5, fol. 119 v.

<sup>190</sup> 'Sed ante omnia necesse est, ut mittas praedicatores, qui et fulmina sunt...' Milíč, 'Ad Papam Urbanum V', in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 20.

'Ut angeli id est praedicatores cum tuba ewangelii congregent electos in ecclesiam a quattuor partibus mundi.' Milíč, 'Dominica II in Advent', in, *GD*, XIV.D.5, fol. 9 r.

<sup>191</sup> 'Cum enim praedicaverint, missas legerint, confessiones audierint, sacramenta porrexerint, arbitrantur se obsequium praestare Deo, cum tamen minus receperint, quod si quis non dederit quippiam in os eorum, magnificent contra eum prelium.' Milíč, 'Ad Papam Urbanum V', in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 22.

<sup>192</sup> 'Alii lupis crudeliores rapiunt multas praebendas spoliantes multos pauperes;' Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>193</sup> 'Qui ... symoniace consecrant ecclesias, calices, ornata etc. pro pretio sive pacto, concubenarios presbyteros etiam quidam ex eis pro pecuniis stare permittunt...' Ibid., p. 20.

his synodal sermon 'Grege Perditus', he compared them again to wolves, this time in sheep's clothing, and claimed that they cared nothing for the souls of the proverbial sheep in their flocks, but instead saw them as mere sources of meat and fleece.<sup>194</sup> Thus Christendom was endangered because rapacious clergy members, 'from greater to less [were] all devoted to greed' and sought to attack the Christian poor if their avarice was not sated.<sup>195</sup>

If the clergy could not satisfy their greed through the exaction of offerings for services, Milíč claimed that they found other sinful methods to do so. He asserted in particular that clergy members at all levels of the church were committing usury. Canons he decried as having founded their very prebends on usury, and of borrowing money from usurers and paying back interest with masses.<sup>196</sup> The mendicant orders were also singled out as consummate usurers, and Milíč claimed that the orders were making usurious contracts in order to finance themselves.<sup>197</sup> The prevalence of usury in the clergy was such that he condemned it as a symptom of the abomination of desolation which would loose Antichrist. These sinners were just like the money changers whom Jesus chased from the temple, and had to be confronted by the faithful.<sup>198</sup>

These accusations seem to reflect life in fourteenth-century Prague, as the visitation protocol of 1378–1382 attests. The archdeaconate protocol bears witness to the complaints of parish members who claimed that their priests were seeking various opportunities to extract money for the services they were sworn to provide free of charge. For example, complaints were made that a parish priest demanded that his poorer parishioners in particular give extra offerings in

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<sup>194</sup> 'Nec predicemus propter pecuniam et oblationes quia tales quia hoc faciunt, non sunt predicatorum, sed negociatores, sicut dicitur Ezech. 27, "Negociatores populorum sibilaverunt super te."' Milíč, 'Grege perditus', in, I.E.20, fol. 188 r, col. 1.

'Sunt alii lupi meridiani, heretici et ypocrite, quorum plenus est mundus, qui tanto magis nocent, quanto non aperte, sed occulte et in dolo subintrant, de quibus Math. 7, "Attendite a falsis prophetis, qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium, intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces." ... Ex quibus magnum signum est, quia non est cura eis de ovibus, quas pascant, sed de carnibus, quas mactent et comedant, et de velleribus, quibus non pauperes, sed se vestiant.' Ibid., fol. 186 v., col. 1.

<sup>195</sup> 'A propheta enim usque ad sacerdotem et a majore usque ad minorem omnes avaritiae student...' Milíč, *Libellus*, in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 62.

<sup>196</sup> 'Quid dicam de canonicis? ... quidam praebendas suas habent fundatas mere super usuris sive contractus factos in fraudem usurarum; quidam mutant pecunias, et quidquid ultra sortem redditur, hoc datur pro missis comparandis.' Milíč, 'Ad Papam Urbanum V', in, Ibid., p. 24.

<sup>197</sup> 'Hii sunt religiosi et praecipue mendicantes in partibus alimosinae, inter quos symonia et proprietates non est peccatum; nunc substantia ordinis usura ... Hoc autem supra modum destruit ecclesiam sanctam.' Ibid.

<sup>198</sup> 'Qui sunt desolatio abominationis, et quasi ydola occupant templum et stant in loco sancto, ubi non debent, utinam et usurarios et superbas mulieres, que in opprobrium mortis Christi tamquam ydola coluntur in templo.' Milíč, 'Feria III post Dom. I in XL', in, *GD*, XIV.D.5, fol. 97 r.

order to have their family members buried.<sup>199</sup> Others told the archdeacon that they were not certain that their priest would baptise children without an extra donation.<sup>200</sup> The protocol also uncovered multiple cases of clergy involved in usury, with members of several parishes complaining of the issue.<sup>201</sup> Usury was also to be found within monasteries, as one parishioner charged.<sup>202</sup>

Milíč's complaints about the greed and usurious business practices of the clergy are also reflected in some of the realities of every day life for citizens in Prague, specifically the high price of housing. In the late medieval period Prague saw land prices triple, and even quadruple in some instances.<sup>203</sup> In order to afford the cost of building a home, many would-be residents had to undertake what was termed a 'perpetual rent'. Within the terms of a perpetual rent, a borrower would receive money from a creditor and then make annual payments of about ten percent of the amount borrowed into perpetuity.<sup>204</sup> When seeking to raise the capital necessary to build a home, Prague's citizens often turned to wealthy burghers, or to different churches in the city which had the ready cash to loan. Indeed, as Mengel has noted, many of the religious orders in the city turned a healthy profit through perpetual rents.<sup>205</sup> These land-owning institutions included

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<sup>199</sup> 'Item dicunt duo primi, quod plebanus sepissime non patitur sepeliri pauperes homines, nisi prius faciat pacta cum eisdem et non vlt [sic] sibi sufficere in offertorio, quod pauperes homines vellent facere, sed adhuc semper compellit eos ad dandum sibi pecuniam, de quo causantur, ut plurimum.' Hlaváček and Hledíková (eds.), *Protocollum visitationis archidiaconatus*, pp. 104–105.

<sup>200</sup> 'Item dicit, quod dominus Ducho solet pueros baptisare in ecclesia sancti Egidii predicta, sed nescit, si cum voluntate plebani vel non.' *Ibid.*, p. 51.

<sup>201</sup> 'Item dicit, ut audivit, quod dicti presbyteri mutuaverunt cuidam pelifici, de cuius nomine ignorat, XL sexagenas et nomine usurarum receperunt ab eodem pelles, sed nescit, quales fuerunt.' *Ibid.*, p. 109.

<sup>202</sup> 'Item dicit, quod in domo dominorum abbatis et conventus monasterii Cedliczensis moretur quidam notarius nomine Hersso, de quo dicitur, quod daret pecunias ad usuras, sed ipse testis pro certo nescit, sed vlt super eo melius sciscitari.' *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>203</sup> Bedřich Mendl, 'Hospodářské a sociální poměry v městech Pražských v letech 1378 až 1434. [Část 3., 4.] Kap. 4. Berně a renty. 5. Vývoj blahobyti; domy jakožto prameny poznání hospodářského stavu', *Český Časopis Historický*, 23 (1917), pp. 355–357.

<sup>204</sup> John Martin Klassen, *The Nobility and the Making of the Hussite Revolution* (New York, 1978), p. 23.

Perpetual rents, while common in Prague's Old Town during Milíč's time, were later curtailed in the city. According to Mendl the residents of Prague's New Town were allowed to buy out their rents for the original purchase price where possible, a privilege which in the fourteenth century was said to date back to the town's foundation. In 1351 the Lesser Town received the same right. The Old Town, where the majority of Milíč's work was conducted, however, did not enjoy the same privilege until 1418. See, Bedřich Mendl, 'Z hospodářských dějin středověké Prahy', *Sborník příspěvků k dějinám hlav. města Prahy*, 5 (1932), pp. 211–216. For more on the laws surrounding rent in late medieval Prague, see Emil Rössler (ed.), *Das altprager Stadtrecht aus dem XIV. Jahrhundert*, vol. 1, *Deutsche Rechtsdenkmäler aus Böhmen und Mähren* (1845; Reprint, Aalen, 1963), LX–LXIV.

<sup>205</sup> Mengel, *Bones, Stones, and Brothels*, p. 171. See also, Jaroslav Kadlec, *Das Augustinerkloster Sankt Thomas in Prag vom Gründungsjahr 1285 bis zu den Hussitenkriegen, mit Edition seines Urkundenbuches*, Cassiacum 36 (Würzburg, 1985).

mendicant orders such as the Augustinians at St. Thomas in the Lesser Town [Malá Strana], and they often owned multiple properties not only within Prague, but also in the surrounding region.

While such arrangements raised desirable levels of funds for entrepreneurs and clergy alike, there was a decided disadvantage to such contracts for the borrowers involved; if the rent was missed two years in a row, the house became the property of the creditor.<sup>206</sup> This situation was quite common, as any individual who purchased land in Prague was required to build a house on it within eighteen months of the initial purchase. Those looking to live in the city were thus often forced to submit to a perpetual rent in order to secure money in a fast enough manner to build.<sup>207</sup> In turn, those wealthy enough to possess a house were able to exploit the housing situation in order to turn a healthy profit. Because of the expenses of building a house, many in the city were forced instead to rent, and landlords were able to exact high prices for their available properties due to the demand for living space and the expanding population of the city. The perpetual rents owned by both laymen and clergy members, and the struggles which Prague's citizens underwent to pay them explain Milíč's allegation that clergy members were practicing usury while claiming to be collecting rent.<sup>208</sup>

It is thus clear that Prague most certainly had clergy participating in activities unbecoming of their status in order to make more money. If in 1368 there were multiple instances of clergy members attempting to extract money from parishioners, it is probable that Milíč also saw the same sort of behaviour during his time as vicar-archdeacon. Little wonder then that, given the obvious distress of the parishioners who complained to Pavel of Janovice of usury and extortion, Milíč felt a need to intervene. Not only were these individuals sinning, but they were also hurting the most vulnerable individuals whom they had been tasked with protecting. It was the poor that parish priests sought money from in order to perform burials. It was the poor who were most likely to be taking usurious loans out as well, given that they had a dearth of options. These individuals were therefore, just as Milíč charged, consummate 'oppressors of the poor' and part of

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<sup>206</sup> Klassen, *The Nobility*, p. 23; František Graus, *Chudina Městská v době Přehusitské* (Prague, 1949), pp. 128–130.

<sup>207</sup> Klassen, *The Nobility*, p. 24.

<sup>208</sup> 'Sic multi sub eis contractus fiunt in fraudem usurarum et census nomine palliantur...' Milíč, 'Ad Papam Urbanum V', in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 20.

the army of Antichrist.<sup>209</sup> It was these false teachers that Milíč was attempting to fight with his sermons.

### ***Absenteeism***

While members of the clergy who had been given over to greed were one type of false prophet, they were by no means the only group that Milíč sought to combat. The preacher also made consistent reference to absentee priests as a part of the Antichrist's army. The negligence of these absentees Milíč characterised as 'supremely disastrous' for 'the whole Christian populace'.<sup>210</sup> Those who abandoned their flocks worked for Antichrist because the forgotten laymen, who should have been in their care, would turn toward the misinformed, heretics, or other sinful members of the clergy for religious advice. As a result, more well-meaning members of the faithful were following heretics than were following those whom Milíč considered to be the honest clergy.<sup>211</sup> Indeed, Milíč felt that lack of pastoral care was the specific reason for what he saw as a rise in heretical and hypocritical groups at the time.<sup>212</sup> Therefore, those priests who did nothing to help their flocks were just as dangerous as the clergy committing sins like usury, for in their sloth they drove the faithful into the arms of the servants of Antichrist.

Once again, Milíč's complaints seem to have been rooted in his experiences in the city. A lack of pastoral care was by no means a new problem in Milíč's time, for regular religious instruction had been a topic of discussion for the church's theologians since the twelfth century. In fact, pastoral care was considered to be of the utmost importance in order to ensure the faith and stability of

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<sup>209</sup> 'An non vides ejus exercitum, societatem videlicet et alios tyrannos, et oppressores pauperum? Quia ita oppressi sunt, ut cogantur multis peccatis usurarum, malarum negotiationum, mendaciorum perjuriarum etc. victum quaerere, destructores monasteriorum et tortores ponentes et poni facientes christianos pro pecuniis ad tormenta.' Milíč, *Libellus*, in, *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>210</sup> 'Est igitur ista dormicio negligencie toti cristiano populo summe dampnosa, quia ipsi pastores, vel quia ignari, vel quia negligentis, non docent salubria, non arguunt vicia, non faciunt sanctitatis opera, nec ostendunt lucis exempla. Et hoc facit impuritas conversacionis eorum, qua gregem Domini fedant.' Milíč, 'Grege perditus', in, I.E.20, fol. 187 r., col. 1.

<sup>211</sup> 'Hii omnes ordinum perversores et disordinum et sectarum inventores, quid sunt nisi pseudoprophetae, qui dant signa apparientis siccitatis in tantum, ut multi fideles plus credant seductionibus eorum, quam evangelio sancto.' Milíč, 'Ad Papam Urbanum V', in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 26.

<sup>212</sup> 'Quare hodie sunt in mundo tot heretici, tot ypocrite, tot secte, nisi quia pastores nesciunt, quomodo providere, vel scientes volunt ignorare.' Milíč, 'Grege perditus', in, I.E.20, fol. 189 v., col. 1.

Christendom.<sup>213</sup> The church sought to address this topic with the decree on preachers in the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, which underscored the importance of providing sermons for the laity. Bishops in particular were meant to impart this instruction. It was the bishops' responsibility, in theory, to ensure that the laity in their jurisdiction heard regular sermons and had access to necessary sacraments such as confession and the Eucharist.<sup>214</sup> Of course in larger cities such as Prague, the archbishop would in no way be able to meet the needs of the population. It was therefore his duty to see that there was a sufficient number of parish priests who were trained to an adequate level, provided for, and prepared to serve this function in his stead.<sup>215</sup> Local priests, in theory, instructed and saw to the needs of their parishes. In return they would collect tithes and obligations such as hearth taxes to see to their own physical needs.<sup>216</sup>

By the second half of the fourteenth century, Prague had been organised into forty-five parishes which were intended to see to the pastoral needs of the city. It was in these parishes that the citizens celebrated the milestones of their lives, gave confession, and received religious instruction in the form of sermons. In the third quarter of the fourteenth century, problems with the parish system would arise as Prague experienced steady demographic growth. New citizens poured into the city, lured by the possibility of gainful employment and the chance to better themselves.<sup>217</sup> Eventually, this population shift saw Prague become home

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<sup>213</sup> Pierre le Chantre, for example in his 'Against the Evil Silence Especially of the *Prelati*' discusses the failure to preach as an 'evil silence' wounding Christendom. See d'Avray, *The Preaching*, p. 15, for a more in-depth discussion.

<sup>214</sup> The role of bishops in ordaining and preparing preachers is discussed at greater length in d'Avray, *The Preaching*, pp. 15–16. For more on the responsibility of the bishops and the Fourth Lateran Council, see J.D. Mansi (ed.), 'X. De praedicatoribus instituendis', *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio...*, vol. XXI (Venice, 1778), cols. 998–999.

<sup>215</sup> The idea that bishops were not able to preach often enough and that they required assistance was not only an invention of the later middle ages. In 529 Caesarius of Arles had affirmed the right of priests to preach both in cities and in parishes at the council of Arles, and stated the necessity of such work as bishops were unable to provide adequate pastoral care. See, Rosamond McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789–895* (London, 1977), p. 88.

<sup>216</sup> For more on the income derived by clergy in fourteenth-century Bohemia, and the various methods by which it was procured, see Klassen, *The Nobility*, p. 14.

<sup>217</sup> Exact population figures for fourteenth-century Prague are, like those of most medieval cities, disputed. Most historians accept the hypothesis that the city was home to an impressive 40,000 inhabitants as argued by Jaroslav Mezník. See, Mezník, 'Der ökonomische Charakter Prags im 14. Jahrhundert', *Historica*, 17 (1969), pp. 45–47, 81–83; František Graus, 'Prag als Mitte Böhmens 1346–1421', in, Emil Meyner (ed.), *Zentralität als Problem der mittelalterlichen Stadtgeschichtsforschung* (Cologne, 1979), p. 26 no. 24; and Eduard Maur, 'Obyvatelstvo českých zemí ve středověkú', in, Pravidová Božena (ed.), *Dějiny obyvatelstva českých zemí* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Prague, 1998), p. 50. Vilém Lorenc, however, has put forth a more exaggerated estimate

to perhaps as many as forty thousand people, making it easily the largest city in Bohemia, and the second most populated imperial city north of the Alps, after Cologne.<sup>218</sup> The Prague parish system, therefore, had to absorb all newcomers into the city, provide them with at least the minimum level of religious support, and ensure that their priests made an adequate living in return. As the flow of people into Prague continued, however, the additional burden upon the parish network meant that religious instruction was not always forthcoming to all of Prague's citizens.

The archdeaconate's visitation protocol attests that, as Milíč alleged, the parishes were not meeting their pastoral obligations. So dire was the situation that Janovice asserted that as result of a lack of access to spiritual instruction the average citizen in Prague could recite the Ten Commandments and the Credo prayer, but that their religious knowledge stopped there.<sup>219</sup> Such ignorance was perhaps to be expected, given that parishioners told Janovice that their priests did not bother to say more than one mass daily, while overworked vicars claimed that some priests disregarded the sacraments or did not perform the hours altogether.<sup>220</sup> At times, the very descriptions of some of the individuals interviewed by the archdeacon indicate that absenteeism was widespread in the city, with priests electing to leave their vicars to look after the parish.<sup>221</sup> Other priests compounded what Milíč considered to be their sins and left their parishes unattended and without leave in order to see to their various business interests, adding neglect to their extant sin of greed.<sup>222</sup>

Moreover, the protocol reported several complaints from German parishioners throughout Prague who insisted that they were not provided with a priest who could give sermons and hear their confessions in their native tongue. This was despite the fact that they asserted, both to their priests and to the archdeacon

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and asserted that the population of Prague under Charles IV was somewhere between 80,000–85,000 and therefore the same size as that of London. See, Vilém Lorenc, *Nové město Pražské* (Prague, 1973), pp. 129–134. This thesis accepts Mezník's calculation as most accurate.

<sup>218</sup> See Graus, *Chudina Městská*, pp. 179, 189.

<sup>219</sup> See, Ivan Hlaváček, 'Beiträge zum Alltagsleben im vohussitischen Böhmen', in, Gerhard Pfeiffer (ed.), *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung*, vol. 34–35 (Erlangen, 1974–1975), pp. 874–882; and Zdeňka Hledíková, 'K otázkám vztahu duchovní a světské moci v Čechách ve druhé polovině 14 století', *Československý Časopis Historický*, 44 (1976), pp. 264–268.

<sup>220</sup> See, Hlaváček and Hledíková (eds.), *Protocolum*, pp. 50, 68.

<sup>221</sup> See for example, *Ibid.*, p. 50.

<sup>222</sup> 'Item dicit, quod dominus Mathias, plebanus ecclesie sancti Johannis in Vado, non habens absenciam domini archiepiscopi Pragensis a dicta sua ecclesia, se absentat propter procuracionem et usum molendinorum domini Wolbrami, purgravii Wisegradensis.' *Ibid.*, p. 70.



that 'many would run to [their] church[es]<sup>223</sup> to hear sermons provided in German.<sup>224</sup> Complicating matters for those citizens lacking sufficient pastoral care was the fact that in Prague provincial statutes prohibited attending mass in a church that was not one's registered parish. The statutes required priests to ask if there were any members of other parishes present and send them away before beginning the mass.<sup>225</sup> The fact that a specific rule was required to proscribe the practice demonstrates that it was common as the populace attempted to see to its religious needs itself.<sup>226</sup>

These complaints mirror closely Milíč's concerns regarding negligent absentee priests more interested in drawing an income from their parish than in serving it.<sup>227</sup> In addition, the very real religious ignorance of the Prague populace that Janovice reported on corresponds to the preacher's concerns regarding the neglect of the laity. While one cannot argue that the overlooked parishioners took up heretical views as a result of the lack of knowledge, it is obvious that they were by no means receiving a standard of care that was considered acceptable. The fact that there was a dearth of dedicated parish priests in the city, and a laity unversed in some of the most basic tenets of Christianity more than a decade after Milíč had begun to preach against the same issues, is testament to the pervasiveness of the problem. Clearly then, Milíč was not wrong when he stated that he was witness to a generalised disinterest in pastoral care.

### ***The Mendicants***

Absenteeism was also a pressing concern to Milíč because in the absence of pastoral care, many in the city turned to the mendicant orders for religious instruction. Indeed, the *raison d'être* of the begging orders was to address just that issue when they were founded in the thirteenth century.<sup>228</sup> Prague was

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<sup>223</sup> 'Item dicit, quod pro maiori parte sunt homines parrochiani dicte ecclesie teotonici, et si plebanus teneret ipsis predicatorem theotonicum, multum alicerentur ad ipsam ecclesiam, sed ex quo non facit, tunc eciam non curant et intrant ecclesias alias.' Ibid., p. 78.

<sup>224</sup> Such complaints are recorded at St. Clement in Poříčí in the New Town, (See Ibid., p. 58) and at St. John's (See Ibid., p. 73) and St. Mary in the Pond in Old Town (See Ibid., p. 78).

<sup>225</sup> See Mengel, *Bones, Stones, and Brothels*, p. 60.

<sup>226</sup> See Rostislav Zelený, 'Councils and Synods of Prague and their Statutes (1343–1361)', *Apollinaris*, 45 (1972), p. 522.

<sup>227</sup> See note 209, p. 70.

<sup>228</sup> See Herbert Grundmann, *Religiöse Bewegungen im Mittelalter. Untersuchungen über die geschichtlichen Zusammenhänge zwischen der Ketserei, den Bettelorden und der religiösen Frauenbewegung im 12. und 13. Jahrhundert und über die geschichtlichen Grundlagen der deutschen Mystik*, (2<sup>nd</sup> edn, Darmstadt, 1970), for an overview of the *vita apostolica* movement in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

home to many begging orders living within no less than ten separate religious houses, all the members of which were theoretically able to give sermons, and in some cases administer sacraments as well.<sup>229</sup> Although there were many mendicants within the city, however, Prague had by the later part of the fourteenth century a history of unrest between the mendicant and regular orders. One of the most notable incidents of strife occurred in 1312 when former Bishop Jan IV of Dražic (c. 1260–1343) tried to implement the findings of the Council of Vienne, which in turn had reaffirmed Pope Boniface VIII's (1235–1303) 1300 Bull *Super Cathedram*. In the Bull, Boniface recommended that the mendicants abstain from preaching either in their own churches whilst services were underway in any nearby parish church. What is more, any mendicants would have to make a direct approach to their local bishop and request and license which would give them the right to hear confession before doing so. Bishops, in turn, were tasked with ensuring that the friars received a mandated number of such licenses.<sup>230</sup> As a result, although mendicants had to be allowed to preach and hear confession, it was theoretically possible to prevent certain individual friars from doing so.

The begging orders in Prague were infuriated by these regulations. Incensed, they resorted to accusing the bishop of ties with heretics before the papal court in Avignon in order to block their implementation. The accusations forced Dražic to

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<sup>229</sup> In the Lesser Town there was a community of Dominican nuns at St. Anne as well as an Augustinian house at St. Thomas. In the Old Town Dominican nuns were housed at St. Anne and St. Lawrence, and Dominican monks at St. Clement. The communities of Franciscans in the Old Town were in residence at the monasteries of St. Francis and St. James and a community of Poor Clares lived next to the St. Francis community at Blessed Agnes. Finally, the New Town hosted three separate mendicant houses, the Carmelites at St. Mary of the Snows, the Augustinian nuns at St. Catherine, and a Severite community at St. Mary of the Meadows.

<sup>230</sup> Neither the mendicants nor the secular clergy ever accepted *Super Cathedram* in full, and it faced repeated challenges from individuals on both sides of the debate. See, Hugolin Lippens, 'Le droit nouveau des mendiants en conflit avec le droit coutumier du clergé séculier, du concile de Vienne à celui de Trente', *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 47 (1954), pp. 241–253.

It should be noted that Prague was by no means unique in its history of conflict between regular and mendicant orders, as anti-fraternal sentiment had been present throughout Europe since at least the thirteenth century. William [Guillaume] of Saint-Armour (d. 1273) had at that time led the anti-mendicant movement with his 1256 work *De periculis novissorum temporum*, which had resulted from a disagreement between mendicant and secular clergy members at the University of Paris. These objections to the mendicants began with discontent at the majority of theology chairs being held by the friars at the University of Paris. The disenchantment was brought to a head in 1253 when the mendicants did not participate in a general university strike. It was not until 1257 that the resultant furor was quelled. The mendicant orders fought back against these onslaughts and notable friars such as Thomas Aquinas and Bonaventura (1221–1274) contributed to the debate, defending the practices of their orders.

See, Guillaume de Saint-Amour, *De periculis novissimorum temporum*, ed. G. Geltner (Leuven, 2008); Penn R. Szittyá, *The Antifraternal Tradition in Medieval Literature* (Princeton, NJ and Guildford 1968), pp. 11, 16–17; Guy Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism: Poelmic, Violence, Deviance, and Remembrance* (Oxford, 2012).

leave Prague for Avignon in order to defend himself at the papal court for a period of eleven years.<sup>231</sup> He returned vindicated, but was never able to bring full resolution to the issue, even seeing some friars minor and secular clergy resort to violence against one another in 1334.<sup>232</sup>

Milíč, as even the most cursory reading of his sermon collections can attest, had a strong allegiance to the anti-mendicant thinkers in Prague. His objections to the friars minor seem to stem firstly from his conclusion that they were in the habit of owning personal property. Milíč felt that the clergy as a whole, and members of the monastic orders in particular, should be avoiding personal property.<sup>233</sup> For Milíč the failure to adhere to a vow of poverty was therefore also a failure to uphold the foundational concepts of the church as a whole.<sup>234</sup> Moreover, Milíč considered that if the mendicants held any property after having taken a vow of poverty they were consummate sinners and oath breakers. With this sin Milíč charged that the mendicants did 'much to destroy the holy church.'<sup>235</sup>

It was unsurprising to Milíč that the mendicants would disregard *Super Cathedram*, as they were already in the habit of ignoring the vows of poverty on which their orders were founded. The preacher complained of their resultant eagerness to hear confession or give sermons even without direct license.<sup>236</sup> In doing so, Milíč claimed that they were usurping the rightful power of the faithful members of the church unto themselves. As such Milíč identified them as 'those

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<sup>231</sup> Dražic was accused by a mendicant inquisitor of simony and the support of heretics, presumably for his interest in obscure Italian philosopher and physician Richardin of Pavia who had written a book condemned by one of Prague's Franciscan inquisitors. The bishop maintained that the charges against Richardin had been orchestrated by the Augustinians and Dominicans. See, Alexander Patschovsky, *Die Anfänge einer ständigen Inquisition in Böhmen. Ein Prager Inquisitoren-Handbuch aus der ersten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin, 1975), pp. 15–18, 30–38, 80–82 no. 1, 82–89 no. 2, 185–190 no. 104; and, Zdeňka Hledíková, *Biskup Jan IV. z Dražic* (Prague 1991), pp. 78–98.

<sup>232</sup> See, Žitavský, *Chronica Aulae Regiae*, in, *FRB*, vol. IV, p. 321; Krabice, *Chronicon Ecclesiae Pragensis*, in, *FRB*, vol. IV, p. 486; and, Francis of Prague, *Chronicon Francisci Pragensis*, in, *FRB*, Series Nova, vol. 1, pp. 146–149.

<sup>233</sup> 'Quidam autem si vovent paupertatem, ut nihil habeant proprii in speciali possunt tamen habere in commune. Et in hoc fundatur omnis religio ut quidquid habent, sit eis commune, ut nemo dicat aliquid suum esse et quod nemo sit inter eos egens, sicut scribitur Actuum quarto.' Milíč, 'Omnes sancti', in, *GD*, XII.D.1, fol. 141 r.–v.

<sup>234</sup> 'Sic ecclesia sancta primitiva tempore plantabatur, ut sancti paupertatem amantes et divicias relinquentes, vite continentiam conservarent.' Milíč, 'St. Procopius', in, *A*, I.D.37, fol. 157 v.

<sup>235</sup> See note 196, p. 67.

<sup>236</sup> 'Religiosi etiam indifferenter audiunt confessiones non petita licentia vel gratia dyocesani, et hoc fere in toto mundo.' Milíč, *Libellus*, in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 62.

who penetrate houses', or the servants of the devil as warned of in 2 Timothy 2:26–3:6, much as Waldhauser had done before him.<sup>237</sup> While some in the city, and the friars themselves, may have seen the intervention of the mendicants as beneficial in the fight to provide pastoral care, Milíč believed that they were in and of themselves false teachers. As such the begging orders could only sway an unsuspecting laity further away from the Lord.<sup>238</sup> Not only could they not be looked to in the fight against the absent, but the dangers that they posed required intervention as well.

### **Lust**

The final sin that Milíč found to be prevalent among the clergy was that of lust, which included what he saw as an epidemic of the religious engaging prostitutes. He viewed the problem as rife, alleging that those involved were consummate false preachers. Those who would 'most scandalously go whoring',<sup>239</sup> he charged, cut themselves off from the body of Christ and instead became members of Antichrist.<sup>240</sup> Others, Milíč claimed, went beyond simple whore-mongering and went as far as to 'openly keep concubines in the house', and as a result were corrupted by the putrefaction of their own sinful lust.<sup>241</sup> So common

<sup>237</sup> '...et resipiscant a diaboli laqueis a quo capti tenentur ad ipsius voluntatem. Hoc autem scito quod in novissimis diebus instabunt tempora periculosa et erunt homines se ipsos amantes cupidi elati superbi blasphemi parentibus inoboedientes ingrati scelesti sine affectione sine pace criminatores incontinentes inmites sine benignitate proditores protervi tumidi voluptatum amatores magis quam Dei habentes speciem quidem pietatis virtutem autem eius abnegantes et hos devita ex his enim sunt qui penetrant domos et captivas ducunt mulierculas oneratas peccatis quae ducuntur variis desideriis...' 2 Timothy 2:26–3:6.

'...hii sunt qui penetrant domos ecclesiarum et conscientiarum, et confessiones audiunt sine indulto et examine sui dyocesani, et sic usurpando sibi temerarie potestatem sciundunt tunicam inconsutilem peiores crucifixoribus...' Milíč, 'Ad Papam Urbanum V', in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 24.

On Waldhauser and the penetration of houses, see Chapter 1, p. 38.

<sup>238</sup> While this discussion has focused on anti-mendicant sentiment, it is of course a fact that not all clergy members were opposed to the work of the friars. Ardent support for the begging orders could be found in diverse parts of Europe. See, Alexander Murray, 'Archbishops and Mendicants in Thirteenth-century Pisa', in, Kaspar Elm (ed.), *Stellung und Wirksamkeit der Bettelorden in der städtischen Gesellschaft* (Berlin, 1981), pp. 19–75.

<sup>239</sup> 'O quam plangenda miseria sacerdotum, aliorum quidem, quia in aliis luxuriam exemplo et verbo non destruunt, in aliis autem, quia et facto scandalosissime fornicantur.' Milíč, 'Audite Reges', in, X.D.5., fol. 146 v., col. 1.

<sup>240</sup> 'Fornicans enim a Christi te membris abscondis et meretricis corpus efficeris, Apostolo testante, qui ait, "Qui adheret meretrici, unum corpus efficitur". Et iterum, "Tollam", inquit, "membra Christi et faciam membra meretricis". Absit. Quid ergo tibi cum corpore Christi, qui per carnis illecebre luxuriam membrum factus est Anticristi.' Ibid., fol. 142 v., col. 1.

<sup>241</sup> 'Quidam manifeste servant concubinas in domo, quidam tonsuram non deferunt, quidam coronam sui capitis abscondunt, quidam cincinnos ex suis capillis contorquent, quidam balneantur, ut fulgeant in facie velud fucate mulieres, quidam resplendent in veste ut filie Babilonis composite, circumornate ut similitudo templi, ut sepulchra dealbata foris, intrinsecus autem plena sunt ossibus mortuorum, sic illi ab extra ornati sunt, pleni intus luxuria et fetore.' Milíč, 'Grege Perditus', in, I.E.20, fol. 188 v., col. 2.

had the practice become that the preacher claimed that religious women were given over to prostitution. He lamented that ‘virgins dedicated to God’ were being corrupted by ‘the devil ... [their] prostitutor’ and taking on lovers even in their monasteries.<sup>242</sup>

To Milíč that even religious women were giving into the sin of lust was a sign of the general depravity then in the world, and once again a sign of the imminent coming of Antichrist. These actions were of further concern because the problems created by a licentious clergy could be found at every level of the church, much in the way that usury was. These sexually profligate clergy members were destroying the church because in their sin they were introducing their lustful desire into its very fabric.<sup>243</sup> As such, the licentious clergymen were imperilling Christendom as a whole with their desires, making it less likely that the dedicated religious could fight against them. If the church itself was damaged by such wantonness, then even true men of God would have difficulty keeping their charges on the path to salvation and they would flounder without direction.

Milíč’s condemnations ring true yet again when one reads complaints from the Prague laity. Prague’s parishioners claimed time and again that the clergy members tasked with their pastoral care were morally unfit for the job. Again, Janovice’s visitation protocol attests that there were indeed serious breaches of moral conduct in Prague’s religious community, and there survive dozens of charges of priests living with concubines in the city and patronising prostitutes. In the parish of St. Adalbert under Zderaz alone, complaints were made against ten priests who are said to have concubines.<sup>244</sup> Elsewhere in the city, parish members complained that other priests, were ‘infamous’,<sup>245</sup> for fornication or that they associated with prostitutes, and even allowed them to work out of their homes.<sup>246</sup>

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<sup>242</sup> ‘Virgines etiam Deo dicatae non clauduntur ... quaedam in locis monasterii cum amatoribus coreas exercent et sine rubore suos ad cellas ducunt amatores seu potius prostitutores, et ubi Christus agnus virgineum thorum habuit inpollutum, ibi venit diabolus prostitutor in lectum, ubi necesse est, ut unus decadat, Deus aut diabolus...’ Milíč, ‘Ad Papam Urbanum V’, in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 26.

<sup>243</sup> ‘Rectores autem ecclesiarum, quibus isti commissi vel potius connexi (et) commixti sunt, aut concubinarii u symoniaci, plus destruunt quam construunt ecclesiam sanctam.’ Ibid.

<sup>244</sup> Hlaváček and Hledíková (eds.), *Protocollum*, pp. 47–49.

<sup>245</sup> ‘Item dicit, ut audivit, quod plebanus sancte Marie in Leta curia fuit et est infamatus de concubitu, aliud nescit.’ Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>246</sup> ‘Item dicit, quod circa plebanum sancti Leonhardi, dominum Procopium, solent convenire plures presbyteri cum mulieribus suspectis, ubi sua solent solacia exercere interdum et taxillos ludunt et in alea.’ Ibid., p. 77.

So pervasive was the engagement of prostitutes by clergymen in the city that when one priest was confronted about his dealings with a prostitute, he attempted to assuage the wrath of the archdeacon by insisting that he only saw her from time to time at night, and sent her away as soon as she was paid.<sup>247</sup> Meanwhile, other priests were said to allow the construction of wooden structures around their churches and in their cemeteries under which 'sexual intercourse [was] often committed.'<sup>248</sup> Clearly then there were enough priests engaging in sexual misbehaviour that even lay individuals could become concerned about their actions. For a dedicated preacher like Milíč, who was convinced of the eschatological implications of such sin, the appetite that many members of the clergy had for members of the opposite sex seemed a pressing issue.

Using the archdeaconate's visitation protocol it is therefore possible to see that many of Milíč's concerns were justified. It is unquestionably the case that in the very year of his death the city had multiple priests in concubinary relationships, patronising prostitutes, or even building structures on blessed ground in order to allow others to indulge in the sins of lust. To Milíč, then, there were many types of sinful clergy members that the faithful must work against. So powerful and numerous were the false teachers that Milíč asserted 'the beast' must have an active interest in their work, as they helped to recruit others to his army.<sup>249</sup>

Adding to the problems that the wayward clergy caused was their inability to see themselves as servants of Antichrist. This blindness, Milíč alleged, meant that 'many who seem to be Christians do more to harm the church than Pagans, making many Antichristian abominations.'<sup>250</sup> In other words, the false teachers were pernicious because they had the ability to present themselves as devoted

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'Item dicit, quod dominus Ludvicus dictus Coiata ... quod binavice fuit per iudicem Nove civitatis Pragensis nudus fugatus, quod vix ad domum suam, que est versus scholas sancti Appollinaris, evasit, in qua stolet interdum IIII<sup>or</sup>, interdum VI, interdum VIII<sup>o</sup> mulieres publicas fovere, ad quas est communis accessus hominum, de quo vicini et omnes homines transeuntes scandalisuntur.' Ibid., pp. 48–49.

<sup>247</sup> 'Item dicit, quod ipse interdum commiscetur una nocte mulieri publice et statim de mane, soluto precio, ipsam dimittit.' Ibid., p. 255.

<sup>248</sup> 'Item dicit, quod ponuntur ligna in cimiterio et circum ecclesiam, sub quibus acerbis carnales commixtiones sepius committebantur et committuntur [sic], ut audivit, et hoc ex permissione decani, ut audivit, et plebani.' Ibid., p. 53.

<sup>249</sup> 'Bestia stulta factus est et omnes qui secuntur illum, quoniam multi sunt qui laxant hoc rethe, predicando, disputando, in scriptis dando, non pro veritate sed pro sue superbie vanitate opiniones faciendo et sic capiunt non Christo, sed dyabolo et sibi animas.' Milíč, 'Dominica V p.T.', in, A, I.D.37, fol. 153 v.

<sup>250</sup> 'Periculosiora enim sunt tempora quam tunc fuerunt, cum multi qui videntur esse christiani, magis noceant ecclesie quam pagani, multas abhominaciones antichristianas facientes.' Milíč, 'Sabato in quattuor temporibus', in, GD, XIV.D.5, fol. 25 r.

Christians, all the while expounding evils cloaked in the guise of religious authority, and presenting a flawed example to their followers.<sup>251</sup> The ministrations of the false teachers, Milíč warned, were particularly insidious because they managed to turn well-meaning lay people away from the true church.<sup>252</sup> The fallen laymen in turn would come to serve Antichrist, and presage his coming. Milíč bade his audience to consider that...

...as the Apostle says, to wit, in the last times some shall depart from the faith informed by charity or simply from faith, giving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devils, speaking lies and hypocrisy.<sup>253</sup>

Therefore, to Milíč, to allow the laity to be led astray by unworthy teachers, or even to consort with them, was not only to endanger the souls of those concerned, but to harm the world as a whole. Moreover, Milíč stressed that even to interact with such sinful individuals, let alone receive instruction from them, could lead to the Lord seeing one as a hypocrite and therefore being consigned to hell on the Day of Judgment.<sup>254</sup> So worrisome did Milíč find the false teachers that he considered the fact that they were allowed to go about their work unmolested to be in and of itself a sign of the collapse of the Christian world, and the imminent coming of Antichrist.<sup>255</sup> To his way of thinking, false preachers were thus both a sign, and a cause of the advent of the final enemy.

### ***Prostitution***

It was not the problems with sinful clergy alone that Milíč's sermons sought to address, but also the prostitutes that they patronised as well. The preacher often decried what he saw as a surfeit of women working in the sex trade, or simply giving into lustful impulses, a sin which he likened to prostitution. According to

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<sup>251</sup> 'Sed horrendum est quod celestia et terrena infernalibus sociantur. Sunt enim multi qui mala parva proximis nuntiant. Alii magna mala alios docent.' Milíč, 'Omnes sancti', in, A, I.D.37, fol. 238 v.

<sup>252</sup> 'Non ducunt chorum angelicum sive oves Cristi ad dexteram ipsius in iudicio collocandas, ut cum eis audiant, "venite benedicti, percipite regnum.", sed ducunt chorum dyabolicum sive hedos ex luxuria fetentes ad sinistram, ubi cum eis audiant, "ite maledicti in ignem eternum."' Milíč, 'Sermo synodales Sacerdotes Contempserunt', in, I.E.20, 184 r., col. 2.

<sup>253</sup> '...sicut dicit Apostolus: In novissimis temporibus discedent quidam a fide videlicet informata caritate vel simpliciter a fide, attendentes spiritibus erroris et doctrinis daemoniorum in ypocrisi loquentium mendacium.' Milíč, *Libellus*, in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 66.

<sup>254</sup> 'Sed comedimus et bibimus lascivientes in die nostro ad pacem temporalem. Timeo ne veniat Dominus sicut fur et ponat partem meam cum ypocritis et destinamur carnaliter dampnabilis quam Iudei.' Milíč, 'Dominica X p.T.', in, A, I.D.37, fol. 179 v.

<sup>255</sup> 'Iam reges sine misericordia, iudices sine iusticia, iam prelati pilati, sacerdotes seductores; et ideo implebitur quod predictum est, ut dicit Paulus, "Et tunc revelabitur ille iniquus" Antichristus, quando hec predicta certissime apparebunt.' Milíč, 'Sermo de Die Novissimo Domini', in, X.A.2., fol. 66 r. col. 2– 66 v. col. 1.

the preacher the fact that these women were corrupted by lust was a sign that sexual impropriety was rife in society in general. Given the normalisation of such activity, Milíč warned his audiences that according to his interpretation of Daniel 11:37, when Antichrist arrived, he would be brought up among lustful women, or in a brothel.<sup>256</sup> Therefore, in order to ensure that Antichrist's advent was averted it was paramount that the women engaging in the practice be stopped.

By all accounts, Milíč took an active role in attempting to convert prostitutes in Prague. He delivered sermons in which he encouraged others to 'leave behind carnal love and adhere to divine charity' both for their own good and that of the Christian world as a whole.<sup>257</sup> With such sentiments Milíč stressed that it was possible to move beyond prostitution with the help of God and the faithful. This message was demonstrably very popular among Prague's prostitutes, who attended his sermons on a regular basis and seem to have experienced sincere conversions as a result.<sup>258</sup>

Milíč's works went beyond addressing the women who required reform and also condemned those whose actions pushed them into prostitution. The preacher rebuked the individuals that he claimed were trafficking prostitutes. He insisted that such men were demons and responsible for 'decorat[ing] women' and sending them out to deceive gullible men into the sin of lust.<sup>259</sup> Yet the men who were seduced into sin by these women were not the only victims of the demonic prostitutes, for Milíč identified those who trafficked them as 'oppressors of the poor'.<sup>260</sup> These oppressors made up a part of the army of Antichrist, and were responsible for creating a situation in which the destitute '[had] to commit many sins' in order to survive.<sup>261</sup> Milíč claimed that the prostitutes oppressed and ensnared their female victims very often through usury, which he claimed was common at all levels of society.

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<sup>256</sup> 'Et erit in concupiscenciis feminarum.' Ibid., fol. 66 v. col. 1.

<sup>257</sup> 'Relinquamus amorem carnalem et adhereamus caritati divine...' Milíč, 'De s. Petro', in, *GD*, XII.D.1, fol. 39 v.

<sup>258</sup> See, for example, Emler (ed.), *Vita*, in, *FRB*, vol. I, pp. 408, 432.

<sup>259</sup> 'Sic sunt maligni homines vel demones, qui mulieres ornant et mittunt vel statuunt ad decipiendos homines, ad luxuriam trahentes et super misericordiam Dei peccantes. Et ut pacem Christi recipiant sperantes, nunquam tantum peccare cessantes, donec veniat Dominus, qui in prefato capitulo talibus minatur, dicens: Veniam et pugnabo cum illis gladio oris mei. Dum in die iudicii exhibit de ore Christi gladius bis acutus. Ite videlicet maledicti animam et corpus occidens. Ve ergo homini per quem scandalum venit.' Milíč, 'Dominica III in Advent', in, *GD*, XIV.D.5, fol. 15 r.

<sup>260</sup> See note 208, p. 70.

<sup>261</sup> 'Qui ita oppressi sunt, ut cogantur multis peccatis...' Milíč, *Libellus*, in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 66.



Once again he alleged that even the clergy were involved in these sins because they perpetrated the usury which oppressed poor women, and allowed the same predatory lending practices to go on unhindered in their communities.<sup>262</sup> Such usury Milíč complained was often ‘masked in the name of rent’ meaning that he felt unscrupulous individuals demanded extortionate rates of rent from their female tenants.<sup>263</sup> The impoverished women were then forced to raise money through prostitution. The prostitution involved in such cases was thus one more example of the sins which were allowing Antichrist to come into the world. It was certain that the women involved sinned, but it was those who had forced them into the position who were more culpable for their actions.

Milíč’s preoccupation with the sin of prostitution in late fourteenth-century Prague again seems justified, as it is certain that the city was home to a substantial population of prostitutes. This fact is borne out in Mengel’s meticulous study which shows that at the time the city was home to four major centres of prostitution: the brothels Venice and Hampays in the Old Town, and Obora in the Lesser Town, which were all presumably authorised public institutions.<sup>264</sup> These brothels were all home to women who were termed *meretrices publice*, or *mulieres publice*, and made no secret of their profession. Added to these three houses was Krakow, a street in the New Town. While not an organised brothel *per se*, Krakow Street was home to disreputable women deemed *mulieres suspectas* to whom it was alleged there was ‘common access’.<sup>265</sup> In addition to these women there were a host of others working as prostitutes in various locations throughout the city, as reported to Janovice by no less than seventeen parishes.<sup>266</sup> Yet while it is obvious that Prague had many prostitutes during the

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<sup>262</sup> ‘...usurarios ita fovent, ut quidam ex eis indulserunt in suis dyoecesibus decem marcas pro una concedi usque ad restitutionem pecuniae capitalis.’ Milíč, ‘Ad Papam Urbanum V’, in, *Ibid.* 20.

<sup>263</sup> See note 207, p. 69.

Milíč’s objections to rent were also shared by numerous preachers and theologians in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, including Matthew of Kraków (1335–1410), Henry of Langenstein (1325–1397), and Johannes Nider (1380–1438). A detailed account of the debate can be found in Winfried Trusen, ‘Zum Rentenkauf im Spätmittelalter’, in, Hermann Heimpel (ed.), *Festschrift für Hermann Heimpel zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. September 1971, Bd., hrsg. von den Mitarbeitern des Max-Planck-Instituts für Geschichte* (Göttingen, 1972), pp. 140–158. For a more in-depth discussion of the opposition in Prague to rents see, František M. Bartoš, ‘Milíč’ a jeho škola v boji proti socialní metle velkoměsta’, *Jihočeský sborník historický*, 21 (1952), pp. 121–132; Mengel, *Bones, Stones, and Brothels*, pp. 145–146.

<sup>264</sup> Mengel, *Bones, Stones, and Brothels*, see especially pp. 218–243.

<sup>265</sup> On the terms *meretrices publice* and *mulieres publice*, see *Ibid.*, pp. 229–237. On *mulieres suspecta*, see *Ibid.*, pp. 238–239.

<sup>266</sup> Hlaváček and Hledíková (eds.), *Protocollum*, pp. 115–116; Mengel, *Bones, Stones, and Brothels*, pp. 228–229.

fourteenth century, it is less clear how this came about.

Then as now, it is possible that some women working as prostitutes made the choice based upon preference. In a city as large as Prague, there was no shortage of potential clients, and women so inclined could make a living through sex work without requiring the aid of others. What is more, with the aforementioned influx of new residents to the city, such women were guaranteed a growing clientele. As alleged by Milíč and argued by Klassen, however, it was far more common for women to become prostitutes not through their own inclination, but as a result of being forced into the sex trade as a result of debt.<sup>267</sup>

In the later medieval period, it was common practice for those loaning money to women in Prague to insist that unpaid debts be compensated through labour. After making such an agreement and falling into arrears, female debtors would learn that the labour in question was prostitution. Remarkably, Klassen noted one case in which an unfortunate Dorothy of Strygl found herself indebted to the madam Ann Harbatová in a contract which required her to work until her debt was repaid under pain of death.<sup>268</sup> What is more, the practice of brothels acquiring workers through loans seems to have been common enough that records from 1395 relate that just such a madam was loaned fifty groshen by a town official in order to keep her operation afloat.<sup>269</sup>

That so many women would be faced with monetary problems great enough to risk the possibility of forced prostitution is itself explained by the notable difficulties which unskilled labourers faced in the capital at that time. One major issue was the exorbitant costs of housing, discussed earlier in this chapter. Urban dwellers in the Czech lands also faced high prices for essentials such as groceries, which, in an inverse of financial considerations, were charged at higher rates for poor customers than rich.<sup>270</sup> Fuel prices were also considerable as a result of a wood shortage, which had led the emperor to introduce acts aimed at conserving the royal forests.<sup>271</sup> As wood was scarce, charcoal became the primary fuel for cooking and heating in the city, and saw a subsequent rise in

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<sup>267</sup> Klassen, *The Nobility*, p. 20; Graus, *Chudina městská*, pp. 66–67.

<sup>268</sup> Klassen, *The Nobility*, p. 20.

<sup>269</sup> Graus, *Chudina městská*, pp. 67, 106.

<sup>270</sup> Klassen, *The Nobility*, pp. 21, 23.; Graus, *Chudina městská*, pp. 86–88, 98.

<sup>271</sup> Josef Šusta, *Karel IV. za císařskou korunou*, vol. II, *České Dějiny* (Prague, 1948), p. 206.

price in line with demand.<sup>272</sup> Taking into consideration the costs of the most basic necessities of living, it is not difficult to see how an unskilled young woman in the city might find herself in debt, not through profligacy, but from the mounting costs of everyday life.

Given the multiple monetary strains that Prague's citizens faced, and the rapidity with which vulnerable women could become indebted, the fact that Prague was home to multiple thriving municipal brothels was no surprise. That so many would turn to prostitution is also understandable as during the medieval period prostitutes were a common and accepted feature of urban life. These women inhabited a nuanced position within society as the work that they engaged in was by its very nature sinful, but was also considered a necessity.<sup>273</sup> Prostitutes, it was believed, were necessary in cities. Without access to prostitutes the lust of the men living in urban areas would build up to uncontrollable levels and give rise to general turmoil. This position was reaffirmed throughout the period by church authorities ranging from Augustine of Hippo<sup>274</sup> to Thomas Aquinas.<sup>275</sup> While the work of prostitutes may have been seen as essential, it was by no means laudable. As a result, both the women and the spaces they inhabited were often relegated to the social and physical margins of cities. It was common, for example, for cities to legislate that if prostitutes were to carry on business they were to do so outside of, or near, the city walls.<sup>276</sup> Clearly then, as Milíč lamented, there was considerable strain on the poor in Prague at the time, and if the 'oppressed' turned to sin in order to alleviate their poverty, it was no surprise, if unfortunate.

It is undeniable that prostitution was considered to be an essential part of medieval urban life by theologians. Irregardless of the theological necessity of

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<sup>272</sup> Klassen, *The Nobility*, p. 23.

<sup>273</sup> See, Ruth Mazo Karras, 'Prostitution in Medieval Europe', in, Vern L. Bullough and James Arthur Brundage (eds.), *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality* (New York and London, 1996), pp. 244–247.

<sup>274</sup> 'Aufer meretrices de rebus humanis, turbaueris omnia libidinibus; constitue matronarum loco, labe ac dedecore dehonestaueris...' Augustine, *De ordine*, in, P. Knöll (ed.), *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, vol. 63 (Leipzig, 1922), p. 155.

<sup>275</sup> Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, Iia–IIae, Q.10, A.11, in, Thomae de Vio Caietani (ed.), *Opera omnia iussu impensaue Leonis XIII*, vol. VIII, *Secunda Secundae Aummae Theologiae* (Rome, 1895), p. 93.

<sup>276</sup> Records legislating that prostitutes remain outside the city walls exist, for example, for Carcassonne, Toulouse, and London. See Leah Lydia Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society: The History of an Urban Institution in Languedoc* (Chicago and London, 1985), p. 27; Reginald R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of Letter-books Preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall, Letter Book A* (London, 1899–1912), p. 218; *Letter Book D*, p. 298; *Letter Book F*, p. 241.

prostitution, the multiple complaints to the archdeacon regarding its existence in various city parishes, as well as Milíč's warnings against it, prove that there was a sizeable section of Prague's population who wished to put a stop to the practice. Because Milíč considered prostitution and its causes to be both a cause and sign of the coming of Antichrist, he was intent on converting not just the women and lenders involved in it, but the men who patronised prostitutes as well. The theoretical customers of prostitutes that Milíč disapproved of were as numerous in Prague as the women they could patronise. It is undeniable that the city's expanding population included a large number of single men attempting to take advantage of increased opportunities for employment in the new capital. As it was customary for such unattached men to patronise prostitutes in the medieval period, Milíč confronted a burgeoning population of prospective clients.

Milíč felt that those who gave in to carnal temptation were in the thrall of prostitutes. He contended that the continued interest that men held in prostitutes was tantamount to 'veneration' and he warned his audiences of the dangers in seeking out such 'proud women' to slake their lust.<sup>277</sup> In order to stem the tide of such sinful behaviour, Milíč tried to persuade those who patronised the city's prostitutes to curtail their own behaviour. He urged men to rectify their morals by 'driving from the heart' all 'idols and images of women' and 'adulterous love'.<sup>278</sup> Such change, Milíč insisted in his sermons, was both possible and necessary as society had to change its practices surrounding prostitution to ensure the survival of the world.

The preacher therefore saw Christendom as being overrun by both prostitution and lust, as shown by his consistent reference to both. He considered that the sexual sins of the world were problematic enough that they he must address them at every possible level with his sermons. The women working as prostitutes had to be turned from their pasts, assuredly, but in order to make a meaningful change in society it was also necessary to sway their actual prostitutes and customers. To Milíč the ubiquity of prostitution was an indicator of the coming of the End Times, and also one of the factors that would allow Antichrist to come

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<sup>277</sup> 'Qui sunt desolatio abominationis, et quasi ydola occupant templum et stant in loco sancto, ubi non debent, utinam et usurarios et superbas mulieres, que in opprobrium mortis Christi tamquam ydola coluntur in templo.' Milíč, 'Feria III post Dom. I in XL', in, *GD*, XIV.D.5, fol. 97 r.

<sup>278</sup> 'Sic et tu stude prius omnia ydola et mulierum ymagines et formas et omnium peccatoris cogitationes et adulterinos amores de domo cordis eicere, dum castum sponsum invitas.' Milíč, 'Feria quinta in L', in, *Ibid.*, fol. 87 r.

into the world. Given these issues, it was up to the preacher to intervene with transgressors and break their links with demonic forces in order to ensure the survival of the world.

It is thus clear that many of the most common themes in Milíč's sermons were aimed at rectifying issues in late fourteenth-century Prague. Many of the practices that Milíč considered to be sinful and leading the world to the End Times were indeed commonplace in the city. In order to rectify the situation, Milíč attempted through his sermons to reach out to specific groups of what he saw as sinners, and change their behaviour. Some of the most problematic groups that he hoped to address can be identified as wayward clergy, who were guilty of sins including neglect of their parishes, taking on concubines, providing flawed examples to their followers, or even preaching sinful teachings to the benefit of Antichrist. More specifically, the preacher also complained of members of the mendicant orders. He found the friars guilty of a range of sins, a fact rendered unsurprising by what Milíč considered to be their rejection of the vow of poverty upon which their orders were founded.

Also of concern to Milíč was any person involved with prostitution or extra marital sex. The individuals the preacher wished to intercede with ranged from the women engaging in those sins, prostitutes who had led women into that profession, and the customers who patronised them. All of these groups of individuals were very much a part of life in Prague in the later fourteenth century, as Pavel of Janovice's archdeaconate protocol attests. The dozens of prostitutes that parishioners complained of their priests patronising did not serve the clergy alone. These women also worked with laymen in the city, and indeed would have had to do so in order to support themselves. In addition, the Prague citizenry was unhappy with the situation and eager for the chance to ask Janovice to intercede. One can therefore safely assume that Prague's populace would have been pleased to see Milíč seeking to right what he thought of as the wrongs of his society some years prior.

### ***Charles and Prague***

While Milíč was labouring to correct what he saw as the moral shortcomings of the city, he was by no means the only person interested in refocusing Prague on spiritual matters. During this time, Charles IV was in the midst of what can be

argued was the greatest single undertaking of his career: the dramatic revivification of Prague. While Bohemia had long been an important city within the Holy Roman Empire, under the stewardship of Charles in the later fourteenth century it was able to flourish into a true metropolis. This was no mean feat when one considers that upon his return to Prague the castle was in a state of disrepair, and the city languishing in a provincial malaise.<sup>279</sup> While it has been noted by historians such as Crossley and Opačić that Charles's lament regarding the state of affairs in the city was most likely an exaggeration intended to further aggrandise his accomplishments, it is probable that the statement still bears some truth.<sup>280</sup> In comparison to Charles's experiences at the wealthy and cosmopolitan French court of his uncle Charles (1295–1328), and later his cousin Philip (1293–1350), the city and castle of Prague would have seemed rough. The castle had been long left unattended by Charles's father John, and had no major additions since the reign of King Ottakar II (1233–1278) in the thirteenth century.<sup>281</sup> Determined to raise the profile of the city of his birth, Charles set out to 'bind the emperorship to a fixed location', a reborn Prague.<sup>282</sup>

In order to create a fitting seat for the *monarcha mundi*,<sup>283</sup> Charles undertook not only refurbishments of the Hradčany and Vyšehrad castles, but of the city in general.<sup>284</sup> To this end, in 1346 he ordered the construction of three-and-a-half kilometers of new city walls, which would enclose an additional 360 hectares of land to be called the New Town. The new walls doubled Prague's size and made

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<sup>279</sup> 'Quod regnum invenimus ita desolatum, quod nec unum castrum invenimus liberum quod non esset obligatum cum omnibus bonis regalibus, ita quod non habebamus ubi manere, nisi in domibus civitatum sicut alter civis. Castrum vero Pragense ita desolatum, destructum, ac comminutum fuit, quod a tempore Ottogari regis totum prostratum fuit usque ad terram.' Nagy and Schaer (eds.), *Karoli IV Imperatoris*, pp. 68–70. For the castle's location, please see Map 1, p. 213.

<sup>280</sup> Crossley and Opačić, 'Prague as a New Capital', in, Fajt and Boehm (eds.), *Prague*, p. 59.

<sup>281</sup> On the castle's original buildings, see Dobroslavá Menclova, *Pražský hrad ve středověku*. *Vyd. u příležitosti výstavy Pražský hrad ve středověku, konané roku 1946* (Prague, 1946); Dobroslavá Menclova, *České Hradby*, vol. II (Žánr, 1972).

John of Luxembourg's absence from the Czech Lands during his time as ruler will be discussed at greater length in the fourth chapter of this thesis. See pp. 149–150, 153–154.

<sup>282</sup> Helmut Trnek, *The Secular and Ecclesiastical Treasuries, Illustrated Guide, Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna* (Vienna, 1991), p. 129.

<sup>283</sup> Ferdinand Seibt (ed.), *Kaiser Karl IV (1316–1378). Staatsman und Mäzen* (Munich, 1978), p. 24.

<sup>284</sup> The Hradčany was the Bohemian royal residence from the ninth century onwards. Vyšehrad was the site of the oldest castle in Prague and the legendary seat of the Přemyslid dynasty. For more on the Hradčany and its history see, Vladislav Dudák, *Pražský hrad. Hradčany* (Prague, 1998); František Hamr, *Hradčany* (Prague, 1991). For more on Vyšehrad see, Andrzej Pleszczyński, *Vyšehrad. Rezidence českých panovníků. Studie o rezidenci panovníka raného středověku na příkladu českého Vyšehradu* (Prague, 2002); Jiří Huber (ed.), *Královský Vyšehrad: sborník příspěvků k 900. výročí úmrtí prvního českého krále Vratislava II. (1061–1092)* (Prague, 1992).

it the largest city north of the Alps, overtaking Paris.<sup>285</sup> In the same year, Charles petitioned Pope Clement VI to grant a charter for the establishment of the University of Prague. Its founding granted the city a new prestige as a centre of learning, as well as of government.<sup>286</sup> In 1357 construction on the Charles Bridge began. The new bridge replaced the older Judith Bridge, which has been washed away in 1342, and provided a much needed link between the Hradčany and Lesser Town and the Old Town.<sup>287</sup> Meanwhile the New Town's extensive new market squares attracted traders who looked to sell their wares to an expanding population.

In 1367, Charles ordered that a part of his 1348 decree for the establishment of the New Town be put into action and the original Old Town wall be dismantled. The New and Old Towns, he commanded, should henceforth share a combined city council referred to as the Greater Town [Větší Město].<sup>288</sup> The impressive expansion of the city walls and ordered destruction of the Old Town wall also had an unintended consequence. The Venice brothel, which had once sat at the very outskirts of the city, abutting the southwest corner of the Old Town wall was now in the centre of the city. As a chartered municipal brothel Venice had a right to exist and was considered a necessary institution in a growing city.<sup>289</sup> Yet while it was necessary for any medieval city to have prostitutes at work, it was in no way

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<sup>285</sup> Fourteenth-century Paris, in comparison, was comprised of 438 hectares.

<sup>286</sup> For more on the University of Prague (now called Charles University, or Univerzita Karlova) see František Kavka and Josef Petrů, *Dějiny Univerzity Karlovy, 1348–1990* (Prague, 1995–1998).

<sup>287</sup> For the location of the Charles Bridge, see Map 1, p. 213. For more on the Charles Bridge and its importance in fourteenth-century Prague, see Jana Gajdošová, *The Charles Bridge: Ceremony and Propaganda in Medieval Prague*, PhD, Birkbeck, University of London, 2014.

<sup>288</sup> Despite Charles's original intent, the Old Town walls were never completely removed and in 1377 Charles abandoned his original plan to fully unite both towns. See, Krabice, *Chronicon Ecclesiae Pragensis*, in, *FRB*, vol. IV, p. 536; and Lorenc, *Nové město pražské*, p. 129; Václav Vladivoj Tomek, *Dějepis města Prahy*, vol. 2 (Prague, 1855–1901), pp. 70–71. For the locations of both towns, see Map 1, p. 213.

<sup>289</sup> Unfortunately, there are no surviving records cataloguing the municipal brothels of Prague, a misfortune which František Graus has attributed to the general poor survival rate of Prague's municipal documents in general. He posited that Prague did have a public brothel much as Brno did. (Graus, *Chudina Městská*, p. 65.) This supposition was argued earlier by Iwan Block, who asserted that Prague was home to more than one municipal brothel (Iwan Block, *Die Prostitution*, band. 1 (Berlin, 1912), p. 744) and attributed Johann Scheible's, *Die gute alte Zeit geschildert in historischen Beiträgen* (the sixth volume of *Das Kloster. Weltlich und geistlich. Meist aus den ältern deutschen Volks, Wunder, Curiositäten, und vorzugsweise komischen Literatur*, (Stuttgart, 1845-1849), p. 471) as evidence. Scheible, in turn, cites Julius Max Schottky's *Prag, wie es war und wie es ist*, (2 vols. (Prague, 1831, 1832)) as the original source of this information. The most recent argument for this supposition comes from Mengel in his *Bones, Stones, and Brothels*, based upon a linguistic breakdown of the uses of the terms *mulieres publices* and *postibulum* and their use in prostitution accusations in Prague. Mengel argues that the language used to refer to the Venice, Hampays, and Obora brothels and their workers indicates that they were all chartered and municipal (pp. 232–235). This study accepts Mengel's findings as correct.

considered appropriate to have them do so in a town's heart. Little wonder then that in 1372 Charles became involved in Milíč's Jerusalem project, which removed the embarrassment caused by Venice.

Throughout this period, the Prague population in general was on the rise. The amount of traders in particular climbed, as they came to do business with the wealthy members of Prague's resident court. The court had become a stable presence in the city after years of absenteeism under John of Luxembourg, with the nobles in residence in either Prague or Bohemia for as much as a third of Charles's reign. There was therefore ample time for the industrious merchant to solicit the patronage of the powerful.<sup>290</sup> In addition to adding to the commercial opportunities in Prague, the court of Charles and the newly installed imperial chancery also contributed to the city's political status, ensuring that the capital was seen as the true administrative centre of the Empire. In a few short years, Charles had thus re-established a run-down local capital and transformed it into a true centre of Empire and a powerhouse of trade, learning, and sophistication.

Members of the clergy, including Milíč, were also a part of the demographic growth of Prague. The sweeping changes that Charles oversaw in the city were remarkable not only for their scale and pervasiveness but for what historians have long acknowledged as their overt religious tone.<sup>291</sup> Charles intended to create the city as a new religious centre, a goal which manifested itself in many ways throughout Prague's reconstruction. The intention was evident even from the planning stages, when Charles had organised the expansion of the city based upon maps of Jerusalem.<sup>292</sup> When the new city walls were in place, the cottages and farms in the former rural district were razed in order to bestow an urban character on the New Town. Notwithstanding these major changes, Charles was

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<sup>290</sup> Peter Moraw, 'Zur Mittelpunktfunktion Prags in Zeitalter Karls IV', in, Klaus-Detlev Grothusen and Klaus Zernack (eds.), *Europa Slavica - Europa Orientalis: Festschrift für Herbert Ludat zum 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin, 1980), p. 455.

<sup>291</sup> The religious nature of Charles's work in Prague has been discussed at length in numerous works. Excellent discussions of the specifics of these topographical changes can be found in Mengel, *Bones, Stone and Brothels*; Crossley and Opačić, 'Prague as a New Capital', in, Fajt and Boehm (eds.), *Prague*, pp. 59–73; Zoë Opačić, 'The Sacred Topography of Medieval Prague', in, Sæbjørg Walaker Nordeide and Stefan Brink (eds.), *Sacred Sites and Holy Places; Exploring the Sacralization of Landscape through Time and Space* (Turnhout, 2013), pp. 252–281; and Michal Flegl, 'Historismus Karla IV. Myšlenka 'Nového Jeruzaléma' a poměr k tradici', *Křesťanská revue*, 45 (1978), pp. 113–119.

<sup>292</sup> On Charles's use of Jerusalem maps during Prague's planning see, Vilém Lorenc, *Das Prag Karls IV. Die Prager Neustadt* (Prague and Stuttgart, 1971, 1982), p. 49; Rudolf Chadraba, 'Profetický historismus Karla IV, a přemyslovská tradice', in, Václav Vaněček (ed.), *Karolus Quartus. Pia memoriae fundatoris sui Universitas Carolina* (Prague, 1984), p. 424.



sure to maintain all churches and monasteries in the area, drawing them into the city's religious topography.<sup>293</sup> Even with the inclusion of the multiple extant churches and religious houses, when attempting to create a new religious centre the emperor felt that the New Town required yet more religious institutions. In order to enhance the district, Charles founded nine more there at his own expense. The emperor sought out any religious orders not already active in the city to ensure that Prague enjoyed a full compliment of religious houses. Much to what must have been Milíč's chagrin, these foundations included a total of five mendicant orders, three of which were Augustinian.<sup>294</sup>

Of particular interest was Charles's invitation to a group of Benedictine monks from Dalmatia to establish the Emmaus monastery in the New Town. Emmaus was dedicated to the saints Cyril and Methodius and was granted the privilege of using the Slavonic rite in its services. As Petr and Šabouk and Opačić have argued, this foundation in particular was replete with symbolism as it made an explicit link between Prague and Slavonic religious heritage.<sup>295</sup> The foundation of the monastery had several beneficial outcomes for the city. It helped to establish Prague as a unique place of devotion within the Slavonic lands, raised the profile of Slavonic languages in general in Christendom, and with its unusual right strengthened the reputation of the city as a place of particular religious devotion, possessed as it was of such an array of unique religious institutions. In short, the Emmaus monastery is specific evidence of Charles's focused determination to enhance the religious reputation of Prague through a systematic programme of monastic foundation in the city.

Outside the New Town, at the Hradčany, Charles IV was also in the process of funding the rebuilding of the Prague cathedral in a grand French-influenced gothic style. During its new construction, the cathedral became one of the most

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<sup>293</sup> Six churches and monasteries were brought into the city as a result of the expansion of the walls: the church of Saint Peter, the church of St. Michael, the church of St. Stephen, the chapel of Corpus Christi, the church of Our Lady, and the church of Sts. Peter and Paul in Vyšehrad.

<sup>294</sup> The nine churches that Charles founded were: the Benedictine monastery of St. Ambrose, the church of Sts. Henry and Cunigunde, the Carmelite church of Our Lady of the Snows, the Slavonic-rite Benedictine Emmaus Monastery, the Augustinian nuns' church of St. Catherine, the Augustinian church of St. Apollinaris, the Augustinian monastery of Our Lady and St. Charlemagne, and the Servite church of Our Lady on the Lawn.

<sup>295</sup> On Emmaus, see Jan Petr and Sáva Šabouk (eds.), *Z tradic slovanské kultury v Cechách. Sázava a Emmauzy v dějinách české kultury* (Prague, 1975); Zoë Opačić, *Charles IV and the Emmaus Monastery: Slavonic Tradition and Imperial Ideology in 14<sup>th</sup> Century Prague*, PhD, Courtauld Institute of Art, 2003.

inventive examples of continental Rayonnant architecture ever seen.<sup>296</sup> Extensive renovations were also carried out on the Romanesque chapels of the Bohemian saints Vitus, Adalbert, and Wenceslas inside the cathedral. As Crossley and Opačić have noted, these physical changes were meant not only to glorify the religious tradition of the capital of Bohemia, but also to celebrate the new status of Prague as the seat of an archbishop. In 1344 Charles had successfully petitioned to raise the see of Prague to an archbishopric, removed from the control of the Mainz archdiocese. The new building works helped to underscore the fact that Prague was now a location of import within the church.<sup>297</sup>

It is clear from the careful attention that Charles paid to the planning of Prague that he wished the city to be seen not only as a centre of government, but of religion as well. He played an extensive role in all stages of Prague's renovation, as well as in the creation and alterations of churches and religious houses in the city. In doing so, he ensured that all the physical alterations to be made either expanded, or further embellished, the religious topography of the city. While the physical signs of this intent can be seen in the new churches and religious houses he endowed, it is also manifest in his use of maps of Jerusalem as planning aids, which lent even the secular areas of the city a religious tone. These did much to recommend the emperor to an impassioned reformer such as Milíč, for they proved that Charles was just as interested in glorifying God as the preacher was.

Doubtless Milíč was further impressed that Charles used his wealth and prestige to make changes to the religious landscape of Prague. These changes alone, however, could not create the spiritual utopia which the emperor envisioned. In order to further sacralise Prague's new churches and cathedral, as well as a number of extant churches throughout Prague, Charles made a concentrated effort to collect and distribute new relics to them.<sup>298</sup> According to Charles, he had been inspired by divine will both to collect the relics in question, and to use them

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<sup>296</sup> On the architecture of the Prague cathedral see, Crossley and Opačić, 'Prague as a New Capital', in, Fajt and Boehm (eds.), *Prague*, pp. 67–68.

<sup>297</sup> See, *Ibid.*, p. 62.

<sup>298</sup> '...dominus Karolis...in diversis ecclesiis katedralibus, regularibus, monasteriis et aliis piis locis in partibus Gallie et Alemanie obtinuit multorum sanctorum diversas reliquias, et septem corpora sanctorum, et capita atque brachia sanctorum multa valde, et illas ornavit auro, argento et gemmis preciosis, ultra quam exprimi potest, et donavit ecclesie Pragensi.' Krabice, *Chronicon Ecclesiae Pragensis*, in, *FRB*, vol. IV, p. 522. On Charles's efforts collecting and redistributing relics, see Karel Stjksal, 'Karel jako sběratel', in, Vaněček (ed.), *Karolus Quartus*, p. 46; Karel Neubert and Karel Stjksal, *Umění na dvoře Karla IV. Dějiny umění* (Prague, 2003), pp. 98–100.

for 'the comforting of the entire realm and the Kingdom of Bohemia and the salvation of our subjects'.<sup>299</sup> It was by this divine fervour and 'the zeal of devotion and love with which [he was] consumed for the holy [C]hurch of Prague' that drove him 'in [his] royal benevolence...to adorn the church.'<sup>300</sup> This drive led to the creation of the largest and most rare collections of relics in any European city outside Rome. In all, the relics totalled some four hundred and fifty pieces according to a seventeenth-century survey by the cathedral, over sixty percent of which had been collected by Charles himself.<sup>301</sup>

As Mengel has noted, along with the gifts of relics Charles also gave instructions to each of the recipient religious houses, setting out how the sacred treasures ought to be maintained and venerated.<sup>302</sup> When new relics were sent to a church in Prague, it was expected that they would be welcomed in a grand procession through the city. Afterwards, they were to be presented to the archbishop and any other attendant spiritual dignitaries. It was Charles himself who more often than not dictated the specifics of such occasions, depending on the relic being received.<sup>303</sup> It was typical for the king to stipulate that the arrival of the relics be announced in all of Prague's churches, so as to ensure large crowds to witness their arrival.<sup>304</sup> In so doing, Charles helped to spread the cult of the saints whose relics were being received in the city, establish them as part of the Bohemian religious community, and encourage pilgrims to view them.

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<sup>299</sup> 'Susceptas igitur modo supradicto Venerandas Reliquias, animo deliberato, et sicut haec Divini numinis inspiratione recepimus, ad consolationem totius Regni et Coronae Boëmiae, in Salutem subjecti nobis populi, Sanctae Matri nostrae Pragensis Ecclesiae, velut aliarum Capiti et Magistrae, dignum duximus liberaliter erogandas.' Tomáš Jan Pešina z Čechorodu, *Phosphorus septicornis, stella alias matutina* (Prague, 1673), pp. 436–437.

<sup>300</sup> 'Zelus devotionis et amoris, quo circa sanctam Pragensem ecclesiam, venerandam matrem nostrum, et beatissimos martyres Vitum, Wencezlaum et Adelbertum, gloriosos patronos nostros incessanter afficimur animum nostrum sollicitat, ut dum de sacrarum reliquiarum thesauris per loca sacri imperii egregium aliquid et insigne clenodium devotorum nostrorum largitone consequamur, per illud eandem ecclesiam benignitate regia decoremus.' Antonín Podlaha and Eduard Šittler, *Chrámový poklad u. sv. Víta v Praze. Jeho Dějiny a Popis* (Prague, 1903), p. 36 no. 3. English translation follows that of David Mengel in, 'A Holy and Faithful Fellowship: Royal Saints in Fourteenth-century Prague', in, Eva Doležalová, Robert Novotný, and Pavel Soukup (eds.), *Evropa a Čechy na konci středověku. Sborník příspěvků věnovaných Františku Šmahelovi* (Prague, 2004), p. 148.

<sup>301</sup> Tomáš Jan Pešina z Čechorodu, 'SS. Reliquiarum, quae in S. Metrop. Prag. D. Viti Ecclesia pie asservantur, Diarium', in, Antonín Podlaha (ed.), *Catalogi ss. reliquiarum quae in sacra metropolitana ecclesia Pragensi asservantur, Editiones archivii et bibliothecae s. f. metropolitanae capituli pragensis*, vol. 24 (Prague, 1931), pp. 43–75.

<sup>302</sup> Mengel, *Bones, Stones, and Brothels*, pp. 299–300.

<sup>303</sup> See, for example, Charles's dictates on the reception of St. Vitus's relics, in Podlaha and Šittler, *Chrámový poklad*, p. 44 no. 3; Böhmer (ed.), *Regesta Imperii VIII*, ed. Huber, (Reprint, Hildesheim, 1968), p. 159 no. 1974.

Similar instructions were given for the reception of a folia from the original Gospel of St. Mark. See, Podlaha and Šittler, *Chrámový poklad*, p. 39 no. 3; Böhmer, *Die Regesten*, p. 155 no. 1938.

<sup>304</sup> Podlaha and Šittler, *Chrámový poklad*, p. 44 no. 3; Böhmer, *Die Regesten*, p. 159, no. 1974.

Because of these requirements it is feasible that Milíč himself took part in the announcement of new relics in the city. He may have even been present when they were presented to the archbishop while he was still a part of the imperial chancery and a cathedral canon. His position as canon of the tomb of St. Wenceslas meant that he was high enough in the ranks of the cathedral that his presence may have been required at such an activity. As such there can be no doubt that he was highly aware of the emperor's efforts to contribute to the religious character of the city.

The largest feat of this kind was Charles's establishment of the Feast of the Holy Lance and Nail in Prague. The feast was created to celebrate the so-called Imperial Relics, including the lance of Longinus, which had pierced Christ's side at the crucifixion, and Charlemagne's symbols of imperial office. The relics were first displayed on Easter, 21 March 1350, soon after Charles had acquired them from Munich. In accordance with Charles's commands, they were paraded through the city from Vyšehrad to the New Town, where it has been suggested that they were then put on view in Charles Square.<sup>305</sup> Their exhibition then became an annual affair, the office of which may have been created by Charles himself.<sup>306</sup>

In 1355, Charles petitioned the pope to designate the celebration as an official feast day, with an attendant three-and-a-half-year indulgence granted to those who saw the relics on that day. He also requested another one-hundred-day indulgence for anyone who saw mass and heard the canonical hours in the presence of the emperor and his imperial successor on that same day.<sup>307</sup> Clement VI acquiesced and fixed the date on the Friday after the octave of Easter Sunday.<sup>308</sup> The feast was to be a specific imperial occasion, with the indulgence granted only to those who lived within the Holy Roman Empire. Further to this, the additional hundred days of indulgence were only available to those who

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<sup>305</sup> Crossley and Opačić, 'Prague as a New Capital', in, Duke and Fajt (ed.), *Prague*, p. 65.

<sup>306</sup> See, Opačić, *Charles IV and the Emmaus Monastery*; H.L. Adelson, 'The Holy Lance and the Hereditary German Monarchy', *Art Bulletin*, 48 (1966), pp. 177–192; Albert Bühler, 'Die Heilige Lanze. Ein Ikonographischer Beitrag zur Geschichte der Deutschen Reichskleinodien', *Das Münster*, 16 (1963), pp. 85–116.

<sup>307</sup> Klicman (ed.), *Monumenta Vaticana*, vol. II, p. 89 no. 209.

<sup>308</sup> Krabice, *Chronicon Ecclesiae Pragensis*, in, *FRB*, vol. IV, p. 519.

presented themselves to both the emperor and his imperial, not his Bohemian, successor.<sup>309</sup>

Although it was stipulated that the original feast would concentrate only on the lance and nail from Christ's crucifixion and Charlemagne's imperial relics, the celebration was later expanded to include the display of Prague's other sacred treasures.<sup>310</sup> By the time that Milíč was present in the city, three years after the initial indulgence was granted, pilgrims were presented with the relics of the local Bohemian saints alongside the imperial relics. In addition visitors could view the tablecloth from the Last Supper, and some of the Blessed Virgin's clothing. In this way, what had originated a feast day of imperial importance alone was changed into both an imperial and Bohemian celebration. The feast thereby allowed Prague to display its many relics, further present itself as the centre of the Holy Roman Empire, and establish its own concomitant sacred nature. This attempt to establish Prague as a centre for pilgrimage within the Empire was a grand success. Beneš Krabice of Weitmil attested that the feast day drew 'such a multitude of people from all parts of the world that no one would believe it unless he had seen it with his own eyes.'<sup>311</sup>

As successful as the feast then was, Charles pushed still further to expand celebrations and draw pilgrims to Prague. In 1354 he also petitioned the pope for a special 'year of indulgences' to coincide with the display of his newest relic, a piece of the Virgin's veil.<sup>312</sup> While, as Mengel has noted, it was most likely the pope's intention that a single year of indulgence be granted in conjunction with the display of the relic, instead every seven years a special jubilee was proclaimed.<sup>313</sup> Those pilgrims who came to view the veil would receive an additional indulgence of three years and three quarantines.<sup>314</sup> While the jubilee

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<sup>309</sup> Klicman (ed.), *Monumenta Vaticana*, vol. II, p. 89 no. 210.

<sup>310</sup> Podlaha and Šittler, *Chrámový poklad*, pp. 56–58.

<sup>311</sup> 'Et revera hiis temporibus, quando huiusmodi insignia in dicta solempnitate ostendebantur, conveniebat Pragam de omnibus mundi partibus tanta multitudo hominum, quod nullus crederet, nisi qui oculis suis videret. Propter hunc maximum concursum factum est et positum secundum annuale forum eo tempore in Nova civitate Pragensi.' Krabice, *Chronicon Ecclesiae Pragensis*, in, *FRB*, vol. IV, p. 519.

<sup>312</sup> 'Eodem anno in festo Assumptionis beate Virginis incepit annus gratie sive indulgenciarum in ecclesia Pragensi.' *Ibid.*, p. 538.

<sup>313</sup> Mengel, *Bones, Stones, and Brothels*, pp. 318–319.

<sup>314</sup> A standard quarantine lasted for forty days, and corresponded to an early church practice of ecclesiastical penance which lasted for the same length of time. The indulgence of three quarantines in this instance thus implied 'the remission of as much temporal punishment as would be blotted out by the corresponding amount of ecclesiastical penance.' Anthony Maas, 'Quarantines', *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 12 (New York, 1911), at

year of indulgences presumably began at the same time as it was affirmed, the first record of it comes from 1369, when Milíč was entering one of the most influential periods of his preaching practice.<sup>315</sup> The preacher was no doubt gratified to see the influx of pilgrims to Prague in Charles Square, then the largest town square in Europe, which Krabice noted 'seemed full of people from everywhere.'<sup>316</sup> Charles was thus adept not only at attracting pilgrims in the first instance, but also at encouraging yet more to come and see the new holy city of Prague year upon year. These pilgrims affirmed the fact that Charles IV had created a feast day capable of attracting visitors from across Christendom to celebrate Prague's relics and saints. These travellers then returned home with stories of the glorious new capital of the Holy Roman Empire, and perhaps with a newly kindled interest in the cults of the Bohemian saints, whose relics they had viewed in the celebration.<sup>317</sup>

Following the success of the feast of the Holy Lance and Nail, Charles also established two further feast days in 1367: the *Recollectio ossium*, to be celebrated on 27 June, and the *Dedicatio capele sancti Wenceslai*, which would fall on 10 September.<sup>318</sup> As the names indicate, both feasts had direct links to the works that Charles had undertaken to enhance the religious reputation of the city and spread the cult of the local saints. The first feast day was dedicated to the commemoration of the relics that Charles had collected in the city, while the second was intended to commemorate the dedication of the lavish new Wenceslaus chapel in the Prague cathedral. The *Recollectio ossium* is of note to this discussion because of its blanket commemoration of all of the holy relics in the city. Any relic within the town could be celebrated on that day, meaning that those celebrating the feast day had dozens of objects on which to focus their devotion during the celebration. The feast thus served to remind others of the

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<<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/12593a.htm>>. Accessed 22 June 2014. On the indulgences granted to pilgrims to Prague, see Klicman (ed.), *Monumenta Vaticana*, vol. II, p. 108 no. 259.

<sup>315</sup> Podlaha and Šittler, *Chrámový poklad*, p. 58 no. 2; Tomek, *Dějepis města Prahy*, vol. II, p. 60.

<sup>316</sup> 'Eodem anno in festo Ostensionis reliquiarum tantus fuit concursus hominum de alienis partibus, ut illa placza magna in Nova civitate prope Zderazium videretur undique repleta hominibus. Talem populum in unum congregatum nullus unquam vidit hominum, ut communiter referebatur ab omnibus.' Krabice, *Chronicon Ecclesiae Pragensis*, in, *FRB*, vol. IV, p. 539.

<sup>317</sup> Charles IV's promotion of the cult of the Bohemian saints will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapter of this thesis.

<sup>318</sup> Dobroslav Orel, 'Hudební prvky svatováclavské', in, Karel Guth, Jan Kapras, Antonín Novák, and Karel Stloukal (eds.), *Svatováclavské sborník. Na památku 1000. výročí smrti knížete Václava Svatého*, vol. II (Prague, 1937), p. 311; Franz Machilek, 'Privatfrömmigkeit und Staatsfrömmigkeit,' in, Seibt (ed.), *Kaiser Karl IV.*, p. 91; Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 329.

sheer number of relics that Charles had managed to house in the city, and Prague's attendant status as a city of religious notoriety.

The establishment of the *Dedicatio capele sancti Wenceslai* feast day is likewise of interest, commemorating as it did the renovated chapel of Bohemia's patron saint. The chapel had been commissioned in 1358, was under Milíč's charge during his time as canon in 1362, and was completed in 1366. It was dedicated in 1367 by Archbishop Jan Očko in a ceremony which the emperor attended. The foundation of a feast day for the dedication of a chapel is of note because it helped to draw attention to the lavish new religious space of the chapel. The celebration implied that the chapel in and of itself was worthy of a religious celebration above and beyond the celebration of St. Wenceslas himself. The feast day thus not only added to the cult of St. Wenceslas, but the idea of Prague as a city of unsurpassed religious devotion. Both of these holidays are therefore excellent examples of Charles's desire and ability to sacralise the city and establish it as an urban centre of particular religious significance.

It is certain that there was a sincere devotion on the part of Charles IV behind all of this activity as he worked to attract individuals from all parts of the Empire to his city. Once there the visitors viewed grand gothic religious edifices and recognised the relics of Bohemian saints alongside the imperial relics. These efforts are a strong indication of Charles's desire to establish Prague as the spiritual hub of the Holy Roman Empire. Whether it took indulgences or relics to draw imperial citizens to the new capital, Charles was more than willing to spend money or petition the pope if need be. Yet while his efforts were laudable, and effective to a certain degree, it is undeniable that in the midst of this supposed holy utopia there were serious issues with spiritual neglect and a populace driven to sinful extremes to survive. The juxtaposition between the intended spiritual haven of the city and life within it would necessitate more than just the emperor's own efforts.

### ***Milíč and the Sacralisation of Prague***

Despite his best efforts, Charles's Prague was not the religious ideal which he hoped to portray it as. This fact was clear to Milíč as he investigated the shortcomings of the local clergy and sought to minister to the neglected. In turn, Charles was sure to realise that although he had created grand religious edifices

and celebrations, the populace of the city was not as focused on spiritual matters as his works suggested. When one considers the overt religious tone that Charles was hoping to impart, and the contrasting issues of life within Prague, one can begin to understand why the emperor was interested in keeping an outspoken reformer like Milíč at work in the city. Given the prevalence of sinful activity in Prague, it is obvious that for the city to be seen as sacred, these issues first had to be addressed.

Only through intervention and the expiation of sinful activity could the city be recharacterised as religious. This was very much possible, in that the sacralisation of place in the medieval period can be understood as an on-going process. In order to affirm a place as sacred in a definitive way, then as now, it must also be the site of continuous religious activity. Religious spaces had to be as free from sinful behaviour as possible, and it was this that Milíč was able to aid in.<sup>319</sup> While the preacher may have attracted the ire of some members of the religious population of the city, his work helped to address the issues at hand.

The most obvious way in which Milíč's works benefited the goals of the court in Prague was through addressing the subjects of his sermons. Milíč's preoccupation with sinful and absent members of the clergy was welcome to Charles as the emperor sought to prove the religious exceptionality of a city being served by a flawed clergy. The preacher's sermons aided in this by serving two separate functions: firstly they alerted others to the problems of a reprobate, absent clergy, and the dangers which they posed in general; secondly, they warned those clergy members that may have fallen prey to the sins in question to turn away from Antichrist and return to the Lord. Milíč's sermon collections *Abortivus* and *Gratia Dei* employed both tactics. They were aimed at individuals morally forthright enough to share Milíč's vision. These individuals would use his model sermons to fight against the army of Antichrist, and warn others of its dangers. In order to ensure that they were able to fight the Man of Sin, Milíč urged his audience to undergo a constant process of self-evaluation. He believed that these preachers should consider how they were living their lives

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<sup>319</sup> For more on action and the sacralisation and meaning of space, see Louis I. Hamilton, *A Sacred City* (Manchester, 2010); Anthony Giddens, 'Preface', in Benno Werlen, *Society, Action and Space: An Alternative Human Geography* (London, 1993), p. xv; and Werlen, *Society, Action and Space*, especially pp. 3–7; Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, eds. G. Rother and C. Wittich, trans. E. Fischhoff, *et al.*, vol. 1 (New York, 1968), pp. 26–28; and Spiro Kostof, *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings through History* (London, 2001).



and if they were engaging in sinful practices. As the preacher termed it, they should ask themselves whether they were citizens of Jerusalem, or of Babylon.<sup>320</sup> Through such analysis, Milíč insisted, even false teachers could be put back on the right path and his sermons aimed to help them do so.

That members of the clergy were taking Milíč's admonitions to heart, and that this fact was of use to Charles and the court, is shown in his multiple invitations to deliver these same messages at the Prague Synod. Milíč, with his inclination for castigating other members of the cloth, and his emphasis on reform, was an obvious choice for the archbishop's synodal sermons. In this capacity Milíč's scathing eschatological sermons could be used to reprimand wayward members of the local church on behalf of Očko. Of added benefit was the fact that the cathedral ensured that the desired message was delivered by Milíč without bringing the archbishop into conflict with the city's other clergy members.

Milíč's synodal sermons extended his call for introspection on the part of the clergy. He took these opportunities to preach in front of the assembled clergy of the archdiocese to reach out to the 'false teachers' among them and make them aware of their shortcomings. This was imperative, for as Milíč himself acknowledged, it was possible that they were unaware of their status as servants of Antichrist. Indeed, to Milíč, synods were the most effective way in which to connect with parties who had turned from the Lord. He shared this belief in his letter to Pope Urban V, where he complained that a refusal to attend synods and receive instruction was one of the ways that a sinful clergy were allowing the coming of Antichrist.<sup>321</sup> So convinced was he of the efficacy of this approach that he also petitioned the pontiff to use the same strategy to stave off the coming of the final enemy. The preacher requested that the pope hold a general council, heedless of the potential political danger of alienating Avignon in doing so.<sup>322</sup> It is thus clear that Milíč took these invitations very seriously, and truly believed they were one of his best possible chances to reach out to those swayed by Antichrist.

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<sup>320</sup> 'Et si se invenerit civem Babilonie, extirpet cupiditatem, plantet caritatem; si autem se invenerit civem Jherusalem, tolleret captivitatem, speret libertatem.' Milíč, 'Omnes sancti', in, A, I.D.37, fol. 239 r.

<sup>321</sup> 'Ideo Tu visita illos in salutari Tuo! Synodum autem, concilium pauci rarissime, et quidam nunquam celebrant...' Milíč, 'Ad Papam Urbanum V', in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 20.

<sup>322</sup> '...invoca eam, et exiet edictum ab ipsa, ut sub ejus defensione et pace describatur universus orbis, quod aliter fieri non potest, nisi per concilium generale...' Ibid., p. 30.

Of course, the Prague cathedral may not have stood in whole-hearted agreement with Milíč on the dangers of simony and the End of Days. Irregardless of the potential disagreements regarding Antichrist application, when the cathedral wished to intervene with wayward clergy, or put forward a message of reform, it is clear that they knew whom to contact. Indeed, the repeated use made of Milíč for just this purpose is indicative of the fact that Archbishop Očko was pleased with the work the preacher presented at the synods. While it is safe to surmise that the archbishop and the preacher had a friendship prior to the beginning of Milíč's preaching career, it can also be seen that their relationship evolved apace with their careers. While Milíč no longer needed the archbishop to advance his notoriety in the chancery, he was able to avail himself of Jan Očko's help when legal problems arose during his preaching career. Očko in turn had an interest in cultivating a relationship with a dedicated reformer for the moments when a corrective message was required. The archbishop was clearly happy to ensure that Milíč was kept out of trouble to ensure his complicity and involvement with the synods.

Yet there was always the chance that Milíč's remonstrations would fall upon deaf ears. If degenerate clergy were unable to take Milíč's advice, identify their mistakes, and rededicate themselves to a life of piety, then other preachers must put an end to their ministrations. Milíč insisted that preachers armed with the gospel must contest the false teachers for the souls of the faithful. He insisted that 'the Lord put the reapers, that is true preachers, in the field of the church to collect the weeds of untruth, or heretics, Pharisees, and false pseudo-apostles'.<sup>323</sup> In Milíč's mind, the conflict between true and false preachers was very much a battle. The preacher employed militaristic imagery to discuss this struggle on multiple occasions. Milíč stated that it was...

...preachers who for the sacred word negotiate and buy souls. For this purpose they take up the sword to separate the good from the body of the devil and evil out of friendship.<sup>324</sup>

In other words, Milíč knew that to combat the sinful clergy he had to preach.

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<sup>323</sup> 'Ideo posuit Dominus messorum, id est veritatis predicatorum, ad colligendum zizania falsitatis, ut hereticorum, phariseorum, ypocritarum et pseudoapostolorum fascem de agro ecclesie removerunt...' Milíč, 'Sermo synodales Sacerdotes Contempserunt', in, I.E.20, 181 v., col. 2.

<sup>324</sup> 'Ecce predicatorum qui pro verbis sacris negociantur et emunt animas. Ad hoc accipiunt gladium ut dividant a corpore dyaboli bonos a malis ex amicitia...' Milíč, 'St. Vitus', in, *GD*, XII.D.1, fol. 30 v.

Accordingly, Milíč took it upon himself to preach as much as was possible. The sermons of one man alone, however, would not be able to undo all the harm done by the myriad of sinful clergy members in Prague. As such Milíč had to inspire others to take up the same crusade. In both of Milíč's sermon collections he spoke to his audience on the importance of preaching, and exhorted them to use the significant opportunity that they all shared to save others. He stated in an unequivocal manner that...

... [e]very preacher is required not in his name but in the name of Jesus Christ to press on, that is to pull men from the waves of the sea, that is from the world, to the shore of the everlasting Fatherland.<sup>325</sup>

Milíč felt that when preachers were at work, God himself acted through them to correct the mistakes of His people. In this way, 'like a father corrects his son with a switch lest he let his inheritance go to ruin, so God does through preaching.'<sup>326</sup> Therefore to inspire a number of morally correct preachers to take up arms against 'the army of the devil' was to help them channel the word of God Himself against the scourge of false teachers.<sup>327</sup>

Milíč, however, was not content to reach only those preachers who came into contact with his own sermons. Instead, he insisted that preachers must...

...be inspired by our bond, let one provoke the other into going to sermons, so that even if the priests do not want to preach, still you will stir their will. From a small spark a great fire is born, and from a small preaching a great fire of divine love in many people is kindled.<sup>328</sup>

Because only devoted forthright preachers could combat the ministrations of the perverted clergy, preaching was to Milíč both a sacred duty and a moral obligation. To him, to be a preacher was more than just to deliver sermons; it was also to be an active participant in a community of preachers and work together to fight for the Lord. In this way he could be assured that even if Prague was overrun with false teachers, they would not go unchallenged. These

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<sup>325</sup> 'Omnis predicator non in suo sed in Christi Jhesu nomine debet instare, id est homines de fluctibus maris, id est mundi, trahere ad littus patrie sempiternae.' Milíč, 'Dominica V post Trinitatus', in, A, I.D.37, fol. 153 r.

<sup>326</sup> 'Sicud pater filium virga corrigit, ne ille hereditatem perdat, sic Deus facit per verbum predicationis.' Milíč, 'X post Trinitatus', in, Ibid., fol. 177 r.

<sup>327</sup> 'Ita predicator videns arma dyaboli in hominibus bestialibus, debet gladio verbi Dei in eos irruere et a dextris prosperitatis et a sinistris adversitatis prosternere.' Milíč, 'Dominica I in XL', in, GD, XIV.D.5, fol. 92 r.–v.

<sup>328</sup> 'Ut ergo et nos mutuo accendamus, unus alium provocet ad sermonem ambulare, ut etiam si sacerdotes nolint predicare, tamen et vos excitetis eorum voluntatem. Ex parva enim scintilla magnus ignis nascitur, et ex parva predicatione magnus ignis divini amoris in multo populo accenditur.' Milíč, 'Omnes sancti', in, Ibid., fol. 140 v.

invocations once again served Charles's ends. If Milíč were able to inspire a multitude of preachers to go out and confront the shortcomings of the clergy, then it was in the best interests of the court to allow him to do so and give him a platform from which to do it. The utility that the court could find in Milíč explains the invitations to the synod and the years of favourable treatment that the preacher received.

Yet, it was not through the subjects presented in Milíč's sermons alone that he addressed the issues of the city, but in the very act of presenting them. Taking his own advice, it was Milíč's custom to preach at least twice a day in any number of the city's parish churches.<sup>329</sup> While twice daily sermons were his minimum, he often preached up to four times a day, and on one occasion stretched himself to up to five sermons in a day.<sup>330</sup> The constant hurried pace at which Milíč preached in Prague is indicative of his commitment to addressing one of the sins which he found false teachers guilty of: the lack of provision of adequate pastoral care. His movements throughout the city show that he was committed to engaging with as many audiences as possible. It is clear that his intent was to reach out to those who otherwise would not hear a daily sermon.

The varied churches that he preached in are also indicative of his dedication to providing all of Prague's citizens with pastoral care, regardless of their native tongue. His preaching crossed linguistic barriers in the city, as the Týn church where Milíč preached in the Old Town was located in what Mezník has identified as a majority German speaking congregation, and St. Giles, where he also worked, was located near an area of Czech speakers.<sup>331</sup> In addition, he addressed the community of nuns at St. George in the Hradčany in Latin. This determination to serve all of Prague's religious communities is also attested to in his later biography, the *Vita venerabilis presbyteri Milicii*. The life admits that the preacher's grasp of the German language was quite tenuous at the outset, an indication of his willingness to learn and even put himself up for ridicule in order

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<sup>329</sup> Milíč was known to preach on a regular basis at St. Giles and The Holy Virgin in Front of Týn, as well as in the chapel of his community Jerusalem (which will be discussed in some depth below) in the Old Town, St. Nicholas in the Lesser Town, and St. George in the Hradčany.

<sup>330</sup> Emler (ed.), *Vita*, in *FRB*, vol. I, p. 406.

<sup>331</sup> Jaroslav Mezník provides a map with a block-by-block breakdown of the linguistic variances of Prague's Old Town in the fourteenth century in his 'Národnostní složení předhusitské Prahy', *Sborník historický*, 17 (1970), p. 14. While this discussion accepts Mezník's findings to be compelling, it must be acknowledged that as Mengel has noted, there are inherent issues with the methodology employed in Mezník's research, and one cannot say with absolute certainty what the exact ethnic breakdown of Prague at the time were. For more information see Mengel, *Bones, Stones, and Brothels*, pp. 61–65.

to serve the citizens of Prague.<sup>332</sup>

What is more, the fact that Milíč served at such a multiplicity of parishes in Prague is yet more evidence of the fact that his services were needed in the city. Milíč had no parish of his own, so his sermons at these churches were all delivered at request, rather than as a mandated part of a benefice. As such, it can be assumed that all of the churches that he preached in were looking for outside help in order to meet the needs of their parishioners. Otherwise they would not have asked Milíč to preach, and provided him with remuneration for his services in return. Milíč's work to provide pastoral care, and make up for the sins of the clergy who turned their backs on their calling and neglected their parishes, was thereby supported by multiple churches. All of these parishes admitted when they had invited Milíč to preach that they relied upon him to ensure that they were seeing to the needs of their parishioners. It is therefore not through the content of his sermons alone that Milíč fought against a dearth of pastoral care in the city, but in the very act of giving them.

It is obvious that Charles would be pleased to see a preacher working toward addressing the lack of pastoral care in the city which he was hoping to portray as a religious beacon. One can consider that beyond simply addressing a problem that took away from the idea of Prague as a city of religious merit, with his constant preaching Milíč proved the emperor's claim to be valid. Milíč was renowned throughout the Holy Roman Empire as a preacher of distinction. This fact is attested to by the survival rate of the manuscripts of his sermon collections *Abortivus* and *Gratia Dei*, which can be found today from Transylvania in the East to Bavaria in the West.<sup>333</sup> Other individual sermons of Milíč's, including his synodal sermons, survive to us from Budapest to Freiburg.<sup>334</sup> The geographical spread of these surviving manuscripts proves that there was a keen interest in the works of Milíč in the lands of the Holy Roman Empire, and that others wished to learn more about his work.

The interest in Milíč's writing is further testified to by the time period over which they continued to be copied. Even into the fifteenth century, Milíč's sermons were circulated in new editions, as the several fifteenth-century manuscript

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<sup>332</sup> Emler (ed.), *Vita*, in, *FRB*, vol. I, p. 408.

<sup>333</sup> See, Spunar (ed.), *Repertorium Auctorum*, pp. 172–176.

<sup>334</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 176–182.

versions of the synodal sermons used for this study attest. Fifteenth-century and late fourteenth-century versions of both *Gratia Dei* and *Abortivus* also survive, and prove the utility that others continued to see in the collections.<sup>335</sup> The ongoing production of Milíč's texts throughout the Holy Roman Empire shows that there was significant interest in using his sermon collections for their intended purpose. Milíč, then, can be said to have been a preacher of some renown both during his time and afterwards. That a preacher as famous as Milíč was giving sermons several times a day in Prague was therefore proof in and of itself that the city was a spiritual haven. In doing what he felt compelled to do, preach, Milíč thereby aided his city and the cause of the emperor. His work addressed Prague's problems with pastoral care, and embellished its reputation as a city in which the godly were at work.

It is therefore evident that Milíč's preaching aimed to rectify some of the religious issues in Prague that were most widespread and embarrassing for Charles and his court. While the considerations above make this clear, perhaps the most prominent contribution that Milíč was able to make to the emperor's desired conception of Prague as a city of religious significance was his creation of the Jerusalem community. Milíč began Jerusalem in 1372 after a number of prostitutes had repented due to his preaching. In order to assist the women, he also often paid off the usurious debts of those unfortunates whom he converted. Those whom Milíč freed were encouraged to either return to their families, marry, or find new work. He supported the women in these endeavours by the provision

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<sup>335</sup> Fifteenth-century versions of *Gratia Dei* found in the course of this study include Národní knihovna České republiky MS V.B.13, XII.C.12, and VI.D.8.; and University Library Wrocław [Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu] MS I F 492 (Cited at Manuscriptorium Digital Library, <<http://www.manuscriptorium.com/index.php>>. Accessed 12 December 2013.) An excerpt from the same text was also found to survive in a manuscript dating from the third quarter of the century in Eichstätt University Library [Eichstätt Universitätsbibliothek] MS Cod. st 358, fol. 299 v.–301 v. (Cited in, Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften der Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt* (Wiesbaden, 1999), p. 103.) A copy of an *Abortivus* version from the same century is held at the University Library Wrocław MS I F 537. (Cited at Manuscriptorium Digital Library, <<http://www.manuscriptorium.com/index.php>>. Accessed 12 December 2013.) Late-fourteenth century versions of *Gratia Dei* were found held as Národní knihovna České republiky MS XV.D.7 and IX.A.5. *Abortivus* copies found from the same period include Národní knihovna České republiky MS XXIII.D.201; Biblioteka Uniwersytecka we Wrocławiu MS I F 489 (Cited at Manuscriptorium Digital Library, <<http://www.manuscriptorium.com/index.php>>. Accessed 12 December 2013.); and Eichstätt Universitätsbibliothek MS Cod. st 438 (Cited in, Universitätsbibliothek Eichstätt, *Die mittelalterlichen Handschriften*, p. 216), and Cod. st 440, (Cited in *Ibid.*, p.220).

of housing and food, initially in two houses donated to the preacher by the kindred repentant Moravian brothel keeper named Katherine.<sup>336</sup>

Many of the former prostitutes, however, declined the opportunity to return to routine domesticity. These women experienced a profound enough conversion that they wished to devote their lives instead to religious contemplation. Religious communities of repentant prostitutes had a long tradition in medieval Europe and had given rise to holy orders such as the Magdalenes, who had a convent in Prague in the Lesser Town on the opposite side of the Vltava.<sup>337</sup> Despite the traditions of the order, the city's Magdalene community had long since ceased to be a home for actual repentants. Milíč's converts who were intent upon a religious life therefore elected instead to stay with the preacher, in short order becoming an unofficial community.

It is most probable that the repentants at Jerusalem did not venture out in to the world, given Milíč's outspoken distaste for women in religious orders who did not live enclosed.<sup>338</sup> According to Milíč's opponents in the Prague clergy, the women also wore a habit and were beaten by the preacher for any transgressions.<sup>339</sup> While it cannot be proven in a conclusive manner that this was in fact the case, it is plausible that Milíč, as a firm opponent to women's finery, may have chosen to enforce a dress code on the women of Jerusalem.<sup>340</sup> In contrast, evidence for Milíč using corporal punishment is less forthcoming, and may have been the invention of his critics. If the women of Jerusalem sought to return to their old lives as prostitutes Milíč went after them and attempt to persuade them back into

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<sup>336</sup> The marriage of former prostitutes was encouraged by Pope Innocent III (1161–1216) as a means of atonement for sins. See Emile Friedberg (ed.), *Corpus iuris canonici editio lipsiensis secunda post Ae. L. Richter curas ad librorum manu scriptorum et editionis romanae fidem regodnovit et adnotatione critica instruxit*, vol. II (Leipzig, 1879–1881), p. 668. On Katherine, who is described as 'quaedam hospita illarum mullierum', and her donation, see Emler (ed.), *Vita*, in, *FRB*, vol. I., p. 418.

<sup>337</sup> For more on the Magdalenes and their work with prostitutes see Bloch, *Die Prostitution*, band. 1, pp. 820–821; Peter Schuster, *Das Frauenhaus. Städtische Bordelle in Deutschland (1350–1600)* (Paderborn, 1992), p. 139, citing Johannes Schuck, *Die Reuerin: Ein Jubiläum der helfenden Liebe* (Paderborn, 1927), p. 88. For more on the conversion of prostitutes in the medieval period, see Otis, *Prostitution in Medieval Society*, pp. 72–76; Jacqueline Smith, 'Robert of Arbrissel: *Procurator Mulierum*', in, Derek Baker (ed.), *Medieval Women: Studies in Church History* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 175–184.

<sup>338</sup> See note 241, p. 77.

<sup>339</sup> For the accusation regarding the women of Jerusalem see, Palacký, *Über Formelbücher*, vol. I, p. 183, and in this thesis Introduction, pp. 11–12.

<sup>340</sup> Milíč castigated women who dressed in a fine manner, inspiring many of the richer attendees at his sermons to cast off their jewelry and rich clothing. See Emler (ed.), *Vita*, in, *FRB*, vol. I, p. 406.

the community.<sup>341</sup> As harsh and obtrusive as such a description of the community might seem, Jerusalem was nevertheless a popular option for women seeking to leave prostitution. The community provided care and housing for anywhere between eighty-three and two hundred women each day.<sup>342</sup> In either case, as Mengel has noted, and even adjusting for hyperbole, these numbers made Jerusalem one of the largest religious houses in all of the city.<sup>343</sup>

It was not only former prostitutes, however, who lived in the houses with the preacher. Alongside Milíč and the repentant women there also lived a number of young preachers training under him. These men were all clerics, dedicated to the same concept of constant preaching and reform espoused by Milíč. They comprised the '*scola*' in what Janov termed a '*scola et templum*'.<sup>344</sup> The men of Jerusalem, in stark contrast to the women, were expected to preach throughout the city. The students seem to have done a noteworthy job both of doing so and provoking legal retribution as a result of their predilection for slandering other prelates.<sup>345</sup> In addition to their preaching duties, the students also made copies of Milíč's sermons for his apostils.<sup>346</sup> It was also alleged by Milíč's detractors that Jerusalem's preachers, in addition to its repentant prostitutes, also wore a habit. Moreover, his enemies claimed that Milíč referred to their life in Jerusalem as a '*vita apostolica*', and the community as a '*locum literatorum*'.<sup>347</sup> While the classification of the community is unclear, it was nonetheless popular enough to garner donations and adherents, as well as the ire of Prague's clerical population.<sup>348</sup>

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<sup>341</sup> Janov, *Narricio*, in, *RVNT*, vol. III, p. 361.

<sup>342</sup> Janov insisted that Jerusalem consisted of two hundred women (Janov, *Narricio*, in, *RVNT*, vol. III, p. 362), whereas the *Vita* attests that the community totaled eighty-three people all together. See, Emler (ed.), *Vita*, in, *FRB*, vol. I, p. 420.

<sup>343</sup> Mengel, *Bones, Stones, and Brothels*, p. 252.

<sup>344</sup> Janov, *Narricio*, in, *RVNT*, vol III, p. 362. For the status of the preachers as clerics see Emler (ed.), *Vita*, in, *FRB*, vol. I, p. 421.

<sup>345</sup> As related in brief in the introduction of this thesis, two of Milíč's students were forced to give up preaching as a result of their alleged predilection for castigating prelates. See, Tádra, *Soudní akta konsistoře pražské*, vol. I, p. 51.

<sup>346</sup> Emler (ed.), *Vita*, in, *FRB*, vol. I, pp. 416–417.

<sup>347</sup> Palacký, *Über Formelbücher*, vol. I, p. 183.

<sup>348</sup> Multiple historians have argued that Milíč's career can be understood as a part of the *devotio moderna* movement. If this is accepted, Jerusalem can be considered as an example of the movement's preferred *vita communis*. (See, Johanna Girke-Schreiber, 'Die böhmische Devotio moderna', in, Ferdinand Seibt (ed.), *Bohemia Sacra, Das Christentum in Böhmen 973–1972* (Düsseldorf, 1974), pp. 81–91; Manfred Gerwing, 'Die böhmische Reformbewegung und die niederländische Devotio moderna. Ein Vergleich', in, Ferdinand Seibt and Winfried Eberhard (eds.), *Westmitteleuropa, Ostmitteleuropa. Vergleiche und Beziehungen. Festschrift für Ferdinand Seibt zum 65. Geburtstag* (Munich, 1992), pp. 175–184; Eduard Winter, *Frühhumanismus. Seine Entwicklung in Böhmen und deren europäischen Bedeutung für die*



As divisive as the Jerusalem community may have been in the city, it nevertheless grew at a rapid pace, both in size and reputation. Interest in the Jerusalem project also led to an increase in donations from well-wishers. As a result, Milíč was soon able to collect enough money to purchase a total of some twenty-seven houses near the initial donation from Katherine. All of these buildings stood on the same street as Prague's most notorious brothel, the aforementioned Venice. By 1372 the project had garnered enough praise that Charles IV stepped in, abolished the 'long established' Venice brothel and donated the resultant vacant property to Milíč.<sup>349</sup> It was on the land of Venice itself that Milíč later consecrated an altar, dedicated to the prostitute saints Mary Magdalene, Afra of Augsburg, and Mary of Egypt. With the blessing of the archbishop the cornerstone of the chapel was laid by Milíč on 19 September 1372.<sup>350</sup> The involvement of both Charles IV and Archbishop Jan Očko in the Jerusalem community proves both their interest and pleasure in Milíč's work there.

In addition, the emperor's satisfaction with the Jerusalem project is also demonstrated by the inclusion of its foundation in Beneš Krabice's chronicle.<sup>351</sup> Ever-ready to present both himself and Prague in the best light possible, Charles had commissioned several chronicles in order to ensure that his reign was recorded in a glowing manner for posterity.<sup>352</sup> In a clear indication that both Beneš Krabice and Charles wished the Jerusalem project to be interpreted as a noteworthy religious undertaking, the chronicle records Charles's destruction of the Venice brothel alongside references to his latest donations of relics in the city. By including the Jerusalem project in the chronicle it was ensured that the wider world would be introduced to the community, and to the story of Prague and the emperor's resistance to prostitution. In doing so they allowed those outside the

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*Kirchenreformbestrebungen im 14. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1964).) As Morée has shown, however, this classification does not account for Milíč's deep trust in the church and Empire as the instruments of religious renewal. (See his, *Preaching*, pp. 249–250). Indeed, Milíč's attempts to have the community become part of the parish system of Prague is indicative of his trust in and respect for the extant modes of religious life in the fourteenth century. Jerusalem thus continues to defy easy classification.

<sup>349</sup> '...lupanar antiquum ... qui locus Venecie dicebatur...' Krabice, *Chronicon ecclesie Pragensis*, in, *FRB*, vol. IV, p. 546.

<sup>350</sup> For the date of Milíč's chapel foundation see Mengel, *Bones, Stones, and Brothels*, p. 247; Václav Vladivoj Tomek, *Základy starého místopisu pražského*, vol. I (Prague, 1866), p. 98 no. 293.

<sup>351</sup> Krabice, *Chronicon ecclesie Pragensis*, in, *FRB*, vol. IV, p. 546.

<sup>352</sup> On Charles's patronage of chroniclers, see Marie Bláhová, 'Literární činnost Karla IV', in, Marie Bláhová (ed.), *Kroniky doby Karla IV* (Prague, 1987), pp. 558–585.

city's walls to become aware of the religious projects then underway there. Furthermore, the glowing prose with which the project was commemorated made certain that audiences would interpret its significance in a manner pleasing to Charles when they read of it. It is therefore plausible that Charles was interested in the project not only for its religious value, but also for the notoriety that it could garner both him and the city. Indeed, it is unlikely that the venture would have appeared in the chronicle at all were this not the case.

Even with the involvement of the emperor and the archbishop, Jerusalem had numerous detractors, as the complaints by the Prague clergy reveal. Given that Charles was intending to project himself and Prague in idealised terms, one must ask why the emperor would involve himself with Jerusalem if it were indeed so controversial. The resultant answer to this question is that Jerusalem, despite the ire directed at it, provided solutions to several of the issues at play in Charles's Prague. Firstly, and most plainly, Jerusalem was an ideal solution to the issue of the Venice brothel in the new city centre. In the houses of the area Milíč not only managed to halt the sex trade, but convert both the buildings and residents of the area into a religious community. He thus not only solved the problem of the brothel, but recharacterised it as religious. Had any other individual closed the brothel and turned the houses over to ordinary lay residents it would have solved the immediate problem, but would have in no way enhanced the religious reputation that Charles sought for Prague. The emperor's own work to bolster Prague's religious topography and encourage pilgrimage to the city enhanced its prestige as a religious centre. In order to intimate that the capital was a true bastion of the devout, however, it was also necessary for those inside the city to be undertaking religious works. To this end, the message that Jerusalem's foundation sent was clear: while the city may have been home to prostitutes (just as all cities in Christendom were), it was also a place where citizens were working towards removing women from that life.

Additionally, Milíč's work at Jerusalem helped to address a problem which would have arisen had Venice been closed in a sudden manner: it provided the prostitutes in the area with an alternative place to live, rather than displacing them altogether. The majority of women working as prostitutes in Prague had found themselves in that position as a result of onerous rents and resultant debts to their landlords. Had the women of Venice become homeless once again after

its closure, they would have likely had little recourse other than to become workers at Hampays or Obora, the city's other municipal brothels. Failing this, they may have found themselves working in the unofficial brothels at Krakow Street. As Milíč provided food, shelter, and in some cases even debt repayments to the women of Venice, they were able to leave their places in the brothel without also becoming homeless and destitute and being forced back into prostitution.

Milíč's offer of lodging at Jerusalem may also have been one of the reasons why his conversion of the Venice brothel succeeded, when other similar attempts to close brothels in Prague failed. In contrast, in 1378 in the Lesser Town, a parish priest named Master Ulric complained to the archdeacon that his multiple attempts to destroy the Obora brothel were met with failure.<sup>353</sup> Unlike the Venice conversion, when Master Ulric attempted to take control of Obora he did not offer the women an alternative to their lives there. As a result, the Obora prostitutes, who had no options other than to continue to work at the brothel, fought to return. The women were successful in their endeavor, coming back to the house with the blessing of the city magistrates.<sup>354</sup> This episode stands in stark comparison to Milíč's success at Jerusalem where there were few enough prostitutes left following his work that they did not fight to keep their brothel. This is not to say that Milíč converted every one of the women in residence at the Venice, but it is clear that he was thorough enough in his work that resistance to the closure of the brothel was weakened.<sup>355</sup>

Master Ulric's attempts at closing the Obora brothel are also revealing, in that they highlight the effect of royal interest in such a project. Obora, unlike Venice, was located at the edge of the city wall in the Lesser Town, both before and after Charles's expansion of the city. It therefore continued to adhere to the cultural norms surrounding prostitution in the medieval era. There, the prostitutes were still considered to be providing a necessary sexual outlet for Prague's single men in an appropriate manner. Obora was for that reason not seen as requiring

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<sup>353</sup> 'Dominus Ulricus...interrogatus per iuramentum dicit, quod est quidam locus ante valvam mulierum publicarum meretricum, que aliquociens fuerent expulse ad petitionem suam per scabinos et semper revertuntur ad eundem locum et ibidem foventur per iudicem civitatis; qui locus in vlgari dicitur Obora.' Hlaváček and Hledíková (eds.), *Protocollum*, p. 118.

<sup>354</sup> Ibid; Tomek (ed.), *Základy starého*, vol. 3, p. 78 no. 242.

<sup>355</sup> Krabice attested that the residents of Venice were expelled at the time of the emperor's destruction of the brothel. Given that Venice was the largest brothel in the city, however, it is certain that at least some of Milíč's repentants had come from the establishment. See, *Chronicon Ecclesiae Pragensis*, in, *FRB*, vol. IV, p. 546.

reform, and was even protected by the city when it came under threat. Venice, on the other hand, in its new central location was a legitimate concern, and as a result Milíč's work in the area was attractive to Charles. Prior to the emperor's involvement, Milíč had been running Jerusalem in the houses nearby, but not in, the municipal Venice brothel itself, which was protected by a charter much as Obora was. Because Charles chose to involve himself and revoke the charter of the Venice brothel by royal decree, however, control of the remaining houses in the quarter could be given to Milíč with little argument.<sup>356</sup>

While Milíč's ability to address the problem of the Venice prostitutes at the heart of the new religious Prague was the most obvious benefit that the establishment of Jerusalem brought to the city, his work with the other preachers in the community would also have appealed to the emperor. This is firstly because Jerusalem helped to combat the dearth of pastoral care in the city with Milíč's training of new preachers. While Milíč's attempts to preach as often as possible in the city helped in this, even when preaching five times a day there were only so many individuals that he could reach. More preachers would therefore be an obvious benefit for Prague as each of them had the capability to reach out to the populace neglected by their parish priests. Furthermore, students of the popular Milíč would have been very much welcome, as their connection to their more famous master recommended them to potential members of the laity seeking instruction. If Charles was pleased to see one preacher working toward adequate pastoral care in his holy city, seeing yet more would have been even more gratifying.

Secondly, the other primary duty of Milíč's students, copying out his sermons, also coincided well with Charles's plans for Prague. In keeping what was in effect a scriptorium at Jerusalem, Milíč was able to spread his message to the largest number of individuals possible through the replication of his sermons. While Milíč's primary concern in the dissemination of his sermons was the duplication of what he saw as the most correct teachings on Christianity, it also had the effect, intended or not, of establishing him as a preacher of note. The fame of Milíč in turn reflected well on Prague as a whole. A city that had religious men like Milíč hard at work within it was far more likely to be viewed as a noteworthy religious centre. Thus, the more Milíč's students copied, and the

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<sup>356</sup> Ibid.

further his works circulated, the wider his reputation and that of his city spread.

The impressive survival rate of Milíč's sermon collections throughout the former lands of the Empire and beyond also proves that he was very much successful in spreading both his message and his name.<sup>357</sup> Throughout the Empire there was a keen interest in the sermons of this famous preacher, and he had his own scriptorium that could fuel that interest and further the idea of Prague as a religious centre with every copy circulated. Moreover, because Milíč's model sermons were aimed at an audience of other clergy members, they circulated wider still when they arrived at their intended destination. If his audience preached his sermons, and credited their original author when they did so, they would thereby add all the more to his fame, and that of Prague. Charles, seeking as he was to expand the reputation of Prague, was happy to aid a community intent upon delivering its message to as large a number of individuals as possible both inside the city and abroad.

As successful as the Jerusalem project had been for the conversion of prostitutes, the training of preachers, and the circulation of sermons, it was nevertheless abolished after Milíč's death in Avignon in 1373. Yet even in the eventual destruction of Jerusalem at the hands of the emperor we can see indications of Charles's interest in the project. Even given the local clergy's evident displeasure with Jerusalem, it was allowed to operate free from interference until Pope Gregory XI ordered it investigated in January 1373. As mandated, the archbishop had his vicars read out Gregory's Bull on 19 July 1374 and obliged Prague's clerics to condemn the teachings of Milíč that his detractors had complained of.<sup>358</sup> The pope appears to have realised the degree to which the emperor was involved with Jerusalem and its founder as alleged by the articles of accusation. In order to quash any possible imperial interference Gregory therefore also wrote a letter to Charles asking him to remove the 'stain' of Milíč's work from Bohemia.<sup>359</sup> Milíč had died in Avignon a month before the Bulls and letters were received and the condemnations took place. The preacher

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<sup>357</sup> Spunar found thirty-three copies of *Abortivus* and fifty of *Gratia Dei*. They are spread between sixteen and twenty-three libraries, respectively, in a total of eight modern countries. For more on these and Milíč's other surviving works, see Spunar (ed.), *Repertorium Auctorum Bohemorum*, pp. 171–192. These are not, however, the only surviving copies of the collections, and more are still to be found. The editions that this study has identified at Eichstätt University Library, for example, escaped Spunar's notice (see note 333, p. 101–102). More work is therefore still needed in identifying surviving copies.

<sup>358</sup> Tadra, *Soudní akta konsistoře pražské*, vol. 1, p. 95 no. 116.

<sup>359</sup> O.T. Raynaldus, *Annales ecclesiastici*, Tomus XVI (Coloniae Agrippinae, 1691), p. 526.

had therefore ceased to be of any use to the crown at that time. Resultantly, the archbishop had little compunction in serving out the pope's order, and soon those clergy members considered sympathetic to Milíč and his followers were being examined.<sup>360</sup> By December, with Jerusalem in tatters, Charles turned its buildings over to the Cistercians for a local *studium*, obliging Milíč's community to disperse.<sup>361</sup>

The archbishop and emperor distanced themselves from Jerusalem at a rapid pace once it had been deemed contentious by the pope. Their willingness to condemn a project that they had been so instrumental in creating is yet more evidence of an interest in it born of reputational expediency. If the community was viewed in a negative light it no longer aided Charles's goals, whereas the Cistercian school furthered his desired narrative of Prague as a religious centre. Even in its destruction one can therefore see that Jerusalem had been an important part of the emperor's plans for the city. Even after it was disbanded, Jerusalem was considered a part of the city's religious topography and could be given over to a new religious group to continue to enhance the city's reputation.

It is therefore clear that Milíč's work in Prague was able to address the problems that Charles IV faced in establishing the city as a religious ideal. His ability to attend to the issues which the city was facing with pastoral care, a morally lax clergy, and prostitution, as well as his facility to add to the religious reputation of Prague, meant that it was more than worthwhile for the emperor to support him in his endeavours. What is more, the utility that Charles IV saw in Milíč seems to have allowed him to turn a blind eye to the dissatisfaction which other members of the Prague clergy had with Milíč and his students. Given these considerations, it is evident that Milíč's ability to target the issues of the city in such a clear manner made him a candidate for imperial favour.

## **Conclusions**

Prague under Charles IV was an urban space being shaped by the will of a monarch intent upon recreating it as one of the most important urban centres in the world. To this end Charles rebuilt castles, constructed bridges, expanded

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<sup>360</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 96–97 nos. 119–120.

<sup>361</sup> On the donation to the Cistercians see, Klement Borovy (ed.), *Libri erectionum archidioecesis Pragensis saeculo XIV. et XV*, vol. 1 (Prague, 1875), p. 105 no. 219. Some of Milíč's students continued to live together, while it is unknown where the repentant prostitutes went upon their expulsion. See, Hlaváček and Hledíková, (eds.), *Protocollum visitationis archidiaconatus*, p. 103.

walls, and had a university created. Yet temporal power was by no means the only form of authority that Charles wished to imbue the city with. He also undertook a programme of relic collection, monastery and church foundations, and organised a series of feast days in order to ensure that Prague would be seen as a city of particular religious renown. Even with the best intentions of the emperor, however, Prague still had multiple issues which could detract from Charles's desired reputation for the city.

Though rich with monasteries and churches in general, Prague faced significant problems with pastoral care. Many of its citizens, although they lived in what was being touted as one of the most holy cities in Christendom, lacked all but the most basic understanding of the tenets of Christianity. Prague's residents complained about being unable to hear sermons or give confession in their native language in their parish churches, and absenteeism among the clergy was rife. Adding to the issue was the fact that many members of Prague's clergy were living in direct contradiction to the moral principles that they were meant to uphold. Some had concubines, others lent money at usurious rates, and some were regular patrons of prostitutes or even allowed such women to work out of their homes. The problems with sinful individuals within Prague's clergy and their taste for prostitutes also pointed to another crack in the religious façade of the city – the unintended relocation of the infamous Venice brothel to the city's centre following the expansion of the city walls. While brothels were an inescapable and culturally normative element of medieval urban life, they were still considered to be sinful. As a result, the existence of one at the heart of a supposed spiritual beacon did nothing to enhance its reputation.

These particular issues, while obstacles to Charles IV's vision of Prague, were all things which the career of Milíč sought to address. The preacher's commitment to constant preaching meant that he was able to bring pastoral care to those members of the laity who could not access it in their own parishes. Moreover, his ability to speak both of Prague's vernacular languages, as well as Latin, meant that he could reach anyone in the city with his sermons. His sermons in and of themselves were also addressing the problems of the sinful clergy. The sermons focused on messages of reform and in particular urged those called to the religious life to walk away from sin and encourage their peers to do so as well.

Milíč also worked with the city's prostitutes and reformed many of them. Further

to this, he created his community of Jerusalem to house the women when they turned away from sex work. Jerusalem would eventually grow to such a large venture that it would displace the brothel Venice, which the emperor signalled his approval for by turning the brothel's property over to Milíč. Jerusalem also contributed to the spiritual reputation of the city through the training of preachers who could offer yet more pastoral care to Prague's laity. In addition, the community provided a place for Milíč's sermons to be copied and circulated across the Empire. This in turn raised the preacher's profile as well as that of the city in which he worked, portraying it as a home to reformist religious thought.

That Milíč's work was almost tailored to the task of eradicating the obstacles between Prague and a religious reputation was not lost on Charles IV. This explains why the emperor was willing to involve himself with the preacher's work despite the legal difficulties that he was often embroiled in. Had the preacher not taken it upon himself to see to what he considered to be the troubles of Prague, it is doubtful that the court would have chosen to involve itself with such a controversial figure. While Milíč's popularity was on the rise, and until he managed to attract the ire of the papacy, however, it made perfect sense for Charles IV to support the preacher in his work. In so doing Charles supported his own project, a newly born religious centre at the heart of the Empire



## Chapter 3

# The Church of Prague

The sacralisation of Prague, and the minimalisation of its particular spiritual shortcomings, did not take place solely within the bounds of the city for either Charles IV or Milíč. In particular, both men's work exhibited a strong commitment to the popularisation of the Bohemian saints, and by extension the promotion of the idea of Prague as a leading religious light. This chapter will examine the attempts of both Milíč and Charles to advance the cults of the Bohemian saints abroad, as well as the concept of what both men termed the 'Church of Prague'. In order to do so it will examine the concept of the 'Church of Prague' and the way in which it differs from earlier Bohemian conceptions of the religious exceptionalism of the kingdom. This analysis will prove that there are clear indications that both men were working together to advance their conception of the Bohemian saints as paragons of Christian piety on an international scale. The discussion will then analyse the works, both written and otherwise, of both men on their local saints, with particular reference to the similar methods employed by each. The dual commitment to popularising the Church of Prague and the Bohemian saints will in turn provide one more explanation for the emperor's link to the preacher and support for his work. In the process this discussion will also elucidate the ways in which international religious campaigns were undertaken in the late medieval period.

In the fourteenth century, the kingdom of Bohemia laid claim to five saints: Ludmila (c. 860–921),<sup>362</sup> Wenceslas,<sup>363</sup> Adalbert (956–997),<sup>364</sup> Procopius (d.

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<sup>362</sup> For a life of Ludmila see, Marvin Kantor, 'Life and Martyrdom of Saint Wenceslas and His Grandmother, Saint Ludmila (*Legenda Christiani*)', in, *The Origins of Christianity in Bohemia: Sources and Commentary* (Evanston, IL, 1990), pp. 163–178.

<sup>363</sup> For a full life of Wenceslas see, Kantor, 'Life and Martyrdom of Saint Wenceslas (*Crescente fide*)', in, *Ibid.*, pp. 143–153.

<sup>364</sup> For a life of Adalbert see, Bruno of Querfurt, *S. Adalberti pragensis episcopi et martyris, vita altera*, in, Jadwiga Karwasińska (ed.), *Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Series Nova*, vol. 4, fasc. 2 (Warsaw, 1969).

Adalbert is somewhat well-known outside of the Czech lands and there exists to this day a controversy over whether his relics are interred in Prague, following their removal by Duke Břítislav I (c. 1002/5–1055) in 1039, or if they still remain in Gniezno, where the Emperor Otto III (980–1002) arrived as a barefoot pilgrim to see them in 1000. The Bohemians claim to have the relics of St. Adalbert in the Prague cathedral, and their story of their translation from Gniezno can be found in Cosmas of Prague, *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, trans and ed. Lisa Wolverton (Washington D.C., 2009), pp. 118–120.

1053),<sup>365</sup> and Vitus (c. 290–303).<sup>366</sup> Of these five, all except Vitus were born and lived in the kingdom, and three (Ludmila, Wenceslas, and Adalbert) were of noble Bohemian lineage.<sup>367</sup> Because of the relative delay before the introduction of Christianity to the Czech lands in the late ninth century, most of the Bohemian saints lived and were canonised in the medieval period. The first to achieve sainthood was Ludmila, following her martyrdom in the year 921, and the last was Saint Procopius who died in the year 1053. The notable exception to this rule is St. Vitus, who was of Sicilian origin and died in the year 333. Vitus was made a patron of Bohemia when St. Wenceslas came into possession of one of his relics and founded the Prague cathedral in his name.

Collectively, these five individuals were the focal point for Christian worship in fourteenth-century Prague, and the exempla for both great and humble Bohemians alike. Such beliefs are not without precedent when one considers the importance of the saints in the medieval period. Local veneration was often the genesis for the canonisation of a particular saint, and virtually all medieval European communities celebrated at least one native saint.<sup>368</sup> Saints provided the medieval world with examples of how to live a life of faith dedicated to God, and were the images that all good Christians strove to emulate. Moreover, their holy lives, and often their martyrdoms, established them as part of the sacred

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<sup>365</sup> On St. Procopius see, Josef Hrabák (ed.), 'Legenda o Svatém Prokopu', in, Joseph Hrabák and Vaclav Vážný (eds.), *Dvě Legendy z Doby Karlovy. Kegnenda o svatém Prokopu. Život svaté Kateřiny*, intro. Antonín Škarka (Prague, 1959), pp. 17–90.

<sup>366</sup> For more on Vitus see, Jaroslav Kadlec, *Bohemia sancta. Životopisy českých světců a přátel božích* (Prague, 1989), p. 72.

<sup>367</sup> St. Ludmila, the first of the Bohemian saints, and her grandson St. Wenceslaus, the patron saint of Bohemia, belonged to the Přemyslid dynasty, which had ruled Bohemia for centuries before dying out with Charles IV's uncle. For more on the dynasty and its connections to Charles IV, see Chapter 4, pp. 147–159. St. Adalbert was descended from the house of the Slavnikids, the rivals to the ruling Přemyslid family. For more on the significance of dynastic saints in Central Europe, see, Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*; and by the same author, 'The Cult of Dynastic Saints in Central Europe: Fourteenth Century Angevins and Luxembourgs', in, Susan Singerman (trans.), Karen Margolis (ed.), *The Uses of Supernatural Power, The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe*, (Cambridge and Oxford, 1990), pp. 111–128.

<sup>368</sup> Many saints in the medieval period never received a formal canonisation from the church but were accepted as saints all the same by the local population first, and later by the church as a whole. See, Aviad M. Kleinberg, *Prophets in their Own Country: Living Saints and the Making of Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Chicago and London, 1992), p. 37; and by the same author, 'Canonization without a Canon', in, Gábor Klaniczay (ed.), *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge: aspects juridiques et religieux* (Rome, 2004), pp. 7–18. For more on the local saints of Central Europe and the genesis of their sainthood see, Gábor Klaniczay (ed.), *Saints of the Christianization Age of Central Europe*, trans. Christian Gaşpar and Marina Miladinov, vol. 1 (Budapest, 2013); and by the same author 'Proving Sanctity in the Canonization Process (Saint Elizabeth and Saint Margaret of Hungary)', in, Klaniczay (ed.), *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge*, pp. 117–148.

elite who were even then in the presence of the Lord.<sup>369</sup> Because of their position in the holy presence, it was thought that saints could work as emissaries for sinners on earth, and intercede on behalf of those who venerated them. In this capacity they provided worshipping communities with a personal link to God Himself.

An interest in one's own local saints during the medieval period is not in and of itself remarkable, although there is ample evidence which will be discussed below to show that both Milíč and Charles IV shared one. Rather, what is noteworthy is the clear desire on the parts of both men to promote their own native saints beyond the Czech speaking lands. Such a task was no small one, for the cults of the Bohemian saints, while strong in their native kingdom, were not what one would describe as widespread at the beginning of the century. It was this relative obscurity which the men strove to eliminate, in so doing expanding the fame of their patron saints and Prague.

### ***The 'Church of Prague'***

When reading the works of Milíč and Charles IV, it becomes obvious that both men were very much possessed of a belief in the inherent holiness of their local saints. Indeed, it was this faith which inspired both men to write the several, widely circulated, and extensive tracts on the Bohemian saints that survive today. While reverence inspired the preacher and the emperor to compose works on the Bohemian saints, these writings are of note because when analysed, they show that Milíč and Charles sought to inspire more than an interest in their local saints. The stories of the saints of the Czech lands argued for a concept of what Charles and Milíč felt was a unique and pure Christian spirit emanating from Prague.

For Milíč, the Bohemian saints had through their sufferings and miracles created what he termed the 'Church of Prague'.<sup>370</sup> The preacher saw the Church of Prague as a singular entity within Christendom itself and as a metaphorical vineyard. The vineyard's grapes, the preacher stated, could provide an iteration of pure Christianity, watered by the blood of the remarkable local saints who had planted it. What made them the most suitable guides for the universal church,

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<sup>369</sup> Donald Weinstein and Rudolph M. Bell, *Saints and Society: The Two Worlds of Western Christendom 1000–1700* (Chicago and London, 1982), p. 240.

<sup>370</sup> 'Hec enim vinea ecclesia videlicet Pragensis ex hiis tribus propaginibus sanctis Wenceslao, Adalberto, et Ludmilla, patronis nostris est propagata que in nostris domiciliis per torcular martirii suum proprium sanguinem effuderunt.' Milíč, 'St. Ludmilla', in, *GD*, XII.D.1, fol. 117 v.

Milíč asserted, was their involvement in creating this superlative religious body. By extension, this made the Church of Prague the best possible guide for the universal church in what he characterised as its current time of trouble. Milíč intimated in his sermons that the Bohemian saints and their church were to be celebrated. To this end, he held up examples of religious superiority in some cases explicitly because of their moral superiority in comparison with individuals from other lands.

The saints of the Czech lands and their Church of Prague, Milíč believed, should be considered the vanguard of Christian purity and faith, and he sought to expound on this idea in his sermons. It was the preacher's contention that the proof of this spiritual supremacy could be found in the acts that the local saints had carried out, often in opposition to foreigners. St. Wenceslas, for example, was to be lauded for his willingness to intercede on behalf of individuals who returned to Bohemia after enslavement from, as Milíč took care to point out, other nations.<sup>371</sup> This anecdote served to reinforce the image of the most famous Bohemian saint as benevolent and willing to intercede on behalf of the unfortunate. At the same time, the story underscored the barbarity of other kingdoms in contrast to Wenceslas's own. That helpless Christians were enslaved and subjected to cruelty in other nations contrasted to a kingdom in which the ruler was willing to act for the good of the people. It was thus only right that others should look to Wenceslas for religious intercession and that his kingdom should be viewed as a moral beacon when compared to the barbarity of its neighbours.

The Bohemian saints and the Church of Prague were also the best moral examples during what Milíč saw as the current time of trial for Christians, in that he believed they in particular had experience leading reform. St. Adalbert, for example, was characterised in the preacher's sermons as a consummate reformer. Milíč credited Adalbert in his sermons for having 'loosed ... the Church of Bohemia from its many errors, and bound it in unity with Christ.'<sup>372</sup> The preacher reported that the errors of Adalbert's Bohemia included illicit and impermanent marriages, and clergy keeping (sometimes multiple) women as

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<sup>371</sup> 'Beatus hunc Wenceslaus imitando sanguinem suum fudit et substantiam suam pro gentibus in servitutem reditis tribuit.' Milíč, 'St. Wenceslas', in, *Ibid.*, fol. 123 r.

<sup>372</sup> 'Sic fecit beatus Adalbertus quoniam solvit asinum ecclesiam Bohemie ab erroribus multis et alligavit uniens Christo.' Milíč, 'St. Adalbertus', in, *A*, I.D.37, fol. 103 v.

wives. The *Chronicle of the Czechs* concurred with the preacher, and claimed that during Adalbert's life Bohemia was a kingdom in turmoil. So sinful was the kingdom that, according to the chronicle, Adalbert felt that 'the flock committed to him would always go off a precipice and... [he] complain[ed] a great deal about the faithlessness and wickedness of the people'.<sup>373</sup> Milíč further claimed that in Adalbert's time, like Wenceslas's before him, the worst possible proof of wickedness was rampant as 'tyrants sold Christians to the Jews.'<sup>374</sup> Despite the many errors that Adalbert faced, Milíč maintained that the saint was nevertheless able through his life and martyrdom to inspire the Bohemian people to devote themselves to Christ.

Given this impressive ability to reform, it is obvious why Milíč felt that Adalbert and his fellow saints were ideal models for a church in crisis. Milíč insisted in his sermon on Adalbert that what he termed at that point as 'the Church of Bohemia' had already undergone the necessary process of reform as a result of the saint's example and intervention. St. Adalbert had overseen the transformation of the local church, and he was therefore an obvious model for any Christians wishing to improve the universal church. The success that the saint found in reforming his own error-ridden kingdom recommended him as an intercessor during what the preacher felt was Christendom's current time of trial. Because Bohemia had already undergone the process of renewal under Adalbert, it was poised to lead other kingdoms toward the same goal and purify the universal church.

Likewise, Milíč felt that St. Procopius should be acknowledged as an intercessor of note during the current time of corruption. Procopius, he insisted, could assert his spiritual will and transform areas marred by sin into spiritual refuges. This was so because in his lifetime the saint had expelled demons from a cave which he then turned into the celebrated Sázava monastery. If Procopius could perform a purifying miracle of this magnitude, Milíč also believed he might ensure that the sinful elements of wayward Christians be ejected from the Catholic church.<sup>375</sup> Milíč underscored the idea that such an ability was part of the hallmark of a uniquely Bohemian saint through his relating of the tale of Labessa. According to

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<sup>373</sup> Cosmas of Prague, *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, ed. Wolverton, p. 79.

<sup>374</sup> 'Tyranii etiam vendebant christianos ab Iudeis.' Milíč, 'St. Adalbertus', in, A, I.D.37, fol. 104 r. Adalbert himself complained of similar issues in Cosmas, *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, ed. Wolverton, p. 79.

<sup>375</sup> On the history of the still extant Sázava monastery, located on the river of the same name some forty kilometers to Prague's southeast see, Petr Sommer, *Sázavský klášter* (Prague, 1996).

the Procopius legend, Labessa was a devout young woman who found herself imprisoned by the evil foreign Prince Spytihnev [Spitigneus].<sup>376</sup> After praying to Procopius to liberate her, Labessa escaped both the prison, and certain death at Spytihnev's hands, thanks to the saint's intercession.

This story served to remind Milíč's audiences, once again, that other nations had sinful princes prone to the subjugation of good Christian women. As such, they ought to look to the divinely inspired saints of the Czech lands for moral guidance. Intervention from such an individual was, during what Milíč considered a time of trouble, more important than ever. Throughout his sermons, Milíč reminded his audiences that the world was at that time riddled with tyrants, an idea which will be discussed in greater length in the next chapter of this thesis.<sup>377</sup> Because of the constant threat posed by tyrannical rulers, Procopius was a saint who embattled Christians should take note of. In this way, Milíč demonstrated that the downtrodden, like Labessa, could be liberated from the oppression caused by the sinful behaviour of their rulers if they but appealed to Procopius and his 'church' for aid.

Procopius was also an ideal role model to those in the fourteenth century, Milíč reported, because he had left his own marriage in order to take up the life of a monk.<sup>378</sup> Procopius's willingness to abandon his wife was of note, because it was not until the 1140s when Bohemia began in earnest to commit itself to clerical celibacy, following the intervention of a papal legate.<sup>379</sup> According to the preacher, Procopius had therefore made major sacrifices in order to become a 'pelican in the wilderness'.<sup>380</sup> As a result of his rejection of carnal impropriety, the saint was, like the bird, willing to spill his own blood in order to ensure that its young prosper, even when not compelled by outside intervention to do so. Procopius was able to turn his back on the world and forego his own happiness to set a moral example to others and for the good of Christendom. The saint was therefore a perfect example to concubinary priests who struggled to do likewise. In a time which Milíč characterised as awash with priests living in sin with women,

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<sup>376</sup> See, Milíč, 'St. Procopius', in, A, I.D.37, 156 v. For more on Labessa and Spytihnev, see, Hrabák (ed.), 'Legenda o Svatém Prokopu', in, Hrabák and Vaclav (eds.), *Dvě Legendy z Doby Karlovy*, pp. 66–67.

<sup>377</sup> See, Chapter 4, pp. 152–154, 173–177.

<sup>378</sup> '...Beatus Procopius ... matrimonium deserens ad clericatus ordinem.' Milíč, 'St. Procopius', in, *GD*, XII.D.1, 51 r.

<sup>379</sup> See, Jean W. Sadler, *East Central Europe in the Middle Ages, 1000 – 1500*, vol. III, *A History of East Central Europe* (Washington D. C., 1994), pp. 160–161.

<sup>380</sup> '...pellicano in solitudine...' Milíč, 'St. Procopius', in, *GD*, XII.D.1, 52 r.

there was no more timely example than Procopius, who had already been able 'to lead Bohemia to be confirmed in good' through his actions.<sup>381</sup>

While their works inside their own kingdoms were laudable, Milíč also reminded his audiences that the saints of the Church of Prague were responsible not only for the foundation of their own Christian kingdom, but the spiritual awakening of other peoples as well. Adalbert, for example, was according to Milíč, responsible for Christianising the Poles and Prussians, among 'other nations', as well as his own people.<sup>382</sup> Indeed, he had given his own blood in Prussia in order to ensure that others would know the truth of Christ. Therefore, just as Bohemians should look to him and his fellow founding saints for spiritual guidance, so too should those kingdoms that the former bishop converted. Bohemia and its saints were a light in the darkness of a troubled world when Europe was still in the process of turning to Christ. If in those dangerous times they were followed, then in this new time of moral peril, Milíč felt, they should still be looked to for salvation.

Given the above, it is obvious that Milíč was not just promoting the saints of the Czech lands in his sermons, but the idea of a pure and distinct Bohemian version of Christianity as well. His reference to the Church of Prague in his written works was intended to make it explicit to audiences that Bohemian spirituality was a distinct force within Christendom that ought to be appealed to. He contended that the saints of this individual 'church' had proven themselves to be the religious ideals which few could hope to live up to. What is more, their holy works had proven them as intercessors of note and moral exempla during circumstances not unlike those being experienced during what Milíč felt was the moral crisis underway in the fourteenth century. As a result, it was only right that the preacher encourage others to take up the veneration of his local saints and usher in a new era of Christianity. Milíč was convinced that it was the Church of Prague that would lead the way to reform in the universal church.

The Church of Prague as a concept is of interest in that its reference to the capital as the geographical entity from which the saints hailed was unique. The phrases 'the Church of England',<sup>383</sup> or 'the Church of France',<sup>384</sup> for example,

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<sup>381</sup> '...ducere Boemie in bono confirmavit.' Ibid.

<sup>382</sup> 'Bohemos et alios romanes Polonos et Prucenos spiritualiter generavit.' Milíč, 'St. Adalbertus', in, A, I.D.37, fol. 103 v.

<sup>383</sup> The venerable Bede used the phrase '*ecclesia Anglicana*' when writing about local religious happenings, for example. See Nicholas J. Higham, 'Bede and the early English church', in,

were used with frequency to discuss religious matters in those kingdoms. 'The Church of Prague', in contrast, was rooted in the emperor's new holy city itself. While this 'church' drew upon the traditions of the kingdom as a whole it was represented in its most pure form in the capital. Because the Bohemian saints were representing Prague, and not their native kingdom itself, it was possible for individuals from across the Empire to take up the worship of their 'church'. Prague was the imperial capital at the time, and it could, as such, be seen as the centre of the Holy Roman Empire as a whole. All within the Holy Roman Empire could therefore make a claim to a connection with Prague, as it was their capital. Moreover, because of what Milíč characterised as the exceptional spiritual purity of the Church of Prague, those who could link themselves to it ought to feel compelled to do so. The Church of Prague was thus a part of the international community of the Empire, and the spiritual benefits of its saints were accessible to any imperial subjects.

This concept of the Church of Prague was not Milíč's alone, however, and the phrase was also deployed in order to describe the emperor's efforts. In point of fact, Charles, according to his own commissioned writings was working to further embellish the very same Church of Prague when he undertook religious works such as expanding the city's relic collection.<sup>385</sup> This commissioned chronicle stated that the donated relics were given to 'the holy Church of Prague for the entire realm and for the Kingdom of Bohemia'.<sup>386</sup> Charles himself also referred to the Church of Prague when discussing how some of Prague's relics had come to be in the city. Further, in his own life of St. Wenceslas, the emperor wrote of the translation and internment of St. Wenceslas's relics from the town of Boleslav to the Church of Prague.<sup>387</sup>

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Alexander R. Rumble (ed.), *Leaders of the Anglo-Saxon Church: From Bede to Stigand* (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 38–40.

<sup>384</sup> 'Ecclesia Gallicana.' See, Thomas Frederick Tout, *France and England: Their Relations in the Middle Ages and Now* (Manchester, 1974), p. 22.

<sup>385</sup> See Chapter 2, note 297, p. 90.

<sup>386</sup> Ibid.

<sup>387</sup> 'Translacio autem gloriosi martiris de Boleslouiensi ad Pragensaem ecclesiam...' Nagy and Schaer (eds.), *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum*, p. 200; 'Aput autem gloriosissimum corpus ipsius tam in allacione quam eciam post sepulturam in Pragensi ecclesia...' Ibid., p. 202. Nagy and Schaer translate the phrase in the first instance as 'to the church in Prague' (Ibid., p. 201), and in the second as 'in the church in Prague' (Ibid., p. 202). While adequate, this study finds that such translations would be more adequately expressed in Latin as 'ad ecclesiam in Pragam', and 'in ecclesia Pragensi', respectively, and as such finds it more prudent to translate both as to and in 'the Church of Prague'. The argument for such a translation is further bolstered elsewhere in the work, as all other references to the actual church in Prague refer to it by name as St.



All of these relics, both Bohemian and otherwise, helped Charles to promote the idea of the Church of Prague through their display. As discussed earlier, the emperor presented the relics of the Bohemian saints alongside the imperial relics during the Feast of the Holy Lance and Nail.<sup>388</sup> Displaying the relics of the various members of the Church of Prague alongside those of Charlemagne helped to anchor their legacy to that of the Empire as a whole. Any visiting imperial citizens who went to see the Imperial Relics were meant to understand that the relics of the Church of Prague were now a part of the Empire's religious legacy. Clearly then, the realm that the Church of Prague was intended to offer guidance to extended beyond the borders of Bohemia, and Charles made sure that his subjects would learn of it.

Charles also used his written works to bolster the idea of the church much in the way that Milíč had done. Charles's life of St. Wenceslas, for example, promoted the idea of the saint as a religious authority in opposition to other European leaders. In a clear attempt to bolster interest in the patron saint of Bohemia, Charles included a version of Wenceslas's legend in his autobiography. In the newly penned hagiography, the emperor presented tales from a thirteenth-century life of Wenceslas, the first of which told the story of the defeat of the Duke of Kouřim. According to the legend, the duke had been attacking the people of Bohemia.<sup>389</sup> Seeing his subjects under assault, Wenceslas had 'no choice but to gather an army and go meet him in the field in order to defend his people.'<sup>390</sup> In Charles's version, the Duke of Kouřim then declared war upon Bohemia, but in order to curtail the bloodshed of innocent troops in battle Wenceslas challenged the duke to a duel. To entice his opponent, the saint also suggested that the lands of the vanquished participant would be granted to the winner. The Duke of Kouřim accepted, only to find Wenceslas had a blazing cross on his forehead at the time of the duel, whereupon he yielded. Wenceslas then pardoned him and refused to take his lands, and both men and their armies

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Vitus's, rather than simply 'the church in Prague.' See, for example, '...scilicet pium Boleslaum, qui ecclesiam Pragensem sancti Viti, quam sanctus Wenceslaus edificauerat...' (Ibid., p. 202.); 'Duci te facias ad ciuitatem Pragensem ad ecclesiam sancti Viti...' (Ibid., p. 206); '...delatus prostratus solo ante sepulchrum martiris gloriosi in dicta basilica sancti Viti...' (Ibid.)

<sup>388</sup> See Chapter 2, pp. 92–93.

<sup>389</sup> The story of the duke of Kouřim can be found in the thirteenth-century legend *Oriente iam sole*, (See, Kantor, *The Origins*, pp. 215-244), and he is named in the *Chronicle of Dalimil* as Radslav. (See, František Faustýn Procházka (ed.), *Kronyka Boleslawská. O poslaupnosti Knjžat a Králů českých* (Prague, 1786), p. 100; Zdeněk Uhlíř, *Tales from the Chronicle of Dalimil: the Paris Fragment of the Latin Translation* (Prague, 2006), p. 14).

<sup>390</sup> Nagy and Schaer (eds.), *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum*, p. 189.

returned home with peace secured. Charles's interpretation of the duel between the dukes is of note as it differs from the original legend. The thirteenth-century version stated that the duel undertaken only 'after a number of people were killed on both sides, [and] everyone agreed that only the two princes should combat one another'.<sup>391</sup>

The second tale that Charles related revolves around an episode which took place at the imperial court of Henry I (876–936). According to the legend, Wenceslas was thought to have slighted the emperor by arriving late to a council session, after exhausting himself praying through the night. The courtiers resolved to snub Wenceslas upon his arrival by not rising to offer him a seat. In spite of the plan, Wenceslas was pardoned when the emperor saw angels accompanying the saint when he entered.<sup>392</sup> According to Charles, when the emperor saw Wenceslas's heavenly escort, he 'fell at [Wenceslas's] feet, and the princes too'.<sup>393</sup> Henry I then promised the Bohemian duke any boon he desired. Wenceslas, as ever the devout ruler, requested the arm of St. Vitus, the relic upon which the Prague cathedral was founded.<sup>394</sup> Charles's retelling again embellished the older Wenceslas legend, which reported that when Henry I saw the angels to either side of Wenceslas he 'was the first among [the princes] to rise before him. And he offered him his hand as he stepped out to meet him and seated him next to himself on the throne', but did not kneel before Wenceslas.<sup>395</sup>

The flourishes that Charles added in both of these instances are striking. They signaled to his audiences that Wenceslas was seen as a religious leader throughout the Empire, and did so in a stronger manner than did the traditional legends. In Charles's retelling, the saint's innate holiness was evident to all those whom he interacted with that wielded temporal power. As a result, these men yielded in the favour of Wenceslas, and Bohemia, on both occasions. In the Duke of Kouřim anecdote, Charles transformed the already pious Wenceslas into a non-violent Christian ideal. In imitation of Christ, the saint offered his own body for the sake of others, and was able to bring his enemies into submission through his faith alone. Yet it was not only political equals that fell before the saint, for

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<sup>391</sup> Kantor, *The Origins*, p. 221.

<sup>392</sup> Kantor, 'The Legend of Saint Wenceslas/*Oriente iam Sole*', *The Origins*, pp. 238–240.

<sup>393</sup> 'Tunc imperator procidens ad pedes eius cum principibus veniam petit...' Nagy and Schaer (eds.), *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum*, pp. 191–193.

<sup>394</sup> See, Kantor, *The Origins*, p. 267.

<sup>395</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 223.

Charles held that Wenceslas's spiritual power was so overwhelming that even the emperor was brought to his knees by it. When Henry I kneeled before Wenceslas in Charles's version of the saint's life, he conceded that the moral superiority of the Duke of Bohemia trumped his own temporal influence. This retelling showed that Wenceslas, as a member of the divine elect, was more worthy of deference than even the emperor. Implied in these tales of the overwhelming piety of St. Wenceslas, is that he was seen by his contemporaries as a religious luminary. As such, Charles's audience should venerate Wenceslas just as their ancestors had done. In this way, once again, it is clear that Charles was making a concentrated effort to promote not only Wenceslas's worship, but also a veneration of the realm from which he had come.

Clearly then, Milíč and Charles were both very much concerned with promoting the idea that the kingdom from which their local saints came was possessed of a religious exceptionality. According to both men, this spiritual purity was demonstrated through their holy works. The saints of the Czech lands were for both the preacher and the emperor representative of one particular type of Christianity which they understood as more rarified than that of other nations. The Church of Prague was founded by individuals holy enough that they sacrificed their own lives to bring it into being. More than just leaders of their own people, however, these saints were to be seen as the moral salvation of Christendom as a whole. It was they who risked their lives to convert foreign people; they who risked their own personal safety to ensure that of their followers; they who freed Christian innocents from the clutches of less worthy (foreign) individuals who would exploit the weak. What is more, these saints had seen their own church through times of iniquity, and were thus best placed to lead Christendom from the moral morass in which it found itself in the fourteenth century. The Church of Prague, and the kingdom which it emanated from, thus had to lead Europe into a new era of reform.

While it is obvious that both Milíč and Charles shared a concept of the Church of Prague as a bastion of religious purity, the idea that the local saints were of particular importance, and that Bohemia was an area of specific religious significance was not in and of itself unique. In fact, the same sentiment is often on display in the very texts which may have inspired both the emperor and the preacher. The *Legenda Christiani*, for example, a dual biography of Ludmila and

Wenceslas dating from the tenth century, begins with an insistence that those saints ... 'like new stars, illuminated the land of Bohemia and all their people with the light of their virtues.'<sup>396</sup> The lives of these saints thereby imbued both the realm and all those within it with exceptional worthiness. The legend went on to insist that so impressive was the light of virtue that the Bohemian saints possessed that it was evident even outside of the kingdom. The text asserted that during Wenceslas's life '...a multitude of servants of God from the land of Bavaria and Swabia and other regions flocked to him' for religious guidance.<sup>397</sup> Even in the tenth century, therefore, it would seem that Czechs saw both their saints and their kingdom as the leaders of Christendom.

This idea is restated in an early thirteenth-century homily for the feast of St. Ludmila, which proclaimed that the...

...fortunate land of Bohemia [was] sheltered by fortunate patronage! O, how many lands are there that are deprived of such support and that would surely exult most joyfully if they had it!<sup>398</sup>

This text reinforced the idea of the inherent blessed nature of Bohemia as shown by the existence of its local saints. Additionally, it implied that those nations which lacked these specific holy ancestors were impoverished as a result. Such statements indicated to the audience that there is a fundamental holiness in the Czech lands. This holiness was shown in its saints and was indicative of God's delight in and support for the kingdom. It is thus evident that Bohemians had been told for centuries in the legends of and homilies on their local saints that they are a part of a unique spiritual transmission unrivalled by the rest of the world.

The religious superiority of Bohemia was also portrayed in the local saints' lives. Often in these hagiographies specific mention was made of the sins and shortcomings of other nations or peoples in direct contrast to the virtues of the Bohemian saints. One life of St. Procopius, for example, included a story with unabashed pro-Bohemian undertones. In this version, part of what characterised Prince Spytihnev as evil to audiences was that following St. Procopius's death,

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<sup>396</sup> Kantor (ed.), 'Legenda Christiani', in, *The Origins of Christianity*, p. 165.

<sup>397</sup> Ibid., p. 185.

<sup>398</sup> Kantor (ed.), 'Factum Est', in, *The Origins of Christianity*, p. 212. For more on the date of this homily, see, Martin Homza, 'Imago sanctae Ludmilae in the Homily *Factum est*, an Attempt of Analysis', in, Wojciech Falkowski (ed.), *Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae*, vol. 14, *Cultus Sanctorum, (Cults, Saints, Patronage, Hagiography)* (Warsaw, 2009), p. 67.

the prince gave the Sázava monastery to a group of German monks. According to the legend, under the care of the saint the monastery had been using the Slavonic rite, but its new inhabitants, encouraged by Spytihnev discontinued it. As a result, the saint's ghost returned to chase the Germans out so that the Czech, Slavonic rite monks could return. This feat was related in the text as one of Procopius's posthumous miracles. The same legend also recorded the miracle of Labessa's emancipation from Spytihnev, which Milíč had also cited. In this version, during both of these miracles Procopius appeared to the prince and made direct and repeated reference to him with the disdainful epithet 'German'.<sup>399</sup> The fact that these charged conflicts were considered miracles and proof of the sanctity of Procopius is indicative of the fact that Bohemians saw themselves as possessing a distinct holy heritage that ought to bring the more base impulses of other groups, and more specifically German-speakers to bay.

These saints' lives also asserted that their subjects were of particular note in specific circumstances, much in the way that Milíč did. St. Adalbert, for instance, is referred to in medieval Bohemian sources as a man concerned with reform, as his afore-mentioned complaints regarding the faithlessness of his flock in the *Chronicle of the Czechs* reveal. These laments were not unlike those of fourteenth-century reformers discussing their current time. Adalbert did more than strive to perfect the kingdom of Bohemia in these sources, for he was also able to inspire the act of reform in others as well. Upon the translation of Adalbert's relics from Gniezno, the *Chronicle of the Czechs* reports that Duke Břetislav and Bishop Severus preached on and prescribed an extensive series of reforms which the Bohemians were to enact in order to be worthy of receiving the saint's body.<sup>400</sup> One can therefore ascertain that Adalbert was the reformer that Bohemians looked to in times of trouble.

Taking these sources into account, it is clear that Milíč and Charles were by no means the first men from the Czech lands to have a concept of their kingdom and their saints as religiously distinct. Instead, there was a long tradition of portraying Bohemia as blessed, of which these men's work was a new outpouring. While the sentiment may have been similar, the way in which the preacher and the emperor wrote of the concept was new, as was the goal they sought to achieve

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<sup>399</sup> '...Němci...' Hrabák, 'Legenda o Svatém Prokopu', in Hrabák and Vážný (eds.), *Dvě Legendy z Doby Karlovy*, p. 66 line 980, p. 67 line 1004, and p. 68 line 1024.

<sup>400</sup> Cosmas of Prague, *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, ed. Wolverton, pp. 115–117.

using it. There is considerable evidence to suggest that both men were aware of the other's desire to introduce this new 'church' to as many people as possible and worked together to attain this goal. That both men understood themselves as working together in this mission can be seen in a similar use of language, new inclusions and changing language in Milíč's collection, and Charles's involvement with Jerusalem.

Unity in the goals of Charles and Milíč can be seen in particular in their reference to the Church of Prague as a religious entity. It is evident that Milíč considered the Bohemian saints to have created in the kingdom a distinct form of Christianity, which was imbued by its holy founders with their own remarkable attributes. The phrase 'the Church of Prague' was also employed in Charles's works regarding the cult of local saints. At times the term 'the Church of Prague' was used by those Charles had commissioned to record his religious works second hand, and it was also used in his own writings on the life of Wenceslas.<sup>401</sup> In and of itself the use of the phrase 'the Church of Prague' is not, of course, indicative of a concomitant programme to promote the idea. The timing of Milíč's use of the phrase, however, is.

In *Abortivus*, Milíč's first sermon collection, the fact that he considers Bohemia to be a kingdom of religious exceptionality is readily apparent. Nevertheless, the term 'the Church of Prague' is never used in the work. Instead, the preacher refers to 'the Church of Bohemia', which is reminiscent of the common convention of referring to the different 'churches' of other European kingdoms.<sup>402</sup> Notably, by the time Milíč composed *Gratia Dei*, in the years 1371–1372, the phrase had changed to 'the Church of Prague', echoing the emperor's own written and commissioned works.<sup>403</sup> This alteration is of note because the shift in phrasing took place just at a time when Milíč's work had attracted the attention and backing of the court. It was in 1372 that Milíč could decisively claim the emperor as a patron due to his involvement at Jerusalem. In fact by this time, the preacher's rivals were complaining of this association in their 1373 denunciation of the preacher.<sup>404</sup> Given the emperor's support for Milíč's projects, the preacher would have ample cause to reshape the expression to echo the same phrasing

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<sup>401</sup> See note 385, pp. 120–121.

<sup>402</sup> See, note 370, p. 116.

<sup>403</sup> See note 368, p. 115.

<sup>404</sup> Introduction, pp. 10–11.

used in Charles's commissioned works, thereby bringing them more closely into alignment.

That Milíč sought to appeal to the sensibilities of the court on the matter is also demonstrated by the sermon in which the idiom is found, for 'the Church of Prague' appears in Milíč's sermon on St. Ludmila. Ludmila had been left conspicuously absent from Milíč's *Abortivus* collection, but was the subject of Charles's own extended religious treatise.<sup>405</sup> The emperor, in the eleventh chapter of his autobiography, made an abrupt diversion from the chronological recount of his political career in order to give an exposition on the text of Matthew 13:44. The passage, which he noted was meant to be read on Ludmila's feast day, is an allegory which likens the kingdom of heaven to a treasure hidden in a field, a pearl of great value, and a net which draws in many different types of fish.

The emperor's elucidation on the subject was extensive, lasting three chapters, and treating each of the similes in turn. In it he also drew specific parallels between the passage and the Last Judgment. Ludmila's appearance in *Gratia Dei*, notwithstanding Milíč's willingness to overlook her in his initial collection, points to a desire to cater to Charles's interests once the emperor had become more closely involved in his work. If Milíč wished to please his benefactor he would need to prove that he was working to promote the same saints as Charles and in the same way. Charles's interest in the saint were made clear both by his sermon on St. Ludmila, as well as his references to her as 'the glorious matron and patron of the Bohemians ... their first pearl, the first flower plucked in Bohemia' within his legend of St. Wenceslas.<sup>406</sup> These written works were ample notice to the preacher that to continue to overlook the first saint of Bohemia would do little to recommend his work to the court.

Another indication that the inclusion of Ludmila in *Gratia Dei* was born of a desire to please Charles is that Milíč's sermon echoed that of the emperor. Both men wrote of Mathew 13 as a call to preaching. In his version Charles likened preaching to the treasure in the field, while Milíč in his explained that preachers are like a catch of fish. According to Milíč, preachers contain good and bad

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<sup>405</sup> The inclusion of the Bohemian saints in Milíč's sermon collections will be discussed in greater detail below. Please see pp. 132–135.

<sup>406</sup> 'Gloriosissima igitur matrona et patrona Boemorum, prima margarita necnon primus flos in Boemia carptus, beata scilicet Ludmila...' Nagy and Schaer (eds.), *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum*, pp. 186–187.

elements and must look to themselves in order to ensure they are providing the treasure of proper sermons. The preacher further bolstered his call to introspection with a lengthy quotation from Ambrosius.<sup>407</sup> What is more, Milíč in his St. Ludmila sermon makes reference to the evil Drahomira (Wenceslas's pagan mother, and Ludmila's daughter-in-law) as Jezebel, a description also found in Charles's own Wenceslas legend.<sup>408</sup>

The similarity between the two men's ruminations on Ludmila indicate that Milíč's work, if not modelled on his patron's own, was intended to reflect aspects of it. Taking these considerations into account it becomes clear that with this sermon Milíč was making an attempt to ingratiate himself to the emperor. He intended to prove with his sermon that he was as committed to spreading the veneration of Ludmila and the Church of Prague. For Milíč, then, *Gratia Dei* was an opportunity to demonstrate that the emperor's support was warranted by ensuring that he transmitted a message aligned with that propagated by Charles.

These attempts to please the emperor were prudent, in that there is evidence to demonstrate that Charles was aware of and took an interest in the subjects, themes, and portrayals of saints in Milíč's writing. The fact that Charles paid attention to the writing and circulation of texts by Milíč is made plain by his eagerness to support the preacher's work at Jerusalem. The majority of discussion about Jerusalem focuses on the preacher's work with prostitutes there. As a result, most historians have overlooked the fact that by Milíč's own design Jerusalem was also a religious community which boasted a scriptorium and its own live-in company of scribes. At Jerusalem, Milíč's acolytes were able to take down his sermons, copy and prepare them for collections, and thereby expedite the circulation of the resultant tracts. Charles, who commissioned his own chronicles and wrote an autobiography with the express intent of circulating his ideas and achievements, had an acute understanding of the way in which

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<sup>407</sup> Charles stresses in his reflection that, 'Nam qui docent et non faciunt, vocantur quidem scribe, sed non docti ... sic scriba doctus de thesauro suo, quem spiritu sancto inspirante in corde suo recondidit, pro gloria in celesti patria adeptura ad erudicionem et iustificacionem aliorum sua sancta predicacione et erudicione novi et veteris testamenti misteria salubriter proferet et exponit.' *Ibid.*, p. 130.

'Sicut nuc piscatores trahunt rather cum bonis et malis piscibus cum autem ad littus ... sicut miscerunt boni et mali predicatorum...' Milíč, 'St. Ludmila', *GD*, XII.D.1, fol. 117 r.

<sup>408</sup> 'Et sicut Naboth ayezabel per testes flos lapidatus pro vinca sua cum et hec dictate sic Sancta Ludmilla [sic] asotus sua drahomirz pro vinca domini Sabaoh in Christianitate cum vigulata.'

Milíč, 'St. Ludmila', *GD*, XII.D.1, fol. 117 v.

'...pessima et ignominiosa Drahimirz ... velut altera Jezabel...' Nagy and Schaer (eds.), *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum*, p. 198.



texts circulated, and their potential readers. He was therefore well positioned to understand Milíč's influence over his audience. It is clear that the emperor believed that the dissemination of Milíč's ideas was beneficial to his own ends because the tracts furthered his own literary goals. When Charles helped to create Jerusalem, he therefore also intended to assist in the creation of a community that was committed to circulating Milíč's work as far as possible.

The circulation level of Milíč's sermons is also indicative of the secondary way in which both men's work promoting the Church of Prague differed from previous efforts to popularise the local saints. While it is certain that other, earlier Bohemian texts made much of the holiness of the patrons of the Czech lands, they were aimed primarily at a local audience. Indeed other versions of the legends were overt in their hostility to non-Czech speakers, and characterised them as in opposition to the local saints by virtue of their foreign status. For example, as mentioned above, the majority of St. Procopius legends characterise Prince Spytihnev as German and describe Labessa as being a Czech speaker. In these versions Spytihnev is thus meant to be understood as evil by dint of his Germaness.

Similarly, the *Legenda Christiani* life of Ludmila and Wenceslas also made much of the inherent unworthiness of Germans. It related a story of Ludmila's husband Bořivoj I (c. 870–899), who was forced into exile following his conversion to Christianity. In his place the local nobles sought to elect a certain pagan named Strojmir, who had been living 'like an exile among the Germans', and could no longer speak Czech.<sup>409</sup> Strojmir and his supporters attempted to massacre the faithful followers of Bořivoj, by inviting them to a parlay in a field where they intended to attack the Christians if they opposed Strojmir.<sup>410</sup> This episode links German speakers to both pagan practices and unjust political machinations, while simultaneously proving Czech speakers as worthy of both rule and reverence. Other older lives of Ludmila and Wenceslas also identified the martyrs' murderers as 'boyars', explaining their willingness to murder the saints.<sup>411</sup> Similarly, some lives of Ludmila and Wenceslas identify Drahomira as being from 'Stodorane, a land of pagan Slavs', which clarifies her refusal to

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<sup>409</sup> Kantor (ed.), 'Legenda Christiani', in, *The Origins of Christianity*, p. 170.

<sup>410</sup> Ibid., p. 171.

<sup>411</sup> Kantor (ed.), 'Prologue Life of Saint Ludmila', in, Ibid., p. 103; Kantor (ed.), 'Prologue Life of Saint Wenceslas', in, Ibid., p. 106.

convert to Christianity like other Bohemians, and her hatred of Ludmila.<sup>412</sup> Such works were unlikely to attract audiences outside the Czech lands, even had their authors sought to do so.

In contrast, the works of both Milíč and Charles refrain from mentioning the linguistic groups of the individuals involved. For instance, Milíč in his St. Procopius sermon refrained from identifying the languages of either individual. Instead, the preacher referred to them as simply ‘...quidam nomine Labessa...’, and ‘...duce nomine Spitigneo, figura de historia’.<sup>413</sup> Further, both the preacher and the emperor avoided relating tales about unworthy German speakers in their works on Wenceslas and Ludmila. If either man were to imply in their works on the local saints that German speakers were spiritually inferior, they would lose their ability to recommend the Church of Prague to those outside of Bohemia. Instead, the preacher and emperor sought only to characterise other groups as lacking in piety when juxtaposed with the incomparable holiness of the Czech cohort. While the Bohemians were presented as the superiors of others in spiritual matters, they were also always shown to be able to work with and inspire foreigners. For both Milíč and Charles the recitation of the feats of the Church of Prague was thus meant, first and foremost, to inspire foreign audiences. If Bohemians refocused upon their local saints when they encountered these works, so much the better, but the aim of both of these men was to attract worship from across the Empire.

Further to this end, Charles sent out the relics of and dedicated altars to the saints of the Church of Prague abroad. In all, he dedicated three altars to St. Wenceslas: one in Rome, one in Aachen (which also included the saints Cyril and Methodius), and one in Nuremberg, where he also established an altar to St. Ludmila.<sup>414</sup> These locations are of interest in this discussion because of their specific imperial connections. While Rome was no longer a part of the Empire or the home of the papal court at the time, it was still the focal point for imperial coronation and Christian worship. To establish an altar to Bohemia’s favourite

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<sup>412</sup> Kantor (ed.), *‘Legenda Christiani’*, p. 172. Kantor identifies Stodorane as an area under the control of the Veletians, a Baltic Slavic tribe. See, *The Origins of Christianity*, note 6, p. 265.

<sup>413</sup> See, Milíč, ‘St. Procopius’, in, *A*, I.D.37, 156 v.

<sup>414</sup> Franz Machilek, ‘Privatfrömmigkeit und Staatsfrömmigkeit’, in, Seibt (ed.), *Kaiser Karl IV.*, p. 91; Reinhard Schneider, ‘Karls IV. Auffassung vom Herrscheramt’, in, Theodor Schieder and Lothar Gall (eds.), *Historische Zeitschrift. Beiträge zur Geschichte des mittelalterlichen deutschen Königtums, Beiheft 2* (Munich, 1973), pp. 126–130; Karel Stejskal, *Umění na dvoře Karla IV* (Prague, 1978), p. 90.

saint in Rome was thereby to raise the profile of Wenceslas, and remind others of the imperial connection to the saint and his 'church'. What is more, the altar was established in St. Peter's basilica following Charles's imperial coronation. This fostered a link between the holy authority of the Bohemian prince-saint, and the Bohemian emperor.<sup>415</sup> Aachen, meanwhile, as the former capital of the Holy Roman Empire created by the first Emperor Charles, Charlemagne, provided another explicit link between the history of the Empire, St. Wenceslas, and the Church of Prague. Finally, the Wenceslas altar at Nuremberg is significant as the city had held the imperial diet. As a result, all members of the diet had the chance to come into contact with Wenceslas's cult during this session, and yet another imperial connection was made to the most famous saint of the Church of Prague. He also donated relics of St. Wenceslas and St. Vitus to the new Lady church [*Frauenkirche*] completed in Nuremberg, along with the relics of several other saints, further underscoring the import of the Church of Prague to all members of the diet.<sup>416</sup> In addition, Charles established an oratory to Wenceslas, Charlemagne, and the Virgin at Ingelsheim, thought to be the place of Charlemagne's birth.<sup>417</sup> The Ingelsheim oratory was to be staffed by Augustinian canons from Prague who spoke 'the worthy Czech language'.<sup>418</sup> Here it is clear that Charles intended to create a link in the mind of worshippers between the Empire's patron and that of Bohemia.

While it is clear that in establishing these altars Charles hoped to spread the veneration of the Church of Prague and the cult of Wenceslas, he also aimed to spur Bohemians on pilgrimage. Further to this he decreed that the altars at Rome and Aachen were to be tended by Czech-speaking priests so that visitors could make confession in the vernacular.<sup>419</sup> These donations created a place for Milíč's sermons to be read out and inspire audiences around the Empire. It was hoped that those attending the sermons would be encouraged to consider the

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<sup>415</sup> Stejskal, *Umění*, p. 67.

<sup>416</sup> On the Augustinian relics, see Stejskal, *Umění*, pp. 86–89. An image of the reliquary can be found in Seibt (ed.), *Kaiser Karl IV*, pp. 258–259. On the relics of Wenceslas and Vitus at the lady church in Nuremberg, see Machilek, 'Privatfrömmigkeit und Staatsfrömmigkeit', pp. 99–100; Gerd Zimmerman, 'Die Verehrung der böhmischen Heiligen im mittelalterlichen Bistum Bamberg', *Bericht des historischen Vereins für die Pflege der Geschichte des ehemaligen Fürstbistums Bamberg*, 100 (1964), pp. 226–229; Mengel, *Bones, Stones, and Brothels*, pp. 295–297.

<sup>417</sup> Stejskal, *Umění*, p. 90; Folz, *Le Souvenir*, pp. 444–445.

<sup>418</sup> '...milování hodného českého jazyka...' Stejskal, *Umění*, p. 90.

<sup>419</sup> Robert Folz, *Le Souvenir et la légende de Charlemagne dans l'empire germanique médiéval* (Paris, 1950), pp. 448–450; Machilek, 'Privatfrömmigkeit und Staatsfrömmigkeit', pp. 90–91; Franz Martin Pelzel, *Kaiser Karl der Vierte. König in Böhmen*, vol. 2, *Urkundenbuch* (Dresden, 1783).

Church of Prague as a leading spiritual light and a part of their religious heritage as imperial citizens. Both Milíč and Charles were convinced of the Church of Prague's place in the Empire. To them ensuring the widespread acceptance of the concept was a simple matter of letting as many people as possible come into contact with it in as many ways as possible.

Clearly then both Milíč and the emperor were possessed of a deep and abiding personal belief in what they termed the Church of Prague which they believed their local saints founded. It is plain upon consideration of the shifts in language within Milíč's *Gratia Dei* sermons that the inclusion of the previously overlooked St. Ludmila, and the way in which he discusses her, that the preacher was working in his later collection to please the court with his works. The preacher had a vested interest by this time in doing so because the emperor was supporting the Jerusalem venture, which was responsible for copying and circulating the text. If there was a way to aggrandise the Church of Prague on a larger stage, Charles was more than happy to be a part of it. This support came even given any theological irregularities that may or may not have been apparent in the religious community that aided him in his goal. The Church of Prague had to be promoted as an idea to as many audiences in as many parts of the Empire, or indeed Christendom as a whole, as was possible. As such, one can consider that both men identified each other as allies in the battle for the Christian imagination, and worked together to ensure the Church of Prague held a central role in it.

### ***Popularising the Saints of the Church of Prague***

It is therefore obvious that both Milíč and Charles shared and sought to promote the concept of the Church of Prague abroad. In order to further the idea, both men also worked to raise the profiles of the individual saints of the church and bolster their cults outside of Bohemia. An examination of Milíč's sermon collections *Abortivus* and *Gratia Dei* allows one to evaluate the preacher's commitment to the saints of the Church of Prague, and his desire to popularise them abroad. Even a cursory examination of the two collections reveals that the works share a high proportion of sermons on the subject of the Bohemian saints. *Abortivus*, Milíč's first comprehensive sermon collection, which he compiled between the years 1363 and 1365, includes sermons on Saints Wenceslas, Procopius, Adalbert, and Vitus. These four sermons account for some fourteen

percent of the saint day sermons in the apostil, with foreign saints being the subject of another twenty-five sermons.

By the time Milíč was composing his *Gratia Dei* sermon collection from 1371 to 1372, this proportion had increased. In his new work, the preacher wrote reflections on the feast days of the afore-mentioned Bohemian saints, as well as St. Ludmila. While the number of local saints included had increased in this particular collection, the number of sermons for saints' days as a whole had gone down. In this instance only another twenty-three sermons were composed for foreign saints. As a result, the Bohemian saints account for almost one in five of the feast day sermons in his later apostil.<sup>420</sup> The considerable ratio of Bohemian saints to all other saints in the collections makes it plain that Milíč revered them in particular and felt that his audience would be best served in marking their holy days.

Yet, it was not just the inclusion of the saints of the Czech lands in his postils which shows Milíč's commitment to the saints of the Church of Prague, but the exclusions of sermons on other saints who shared the same feast days in order to do so. Then, as now, multiple saints shared the same dates for their feasts. By its very nature, however, a sermon collection had to promote just one of these individuals for commemoration on each such day. As a result, decisions on whom that would be had to be made. The inclusions of Wenceslas, Ludmila, and Vitus did not offer many major clashes, being as they shared their feast days with lesser known saints. These saints included Paternus in Wenceslas's case, Methodius of Olympus in Ludmila's, and Abraham in Vitus's.

Procopius and Adalbert, in contrast, had feast days which coincided with well-known saints whom Milíč had to leave out in order to write his sermons. Procopius's feast day, for example, overlapped with that of St. Ulrich. Ulrich was a native of the Black Forest and had a well-developed cult in the German-speaking lands, as well as a celebrated Benedictine abbey dedicated to him and

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<sup>420</sup> This count does not include sermons on feast days celebrating a particular event in a saint's life, such as those for the Decollation of John the Baptist, or the Conversion of Saint Paul. It is notable that absent from Milíč's postils are the saints Cyril and Methodius, whose cult was gaining popularity in Prague in the fourteenth century, due in large part to Charles's efforts in establishing the Emmaus Slavonic right monastery in the city. It would seem, however, that Milíč was not possessed of sufficient knowledge on the saints to include them in his sermon cycle, perhaps due to their relative obscurity in Prague prior to the emperor's reintroduction. See Table 1, p. 212.

the prostitute saint St. Afra in Augsburg.<sup>421</sup> Milíč's collections circulated most widely in the German lands. The decision to include Procopius, by no means the best-known of the Bohemian saints, rather than the popular Ulrich is, therefore, indicative both of Milíč's reverence for the local saint, and the degree to which he felt it necessary to make his audience aware of him.

Even more notable is Milíč's inclusion of a sermon on Adalbert when he shared a feast day with one of the most famous saints in Christendom then as now, St. George. In fact, so remarkable was this decision, that some copies of *Gratia Dei* have had the sermon on Adalbert marked as being dedicated to St. George instead, with the references to Adalbert removed altogether. The work can, however, be identified as pertaining to the Czech saint as it is the same sermon that Milíč included in *Abortivus*.<sup>422</sup> Milíč's decision to keep his older sermon on the local saint in this instance is a bold assertion that was Adalbert to whom attention should be paid on 23 April, as opposed to a saint with Europe-wide recognition. This decision was no doubt helped by Milíč's concept of Adalbert as a creator of Christian nations and a consummate reformer. In a time that the preacher characterised as being plagued with anti-Christian abomination, it was imperative that such a man, and the holy church which he founded, be looked to for guidance. It is therefore clear that the preacher made active decisions to put forward his own local saints at the expense of other better known holy persons.

Some individuals may not have agreed with the feast days which Milíč thought should be celebrated. When the local saints were added to the sermon collections, however, the cohort of saints whom they joined helped to prove them as worthy of addition. Once included, the Bohemians were presented alongside some of the most celebrated and storied saints possible. The other saints that Milíč saw fit to expound upon, with the notable exception of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, lived in the antique period, and the majority had a direct involvement in the foundation of the church.<sup>423</sup> The presentation of the saints of the Church of

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<sup>421</sup> On the Abbey, see Robert Müntefering, *Die Traditionen und das älteste Urbar des Klosters St. Ulrich und Afra in Augsburg* (Munich, 1986). It is also noteworthy that the chapel in Milíč's Jerusalem community was dedicated to the same St. Afra of Augsburg, (among others) whose memory is linked to Ulrich, indicating that the preacher would no doubt have been aware of the clash in feast days when he composed his sermon on Procopius. See Chapter 2, p. 105.

<sup>422</sup> Morée noted that while manuscript XIV.D.5 in the Czech National Library has the Adalbert sermon dedicated to the correct saint, other versions attribute it to St. George instead, and some to both. See his *Preaching*, p. 183.

<sup>423</sup> For a full list of all saints included in each sermon collection, and their feast days, see Table 1, p. 212. The inclusion of St. Elizabeth is likely due to her importance as a dynastic saint to the

Prague in conjunction with the preacher's works on church founders was a clear signal to audiences that the Bohemians were of similar merit. Furthermore, the inclusion of these medieval saints allowed audiences to construe their works as playing a part in the creation of the church up to that point. The saints of the Church of Prague were portrayed as instrumental in shaping the universal church, just as the classical saints before had done. These deeds presented side by side were meant to be considered as on par and therefore deserving of the same level of veneration.

Clearly then Milíč believed that the saints of the Church of Prague were the spiritual leaders of Christendom. The sheer volume of Bohemian saints included in these collections, the saints that were omitted in their favour, and those that they stand alongside all testify to the fact that Milíč wished to inspire the same sort of spiritual feeling in his audiences. His efforts to do so bore fruit as shown by the impressive survival rate of Milíč's sermon collections throughout the Empire's former territories. As sermon collections were intended to be used as templates for their readers, and their sermons therefore repeated, Milíč's collections had introduced scores of worshippers to the Bohemian saints, furthering their cults outside of the Czech lands.

The attempt to spread the cult of Bohemian saints through literary means is also evident in the efforts of the emperor. Historians have discussed Charles IV's interest in various saints at length, and he has been credited with popularising saints including Catherine and Sigismund in both Prague and the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>424</sup> The emperor's desire to propagate his local saints' cults can be found threaded throughout both his written works. Moreover, the methods which he used to do so often times bear a close resemblance to those of Milíč. Such attempts are seeded throughout his autobiography, in which he impressed his personal belief in the importance of the Bohemian saints, using the dates noted therein. Often when Charles related an important anecdote about recent battles, or his arrival at a particular city, he mentioned the religious feast day on which the event occurred. Of the eleven examples of feast days mentioned in the

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Luxembourgs. On Luxembourg dynastic saints see, Klaniczay, 'The Cult of Dynastic Saints in Central Europe', in, Singerman (trans.), Margolis (ed.), *The Uses of Supernatural Power*, pp. 111–128.

<sup>424</sup> See, for example Mengel's notable recent analysis of the emperor's introduction and promotion of the cult of St. Sigismund in Prague. Mengel, *Bones, Stones, and Brothels*, pp. 325–370.

autobiography, four are made in regards the major holy days of obligation: Easter, Pentecost, the Assumption of the Virgin, and Michaelmas. The remaining six are specific saints' days.<sup>425</sup> In all, Charles finds five saints important enough to note: Wenceslas, Catherine, George, Michael, and Procopius.<sup>426</sup>

The inclusions of George and Michael are understandable, as they were both revered throughout Christendom. The feast of St. Michael, or Michaelmas, was considered important enough that it was also celebrated as a holy day of obligation in the medieval period, though the obligation to attend mass was abandoned in the eighteenth century. Furthermore, both saints' feast days were of note because they were used to divide the year into seasons, and used as markers for agricultural tasks and often tax collection. Charles's inclusion of Catherine is also understandable, as the importance which she held in his life has been well documented.<sup>427</sup> Charles credited Catherine with his first victory in battle, which took place on her feast day, 25 November 1332. From that day onward he considered her his personal patron. The inclusion of saints Wenceslas, Catherine, and Procopius next to the better known George and Michael, and their inclusion alongside the major feast days of Easter, Pentecost, and the Assumption are therefore instructive. In mentioning the celebrations of lesser-known saints in conjunction with major saints' days, Charles indicated that he considered his local saints to be of equal importance to their better-known counterparts, much in the way that Milíč did. That Charles's inclusion of the feast days is indicative of their importance is obvious, for there are multiple days mentioned in his autobiography that are only referred to by their calendar date. Charles's recollection of his arrival in the city of Gado, for example is noted only as having taken place 'during the month of April...on the ninth day'.<sup>428</sup> Charles

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<sup>425</sup> Charles IV mentions Easter twice, (see, Nagy and Schaer (eds.), *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum*, pp. 36–37, 84–85), Pentecost once, (Ibid., pp. 52–53), and the Assumption once, (Ibid., pp. 58–59).

<sup>426</sup> St. Wenceslas's feast day is noted twice (Ibid., pp. 34–35, 148–149), as is St. Catherine's (Ibid., pp. 42–43, 150–151), while St. George (Ibid., pp. 84–85), St. Michael (Ibid., pp. 88–89), and St. Procopius (Ibid., pp. 98–99) all earn one reference each.

<sup>427</sup> Charles IV's attempts to encourage Catherine's worship have seen extensive analysis, and included the dedication of a monastery of Augustinian nuns in Prague's New Town to her, as well as naming his second daughter Catherine for the saint in 1342.

<sup>428</sup> '...eodem tempore de mense Aprilis...Et cum nona die pervenissemus ante civitatem eorum Gradensem...' Ibid., pp. 90–91.



used only the calendar date here although multiple saints were celebrated on the ninth of April.<sup>429</sup>

It is thus clear that when Charles took the time to mention the feast day of a particular saint, it was no mere pious flourish, but a deliberate act indicating his own spiritual interest in the celebration. Keeping this in mind, it is unsurprising that Charles recorded the feast day of Wenceslas twice alongside the more popular saints and religious feast days in his autobiography. His decision to do so indicates not only a personal reverence for the saint, but also a desire to spread his story and the celebration of his feast day. The first mention of the Bohemian patron saint came with Charles's report on the death of his mother, and the second was used in conjunction with a successful siege of a 'strongly fortified castle' at Mel.<sup>430</sup> It is thus obvious that both Milíč and the emperor used similar tactics to imply that the Bohemian saints were as important as those of antiquity.

Beyond these more subtle suggestions of the innate sacred nature of the saints of the Church of Prague, Charles also employed Milíč's favoured tactics and, on occasion, wrote reflections on the gospels. In particular, his extended reflection on the afore-mentioned biblical passage 'which is read on the day of St. Ludmila' is indicative of his interest in promoting her cult.<sup>431</sup> The sudden departure from the main topic of Charles's autobiography makes it plain that the emperor wished to do more than edify his readers on the true value of the passage from Matthew with its inclusion. An analysis of the work indicates that the section seeks to accomplish a singular goal, but in three different ways. Firstly the reflection attempts to include Ludmila along with the other saints of note to whom Charles referred. When writing of the gospel readings for Ludmila's feast day, Charles implied to audiences that she was the equal of saints such as George and Michael, much as the other saints he wrote of were. Secondly, in giving such a detailed exposition on the subject, Charles implied to his audience, once again, that this is a saint worthy of particular note. When other more famous saints are

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<sup>429</sup> Saints Acacius, Demetrius, Euppsychius, Hedda, Materianna, Waldetrudis, Casilda of Toledo, Dotto, Gaucherius, and Hugh of Rouen all share 9 April as a feast day.

<sup>430</sup> Charles's mother's death took place on 28 September 1330. He recorded it thusly, 'Et illo tempore mortua est mater mea in die beati Wenceslai martiris in Praga.' Nagy and Schaer (eds.), *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum*, p. 34.

For more on the attack on Mel, the 'castris fortissimi', see, Nagy and Schaer (eds.), *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum*, p. 148.

<sup>431</sup> '...quod legitur in die Ludmille.' Ibid., p. 104.

mentioned in just a few short lines, Ludmila and her connected readings were worthy of extensive consideration by so illustrious and pious an individual as the emperor. Therefore, the audience should also consider the importance of Charles's analysis and use it as a tool for personal moral guidance. Thirdly, in the mention of Ludmila in connection with the passage from Matthew, Charles intimated that the audience ought already to be familiar with both the saint and the gospel readings made on her feast day. Those who were not informed about Ludmila were thereby exhorted to familiarise themselves with her, and see to it that they celebrated her feast day and its attendant readings. All of this served to once again underscore the importance of yet another of the saints of the Czech lands, and helped to spread her cult beyond its borders, improving the reputation of her realm as a place of spiritual importance.

Charles's ability to expound on the biblical meanings of the gospel readings connected to the saints' of the Church of Prague's feast days was almost as advanced as that of the preacher. He was able to exceed Milíč, however, in his ability to spread the cult of local saints in other areas because of his position as emperor. As one of the most powerful men in Christendom he was able to write to other rulers to extol the virtues of the saints of the Church of Prague. This tactic can be seen, for example in the emperor's composition of a rhyme for King Waldemar IV of Denmark (1340–1375). The rhyme focused upon a part of the St. Wenceslas legend following the martyr's death. In it Christ appeared to the wayward Eric IV Plovpenning (1216–1250) the King of Denmark while he was on a hunt, and commanded him to establish a chapel to the slain Wenceslas.<sup>432</sup> Eric of course did so, also abandoning his former wild life and re-dedicating himself to God. With the missive Charles indicated to Waldemar that he should commemorate St. Wenceslas, not only for the saint's inherent holiness, but because of the miraculous links between Wenceslas and Denmark. Charles, in a bid to spread Wenceslas's cult, thus intimated that for Waldemar to take it up would be to enhance the religious reputation of his own homeland as well as that of Bohemia. What is more, the letter in and of itself is also indicative of Charles's willingness to take direct action and use his royal connections to introduce the worship of Wenceslas to other countries.

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<sup>432</sup> Franz Machilek, 'Privatfrömmigkeit und Staatsfrömmigkeit', p. 91; Arno Borst, 'Die Sebaldslegenden in der mittelalterlichen Geschichte Nürnbergs', *Jahrbuch für fränkische Landesforschung*, 26 (1966), pp. 122–128. For this part of the Wenceslas legend see, Kantor, 'The Legend of Saint Wenceslas/Oriente iam Sole', *The Origins*, pp. 238–240.

The expansion of the Church of Prague was important enough to Charles that much like Milíč he wrote multiple works on the subject intended for circulation. Further to this, the emperor also composed the afore-mentioned full life of St. Wenceslas.<sup>433</sup> The life was written with the intention that it would be read aloud during Wenceslas's memorial mass.<sup>434</sup> The sermon would therefore be read within Bohemia, given that Wenceslas was its patron saint, but would also likely be employed at the various Wenceslas altars which Charles founded throughout the Empire. This would guarantee the emperor that audiences would come into contact with it at the very least in the areas that he controlled, which would wish to please him by doing so. It was also possible that the life would later garner interest outside of the communities that it was read to by virtue of its composition by one of the most powerful men in Christendom. As such, Charles had reason to believe that his life of Wenceslas would enjoy wide circulation and encourage interest in audiences and the cult of the saint.

Clearly then the emperor sought to promote the Church of Prague and its attendant saints' cults through his written works, much in the way that Milíč had. Whereas the preacher's limited funds meant that he was only able to add to the prestige of his local saints through his own writings, Charles was able to appoint others to accomplish the goal. As a result, the emperor's commissioned writings also attempt the same feat. This is made plain in Beneš Krabice's chronicle which at the emperor's behest contains several carols about Wenceslas.<sup>435</sup> The inclusion of the songs within the chronicle is of note in this discussion because it did more than indicate to audiences that Wenceslas was a saint who should be celebrated; it went further in that it gave readers the ability to do so by providing the carols. This simple yet effective inclusion is a clear example of Charles's desire to encourage the Wenceslas cult in as many means as possible. It is obvious that he felt his own encouragements to worship Wenceslas were not enough to ensure that this important task was undertaken. He therefore employed as many written means as was possible to ensure it would be done.

The emperor's money and influence also allowed him to undertake projects which Milíč could never hope to accomplish, such as his afore-mentioned distribution of relics and establishment of altars and oratories. In addition, he oversaw the

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<sup>433</sup> For the legend, see, Nagy and Schaer (eds.), *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum*, pp. 183–209.

<sup>434</sup> *Ibid.*, p. XXXVIII.

<sup>435</sup> Krabice, *Chronicon Ecclesiae Pragensis*, in, *FRB*, vol. IV, pp. 537–538.

creation of no less than five Wenceslas chapels in Hamburg.<sup>436</sup> Aside from altars, chapels, and oratories, Charles also gave a relic of St. Vitus to an Augustinian house in Herrieden in Bavaria which still survives. There is no way to interpret these donations and foundations as anything other than an overt attempt to popularise the saints of the Czech lands abroad. That Charles went through the trouble of establishing his own sites for the worship of the saints of the Church of Prague, and was even willing to part with some of the most precious relics of the realm in order to do so, is proof of his desire to see his local saints find an audience abroad.

While such generous patronage was something that only an individual with the wealth and prestige that the emperor enjoyed could hope to accomplish, Milíč was doubtless aware of Charles's efforts in this area. Charles's donations of the Wenceslas and Vitus relics, as well as that of Wenceslas and Ludmila statues to the Lady church in Nuremburg in 1358, could not have escaped the preacher's attention. This is because Milíč himself was in the city that same year as a part of the emperor's retinue.<sup>437</sup> Likewise, the altar that Charles dedicated in Aachen was almost certainly known to Milíč, for its foundation occurred just one year before he took over the position of canon of the Wenceslas altar in the Vitus cathedral in 1363. With such an intimate connection to the saint's cult, and a well-placed position among the chancery, such a work could not have escaped Milíč's notice. It is also probable that the great interest which Milíč had in St. Wenceslas led the preacher to the saint's altar during his visit to Rome in 1367.

Although Milíč could not hope to undertake the great works of altar foundation and relic distribution that Charles was capable of, he was likely aware of the emperor's efforts to popularise the Bohemian saints abroad, and certainly admired them. In point of fact, these donations created a space from which Milíč's sermons could later be read out, enhancing the idea of the Church of Prague as a leading spiritual light in the Empire. Both Milíč and Charles were convinced of the Church of Prague's place in the Empire. Once again, it was to them a simple matter of letting as many people as possible come into contact with the concept in as many ways as possible that would ensure the widespread acceptance of the concept.

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<sup>436</sup> Heer, *The Holy Roman Empire*, trans. Sondheimer, p. 117.

<sup>437</sup> See Chapter 1, p. 41; Loskot, *Milíč*, p. 19; Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii*, pp. XLIII, 228.

## ***The Miraculous and the Cults of Saints***

It is therefore clear that both Milíč and Charles used every means at their disposal to encourage others to admire the Church of Prague. It was not simply the existence of writings on the saints, or in the case of Charles the creation of spaces from which to read to such works, however, that would encourage people outside of the Czech lands to worship them. The works themselves give more specific reasons that the saints of the Church of Prague are worthy of veneration, in particular because of their miraculous qualities. Such a tactic would have interested a great number of individuals. This is because, as Weinstein and Bell have argued, for the lower and peasant classes in the medieval period the idea of sainthood had a direct and inextricable link with the possession and use of supernatural powers.

For them, a saint who could not answer their prayers was no saint at all, while, conversely, a beneficent wonder-worker was an immediate object of awe and veneration. For peasants the holy and the miraculous were interchangeable.<sup>438</sup>

Given the interest of the general populace in the miraculous abilities of the saints, it is unsurprising to see that both Milíč and Charles emphasised the same things in their written works. In his *Abortivus* sermons in particular Milíč strove to highlight the miraculous and self-sacrificing properties of his local saints. In his sermon on Wenceslas for example, the preacher accentuated the fact that the saint's holiness was cemented by his martyrdom. In so doing he became a new Abel when his vengeful brother killed him.<sup>439</sup> It is through this act of self-sacrifice that one is able to see the true devotion of Wenceslas. Though he may have ceded his temporal kingdom to his brother, he gained the kingdom of God.

What is more, Wenceslas was willing to undergo horrible pain in order to do so, a fact which Milíč highlights through an extensive description of the saint's death at the end of the sermon. This preoccupation with martyrdom as the defining and miraculous characteristic of a saint continued in his work on St. Adalbert's life. Milíč began the sermon asserting that it is through martyrdom that one is best able to devote oneself to Christ and that the audience should 'Likewise...follow

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<sup>438</sup> Weinstein and Bell, *Saints and Society*, p. 208.

<sup>439</sup> 'Beatus ergo Wenseslaus tamquam, clarissimus princeps ecclesie sancte, vita sancta sicut Abel refulsit. Sederunt autem principes adversus eum martyr videlicet eius et frater eius Boleslaus ut Caym invidens eius sanctitati cupiditate dominandi, dum in Boleslavia convivium fecerunt et eum invitaverunt ut occiderent, ubi cum regno suum principatu privare putabant, ibi ad regnum eternum per martirium provexerunt.' Milíč, 'St. Wenceslas', in, *A*, I.D.37, fol. 215 r.

Christ to battle and thence to the crown [of heaven].<sup>440</sup> St. Vitus also shared in the victorious death that Wenceslas and Adalbert had experienced, and died as a soldier in the holy war which Milíč claimed was underway.<sup>441</sup> Once again stressing the unbearable pain which a true saint went through for the Lord, Milíč also included a list of the tortures undergone by Vitus at the hands of his ungrateful father. Though not appearing until the *Gratia Dei* collection, Ludmila was also depicted like her male counterparts as notable for her willingness to endure death for her convictions. When she did so, she became the Naboth to the sensuous Jezebel of Drahomira.<sup>442</sup>

The willingness of all these saints to resign themselves to excruciating pain in the name of God was considered by Milíč to be their defining saintly characteristic. In short, it was what marked them out as models for all those in the church. The audience was faced with their suffering and asked to compare themselves. Could they have undergone the same torture for God? As the answer was most likely no, the saints have proven that they are capable of the miraculous because of their astonishing ability to negate their own safety for the glory of God.

This was not the only miracle that the saints could perform, however, as shown by Milíč's account of the life of St. Procopius. As the only saint of the Czech lands who did not die a martyr's death, he was unable to receive the same treatment from Milíč. In place of a list of tortures, in this instance, the audience was regaled with an enumeration of Procopius's miracles in the *Abortivus* sermon. These included the emancipation of Labessa from the evil tyrant Prince Spytihnev. The relation of this miracle gave audiences a concrete way to appeal to the saint, and thereby a real way in which his cult could be encouraged. If they were faced by hardships as the result of oppressive rulers, they could appeal to St. Procopius for intervention. He had already performed similar miracles, and was therefore well-suited to the task should any find themselves in difficulty.

Miracles are also recorded in the same apostil's St. Vitus sermon. In it the preacher stressed the saint's willingness to heal the son of the Emperor Diocletian (245–311), who was possessed by demons, despite the pain the tyrant

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<sup>440</sup> 'Ideo nos sequi deberemus Christum ad pugnam et per consequens ad coronam.' Milíč, 'St. Adalbertus', in, *Ibid.*, fol. 103 r.

<sup>441</sup> 'Bellum ergo sanctorum est ut sint pacifici et proprias iniurias sufferant pacienter et se prius et suos motus supprimant, ut voluntas sempersit ad pacem ad bellum non nisi necessitas magna compellat.' *Ibid.*, fol. 142 v.

<sup>442</sup> See note, 406, p. 128.

had put him through. Furthermore, Milíč cited the efficaciousness of Vitus's spiritual war, for on his behalf God destroyed all the temples of Rome and the Emperor Diocletian was killed. Audiences were thereby encouraged to emulate the miraculous Vitus and intercede for the good of others, even if they were enemies. Milíč thus once again gave potential worshippers a way to connect with the saint, in that they could appeal to him when they found it difficult to overcome their own prejudices and dispense Christian charity. The recounting of the miracles of both these men also allowed Milíč to show his audiences that the Bohemian saints were worthy of note and of worship. If they could perform these miraculous works during their own lifetimes then they were even better positioned to intervene on behalf of petitioners with similar wonders after their deaths as they had passed into the holy presence.

This same concept was employed and taken to its logical extension in Charles's own works. In them he connected momentous happenings in his own life to the Bohemian saints' days on which they occurred. Such a correlation appears in his autobiography where he recounted his siege of the castle at Mel on St. Wenceslas's day. The emperor gave certain verbal clues to what he saw as the miraculous intervention of the saint. For example, his depiction of the castle as 'strongly fortified' indicated that the task was to be read as daunting, or even insurmountable.<sup>443</sup> In the face of this adversity Charles was able to muster his strength and accomplish the task with ease. This victory was therefore given as a result of the divine intervention on the part of the saint. Furthermore, a later confirmation that '[e]ven after the peace treaty [Charles] remained in control of [the castle]'<sup>444</sup> proved to the reader that this was a decisive victory over Charles IV's 'enemies'<sup>445</sup> on his holy ancestor's feast day. The impossibility of besieging the castle, and its subsequent swift disposal, was meant to encourage readers to call upon St. Wenceslas when they too were faced with overwhelming obstacles. This was Charles's own proof that the saint interceded on behalf of those who venerated him.

Similar in character was Charles's recollection of the events on the feast of St. Procopius, who was by no means the best known of the Bohemian saints.

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<sup>443</sup> See note 428, p. 137.

<sup>444</sup> '...quod tamen post concordiam in mea potestate remansit.' Nagy and Schaer (eds.), *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum*, p. 148.

<sup>445</sup> '...inimici...' Ibid.

Nonetheless, Charles referred his readers to Procopius when recounting his taking of the city of Belluno. During the escapade through a clever ruse, Charles 'entered the gate ... and unfurled the banners of the kingdom of Bohemia'.<sup>446</sup> Once again, the connection between divine intervention and military triumph was made clear. This created an explicit link between St. Procopius's feast day and a victory won for Bohemia. This link was further compounded by a declaration from Charles that 'by God's grace [he] took the city.'<sup>447</sup> The emperor here implied that there was a specific and efficacious link between the saints of the Czech lands and success in battle. As a result, the Church of Prague ought to be looked to for divine assistance when embattled. These references are similar to Milíč's own sermons in that both give specific examples of when to call upon the saint for help, in each case in times of military strife. Charles's recounting of saints' days, however, goes further by showing that such pleas are indeed effectual.

It is therefore plain that both men used references to the Bohemian saints' miracles and martyrdoms to encourage the veneration of the saints of the Church of Prague. Audiences were presented with extracts from the saints' lives which would convince them that the Bohemian saints had proven themselves as holy through their own sacrifices and miracles. As a result they should be trusted to assist supplicants in their own times of need. Milíč underscored this point through his relation of the posthumous miracles that the saints had worked for others. Charles went yet further by giving examples of times when he felt they had done so for him. As lay audiences were largely swayed by the inimitable feats of saints, these accounts encouraged the average listener to worship the Church of Prague. In the first instance the miracles provided proof that they were indeed holy, and in the second they showed that the Bohemian saints were to be counted upon for help.

### **Conclusions**

Without a doubt, both Charles IV and Milíč held their local saints in reverence above and beyond most other holy persons. Because of the faith that both men had in their local saints, they hoped to instill the same reverence in others outside

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<sup>446</sup> 'Et ego intravi portas in die beati Procopii, quarta die mensis Julii. Et cum omnes intrassent, aperui banneria regni Boemie...' Ibid., p. 98.

<sup>447</sup> 'Et sic per dei gratiam obtinimus civitatem.' Ibid.



of Bohemia. It was not simply the cult of the Bohemian saints that both men were seeking to promote, however, but the concept of the Church of Prague. They considered the Church of Prague to be a distinct religious entity which by rights should have been leading Christendom during a time of moral decay. The Church of Prague, unlike other regional concepts such as the 'churches' of France, Bohemia, and England, was to be considered the focal point of an international religious practice for any of the faithful within the Empire.

That this concept and its promotion was something that both men were working toward in tandem is demonstrated by the late adoption of the concept in Milíč's works. Previously, the preacher had written of the 'Church of Bohemia', but in later sermons, when he was working more directly with the court he adopted the same language as the emperor, then referring to the 'Church of Prague'. What is more, he even employed this term in his sermon to St. Ludmila, the one Bohemian saint he had overlooked in his previous work, and one of the saints which Charles had written his most extensive reflection upon.

Both Milíč and Charles used similar tactics in their written works in order to engender faith in the Church of Prague in others. Their similar techniques can be seen in both men's inclusion of the Bohemian saints alongside better known personages, such as St. Michael or the church founders in their written works. Indeed, in the case of Milíč, the sheer proportion of sermons on the local worthies in both his sermon collections is testament to his belief in their efficacy as spiritual models and intercessors. The similarities in their work can also be seen when other foreign (and sometimes more popular) saints were left out in order to discuss the Bohemian cohort. Both men's relation of the various saints' miracles also underscored the idea that the Bohemian saints were effective champions for Christianity. Charles made his point by emphasising his military achievements which took place on the feast days of the saints. Milíč in turn listed the occasions upon which the saints had interceded on behalf of other supplicants. In this way both men gave their audiences specific examples of when to pray to the Church of Prague for intervention. This made it easier for believers to integrate worship of the saints of the Czech lands into their own spiritual practice.

There were, of course, ways in which Charles, because of his political connections and wealth, could encourage the cult of the Bohemian saints abroad which Milíč could never hope to achieve. The emperor was able to send other

rulers legends of Wenceslas and donate relics and altars abroad in order to inspire other people to take up their cults. While Milíč would have been incapable of such feats, his connection to the court and time in some of the locations where Charles made his altar foundations meant that the preacher was well aware of what the emperor was able to achieve abroad. Later, when Milíč's sermons on the saints of the Church of Prague began to circulate, with the help of his scriptorium at Jerusalem, it would be from Charles's endowed altars that they were preached. It is therefore understandable that Charles would wish to support Milíč's work at Jerusalem, knowing as he did that the preacher was producing works which would enhance the Church of Prague in tandem with his own works. In this way the preacher and the emperor collaborated, although their efforts spanned decades.

Clearly then Milíč and the emperor shared the same belief in and desire to promote the Church of Prague. As such it is unsurprising that Charles was able to recognise that his own religious motivations and projects were aided by Milíč's work. The preacher and the emperor held similar religious views, and similar religious goals. This similitude explains Charles's willingness to involve himself with the sometimes controversial Milíč. If he saw an opportunity to benefit the religious legacy of Bohemia, the shrewd Charles was happy to lend support, even to a polarising figure like Milíč. What is more, once the emperor began to extend support to Milíč, it is possible to identify changes in his work that show he was seeking to bring his writings in line with those of Charles. As the emperor's beliefs did not depart from his own, it was not difficult for the preacher to adjust his language, and include one of his favourite saints in the new sermon collection. If these small changes could be made to prove his commitment to the Church of Prague, and justify Charles's trust in his Jerusalem project, Milíč was happy to make them. It is therefore obvious that the emperor and the preacher collaborated in order to benefit their own goals, which in this instance were one and the same.

## Chapter 4

### Power

As the past chapters of this thesis have shown, Milíč and Charles IV both worked toward the same goals in a number of circumstances. Beyond both men's desire to imbue the city of Prague with an upright religious character, and to spread the worship of the Church of Prague abroad, both also shared an interest in adding to the temporal influence of Charles. This chapter will examine Milíč's sermons in order to ascertain the ways in which he attempted to sway audiences towards supporting Charles in the consolidation of power. In order to accomplish this, it will make simultaneous reference to Charles's work in the same area. The discussion will focus first upon domestic issues, in particular attempts to connect Charles with the Přemyslid dynasty, of which his mother was the last surviving member. It will then move on to discuss the strife between the Bohemian crown and nobility in the later fourteenth century, and Milíč's attempts to promote Charles as an idealised ruler in opposition to what he characterised as a sinful nobility. Having discussed the implications of Milíč's work within the kingdom, the chapter will go on to discuss his theories on imperial power. Examined will be his attempts to ensure that Charles as the Holy Roman Emperor ruled over the greatest possible territory. Finally, this chapter will discuss Milíč's work to promote the idea of the emperor as the equal of the pope, and an individual to be consulted in religious matters. These enquiries will provide the most obvious explanation for Charles IV's support of the sometimes divisive Milíč. As this discussion will make clear, the preacher's vociferous support for the emperor in his ongoing power struggles at both the local and international level made Milíč a valuable asset to the crown.

#### ***The Přemyslid Dynasty and Charles IV***

Of particular interest in Milíč's sermons are his attempts to connect Charles to the Přemyslid dynasty. The Přemyslids traced their ancestry to the mythological founders of Bohemia, the fairy Libuše, and the ploughman Přemysl, who had ruled from Vyšehrad supposedly from the time of the Slavic migrations.<sup>448</sup> Historically, however, the earliest recorded Přemyslid ruler was Bořivoj I, the

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<sup>448</sup> For the legend of Libuše and Přemysl, see, Cosmas of Prague, *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, ed. Wolverson, pp. 40–48.

husband of St. Ludmila. The dynasty had therefore been ruling for at least four centuries when the male line came to an abrupt end after Charles's uncle Wenceslas [Václav] III (1289–1306) was murdered.<sup>449</sup> The correct succession of the Bohemian throne then fell into dispute, with both Charles's mother Elizabeth and her sister Anne (1290–1313) making up the last of the Přemyslid line.

Following Wenceslas III's death, the Czech nobility were first inclined to support the assumption of Anne's husband Henry of Carinthia (1265–1355) to the throne. Henry had gained their allegiance after making unequivocal statements regarding his predisposition to affirm the independence of the nobles as well as their right to elect their own king, established in the 1212 Golden Bull of Sicily.<sup>450</sup> Henry was duly elected in September 1306, only for the nobles' hopes to be dashed by then Roman King Albrecht I Habsburg (1255–1308), who insisted that his son Rudolf Habsburg (1281–1307) take the throne. Albrecht stressed the point by marching an army into Prague, expelling the surprised Henry, and installing his son. Regardless of Albrecht's efforts, the plan was short lived, as Rudolf died the following year in a battle with the disaffected nobility. With the seat vacant yet again, Henry was installed as King of Bohemia.

In spite of the high hopes of the Bohemian nobility, (or perhaps explaining their interest in supporting him), Henry proved to be a weak and ineffectual ruler. Under his rule the kingdom was beset by military unrest, with individual nobles at times attacking the towns which were Henry's power base. The hapless Henry could do little but look on while Bohemia was ravaged, as his military support came from Carinthia and Meissen. What is more, Henry allowed the administration of the realm to languish, failing to collect taxes from the rich silver mines at Kutná Hora, and allowing the kingdom to slip into a period of economic stagnation.<sup>451</sup> With their first choice of ruler proving to be a disappointment, noble support soon swung toward John of Luxembourg, who had married

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<sup>449</sup> Wenceslas III of Bohemia. For more on his life see Karel Maráz, *Václav III. (České Budějovice, 2006)*; Karel Maráz, 'K hodnostářům a úředníkům uherského (1301–1304), českého a polského (1305–1306) krále Václava III', *Mediaevalia historica Bohemica*, 11 (2007), pp. 103–113. On the Přemyslid dynasty, see Josef Žemlička, *Přemyslovci. Jak žili, vládli a umírali* (Prague, 2005); Dušan Třeštík, *Počty Přemyslovců* (Prague, 1997).

<sup>450</sup> The Golden Bull of Sicily was declared by Holy Roman Emperor Frederick II (1194–1250), and also certified the royal title for Přemysl Otakar I (c. 1155/1167–1230), as well the rights of the nobility in the kingdom. A copy of the bull itself can be found at <<http://www.psp.cz/cgi-bin/eng/docs/guide/bul2.html>>. Accessed 1 March 2014.

<sup>451</sup> Kutná Hora was one of the richest silver mines in Europe from the late thirteenth century onward. For more on the mines, see Ian Blanchard, *Mining, Metallurgy, and Minting in the Middle Ages*, vol. 3 (Stuttgart, 2005), pp. 929–930.

Charles's mother in 1310.<sup>452</sup> By October of the same year John was campaigning in Bohemia to assert his claim to the throne. He had captured Prague by December and deposed Henry, who returned to Carinthia vanquished to live out his days. As successful as John's military campaign was, and despite his initial support from the local nobility, who were interested in the Luxembourg's willingness to affirm their fiscal and political rights with an inaugural diploma, he soon found himself mired in trouble in Bohemia.<sup>453</sup>

Unable to speak Czech, and uninterested in the day to day running of the kingdom, John was by all accounts most concerned with the opportunity to draw an income from Bohemia while travelling. His prolonged absences earned John the derisive titles 'John the Foreigner' and 'the Foreign King' from his Bohemian subjects.<sup>454</sup> The disillusionment that some felt toward the absentee king created a hostile environment for the Luxembourg dynasty. Some contemporary chronicles, most notably the *Chronicle of Dalimil* [*Dalimilova kronika*; *Kronika tak řečeného Dalimila*], disparaged the situation and wrote invectives against the German-speaking king. The chronicle insisted that the kingdom ought to be run by the Czech-speaking nobles, whom it described as 'true Czechs'.<sup>455</sup> Similarly, while the *Chronicon Aulae Regiae* decried the absence of the king, and the subsequent weakening of royal powers, it also admitted that Bohemia was a more peaceful place when John of Luxembourg was away.<sup>456</sup> These sentiments

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<sup>452</sup> On John of Luxembourg, see Lenka Bobková, 'Jan Lucemburský', in Marie Ryantová and Petr Vorel (eds.), *Čeští králové* (Prague, 2008), pp.171–187; Milada Říhoá, Dana Stehlíková, David Tomíček, et. al., *Lékaři na dvoře Karla IV. a Jana Lucemburského* (Prague, 2010).

<sup>453</sup> Jiří Spěvák, *Jan Lucemburský a jeho doba, 1296–1346. K prvnímu vstupu českých zemí do svazku se západní Evropou* (Prague, 1994), pp. 137–158; Jaroslav Mezník, *Čechy a Morava v 14. století* (Prague, 1991), pp. 15–17.

<sup>454</sup> 'Jan cizinec', 'král cizinec', 'přislý kral'. On John's struggles for acceptance in the Czech lands, see Jiří Spěvák 'Problémy královské moci v českých zemích a jejich evropské souvislosti', in, *Král diplomat. Jan Lucemburský* (Prague, 1982), pp. 53–95; Jiří Spěvák, 'Lucemburské koncepty českého státu a jejich přemyslovské kořeny', *Sborník historický*, 24 (1976), p. 16. On his career in general see, Michel Margue and Jean Schroeder (eds.), *Un itinéraire européen: Jean l'Aveugle, comte de Luxembourg et roi de Bohême: 1296–1346* (Luxembourg and Brussels, 1996).

<sup>455</sup> On anti-German sentiment in the Dalimil Chronicle see Jiří Daňhelka, Karel Hádek, Bohuslav Havránek, and Naděžda Kvítková (eds.), *Staročeská Kronika tak řečeného Dalimila* (Prague, 1988), pp. 8–9; Jaroslav Pánek, Oldřich Tůma, et al., *A History of the Czech Lands* (Prague, 2009), p. 121; Hugh Agnew, *The Czechs and the Lands of the Bohemian Crown* (Stanford, CA, 2004), p. 30.

<sup>456</sup> While there are clear instances in which contemporary chroniclers wrote against John and often for the local nobility, as Agnew has noted the views regarding the necessity for or benefit of a strong king are mixed. (See, Agnew, *The Czechs*, p. 30.) The *Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, for example, argues for an increased royal presence. (Žitavský, *Zbraslavská kronika. Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, ed. Fiala, trans. Hefmanský and Mertlík, pp. 356–360).

expressed the reality that many felt, which was that the Luxembourgs were German outsiders, with limited claim to the Bohemian throne.

The situation improved little with Charles's birth in 1316, which afforded John a better claim to legitimacy via his wife's Přemyslid bloodline, but by no means resolved the issue.<sup>457</sup> In fact, the state of affairs began to worsen at this point when a plot between Charles's mother Elizabeth, and the nobles Vilém Zajíc of Valdek (1289–1319), and Jindřich of Lipá (1275–1329) was uncovered in 1319.<sup>458</sup> It came to light that the queen and the nobles sought to overthrow the king and place the young Charles on the throne. Accordingly, Elizabeth, as the rightful Přemyslid heir, would act as regent during her son's minority. John, furious with his wife, banished her to Melník castle, along with their children. By 1323, John had thought better of leaving his heir alongside his openly hostile wife, and removed Charles to the French court. He would never see his mother again. The entire situation did little to recommend the Luxembourgs to the Bohemians in general. Further, the severance of Charles from his mother's perceived Přemyslid influence, as well as his native Bohemia, did not seem to indicate that the younger Luxembourg would be any better disposed to support the kingdom in his majority. With the removal of Charles, John had made a foreigner of his son.

It has been posited by both Kaňák and Loskot that Milíč was born sometime around 1320, or about a decade after John of Luxembourg came to power in Bohemia.<sup>459</sup> Given Milíč's (lower) noble birth, connections to the Bishop of Olomouc, and his subsequent connection to the cathedral hierarchy in Moravia, he was certainly privy to discussions regarding the current state of affairs in kingdom. In the milieu of the Olomouc cathedral Milíč saw first-hand the dissatisfaction that those in positions of power had with the absent monarch and his claims and commitments to the Czech lands. As a result, Milíč's experience made him acutely aware of the need to stress the link between the current Luxembourg dynasty and the Přemyslid line, and dissipate the resentment that Bohemians felt toward Charles's father.

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<sup>457</sup> On the struggle for the crown of Bohemia, see, Spěváček, *Král diplomat*, pp. 30–52.

<sup>458</sup> On Henry [Jindřich] of Lipa see, František Gabriel, *Hrad Lipý* (Prague, 1997); Miloslav Sovadina, 'Jindřich z Lipé. I. První muž království', *Časopis Matice moravské*, 120 (2001), pp. 5–36.

<sup>459</sup> Kaňák, *Milíč*, p. 11; Loskot, *Milíč*, pp. 15–16.

Milíč rose to the support of his benefactor in his Wenceslas sermons, in which he encouraged his audiences to identify Charles as a representative of his saintly ancestor. That audience members should do so is first indicated by the very use of the saint's name. Charles was born Wenceslas [Václav] to a Přemyslid mother, and was by virtue of his name intended by his family to be connected to his saintly ancestor. This family tradition of the name Wenceslas was something which Charles himself strove to highlight. In his autobiography he took care to introduce himself first to his readers as Wenceslas, and later stressed that the name Charles was 'bestowed upon' him by the King of France, which is to say it was not the decision of his immediate, Bohemian relatives.<sup>460</sup> His commitment to the Bohemian and Přemyslid tradition of Wenceslases was also proven by his decision to christen his first two sons with the same name.<sup>461</sup> In this way there was a direct nominal connection not only between the young Luxembourgs and the Přemyslid saint, but also with their deceased grand uncle Wenceslas III, their grandmother's brother and the last of the Přemyslid kings, as well as their great grandfather King Wenceslas II (1271–1305). The names proved a direct dynastic connection as well as establishing a familial tradition that would be obvious even to commoners. When Milíč wrote of the glories of St. Wenceslas who was 'the most distinguished prince of the holy church' audiences were therefore prompted to think of their current ruler.<sup>462</sup>,

What is more, Milíč sermons on Wenceslas conjured Charles into the minds of audience members due to the monarch's careful cultivation of the saint's cult. As the extensive discussion in the third chapter of this thesis showed, Charles held the saint in special reverence, and wished to promote his worship throughout the Empire. His dedication to raising the saint's profile did more than just add to the cult, however, as it also signified to Charles's Czech speaking subjects that the king was still aware of and dedicated to his own ancestry. This in turn reminded others to consider the current king alongside the most famous Přemyslid.

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<sup>460</sup> 'Genuitque idem Johannes, rex Boemie, cum Elyzabeth regina primogenitum suum nomine Wenceslaum anno domini millesimo trecentesimo XVI pridie idus Maii hora prima in Praga. ... fecitque me dictus rex Francorum per pontificem confirmari et imposuit michi nomen suum equivocum videlicet Karolus ...' Nagy and Schaer (eds.), *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum*, pp. 22–23.

<sup>461</sup> Charles's first son christened Wenceslas [Václav] (1350–1351) was born to him from his second wife Anna Wittelsbach of the Palatinate [Anna Falcká] (1329–1353), and died in his infancy. His second son Wenceslas (1361–1419), born during his third marriage to Anna von Schweidnitz (1339–1362), would go on to rule as King of Bohemia, and sometime Holy Roman Emperor.

<sup>462</sup> See Chapter 3, note 437, p. 141.

Therefore, when Charles wrote his glowing hagiography of Wenceslas, embellished the saint's chapel in the Prague cathedral, and established altars in his honour throughout the Empire, he was making an effort to prove his links to the holy Bohemian legacy of his forefathers, as well as give due reverence to the saint.

At no time were the ramifications of the enhancement of Wenceslas's cult more obvious than when Charles had the royal crown, known as the Crown of St. Wenceslas, refashioned and used in his coronation as King of Bohemia in 1347.<sup>463</sup> Adding still more to the symbolic nature of the ceremony, Charles created his own new coronation procedure. The ceremony was purported to be drawn from old Přemyslid traditions, and included a procession from Prague Castle to the legendary home of the Přemyslids at Vyšehrad.<sup>464</sup> Adding still more to the overt attempt to connect Charles with his ancestors both holy and secular, was that after the coronation the crown remained on the head of the statue of St. Wenceslas in the Prague cathedral. With this act, Charles established both a physical and symbolic link between the current king and his holy predecessor.

While both Charles and Milíč were working to connect the king to his ancestor through the promotion of the cult of St. Wenceslas, Milíč went further than simply referring to names in his sermons. The preacher also gave audiences a chance to connect the two men by highlighting aspects of St. Wenceslas's reign which could be compared to those of his ancestor. One of the most obvious attempts can be found in Milíč's discussion of what he considered to be St. Wenceslas's work fighting against the tyranny of rapacious nobility. This is first made clear in his *Gratia Dei* St. Wenceslas sermon, where Milíč laments that the Bohemian nobles, or 'our men', sold 'their own souls to the devil for the *robota*, that is for the service of the poor and servitude'.<sup>465</sup> This *robota* which Milíč lamented was part of a large swathe of taxes which feudal lords extracted from their peasants, much

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<sup>463</sup> On the Crown of St. Wenceslas, see Karel Neubert and Karel Stjksal, *Umění na dvoře Karla IV. Dějiny umění* (Prague, 2003); František Kavka, *Život na Dvoře Karla IV* (Prague, 1993), p. 82.

<sup>464</sup> On the coronation, see Spěvák, *Karel IV*, pp. 335–338; Pánek, Tůma, et al., *A History of the Czech Lands*.

<sup>465</sup> 'Beatus hunc Wenceslas imitando sanguinem suum fudit et substantiam suam per gentibus in servitute reditit tribuit. ... Nostri autem comutant et vendunt dyablo animas proprias pro robotis, id est pro angriis pauperum et servitute cogentes eos proprietati sue et vita et pecuniis deservire, sicut equus et mulus utuntur enim hominibus sicut brutus.' Milíč, 'St. Wenceslas', in, *GD*, XII.D.1, fol. 123 r.



like the *corvée*.<sup>466</sup> The *robota* was required of all serfs, most particularly in the busier times of harvest or ploughing on the land of their nobles. It could also be extended to the provision of troops and labour during military campaigns, the obligatory provision of food and housing for travelling justices, and the collection of farm products. In contrast to the wicked lords, Milíč presented St. Wenceslas as the exemplum of a pious ruler unconcerned by what could be extracted from his subordinates.

The theoretical tyranny of the nobles had only been extended in recent years, as Charles's father had been neglecting the kingdom. This disregard surfaced as the mortgaging of royal properties to the nobles, a state of affairs recorded in several contemporary chronicles.<sup>467</sup> The ensuing power vacuum meant that the nobility were able to extend the areas from which they could demand *robota*. To Milíč's way of thinking, this also meant that the nobles were able to oppress ever larger groups of peasants when they did so.

While the nobility are therefore identified with the tyrants in these sermons, audiences were able to consider Charles as a Wenceslas because of his godly actions in opposition to the gentry who 'use men as animals'.<sup>468</sup> For instance, just as his predecessor had sought to restore the property of the poor when the nobility exploited them, so Charles worked to limit the areas from which the aristocracy could leverage such taxes. As soon as Charles had returned to the kingdom of his birth he had embarked on a programme to undo his father's neglect. Within a short period of time, Charles brought most alienated royal properties back under the crown. He also began work on a number of new castles and towns, which served both to protect any royal lands near to noble and foreign holdings, and prove the power both of the young Luxembourg and the crown.

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<sup>466</sup> On the multiple taxes which peasants paid to the nobility, see Klassen, *The Nobility*, pp. 11–13; Malý, *Dějiny Českého*, pp. 42, 110. It should be noted that despite Milíč's objections, in most cases the *robota* did not constitute a crushing obligation for the majority of the peasantry. Over all the *robota* constituted a commitment of about five percent of the average peasant's time over a year.

<sup>467</sup> 'Eodem anno Iohannes, rex Boemie, eidem suo primogenito Karolo marchionatum Moraue contulit. Qui accipiens gubernacula regni Boemie et marchionatum Moraue multum se legaliter gessit in omnibus, ita ut ab omnibus pauperibus et divitibus nimio diligeretur affectu. Pacem eciam procurabat totis viribus in terris suis, latrones et fures undique persequendo. Pecunias eciam, quas percipiebat, partim transmittebat patri, qui, ut frequenter, in alienis morabatur partibus, et cum residuo bona obligata exsoluebat.' Krabice, *Chronicon Ecclesie Pragensis*, in, *FRB*, vol. IV, p. 485.

<sup>468</sup> See note 463, p. 152.

The necessity of this gathering of royal property and the importance which it played is demonstrated in Charles's own biography. In it he wrote that upon his return to the kingdom after his childhood in France, 'there was not one castle which was free and not mortgaged together with all its royal property'.<sup>469</sup> Charles was forced to recover eleven castles in Bohemia alone, a further six in Moravia, and 'many other properties which had been mortgaged and alienated from the kingdom.'<sup>470</sup> All this trouble, he attested, had resulted from the fact that '[t]he majority of barons had ruled tyrannically and did not fear the king as they should, for they had divided up the kingdom among themselves.'<sup>471</sup> This lament is similar to Milíč's own complaints regarding the nobility and their treatment of the poor. When the crown took back these lands it also re-established its own rule over the associated peasants, who would have seen a resultant decrease in the amount of work required for the *robotá*. In this way Charles was following in the footsteps of his ancestor and unburdening his subjects from the onerous servitude Milíč lamented in the Wenceslas sermon.

The same religious correlation between Charles and the Přemyslid saints was also encouraged by Milíč, who considered them as similar because of the religious focuses of their respective rules. In what Morée has argued are extended treatments on the morality of temporal power contained in his sermons on the Přemyslid saints, Milíč encouraged others to contemplate the religious projects and demonstrable piety of the current occupant of the Bohemian throne.<sup>472</sup> Milíč's treatise on the moral responsibilities of rulers in the Wenceslas sermon included in *Abortivus*, for example, provided a sort of check-list of attributes by which an audience should consider a ruler. Those reading or

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<sup>469</sup> 'Quod regnum invenimus ita desolatum, quod nec unum castrum invenimus liberum quod non esset obligatum cum omnibus bonis regalibus, ita quod non habebamus ubi manere, nisi in domibus civitatum sicut alter civis.' Nagy and Schaer (eds.), *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum*, pp. 68–69.

<sup>470</sup> '...et quam plura alia bona obligata et alienata a regno.' Ibid., pp. 72–73.

<sup>471</sup> '...quoniam barones pro maiori parte effecti erant tyranni, nec timebant regem prout decebat, quia regnum inter se dividerant.' Ibid., pp. 72–73. Exactly how Charles managed to acquire the capital with which to recover the royal properties is unknown. When he returned to Bohemia there were few lucrative royal holdings, and the profits from the royal monopoly on the Kutná Hora mine could not possibly stretch to such a degree. A clue to this comes from his decision to levy a new and substantial tax. This was applied in both Bohemia and Moravia, as well as the neighbouring countries under Luxembourg rule. (Pánek, Tůma, et al. *A History of the Czech Lands*, p. 127.) In whatever manner it was obtained, it is clear that Charles was able to either attract sufficient confidence in his work to encourage lending, or impress upon others the dignity of the royal Bohemian offices in order to attract financial gifts which supplemented his income from taxation and mining. Either way the extra funds allowed the speedy reacquisition of royal lands.

<sup>472</sup> Morée, *Preaching*, pp. 184–188.

hearing the sermon were thereby invited to consider whether their own ruler was 'useful to providence', 'liberal and virtuous to his subjects', and whether 'he refer[ed] to God all virtue, which he has received from God.'<sup>473</sup> Charles spent his rule working to ensure that were such questions asked of him, the answer would be in the affirmative. Indeed, the emperor wrote a similar meditation on the moral responsibilities of the powerful in the introduction to his autobiography.<sup>474</sup> In this religious comparison Milíč thereby allowed his audiences to link the current Luxembourg dynasty to the Přemyslids through their moral characteristics, as well as their bloodline much as the emperor had himself done.

Milíč's attempts to connect Charles to his ancestors are also evident in his Ludmila sermon. Milíč first made this link through reference to the familial relationship between Ludmila and her grandson Wenceslas, and later their importance in establishing the Church of Prague.<sup>475</sup> In doing so, Milíč invited his audience to consider the dynasty's progression, any contemplation of which would lead one to think about the progression of the Přemyslid line as a whole. While such an exercise would remind individuals of the expiration of Charles's uncle, the last male Přemyslid, it also prompted them to consider his mother and his own birth. Just as Ludmila, the maternal grandmother's influence in the family ought to be considered, so should that of Elizabeth, her last living ancestor. While Charles did not issue from the male line of Přemyslids he had still inherited their greatness through the female one, much in the way that Wenceslas had inherited his grandmother's saintly piety.

Such references to the matrilineal relationships in the Přemyslid dynasty worked in tandem with Charles's commissioned literary and artistic works. As Pánek and Tůma have argued, the numerous chronicles that he commissioned did more than record Charles's political career; they also retold the previous history of Bohemia before his accession to the throne. In presenting the annals of Přemyslid history followed by the exploits of the Luxembourgs, the chronicles were effective in presenting the succession of the later family to the throne as

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<sup>473</sup> 'Secundo in eo qui constitutus est in principem ecclesie vel populi christiani debet esse utilis providentia, ut erga suos subditos sit beneficus et virtuosus et omnem virtutem a Deo recipiens ad Deum referat.' Milíč, 'St. Wenceslas', in, A, I.D.37, fol. 213 v.

<sup>474</sup> For the introduction to Charles's biography see Nagy and Schaer (eds.), *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum*, pp. 1–19.

<sup>475</sup> See Chapter 3, note 368, p. 115.

right.<sup>476</sup> The same connection was also presented in artistic works created for the monarch, where he was pictured on numerous occasions kneeling at the feet of St. Wenceslas. This is the case on the seal of the Prague University, and the portrait of St. Wenceslas in his chapel in the Prague cathedral. As Rossario has shown, the same connection is also implied through the location of a bust of Charles near to the tombs of the Přemyslid rulers in the St. Vitus cathedral choir.<sup>477</sup> These commissioned works helped to communicate both to literate and common audiences the rightfulness, and even inevitability, of the rise of Charles and the Luxembourgs to the throne.

This link was also stressed in Charles's own written works. For instance, in his autobiography the emperor took care to begin the recount of his life with a reference to his mother 'The daughter of King Wenceslas II of Bohemia,' and the fact that his father had obtained Bohemia kingship because 'the male line in the royal family of Bohemia had died out.'<sup>478</sup> He then took pains to stress that his mother's elder sister had died without heir.<sup>479</sup> Given that there were no other living Přemyslid descendants, Charles was thus able to justify his claim to the throne. The legitimacy of his succession was also related through his two discussions of his mother's death. The first of these reported that his mother's death had taken place on the feast day of St. Wenceslas.<sup>480</sup> The death of Elizabeth on the feast day of her ancestor afforded her son the opportunity to remind his readers of the sacred nature of the Bohemian royals, and his own link to his holy ancestor. Readers are thus bade to worship the saint while remembering that he was a part of the lineage of Bohemian rulers whose family and country should also be respected.

Later, a second discussion of Elizabeth's death relates the isolation that Charles felt upon returning to Prague when he reported that...

...we found that, some years before our mother Elisabeth [sic] had died ... and thus when we arrived in Bohemia, we found neither father nor mother

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<sup>476</sup> Pánek, Tůma, et al., *A History of the Czech Lands*, p. 141.

<sup>477</sup> Iva Rosario, *Art and Propaganda: Charles IV of Bohemia, 1346–1378* (Woodbridge, 2000), pp. 63–65.

<sup>478</sup> 'Qui duxit uxorem nomine Elyzabeth filiam Wenceslai secundi, Boemie regis, et obtinuit regnum Boemie cum ea, quia masculinus sexus in progenie regali Boemorum defecerat.' Nagy and Schaer (eds.), *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum*, pp. 20–21.

<sup>479</sup> '...sororem seniore[m] ... que mortua est in posterum sine prole...' Ibid., p. 20.

<sup>480</sup> See Chapter 3, note 428, p. 137.

nor brother nor sisters nor anyone else we knew.<sup>481</sup>

The reference makes the same connection as Milíč's by prompting the audience to consider Elizabeth's position as the last Přemyslid and his place as her eldest living child. With her passing, Charles intimated to audiences that he had become the logical inheritor of her familial legacy, a fact compounded by the references to his absent family members. Furthermore, the loneliness alluded to in this account proved that he was close enough to his mother that even with their years of forced estrangement he still missed her. This emotional bond reinforced the legitimacy of Charles as his mother's heir and a Přemyslid descendant.

The same connection can be made from Charles's meditation on the St. Ludmila gospel reading in his autobiography, discussed in the third chapter of this thesis.<sup>482</sup> The inclusion of this particular work, in addition to adding to the cult of the saint, once again reminded audiences of the familial relationship between the emperor and the saint through its very inclusion. The extended analysis of the Ludmila gospel reading also encouraged audiences to consider Charles as a rightful heir to the dynasty because of his religious sensitivity. Just as Ludmila had been a religious luminary for the kingdom in the earliest phases of its Christianisation, so too was Charles a spiritual leader his own time. In this way, the emperor was able to portray himself as the spiritual inheritor of the Přemyslids, not simply an antecedent.

Charles's rightful place among the Přemyslids was finally alluded to in Milíč's references to the role of the family in the establishment of Bohemian religious character and the Church of Prague. This Church of Prague was very much a living entity in Milíč's writings, and as discussed earlier, was one that had to be considered in terms of the well-being of Christendom as a whole. By reaffirming the Přemyslid saints as its founding members, Milíč encouraged others once again to think about the dynastic progression of the Bohemian kingdom, and the religious convictions of its founders. This in turn demonstrated the value of the old dynasty and the new king it had produced. Beyond the affirmation of Charles as the dynastic and spiritual inheritor of the kingdom, this approach also had the advantage of helping to prove him as a Czech. Unlike John the Foreigner, Milíč

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<sup>481</sup> 'Invenimus autem quod aliquot annis ante mater nostra dicta Elyzabeth mortua erat. ... Et sic cum venissemus in Boemiam, non invenimus nec patrem nec matrem nec fratrem nec sorores nec aliquem notum.' Nagy and Schaer (eds.), *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum*, pp. 66–67.

<sup>482</sup> See, *Ibid.*, pp. 105–131.

intimated, Charles was a part of the religious legacy of the kingdom and could be connected to the Church of Prague by means of both blood and religious fervour.

A written work which could be used to mark Charles as a consummate Bohemian was of specific use for the monarch, who strove throughout his career to establish himself first and foremost as such. His determination to prove his connection to the kingdom is demonstrated once again in his autobiography, where he took pains to stress his birth in Prague.<sup>483</sup> Place of birth alone must have seemed insufficient to Charles to prove himself to his compatriots. Indeed, by his own admission when he returned to the kingdom of his birth he had lost all knowledge of the Czech language.<sup>484</sup> Charles worked to rectify this shortcoming, and also stressed that he now spoke the language 'like any other Czech' in his autobiography.<sup>485</sup>

It is thus clear that Charles was aware that, as outlined in texts like the *Chronicle of Dalimil*, the ability to speak Czech marked one as a rightful ruler of the kingdom. As a result, to be able to do so was necessary in order to be a part of 'the ancient family of Czech kings', a point which Charles emphasised in the same passage.<sup>486</sup> Throughout his career Charles would stress the importance of the Czech language, and the reverence that he held it in. He further proved his commitment to his native tongue when in his Golden Bull he admonished the imperial electors to educate their children in both Czech and Italian as well as German.<sup>487</sup> As it is evident that Charles was concerned with his ability to appear Czech, he would thus have been grateful for Milíč's sermons which allowed him to be connected to the religious history of Bohemia, and thereby the kingdom itself.

It is therefore possible to see that in writing sermons on the Přemyslids, Milíč was able to help anchor Charles's position as a part of the family, whether through the comparison of names or moral conduct. Such assistance was of keen interest to Charles, who took pains to display to anyone who cared to notice that he was a

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<sup>483</sup> See note 458, p. 151.

<sup>484</sup> 'Idioma quoque Boemicum ex toto oblivioni tradideramus; quod post redidicimus, ita ut loqueremur et intelligeremus ut alter Boemus.' Nagy and Schaer (eds.), *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum*, pp. 66–69.

<sup>485</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>486</sup> See note 476, p. 156.

<sup>487</sup> Emperor Charles IV, *The Golden Bull* (London, 1705), pp. 45–46; Konrad Müller, *Die Goldene Bulle Kaiser Karls IV. 1356. Lateinischer Text mit Übersetzung. Bearbeitet von Konrad Müller* (Bern, 1957), pp. 98–99.

part of a Czech and Přemyslid dynasty blessed by their holy ancestry, and therefore destined to rule. Given Milíč's popularity in the Czech lands, as demonstrated once again by the survival rate of his sermon manuscripts, he was able to propagate this message in an effective manner and to a large and interested audience. Clearly, the crown's support of Milíč while he carried out this work was therefore much to Charles's benefit. Indeed, the fact that at his funeral he would be eulogised as *pater patriae* of Bohemia proves that both men's efforts in cultivating this connection were successful.<sup>488</sup> While his father may have been considered a foreigner, it is nevertheless clear that Charles and Milíč were able to ensure that he was seen as the heir, both physical and spiritual, to the Přemyslid dynasty.

### ***The Bohemian Nobility***

Charles's ambitions also found an ally in Milíč's sermons concerning the Bohemian nobility's power, and the means by which it might be limited. As discussed above, a careful reading of Milíč's sermons indicates that he had an overwhelming preoccupation with the morality of power. To the preacher, the way in which an individual wielded his temporal authority was an indicator both of his suitability for office and a statement about himself as a Christian.<sup>489</sup> Milíč argued that because God granted temporal power to rulers, influential individuals were tasked with using it to create a just and moral society. Those who chose to ignore this moral imperative marked themselves as unworthy to rule. Even worse, these sinful rulers identified themselves, because of their inability to serve God when given the opportunity, as in league with the devil and Antichrist.

Milíč's sermons often accused the nobility of the Czech lands of having fallen into just such spiritual failings. The preacher catalogued what he considered to be the faults of the nobles throughout his works. At times his complaints were aimed at the nobles of Christendom in general as when he wrote to Pope Urban V that even to address the sins of the 'barons' would be to offend the pontiff, so great were they.<sup>490</sup> While the sinful exploits of the nobility throughout Christendom were certainly of concern to Milíč, he more often made reference to the abuses

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<sup>488</sup> On Charles and the use of the term *pater patriae*, see Agnew, *The Czechs*, p. 33.

<sup>489</sup> Morée, *Preaching*, pp. 184–188.

<sup>490</sup> 'Ex hiis enim crevit omnis abusio et iniquitas et ypocrisis, quae est in civitatibus universae terrae, de quibus scilicet civibus, baronibus et incolis terrarum potius tacere decrevi, quam pauca narrare.' Milíč, 'Ad Papam Urbanum V', in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message for the Last Days*, p. 26.

that he saw at home. This tendency is clear in the case noted above when he complained that they used 'men as animals' in their demands for the *robota*.<sup>491</sup> This passage is of particular note because the preacher seems to be disgusted in particular by the practice of the *robota* because those he deemed 'our people' were demanding it. That local noblemen would give themselves over to sin was shocking, because they ignored the legacy of St. Wenceslas and the Church of Prague which he created when they did so. The Bohemian nobility, by virtue of having been born in the kingdom, ought to have been immune from such sin. Because they had such a supreme role model and were part of a spiritually significant entity, they ought to have had no trouble ruling justly. Sin in this, the blessed kingdom of Bohemia, was thus of more concern than otherwise.

Like his complaints regarding the extraction of the *robota*, Milíč often found the local nobility guilty of sins which had an intrinsic relationship to the powers which they held over others. This is true in relation to the Bohemian nobility's claim to judicial preeminence in their holdings. The preacher wrote with scorn that the 'gentility judge out of pride and vanity...commit perjury...[and] subvert justice and right by false witness and pleading'<sup>492</sup> and were therefore members of the tribe of Dan and 'antichristians'.<sup>493</sup> These were the 'judges without justice'<sup>494</sup> whom Milíč wrote of on numerous occasions, claiming that they subverted judicial proceedings for their own ends, and thereby oppressed the poor.<sup>495</sup> It was they, the preacher lamented, who had expanded their ability to do just that since the reign of Charles IV's father John.

The great gains in the power of the nobility which Milíč decried had been made just before the time of John's accession to the Bohemian crown. John, seeking as he did to draw the greatest possible income from the kingdom, began immediately to assert the royal claim to a patent on mining profits, and in

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<sup>491</sup> See note 463, p. 152.

<sup>492</sup> 'Et quomodo .... nobiles, barones ... et universi populi gravissimis peccatis multis et magnis sunt involuti? Quia gentiliter vivunt, et superbia et vanitate injuste judicant...perjurant...falsis testimoniis et advocacionibus justitiam et iudicium subvertunt...' Milíč, *Libellus*, in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message for the Last Days*, p. 64.

<sup>493</sup> 'Isti sunt figurative de tribu Dan. Et ideo licet judicent causas et iudicia justa et injusta, et habeant benedictionem de pinguedine terrae, ita tamen in Apokalypsi non inveniuntur sub Dan descripti sive inter CXLIII millia electorum signati, quia Dan cum tribu sua, id est Antichristus, cum suis antichristianis non est ibi.' Ibid.

<sup>494</sup> '...iudices sine iusticia...' Milíč, 'Sermo de Die Novissimo Domini', in, X.A.2., fol. 66 r, col. 2.

<sup>495</sup> 'Sunt enim multi qui mala parva proximis nuntiant. Alii magna mala alios docent. Alii potenter bonos impediunt. Alii male principantur seu dominantur. Alii iniuste iudicant. Alii pleni sunt scientia perfidie et fallaciarum. Alii pleni igne luxurie et carnalis amoris.' Milíč, 'Omnes sancti', in, A, I.D.37, fol. 238 v.



particular those from the silver mines at Kutná Hora. The new king also granted the towns commercial and administrative rights so as to better enrich himself. Both actions took away income from the upper nobility, who were enraged both by these dealings and the king's absenteeism. The incensed nobles soon began to insist that their rights, which John had agreed to at his accession, be respected. What is more, with the king away, they began to help themselves to royal lands to make up for the income they had lost from mining and the growing autonomy of towns. This would lead to the dire situation Charles found the royal holdings in upon his return.<sup>496</sup> With the king and the nobility at constant loggerheads the kingdom suffered. The general chaos in which it languished was decried in the *Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, which reported that...

...all can...see that the kingdom founders in turmoil, how it is divided and torn; many people hold the royal law in contempt. Robbers are everywhere; they steal the property of others; evil arises here and there. They scorn the king, who is absent, and therefore they make laws as they please. There is so much evil, that I refrain from exposing all.<sup>497</sup>

While some favoured the expansion of the judicial power of the nobles to fill the vacuum left by John, chronicles such as this make it obvious that Milíč was not alone in his repugnance of the actions of the nobles in these circumstances.

Milíč, considering as he did that the nobility were servants of Antichrist, believed that their power must be curbed. This was not only because of the status of the nobles as sinners, but because he believed that their perfidy caused others to sin as well. The poor, who were the targets of their false witness, self-serving judgments, and demands for *roboty*, were driven to sin as a result.<sup>498</sup> Because they were 'put to torture for money', these unfortunates were forced to access it

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<sup>496</sup> This situation came to a head with John's military occupation of Bohemia in 1315. So dire was it that Ludwig of Bavaria (1282–1347), then King of the Romans, was called upon to mediate a peace between the two parties with the Convention of Domažlická [*Domažlické úmluvy*], in 1318. In the convention John conceded most of his control of the Czech lands to the nobles, led by Jindřich of Lipá.

<sup>497</sup> 'Regnum divisum, confusum, sicque rescisum, Omnes heu cernunt, iam ius regaleque spernunt De regno plures, consurgunt undique fures, Res aliis rapiunt, passim mala plurima fiunt. Absentem regem non curant, hinc sibi legem, Formant pro libito, mala tot sunt, quod modo vito Omnia proferre. Finem des huic cito gwerre...' Žitavský, *Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, in, *FRB*, vol. IV, p. 275. Following translation of Rosario, in *Art and Propaganda*, p. 1. For more on the on the period between the death of Wenceslas III, and Charles IV's rule in Bohemia, see Žitavský, *Chronicon Aulae Regiae*, in, *FRB*, vol. VI, pp. 106–317; Zdeněk Fiala, 'České země za krále cizince', in, *Předhusitské Čechy 1310–1419. Český stát pod vládou Lucemburků* (Prague, 1968), pp. 7–52; Ferdinand Seibt, *Karl IV ein Kaiser in Europa* (Munich, 1985), pp. 1–131; Kavka, *Am Hofe Karls IV*; Spěváček, *Král diplomat*, pp. 16–102.

<sup>498</sup> See Chapter 2, note 208, p. 70.

in any way possible, even if it meant endangering their own souls.<sup>499</sup> In this way the nobles were not just serving Antichrist, they were adding to his army. For Milíč, the misuse of temporal power by the nobles was thus not only a question of injustice, but an eschatological threat.

While Charles may not have been concerned about the influence that a powerful nobility would have on the End Times, he was as interested as Milíč in curbing their influence in the kingdom. In order to regulate the power of the Czech nobles, Charles involved himself in provincial legal matters and took it upon himself to regulate the power of regional justices. He did so firstly by imposing new limitations to their sphere of influence, and secondly through direct involvement in the appointment of new justices. Whenever new justices were needed, Charles was sure to confirm men from non-noble backgrounds to empty positions. In this way he not only curtailed the influence of the nobility in provincial legal matters, but also ensured the loyalty of the men he had raised to the positions.<sup>500</sup> In the event that a particular office was still controlled by a member of the nobility hostile to the royal cause, Charles diluted his power by expanding the number of men who oversaw a particular district.<sup>501</sup> Among the new responsible members one could be sure to find noblemen who were on good terms with the king. In this way, through direct management of rural affairs, in stark contrast to his father's non-involvement, Charles was able to consolidate judicial power under the throne, even in the face of objections from the nobility.

It should be noted, however, that while the undercurrent of hostility between Charles and the nobility was one of the hallmarks of his career, he was also capable of reaching out to select individuals within the nobility in order to secure his desired ends. For example, Charles established Petr Rožmberk, from one of the most powerful noble families in Bohemia, as his Supreme Chamberlain in control of royal fiscal matters, a position of considerable stature and power. He also made steps to find supporters who wielded ecclesiastical power. This included Jan of Dražice (1260–1343), newly returned from a mission to Avignon, who shared Charles's sympathy for French style art and architecture, as well as

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<sup>499</sup> Ibid.

<sup>500</sup> Josef Šusta, *České Dějiny*, vol. II, *Karel IV. Za císařskou korunou, 1346–1355* (Prague, 1948), pp. 185–186; Ferdinand Seibt, 'Die Zeit der Luxembürger und der husitischen Revolution', in, Karl Bosl (ed.), *Handbuch der Geschichte der Böhmisches Länder*, vol. 1, *Die böhmischen Länder von der archaischen Zeit bis zum Ausgang der hussitischen Revolution* (Stuttgart, 1971), p. 401; Klassen, *The Nobility*, pp. 50–51.

<sup>501</sup> Ibid.

Jan Volek (1290–1351) the new Bishop of Olomouc, and the German Archbishop Balduin of Trier (1285–1354).

Although politically expedient, these appointments seem to have developed into personal relationships in due time. This fact is attested to by Konrad Waldhauser's claim that Charles sent the Lord Rožmberk to fetch him from Vienna to Prague, as discussed in the first chapter of this thesis.<sup>502</sup> A degree of friendship between the two men is indicated by the fact that such an eminent person as Petr Rožmberk saw fit to travel in order to assist the king with his religious projects. This undertaking was wholly outside of his duties as supreme chamberlain, yet Rožmberk took himself to Vienna nonetheless. This is not to say that Charles and the Rožmberks were always on friendly terms. In 1352, for instance, the crown and the Rožmberks fell into conflict when Charles refused to support their political plans in the Empire.<sup>503</sup> The rift seems to have been temporary enough, however, as it was in 1363 that Charles dispatched the Lord Rožmberk to Waldhauser.<sup>504</sup>

As successful as he was at forging relationships within the nobility, Charles would never abandon his attempts to dilute their power. Later, he further sought to codify the powers of the Bohemian crown into law in the *Maiestas Carolina*, a system of laws intended for use within the kingdom written between the years 1350 and 1351.<sup>505</sup> The *Maiestas* contained one hundred and nine articles, and implemented a number of new laws intended to ensure that justice was done. It also attempted to establish the duties of the King to Bohemia both to his subjects, and to the church. Such a code was most welcome to Milíč, who wrote of the necessity for rulers to assist their subjects and serve God using the power entrusted to them.<sup>506</sup> The codification of the responsibilities of the crown to its people and the church very much showed that Charles was committed to doing just that.

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<sup>502</sup> See Chapter 1, p. 35.

<sup>503</sup> Jiří Spěváček, *Karel IV. Život a dílo (1316–1378)* (Prague, 1980), p. 506; Pánek, Tůma, et al., *A History of the Czech Lands*, p. 131.

<sup>504</sup> For more on the house of Rožmberk see, Václav Březan, *Životy posledních Rožmberků*, ed. Jaroslav Pánek (Prague, 1985); Jaroslav Pánek, *Poslední Rožmberkové. Velmoži české renesance* (Prague, 1989).

<sup>505</sup> On the *Maiestas Carolina*, see Bernd-Ulrich Hergemöller, *Maiestas Carolina. Der Kodifikationsentwurf für das königreich Böhmen von 1355* (Munich, 1995), pp. 1–271; Spěváček, *Karel IV*, pp. 279–284; Václav Vaněček, 'Karlova zákonodárná činnost v českém státě', in, *Karolus Quartus*, ed. Vaněček, pp. 107–124.

<sup>506</sup> See note 471, p. 155.

In attempting to create a system in which the crown could oversee the administration of law and justice in the kingdom, however, Charles IV also consolidated some of the rights and privileges that had belonged to the nobility. Additionally, the *Maiestas* named twenty-nine cities and thirteen castles as royal, and therefore under the direct control of the Prague court. In and of itself, because the *Maiestas* was an effort to create a definite system of laws it limited the ability of the nobles to define their own penalties for breaches of law in the land court, as had been customary up until that point. Furthermore, the code established that any escheat property, whether peasant or noble, would now fall to the king, whereas before the *Maiestas* the nobility had absorbed the lands of all peasants who died without a male heir.

The nobles were incensed by these developments, and from the beginning fought their implementation, both figuratively and at times literally.<sup>507</sup> The vigour with which the nobility objected soon made it clear to Charles that it would be impossible to enforce the new laws as he intended. At a general assembly in 1355 Charles made a formal withdrawal of the *Maiestas*, asserting that the kingdom would return to the 'old and customary law'.<sup>508</sup> The king would later claim that the code itself had been burnt, and therefore could not be employed, an assertion which framed the rejection of the *Maiestas* as an accident, rather than a personal failure.

The failure of the implementation of the *Maiestas* explains why Milíč was writing about the inability of the nobles to administer justice several years later. More to the point, it also underscores yet another reason that Charles would have been interested in supporting the work of the preacher. While Charles may have been unsuccessful in curbing the power and ambitions of the Bohemian nobles with the *Maiestas*, he nevertheless continued to exhibit a desire to reassert the crown as the primary legal and economic force within the kingdom throughout his career.

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<sup>507</sup> On the objection of the nobles to *Maiestas Carolina* see, Hergemöller, *Maiestas Carolina*, pp. XLIX–LIV; Jiří Spěvák, 'Řešení mocenského problému české šlechty v návrhu zákoníka *Maiestas Carolina*', *Mediaevalia Historica Bohemica*, 1 (1991), pp. 185–203; Fiala, *Předhusitské Čechy*, pp. 19–21; Spěvák, 'Lucemburské konceptce českého státu', 11–12; Spěvák, *Karl IV*, pp. 301–304; Pánek, Tůma, et al., *A History of the Czech Lands*, pp. 130–131; R.J.W. Evans and T.V. Thomas (eds.), *Crown, Church and Estates: Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (London, 1991), p. 26; Karel Malý et al., *Dějiny Českého a Československého práva do roku 1945* (Prague, 1999), p. 86; Ferdinand Seibt, 'Die Zeit der Luxemburger', in Bosl (ed.), *Handbuch der Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 190; and Krabice, *Chronicon Ecclesiae Pragensis*, in *FRB*, vol. IV, p. 521.

<sup>508</sup> Josef Šusta, *Karel IV. za císařskou korunou 1346–1355* (Prague, 1948), pp. 401–403; Seibt, 'Die Zeit der Luxemburger', in Bosl (ed.), *Handbuch der Geschichte*, vol. 1, p. 398.

In particular, Charles continued to focus on claiming escheat property for the crown. This forced nobles who wished to avail themselves of such lands to in effect barter with the king to do so. For example, in 1361 Lord Petr of Michalovice (d. 1368) wished to lay claim to Velešín castle in south Bohemia, which was then held by a distant female relative with no male heirs. Charles, however, considered that this property should devolve to the royal holdings upon the lady's death. In order to gain possession of it Lord Petr was obliged to offer his estate at Ústěck, north of Prague, to the king.<sup>509</sup> It is thus clear that Charles continued to enforce his will and assert the primacy of the throne in the kingdom. Even in smaller, theoretically familial, matters, the king was determined to involve himself, much to the detriment of the nobles who were forced to capitulate to his desires. Charles's sustained efforts to take as much land as possible out of the hands of the nobility did little to endear him to the nobles, making Milíč's polemical accounts of their sinful nature most welcome at court.

Charles's work to ensure the stability of the kingdom and prosecute wayward members of the nobility would also have been pleasing to Milíč. This is clear because the preacher's writings which question the morality of the nobility's claims to the *robotá* or their ability to perform their judicial functions in a just manner hold up Charles as a symbol of justice. This can be inferred most especially in Milíč's St. Wenceslas sermons. These writings are unique in his oeuvre because the majority of the preacher's discussions of temporal power primarily characterise it as negative.<sup>510</sup> The St. Wenceslas sermons are the exceptions to this rule in that they explain the attributes of a righteous leader.

The St. Wenceslas sermon in *Abortivus* is of import here, for as discussed earlier, it provided audiences with a tally of the qualities of a righteous ruler.<sup>511</sup> It also insisted that in contrast to the saint, many contemporary rulers rob the poor, whereas the holy Wenceslas would give his own property to them.<sup>512</sup> The disparity between the righteous St. Wenceslas and the robbing tyrants of Milíč's time encouraged audiences to compare their perceptions of their own leaders. The preacher invited others to consider those leaders who rob from the poor and

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<sup>509</sup> August Sedláček, *Hrady, zámky a tvrze království českého*, vol. X (Prague, 1880–1927), pp. 32–33; Klassen, *The Nobility*, pp. 54–55.

<sup>510</sup> Morée, *Preaching*, p. 138.

<sup>511</sup> See pp. 154–155.

<sup>512</sup> '...nunc autem pauperes a principibus spoliantur, quibus beatus Wenseslaus propria condonabat.' Milíč, 'St. Wenceslas', in, A, I.D.37, fol. 214 r.

judge unjustly, which Milíč's other writings made clear were the nobles. In contrast the audience was prompted to consider the overt religious focus of Charles's reign, which as argued earlier, showed that he was living up to the ideals that Milíč expected from those in power. Milíč's sermons presented Charles as the righteous new representative of the holy Přemyslid dynasty. Charles, a Wenceslas himself, who was working to curb the influence of the corrupt in his kingdom was thus to be supported.

Yet audiences would not have to look at Milíč's moral check-list and Charles's religious projects alone to make such a connection. Indeed, Charles had very much sought to curtail the activities of thieves and robbers in the kingdom in general, including among the nobility. Upon Charles's return, as recorded by Beneš Krabice of Weitmil's chronicle, he was obliged to pursue 'thieves and robbers' who had apparently overrun the kingdom. The sudden return of royal representatives intent on keeping the peace did much to stabilise the realm, as well as to ingratiate Charles with the common people who were most plagued by the criminal element. By the time he acquired the Bohemian crown in 1347, Charles made it clear that he was willing to go to great lengths to punish nobles who jeopardised the peace of the kingdom for their own gain.

Illustrative of this point is the example of a certain Jan Panzer (d. 1356), whom Charles had knighted himself, and hanged when found guilty of theft. Panzer's castle and lands at Žampach were then confiscated, and the incident recorded in Krabice's chronicle as testament to what happened to those who threatened the prosperity of the realm, or scoffed at the king's justice.<sup>513</sup> This episode is of note, for it shows that the nobility were indeed guilty of the very sins which Milíč decried in his writings. Here was one of the nobles engaged in the unjust dealings of which the preacher had warned.<sup>514</sup> Charles's willingness to work against such oppressors thus placed him in opposition to injustice, along with Milíč. Moreover, Charles's ability to maintain order, in stark contrast to the nobles, proved that he was capable of upholding his responsibilities as ruler. The king sought out the criminals persecuting his citizens, rather than oppressing the poor and seeking to use his influence to aggrandise himself. Here was a man

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<sup>513</sup> 'Sed et militem quemdam, Iohannem dictum Panczer, quem ipse imperator pridem baltheo militari precinxerat, captum in castro Zantpach in latrociniis propriis minibus sypendit.' Krabice, *Chronicon Ecclesiae Pragensis*, in, *FRB*, vol. IV, p. 525.

<sup>514</sup> See note 463, p. 152.

whom Milíč could see as an appropriate judge.

The same dichotomy between the just St. Wenceslas as Charles's spiritual counterpart, and a sinful nobility can also be found in the *Gratia Dei* sermon on the saint. Milíč once more encouraged audiences to consider the difference between the flawed nobles who were abusing their peasants through their demand for the *robota*, while St. Wenceslas was held up as a paragon of religious purity. This allowed yet again for audiences to consider the king's piety, and therefore Charles as the logical religious successor of his ancestor. Milíč went yet further in his sermon at this juncture when he stated that such a Christian mentality was 'among rulers very rare.'<sup>515</sup> As a result, the audience should think of how lucky they were to have a spiritual champion on the throne, beset as they were by a pernicious nobility intent upon taking as much as possible from them by means of the *robota*. Charles, who was careful to cultivate his own connections to the cult of the saint, who was baptised with the same name, who came from the same lineage (if not the same house), and who was demonstrably pious was the man who should take up the power that the nobility abused.

Such a reading of this sermon, it must be acknowledged, comes into direct conflict with Uhlíř's interpretation, referred to in the first chapter of this thesis.<sup>516</sup> Uhlíř contended that the *Gratia Dei* St. Wenceslas sermon was an explicitly pro-noble work, perhaps inspired by the ideas of Peregrine of Opole (c. 1260–?). Furthermore, he felt that the beliefs which Milíč's expressed in the sermon were expanded upon by Hussite preachers in the next century.<sup>517</sup> We find such a reading untenable, however, for several reasons. Firstly, as the discussion of Milíč's anti-mendicant sentiment in the second chapter of this work has shown, it is unlikely that the preacher would have looked for inspiration in the works of a Dominican friar such as Peregrine of Opole, no matter how distinguished.<sup>518</sup> Secondly, the very mention of the *robota* in the sermon indicates that the nobility, as the individuals to whom the tax was due, were the targets of the criticism in this sermon in particular. When Milíč concludes that those who demand the work

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<sup>515</sup> 'Etiam in mente crucem portabat quia humilis in gloria fuit, expers inanis glorie, quod est intra principes valde rarum.' Milíč, 'St. Wenceslas', in, *GD*, XII.D.1, fol. 122 r.

<sup>516</sup> See Chapter 1, pp. 27–28.

<sup>517</sup> Uhlíř, *Literární prameny svatováclavského kultu*, p. 31.

<sup>518</sup> For more on the works of Peregrine of Opole, see Marcin Kiłbus, '...sicut cera imprimitur sigillo, Mnemotechnics in the sermons of Peregrine of Opole', *The Journal of Education, Culture and Society*, 1 (2012), pp. 25–30.

tax have sold their souls to the devil, it is difficult to agree with Uhlíř that they are the preacher's intended inheritors of the legacy of St. Wenceslas. Thirdly, Uhlíř's contention that Milíř's sermons were the inspiration behind Hussite anti-noble sentiment makes the conclusion suspect at the outset. As discussed previously, while it is safe to assume that Milíř was an inspiration for the Hussites, it is illogical to attempt to assign their same goals and prejudices to Milíř. Uhlíř's attempt to do so thus indicates that he, like many others, has made the assumption that as a contentious reformer Milíř was automatically a proto-Hussite, and shared all of the Hussite political views including their distaste for the monarchy. It would therefore seem that Uhlíř's conclusion has more to do with supposition about the links between Milíř and the Hussites, and less to do with an interpretation of the themes of the preacher's sermons.

A reading of Milíř's *Gratia Dei* sermon as anti-monarchical is made yet more implausible when one looks beyond the preacher's sermon collections. While one can assume allegorical support for Charles in both *Abortivus* and *Gratia Dei*, Milíř championed for the rights of the crown in an explicit fashion in his *Libellus de Antichristo*. In this work his criticism of the nobility continued, and he further contended that the nobility, as oppressors of the poor, were in alliance with Antichrist.<sup>519</sup> After denigrating the enemies of the crown in this work, he then asserted that Charles, along with the pope, had been tasked by the Holy Spirit to reorder the church. In this way, the two men would be able to protect the faithful from the advent of Antichrist. As a result, Charles, in order to ensure the survival of Christendom, had to take on those Antichristian nobles and work against them. Milíř also asserted that the Holy Spirit made it his own responsibility to ensure that the populace at large prayed for the emperor to ensure the success of the venture.<sup>520</sup> Milíř thus made it clear that he held the nobility and barons of the Czech lands in repugnance as a result of what he saw as their sinful deeds.

Beyond this, the preacher was making a concentrated effort to encourage others to support Charles IV in their stead. To Milíř, Charles, in contrast to the tyrannical Antichristian nobility, was such a paragon of virtue that he could be entrusted not only to reorder the judicial system and the kingdom, but the church

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<sup>519</sup> See Chapter 2, note 208, p. 70.

<sup>520</sup> 'Interim irruit in me spiritus ita, ut me continere no possem, dicens mihi in corde: "Vade...et exhortaberis clerum et populum, ut orent pro domino nostro papa et pro domino nostro Imperatore, ut ordinet ita ecclesiam sanctam in spiritualibus et temporibus, ut securi fideles deserviant Creatori;" Milíř, *Libellus*, in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 58.



itself. In asserting that the Holy Spirit had charged him with supporting the emperor, Milíč intimated that heaven itself had an interest in the success of the Charles. The king's mission against the nobility was therefore in and of itself divine. Taking these statements into consideration, it is not difficult to see why the king would be interested in supporting an individual who made it his mission to espouse such beliefs, let alone to such a large audience. Such sentiments prove that it is also highly unlikely that Milíč was writing his other works against his patron and in praise of the nobility.

Milíč's writings thus show an obvious pattern of support for Charles IV in opposition to what he considered to be a morally flawed, oppressive nobility. The preacher considered that the Bohemian nobles were incapable of providing the kingdom with the sort of just rule required by God in return for the temporal power granted them. As a result, in their sin the nobles abused both the peasantry and justice. Such observations echo the array of issues which Charles faced upon his return to the Bohemian court. The policies of the short-lived Bohemian kings after the collapse of the Přemyslid line, including Charles's father, had left the Bohemian crownlands impoverished, lawless, and largely under the rule of the local elite. Even Charles's own status as a Luxembourg, and the son of his reviled father, at this point meant that he was viewed with suspicion when he attempted to take up the rule of the fractured kingdom.

Charles saw clearly that he faced a number of challenges upon his ascent to rule. The speed with which he moved to address the issues, through the reacquisition of royal castles and towns, enhancement of the royal lands with ambitious new fortresses and roads, and the consolidation of power under the throne and away from the nobility, all prove that he sought to rectify the situation from the moment he arrived in Prague. Despite his best efforts, however, he was not always successful in his goals. The difficulties Charles experienced with the enactment of the *Maiestas Carolina* and his still periodically fraught relationship with the nobility attest that the centralisation of power in Bohemia under the throne was an on-going issue. Given the continuous nature of the conflict between Charles and the nobility, it is little wonder that Milíč considered it necessary to write in support of his benefactor. More to the point, the continued conflict highlights why the king would be interested in supporting the preacher in his work, notwithstanding the conflicts which he sometimes caused. Milíč's work enjoyed a wide circulation

and audience in the Czech lands, regardless of the objections of the Prague clergy. By supporting Milíč in his endeavours Charles was gaining an ally in this dispute who had the potential to sway any number of individuals in the Czech kingdoms to his way of thinking. Clearly then, both the king and the preacher saw each other as allies in this matter.

### ***Empire and Church***

While it is thus plain that Milíč sought in his sermons to legitimise and secure royal power under Charles, his ambitions did not stop at the Bohemian border. Indeed, the preacher's works also called for the consolidation of power in the Holy Roman Empire under the imperial throne. Once again, Milíč's preoccupation with establishing imperial supremacy was tied to what he viewed as the eschatological implications of a failure to do so. The preacher wrote that the Empire must be protected for 'the Lord will not come to judge, unless the apostasy comes first, that is unless first the nations leave Roman rule'.<sup>521</sup> According to Milíč, this was of particular concern because the political circumstances of the Empire at the time were such that it should be considered that already 'secession from the Empire was made'.<sup>522</sup> Various kingdoms had been breaking away from Roman rule, the preacher lamented, and the only lands in which the imperial throne truly held sway were Charles's own. The preacher maintained that this state of affairs was demonstrated by the fact that 'the lord emperor cannot have his bread unless he has it from Bohemia'.<sup>523</sup>

Milíč's condemnations of the state of the Empire were of benefit to Charles, for he worked throughout his life to turn the tide of the degeneration of imperial influence. The emperor's dedication to reversing the situation is obvious when one considers that he spent the majority of his rule in extensive, itinerant movement throughout the imperial lands. His travels began before he ever came into the imperial throne, with two years spent in Italy assisting his father to secure the Luxembourg claim to various cities there.<sup>524</sup> This travel would continue throughout his life, and saw him visit even the most far-flung corners of the Empire. In point of fact, Charles's chronicles and autobiography are replete with references to his movements and the missions that he undertook. In 1365 he

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<sup>521</sup> See Chapter 1, note 168, p. 54.

<sup>522</sup> See Chapter 1, note 169, p. 54.

<sup>523</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>524</sup> See Nagy and Schaer (eds.), *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum*, pp. 35–65.

met with the pope in Avignon.<sup>525</sup> In 1370 he was in Italy ‘procuring the peace and tranquility of the Holy Roman Empire’.<sup>526</sup> In 1373 he and his entire curia travelled to the marches of Brandenburg.<sup>527</sup> As late as 1375, even while suffering from gout, he continued in his sojourns. In that year he became the first and last emperor since Otto IV (1175–1218) to visit the Hanseatic city of Lübeck, a trip that was considered by contemporaries to be most remarkable.<sup>528</sup>

Such consistent, widespread travel seems to have been almost a direct challenge to the anti-imperial interpretation of the 1313 bull *Pastoralis cura* of Pope Clement V (1305–1314).<sup>529</sup> If, as the bull asserted, the emperor only controlled those territories which he could administrate himself, then Charles IV’s actual presence in those areas proved that he was more than able to do so. Charles intended these visits to stress his power over the imperial lands, a fact which is underscored in the literary references to his work. When Krabice wrote of the trouble that Charles went to in order to secure the ‘peace of the Holy Roman Empire’ he signalled to audiences that the Italian city-states were still very much beholden to the imperial throne.<sup>530</sup> Charles took his duties to those lands seriously, and knew he must work to ensure their security. Through constant movement and literary references to the same, Charles worked to prove that the Empire was still a cohesive unit, and one over which he was sovereign.

Yet it was not through his presence alone that Charles asserted imperial dominance over disputed territories, but also through a series of coronations, the ceremonial symbolism of which served to reaffirm the links between local and imperial crowns. In 1355, on the way to his imperial coronation in Rome, he travelled first to Milan to receive the iron crown of Lombardy from the archbishop.<sup>531</sup> The Lombard lands had been in dispute for years, and Charles

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<sup>525</sup> Krabice, *Chronicon Ecclesiae Pragensis*, in, *FRB*, vol. IV, p. 533.

<sup>526</sup> ‘Anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo septuagesimo postquam dominus imperator, princeps pacis, in partibus Ytalie longam traxisset moram, procurans pacem et tranquillitatem ecclesie Romane et sacri imperii...’ *Ibid.*, p. 540.

<sup>527</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 548.

<sup>528</sup> The Lübeck visit is celebrated enough to have attracted its own study. See G.A. Reimann, *Verhältniss der deutschen Kaisers Karl IV zu Lübeck* (Lübeck, 1872).

<sup>529</sup> Aemilius Ludovicus Richter (ed.), *Corpus Juris Canonici: Post Justi Henningii Boehmeri curas Brevi Adnotatione Critica Instructum ad Exemplar Romanum*, vol. II (Leipzig, 1839), p. 68 no. 1074. On the decree see William M. Bowsky, *Henry VII in Italy: The Conflict of Empire and City State* (Lincoln, 1960), pp. 178-92; Walter Ullmann, *Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages* (London, 1966), pp. 195–199; Wood, *Clement VI*, pp. 146–147.

<sup>530</sup> See note 524, above.

<sup>531</sup> Krabice, *Chronicon Ecclesiae Pragensis*, in, *FRB*, vol. IV, p. 522.

had been besieged while in the area in the past.<sup>532</sup> There he received the Iron Crown, so-called for its inclusion of one of the nails from the true cross, 'with which the kings of Italy are wont to be crowned'.<sup>533</sup> This ceremony held en route to Charles's imperial coronation sent a clear signal to detractors that the realm was still a part of the Empire, and one which he intended to rule.

Charles again employed the same tactic in 1365 when he was also crowned the King of Burgundy at Arles, checking the ambitions of John II of France (1350–1364) there.<sup>534</sup> The position of the Empire in the French speaking lands had been increasingly tenuous and Charles's well-timed coronation served to reaffirm the kingdom as an imperial holding. To this end, Krabice's chronicle entry on the coronation made explicit reference to the fact that Charles was 'crowned the Lord of Arles, which is subject to the Roman Empire', lest any readers should question the legitimacy of such an act.<sup>535</sup> The confidence with which the chronicler makes this statement, however, belied the tenuous nature of the imperial claim to the city. If Arles were indeed such a secure part of the empire there would be no need for either such a reference, or a coronation.

As Charles worked to assert the power of his imperial throne, so too did Milíč. The two works in which Milíč bemoaned what he saw as crumbling imperial authority are of interest because they are addressed to audiences that he considered a part of the problem. These warnings came in his *Sermo de Die Novissimo Domini*, and his *Libellus*, both of which were composed in Rome and presented to Roman audiences. Rome in 1367 was itself a microcosm of Milíč's complaints. In theory, it was the city from which imperial power emanated, yet at the time it was still recovering from the turmoil of the era of the populist tribune government of Cola di Rienzo. As a result of these difficulties the city was mired in a political morass of papal indifference and infighting between differing Roman noble families. So outside imperial control was the city that in 1355 when Charles had arrived for his coronation, he was only able to stay in the city for the

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<sup>532</sup> See Nagy and Schaer (eds.), *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum*, pp. 150–151.

<sup>533</sup> '...corona ferrea, qua reges Ytalie coronari sunt consueti...' Krabice, *Chronicon Ecclesiae Pragensis*, in, *FRB*, vol. IV, p. 522.

<sup>534</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 533; Heer, *The Holy Roman Empire*, p. 117.

<sup>535</sup> 'Eodem anno coronatus est dominus imperator corona regni Arelatensis, quod Romano subest imperio...' Krabice, *Chronicon Ecclesiae Pragensis*, in, *FRB*, vol. IV, p. 533.

few hours during which the ceremony took place, on the express commands of the pope.<sup>536</sup>

Milíč's writings, created as they were specifically for a Roman audience with influence inside of the papacy were thus striking at the very heart of imperial alienation in the city. Indeed, the works made explicit reference to the fact that as far as the preacher was concerned, Rome was very much to be considered as a part of the Holy Roman Empire, or 'Germany', rather than its own political entity.<sup>537</sup> What is more, following the initial presentations of both of these sermons, they then enjoyed a wide circulation throughout the other imperial lands. This diffusion meant that Milíč provided an opportunity to warn a great many of Charles's subjects of the folly of leaving imperial rule, not just those who had already done so.

To Milíč, however, it was not enough to warn audiences of the problems inherent with the alienation of imperial lands and power. The preacher considered that the deterioration of imperial influence had happened due to malign forces, which he identified as the individual principalities within the Empire. In the works he wrote in Rome, Milíč warned Pope Urban V that 'the beasts of the earth, [and] the ferocity of the kingdoms' needed to be assuaged in order to secure the safety of the Christian populace.<sup>538</sup> Milíč felt that these kingdoms did as much in their tyranny to harm true Christians as Antichrist himself was then attempting. In point of fact, these 'tyrannical princes' were guilty of protecting the very monsters that the Empire was restraining through its existence.<sup>539</sup> Because of the damage that the princes were doing to the Empire, Milíč alleged that they had gone beyond the realm of mere sin, and were now acting to bring about the apocalypse. As a result these tyrants comprised what he termed the 'army'<sup>540</sup> of Antichrist, and the crowned locusts of the Apocalypse.<sup>541</sup> Were there to be any

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<sup>536</sup> On Charles's coronation, see Seibt, *Karel IV*, pp. 230–236.

<sup>537</sup> Milíč refers here to Charles IV's attempt, which will be discussed in more depth later in this chapter, to return the papacy of Urban V to Rome from Avignon as an episode in which 'our lord the emperor led [his] holiness from Avignon towards Germany wishing to scatter it, as it is said.' ('...quo dominus Imperator sanctitatem de Avinione versus Almaniam deduxit volens eam dispergere, ut narratur.') Milíč, *Libellus*, in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 60.

<sup>538</sup> 'Sic bestias terrae, sic regnorum ferocitatem consilio et potestate divina corrige, ut contra sanctos christianos non exercent tyrannidem!' Milíč, 'Ad Papam Urbanum V', in, *Ibid.*, p. 28.

<sup>539</sup> 'Quis enim volens tales corrigere, audeat inquirere, visitare seu ipsum Vehemoth excitare sub tanta umbrarum protectione, id est tyrannisantium defensione principum dormiente?' *Ibid.*, p. 18.

<sup>540</sup> 'A non vides ejus exercitum, societatem videlicet et alios tyrannos, et oppressors pauperum?' Milíč, *Libellus*, in, *Ibid.*, p. 66.

<sup>541</sup> 'Illi omnes per locustas coronatas in Apocalypsi describuntur...' *Ibid.*

hope of averting the approach of the end times, their influence must therefore be curbed.

It was not only in Milíč's Roman works that he warned audiences of the power of what he considered to be the tyrannical princes of the Empire. His admonitions had begun in the *Abortivus* apostil, and continued after his visit to Rome in his *Gratia Dei* sermons as well. In his St. Vitus sermon in the *Abortivus* collection, for example, Milíč told his audience that evil spirits possessed these tyrants, and worked through them in order to bring about the end of the world.<sup>542</sup> He later expanded on this accusation in the same postil with the more specific charge that it was seven evil spirits, the counterparts to the seven angels of the apocalypse, which inhabited the 'tyrants of modern times'.<sup>543</sup> The seven demons inhabiting these tyrants can be understood as working against the angelic seven prince-electors of the Holy Roman Empire. Because Charles's Golden Bull had in 1365 affirmed the prince-electors as the final arbiters of imperial election, they were thus inextricably bound to upholding the emperor and the Empire. Because of their place within and commitment to the Empire they were, unlike the selfish tyrant princes, helping to avert the coming of Antichrist. The condemnation of the demoniac tyrants was therefore also an endorsement for Charles's newly codified imperial system.

Elsewhere in the apostil, the apocryphal nature of the tyrants was expressed through continued comparison of the errant princes to demons and charges that they were hypocrites.<sup>544</sup> It was not just the fact that the tyrants were sinning and breaking apart the Empire that made them dangerous. In the tyrants' function as part of the army of Antichrist, they oppressed the poor, just as the Bohemian nobility did, and forced them into sin in order to survive. In this way those who would otherwise have remained faithful to God were taken away from 'the unchanging confession' and forced to deny Christ through their sinful actions.<sup>545</sup> The transgressions of the oppressed, while understandable, were troublesome

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<sup>542</sup> 'Ita maligni spiritus qui possident tyrannos ypocritas et hereticos adversarios veritatis in eis multiplicati sunt, videns finem mundi sive stragem exercitus mundialis.' Milíč, 'St. Vitus', in, A, I.D.37, fol. 142 r.

<sup>543</sup> 'Quid ergo dicam de reprobis, quid de tyrannis moderni temporis nisi quod significati sint per septem spiritus.' Milíč, 'Dominica XII post Trinitatus', in, Ibid., fol. 233 v.

<sup>544</sup> 'Tamen eam postea in multis periculis et plagis usque ad mortem viriliter est confessus, nos instruens, ut teneamus fidei nostre, confessionem indeclinabilem, non solum lingua, sed etiam opere et veritate, nam et si desunt tiranni, qui nos a fide avertant. Non tamen desunt ypocrite demones et tyranni, qui nos ad peccata trahentes a veritate et iustitia deflectere moliuntur, ut peccando Christum Dominum abnegemus.' Milíč, 'Kathedra s. Petri', in, Ibid., fol. 57 r.

<sup>545</sup> Ibid.

because they contributed to the general sinfulness of the world, and brought the advent of Antichrist that much closer. The actions of the tyrant princes were therefore an issue for Christendom as a whole. In *Gratia Dei* the damaging function of the tyrants was underscored yet again when Milíč contended that they were the ‘sword of the devil’, a potent weapon that was being used to assault the innocent of the world.<sup>546</sup>

While the state of affairs in the Empire was lamentable to Milíč, it was clear to him that the emperor was fighting to restore its former glory. Charles was making a concerted effort to reconsolidate imperial lands and assert his dominance over even its most remote areas. As a result, Milíč felt that the emperor was the idealised godly ruler that the tyrannical princes needed to be drawn under in order to avert the coming of Antichrist. The preacher believed that the emperor was to be the saviour of the Holy Roman Empire, and described him as the imperial ‘black-winged eagle’ who should be called upon to protect the pope’s ‘young, lest they perish’ as a result of the rapaciousness of the tyrannical kingdoms.<sup>547</sup> This likening of the emperor to the imperial eagle made it obvious that Milíč felt Charles was the very embodiment of the Empire, and he ought therefore to be looked to in order to keep the tyrannical princes in check. What is more, Milíč’s insistence that the pope himself should appeal to Charles for help indicated the seriousness of the matter. According to the preacher, the highest levels of the church must ensure that Charles could attend to the situation, lest Antichrist come into the world.

Although he considered that the emperor must lead Christendom to victory over the demonically possessed tyrannical princes, and therefore Antichrist, Milíč also saw himself as tasked with creating an army of preachers to assist Charles in doing so. Preachers no matter how weak, he insisted, were capable of standing up to even the most powerful of tyrants. As a consequence, they could use the word of God to tear those forced into sin back away from them.<sup>548</sup> At that point there was a dearth of individuals willing to preach ‘in the manner of the Apostles’

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<sup>546</sup> ‘Peccatores sunt arma dyaboli...gladius eius sunt tyranny.’ Milíč, ‘Dominica III in X’, in, *GD*, XIV.D.5, fol. 199 v.

<sup>547</sup> ‘Et ecce, Aquila nigranarum alarum assistit Tibi et proteget Te. Clama ad illam et extendet alas supra Te et pullos Tuos omnes, ne pereant.’ Milíč, *Libellus*, in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 30.

<sup>548</sup> ‘Ut infirmi predicatores potentes tyrannos alligent, sicut angeli demones ligaverunt et quia predicatores gladio verbi Dei peccatores ab ipso dividunt et scindunt.’ Milíč, ‘Dominica V p.T.’, in, *A*, I.D.37, fol. 155 r.

and 'stand against tyrants until they bleed'.<sup>549</sup> Instead, Milíč alleged that members of the cloth preferred to ingratiate themselves to the oppressors. Because of this shortage of dedicated preachers, it of course behooved Milíč to ensure that there were as many working as possible.

He did so by arming others with his sermon collections, and by training other new preachers in his *scola* at Jerusalem.<sup>550</sup> Indeed, in his exhortations to preach against tyrants one can find the possible inspiration for the name of Milíč's community of preachers, for he claimed that when preachers cast off the fetters of Babylon and impediments of tyrants, they built a new Jerusalem.<sup>551</sup> One can therefore consider that one of the primary missions of Jerusalem was to create preachers to work against the ill effects of the foreign princes. Yet not every individual in power that Milíč envisioned his preachers administering to was to be considered a tyrant. He made a clear distinction between the two concepts in his *Gratia Dei* postil when he discussed the necessity of preaching 'zealously' to both just rulers and tyrants.<sup>552</sup> The tyrannical princes had to be confronted because of their 'antichristian abominations', but rulers in general could benefit from the advice of dedicated preachers to ensure that they were wielding their temporal influence in the correct manner.<sup>553</sup> It was therefore always of benefit for preachers and prelates to administer to the mighty and ensure that they were focused on God's work.

These sentiments help to once again make plain the mutual advantage that both Milíč and Charles found in their relationship. Milíč's advocacy for the power of the imperial throne, and Charles as the embodiment of the Empire, was very much of interest to the emperor. In point of fact, Charles's own work to reconsolidate imperial lands and power under the throne shows that he

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<sup>549</sup> 'Jam enim nullus praedicat more Apostolorum, ut stent usque ad sanguinem contra tyrannos, ymo se eis potius substernentes velud sacerdotes Pharaonis, ut terram suam haberent liberam et quietam, tanto sunt nequiores effecti, quanto sunt tyrannis familiariores...' Milíč, 'Ad Papam Urbanum V', in, Opočenský and Opačenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 20.

<sup>550</sup> Janov, *Narricio*, in, *RVNT*, vol III, p. 362.

<sup>551</sup> 'Utinam ergo ipsi prelati sive predicatorum sub vero Syro Christo Jhesu una cum veris Israhelitis exirent de captivitate Babylonica sive dyaboli ad edificandam novam Jherusalem, ecclesiam videlicet sanctam, quantumcumque a tyrannis fuerit impediti, quia et si coram eis ceciderint tamen resurgent.' Milíč, 'Dominica XII p.T.', in, *A*, I.D.37, fol. 234 r.–234 v.

<sup>552</sup> 'Sic et nos regnantibus, multis tyrannis et hereticis et ypocritis iustitiam Christi ad iudicium venturi zelo Johannis et Helie ymmo potius (mg. Christi) zelanter predicare debemus. Periculosiora enim sunt tempora quam tunc fuerunt, cum multi qui videntur esse christiani, magis noceant ecclesie quam pagani, multas abominaciones antichristianas facientes [sic].' Milíč, 'Sabato in quattuor temporibus', in, *GD*, XIV.D.5, fol. 25 r.

<sup>553</sup> *Ibid.*



considered his own influence to be on the wane. Moreover, Milíč was promoting the emperor's position to individuals throughout the Empire, at the highest levels of the church, and in disputed areas such as Rome. The backing of individuals in these locations would have been of major benefit to Charles. It is therefore clear that both men shared a concern for the future of the Empire, though for differing reasons, and saw each other as allies in the fight against its corrosion.

Whether or not Milíč and Charles were successful in their shared goal of reestablishing the influence of the emperor within the Holy Roman Empire, there was still another hurdle for occupants of the imperial throne to clear in establishing themselves in power – the papacy. This is because in the fourteenth century, as in the earlier medieval period, the position was also dependent upon the pope, as custom required that the pontiff crown all new emperors. Popes were thereby able to imply whether or not they considered a particular emperor to be legitimate by withholding that ceremonial right, or even by opposing the election of certain candidates outright. Coronation by a pope was not always necessary for an emperor to take his throne, indeed Charlemagne himself crowned his son Louis in 813 in Aachen.<sup>554</sup> Nevertheless, papal coronation was still considered desirable. In addition, even after an emperor had received a crown, it was possible for the papacy to oppose their rule through excommunication, which in effect prevented them from being considered a legitimate ruler.

The sway which the papacy held over the imperial throne was obvious to both Milíč and Charles, given the way in which the emperor himself had come to power. Charles had been elected as King of the Romans in 1346. His election had come about because Ludwig of Bavaria, who had been reigning as Holy Roman Emperor for eighteen years, had attracted the ire of the papacy early on in his imperial career, and had been excommunicated on 23 March 1324.<sup>555</sup> It

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<sup>554</sup> Geoffrey Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy* (New York, 1968), p. 55.

<sup>555</sup> Ludwig of Bavaria/Louis IV Wittelsbach was elected King of the Romans on 19 October 1314 in Frankfurt, and reigned as Holy Roman Emperor from 1328 to 1347. His election, however, had taken place one day after Frederick the Fair Habsburg (1289–1330) had been declared King of the Romans in Sachenhausen, creating what is referred to as the Imperial Schism. The two men resorted to war against each other, and Frederick was defeated at Mühldorf, leaving only Ludwig. Pope John XXII (1244–1334) then excommunicated Ludwig when he failed to appear in Avignon when summoned. Ludwig and the papacy would never return to congenial terms. For more on Ludwig's conflict with the papacy, see Yves Renouard, *The Avignon Papacy: 1305–1403*, trans. Denis Bethell (Hamden, CT, 1970), pp. 125–127; Heer, *The Holy Roman Empire*, pp. 108–112; Leonard Elliott-Binns, *The Decline and Fall of the Medieval Papacy* (London, 1934), pp. 122–125.

was the express desire of Pope Clement VI to have a new King of the Romans elected in place of the rebellious Ludwig. As a result, the pope's former pupil Charles was chosen by five of the seven electors in 1346. Charles received the votes of the Archbishops of Mainz, Trier, and Cologne, and his father the King of Bohemia. The Kings of Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palgrave, however, continued to support the claim of Ludwig.

Though the pope may have considered the imperial election settled at this point, as the young Charles had secured a majority of the possible imperial votes, he had done so at a time when the process technically required all seven votes for an official election.<sup>556</sup> As a result, the young Charles was derided and called 'the Priests' King' [*rex clericorum*] by William of Ockham, who was then at residence in Ludwig's court, and his claim to the throne was generally regarded as spurious. In fact, as both Spěvák and Rosario have argued, at the time of his selection, Charles IV was elected more as an anti-king than an emperor elect in his own right.<sup>557</sup> His claim was tenuous enough, and the imperial nobility was incensed enough by it that, as Pánek and Tůma have noted, German chronicles claimed that Charles was forced to return home after the Battle of Crécy in disguise, staying in monasteries to avoid detection.<sup>558</sup> While the veracity of these reports can be called into question due to the prejudice of the sources, they nevertheless are a good indication of the hostility that Charles faced in his quest for the Roman crown. Ludwig proposed to settle the contest for the throne much the way he had with his first challenger Frederick. Before the two sides could meet in battle, however, the matter was decided when Ludwig died of a stroke while on a bear hunt in October 1347.

While his very election makes plain that Pope Clement VI and Charles IV shared a friendship, it is also true that the papacy had been the primary force in seeing the young Luxembourg through the process. As a result, in return for papal support in the question of imperial selection, Clement expected that Charles would use his position to work towards the political aims of the papacy. To

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<sup>556</sup> The process of election as Holy Roman Emperor had two stages. First, a candidate had to be elected by the seven imperial prince-electors. Prior to the Golden Bull of 1356, such an election required all seven electors to agree on one candidate. Afterwards, a simple majority was required. Following election, the candidate was known as King of the Romans, and the emperor elect. The King of the Romans then became Holy Roman Emperor usually after a coronation ceremony in Rome, which in general, but not always, was presided over by the pope.

<sup>557</sup> See, Spěvák, *Karel IV*, p. 198–201; Rosario, *Art and Propaganda*, p. 4.

<sup>558</sup> Pánek, Tůma, et al., *A History of the Czech Lands*, p. 129.

Clement's way of thinking, Charles was to be a tame ruler, and beholden to the wishes of Avignon. He expressed this conviction at Charles's elevation ceremony in 1349, saying: 'He shall rule for me when he reigns for my honor and that of my See: when he reigns on my behalf he will wholly direct his rule to the honour of God and the Holy See.'<sup>559</sup> In addition, as Wood has shown, it was Clement's desire that his old pupil should never attain the rank of emperor. Instead, he meant for Charles to continue on as King of the Romans in perpetuity, allowing the pope to hold the possibility of an imperial coronation over his head, and ensure his submission.<sup>560</sup>

This state of affairs was no doubt familiar to the well-connected Milíč. The preacher had spent the early part of his career in two of the cathedrals of the Czech lands, worked in the emperor's chancery, and was at one time in possession of a papal benefice.<sup>561</sup> What is more, given the period which he spent travelling in the emperor's retinue, the preacher had ample time to learn that Clement VI's easy assumption of power over Charles had been misplaced. The friendship that the two shared had begun to erode when Charles took Anna Wittelsbach of the Palatinate as his new wife in 1349. The marriage came despite the fact that the pope had expressed his preference that Charles marry a French princess. In fact, Charles had sworn an oath in 1346 that he would not marry a relation of the former Ludwig of Bavaria without the consent of Avignon.<sup>562</sup> More troubling to the papacy than Charles's insistence upon choosing his own wife was his own personal conviction that the office of Holy Roman Emperor need not be dependent upon that of the pope. Clement VI had very different ideas, and had made his view on the supremacy of the papacy in imperial affairs clear when he required that Charles promise, prior to his election as King of the Romans, to involve Avignon in any arbitrations or disputes

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<sup>559</sup> 'Sed quare dicit: "pro me"? numquid dimittam sibi istam kathedram et istam sedem? Certe non intendo. Sed pro me regnabit, quando pro honore meo et istius sedis regnabit; quando pro me regnabit, quando suum regimen ad honorem Dei et istius sancte sedis totaliter ordinabit.' Clement VI, 'Salomon sedebit super solium meum et ipse regnabit pro me, illique precipiam, ut sit dux super Israel', in, Karl Zeumer and Richard Salomen (eds.), *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Constitutione et acta publica imperatorum et regnum inde ab a. MCCCXLV usque ad a. MCCCXLVIII (1345-1348)*, vol. VIII (Hannover, 1982), pp. 166–167.

<sup>560</sup> Diana Wood, *Clement VI: The Pontificate and Ideas of an Avignon Pope* (Cambridge, 1989), p. 168.

<sup>561</sup> See Chapter 1, note 110, p. 41.

<sup>562</sup> Wood, *Clement VI*, p. 168.

between France and the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>563</sup>

While the particulars of this dispute between Charles and Clement are specific, disagreements between the imperial and papal thrones regarding the rights of the emperor were by no means exceptional.<sup>564</sup> The medieval struggle between the Empire and papacy has been characterised by Binns as ‘perhaps the most significant happening of the middle ages’.<sup>565</sup> While such a description might seem exaggerated, there is no doubt that the papal/imperial battle was protracted. Although this thesis lacks the scope to address one of the largest and most complex issues of the medieval period, it is of interest to this discussion that one of the ways in which the papacy responded to imperial attempts to assert political autonomy was through sophisticated polemical allegories.

During the twelfth century, Pope Innocent III (1160/61–1215) and Pope Gregory VIII (1105–1187) created one of the most oft-cited allegorical descriptions of the dichotomy between papal and imperial thrones to explain what they saw as the inherent subservience of the emperor to the pope. In the allegory the popes described spiritual justice as light. Just as God had created the sun to be the body from which all light in the world flowed, so had He created the papacy – the source of all spiritual power. While the sun was the main body of light in the sky, there were other sources of light as well, in particular the moon. The two men stressed that the moon, while a source of light, only reflected that of the sun, and possessed no actual luminescence. The moon then should be understood as the Holy Roman Emperor who reflected the spiritual power of the papacy, but had none of his own.<sup>566</sup> Readers were thus to understand the offices of pope and emperor as having divine provenance and a set hierarchy with the pope firmly at the apex.

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<sup>563</sup> Charles IV, ‘Acta Regni Karoli IV, Promissiones super facto regis Franciae. Apr. 22’, in, Zeumer and Salomon (eds.), *MGH, Constitutiones et acta publica imperatorum*, vol. VIII, no. 11, pp. 21–23.

<sup>564</sup> Literature on the relationship between the papacy and the Holy Roman Empire in the medieval period is extensive. Excellent examples include: Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Könige und Papste, gesammelte aufsatze zur Geschichte des Mittelalters*, vols. I–IV (Stuttgart, 1968); Robert Folz, *The Concept of Empire in Western Europe from the Fifth to the Fourteenth Century*, trans. Sheila Ann Ogilvie (London, 1969); Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy*; Joseph Canning, *A History of Medieval Political Thought, 300–1450* (London, 1996); Anthony Black, *Political Thought in Europe: 1250–1450* (Cambridge, 1992); Ullmann, *Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages*; and Guillaume Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon: 1305–1378* (London, 1963).

<sup>565</sup> Binns, *The Decline and Fall of the Medieval Papacy*, p. 38.

<sup>566</sup> D. Carl Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums und des Römischen Katholizismus* (Tübingen, 1911), p. 141; Folz, *The Concept of Empire in Western Europe*, p. 81; Burdach and Piur, *Briefwechsel*, vol. 1, p. 273; Othmar Hageneder, *Il Sole et la Luna: Papato, impero e regni nella teoria e nella prassi dei secoli XII e XIII* (Milan, 2000).

Nonetheless, the very fact that the papacy had for centuries been refining its arguments on, and issuing bulls in the defense of its primacy over the imperial throne attests that while popes agreed on their superior position, emperors did not. Charles IV, like most of his predecessors, disagreed in fundamental terms with the papacy's interpretation of the papal/imperial relationship. Owing to his tenuous initial election as King of the Romans, and to the overt anti-papal mandates of Ludwig, his main rival for the Roman throne, Charles IV had to establish a delicate balance in his position. He had to be able to assuage the papacy that had been instrumental in his election, as well as avoid appearing to sympathise with his old rival.<sup>567</sup> As tactful as he needed to appear, it was his belief that the emperor was equal to the pope, though his sphere of influence differed.

Charles expressed this conviction in a charter where he argued against the sun and moon metaphor, saying that both the sun and the moon were of equal importance.<sup>568</sup> Further, Charles not only opposed the idea that his imperial office was subject to the whims of the pope, but also worked to ensure that in an inversion of Avignon's wishes, the papacy would carry out his own political goals. In particular the emperor was adept at seeing his own political allies confirmed as bishops in strategic bishoprics throughout the Empire. This possibility Charles owed to the fact that after the Concordat of Worms the emperor was allowed to invest bishops 'by the lance' or with secular authority. Afterwards, he was expected to notify the papacy of his choice so that the bishop in question could be invested by the 'ring and staff' of spiritual authority.<sup>569</sup>

With his strong beliefs in the inherent power of the imperial throne, and his adept political machinations, Charles was unable to please any given pontiff for a protracted period of time. Any individual with connections to the emperor's court, Milíč included, would have seen the same scenario play out after the election of each new pope: Charles and the pope would, as Hledíková has shown, initially be on cordial terms, but their relationship would deteriorate once the emperor's

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<sup>567</sup> Ludwig IV had tried in a number of imperial diets, beginning with the 1338 Diet of Rhense, to establish that after election by a majority, the imperial throne was God-given. This would be reaffirmed that same year at the Diet of Frankfurt in the mandate *licet iuris*, which insisted that election as King of the Romans bestowed on the elected the status of Holy Roman Emperor at the same time. See, Barraclough, *The Medieval Papacy*, p. 54.

<sup>568</sup> Zdeněk Kalista, *Karel IV. jeho duchovní tvář* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn., Prague, 2007), pp. 96, 204 no. 49; Zdeněk Kalista, *Císař Karel IV. a Dante Alighieri* (Naples, 1963), p. 200.

<sup>569</sup> L. Schmutz, 'Kurie und Kirche in der Politik Karls IV,' in, Seibt (ed.), *Kaiser Karl.*, pp. 83–87.

reluctance to act as a tool of the papacy became clear.<sup>570</sup> Indeed, as Kalista has argued, during the papacy of Innocent VI the pontiff became exasperated enough with Charles that Innocent had planned to depose the emperor and replace him with the more tractable Rudolf Habsburg IV, Duke of Austria (1339–1365).

The motivations behind Pope Innocent's plan were several. The pope took issue firstly with Charles's creation of the Golden Bull in 1356. The bull codified the electoral and coronation process of future emperors, severing the electoral process's ties with the church, and enraging Innocent VI.<sup>571</sup> Additionally, Charles was outspoken in his questioning of papal finance and insistence on church reform. Innocent felt that as a result of these policies, Charles had more than overstepped the bounds of proper imperial subservience to the church. The pope's plan was later abandoned, however, as it was decided that by dint of his familial legacy and support from the clergy within the Empire, Charles was too strong an emperor to oppose. Moreover, the papacy's coffers had been depleted during the pontificate of Clement VI and the church lacked the necessary funds for what could become an ongoing military conflict.<sup>572</sup> Clearly then, Charles IV was at odds with Avignon on the question of imperial power.

Further to this, as Rosario has argued, Charles went to great lengths, using both chronicles and works of art, to present his case for independent imperial sovereignty.<sup>573</sup> In literary works this was accomplished by his chroniclers, who made sure to include the most minute of details, such as the seating plans at banquets in order to present the equal footing on which both pope and emperor stood.<sup>574</sup> In artworks the same ends were achieved through ensuring that whenever depicted in the same image Charles was always presented on the same horizontal line and as having the same stature as his papal counterpart.<sup>575</sup> As mentioned above, Charles himself took up the same task when he argued for his political independence in charters.<sup>576</sup> Later, Charles's most overt display of

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<sup>570</sup> Zdeňka Hledíková, 'Karel IV a církev', in, Vaněček (ed.), *Karolus Quartus*, p. 138.

<sup>571</sup> Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon*, p. 227.

<sup>572</sup> Kalista, *Karel IV*, p. 136. See also, Wily Scheffler, *Karl IV. und Innocenz VI. Beiträge zur Geschichte ihrer Beziehungen 1355–1360* (Vaduz, 1965). As Kalista states, this particular conflict deserves more scholarly attention than it has received to date. See Kalista, *Karel IV*, p. 225, note 18.

<sup>573</sup> See, Rosario, 'Images Reflecting Charles IV's Relationship with the Church', in, *Art and Propaganda*, pp. 109–122.

<sup>574</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115; Johannis Neplachonis, Abbatis Opatovicensis, *Chronicon*, in, Jireček Emler and Ferdinand Tadra (eds.), *FRB*, (Prague, 1878–1882) vol. III, p. 483.

<sup>575</sup> Rosario, *Art and Propaganda*, p. 115.

<sup>576</sup> Kalista, *Karel IV.*, pp. 96, 204 no. 49; Kalista, *Císař Karel IV. a Dante Alighieri*, p. 200.

determination to wrest the imperial office from the control of the papacy was codified in the afore-mentioned Golden Bull. It is therefore obvious that the emperor worked throughout his career to establish the imperial throne as a force of its own.

Charles's feelings on the question of imperial independence were supported once again in Milíč's work. In his own missives to Pope Urban V the preacher advanced the idea that the pope and the emperor were equals in power. Rather than being dependent on the papacy for his position, Milíč believed the church should look to Charles in order to settle matters of spiritual significance. Nowhere were these sentiments on better display than in Milíč's pleas to Urban to intervene and avert Antichrist's advent. According to the preacher, he had been ordered by the Holy Spirit itself to alert the pope to the crisis and to encourage others to pray for both Urban and Charles 'so that they may so order the holy church in the spiritual and temporal'.<sup>577</sup> Such an exhortation is unambiguous. To Milíč, the idea that the emperor was to be consulted on church matters was of concern not just for himself, a mortal man, but for the Holy Spirit. What is more, Milíč's insistence that only through recognition of the emperor's place could harmony be restored to the Christian world shows the urgency of the matter. Were the papacy to ignore his warnings and continue to treat Charles as a mere vassal, there would be dire consequences for all of humanity.

In order to see that his warnings were heeded with the utmost exigency, Milíč was happy to specify the exact way in which the pope and emperor ought to go about reordering both church and society: through the convening of a general council. So convinced was he of this as the correct course of action that Milíč called upon the pontiff twice to do so, once in his *Libellus* (again, at the behest of the Holy Spirit), and again in his direct missive to Urban.<sup>578</sup> Such a council, he insisted, would allow the necessary corrections to be made within the church. Additionally the council would also mean that Christendom as a whole would see both the pope and the emperor working together to ensure that outcome. Milíč

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<sup>577</sup> 'Interim irrui in me spiritus ita, ut me continere non possem, dicens in mihi in corde: "Vade, intima publice per cartam, quam affiges hostiis ecclesiae S. Petri, sicut solitus fuisti intimare in Praga, quando eras praedicaturus, quod velis praedicare, quod Antichristus venit, ex exhortaberis clerum et populum, ut orent pro domino nostro papa et pro domino nostro Imperatore, ut ordinent ita ecclesiam sanctam in spiritualibus et temporalibus, ut securi fideles deserviant Creatori;" Milíč, *Libellus*, in, Opočenský and Opočenská(eds.), *The Message*, p. 58.

<sup>578</sup> "Suade igitur summo pontifici, ut faciat *concilium generale* in Roma..." Ibid., p. 68.  
'Consurge ergo, princeps noster ... quod aliter fieri non potest, nisi per concilium generale...' Milíč, 'Ad Papam Urbanum V', in, Ibid., p. 30.

was therefore not only asking Urban to look to Charles for religious guidance, but to show the entire Christian world that the two were equal in these matters as well. It is not enough that the emperor was to be consulted; he must have been seen to be.

Nevertheless, whereas Milíč may have considered it obvious that the emperor was God's emissary and that he should be acknowledged as such by both the papacy and the world as a whole, it would seem that he was also aware that Pope Urban V would be reluctant to heed such a call. The preacher urged the pontiff to set aside such misgivings, and beseeched him to trust in the protective power of the emperor. He made this point in his afore-mentioned rendering of Charles as the black eagle of the Empire, who would 'stretch its wings over' Urban and protect him.<sup>579</sup> Additionally, provided the pope call upon and pray for the emperor, Milíč declared that Charles could help Urban after an agreement had been reached at the general council. The emperor was needed to issue an edict which would bring the world under their combined peaceful rule.<sup>580</sup> Indeed, the protection that the preacher referred to in these passages even portrays Charles as the more powerful individual, able to stand up to enemies that the pope was unable to face alone. In this way, Milíč made it clear that Charles, as the secular arm of Christendom, was of equal importance in the consideration of religious matters. As a result, the emperor ought to be acknowledged as such not only by Urban V, but by the entire Christian world.

Of course, Milíč's appeal for an increased reference to the religious feelings of the emperor, and for the universal acceptance of his role in church functions, was designed to alert as many people as possible to the necessity of such a shift, not the pope alone. In fact, by their very nature these treatises were meant to be seen by a large audience. The *Libellus*, for example was a direct letter to Pope Urban V, but would have been seen by Milíč's Roman gaolers after he composed it in the open air of their cloister. It would then be passed to the papal inquisitors who attended to the matter, and then any number of individuals within the higher echelons of the church. It is most likely, for example, that Cardinal Angel de Grimoard, who was instrumental in Milíč's release from Roman imprisonment,

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<sup>579</sup> See note 546, p. 175.

<sup>580</sup> 'Si enim oraveris pro ea, erit Tibi in protectionem; invoca eam, et exiet edictum ab ipsa, ut sub ejus defensione et pace describatur universis orbis...' Milíč, 'Ad Papam Urbanum V', in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 30.



was aware of the apologia that the preacher had composed regarding the matter of his detention.<sup>581</sup> Once again, the high survival rate of manuscripts containing the *Libellus* proves that it was also popular with a general audience uninvolved with Milíč's heresy case.<sup>582</sup> In fact, so popular and widespread was this work that even Milíč's detractors were familiar with it. Milíč's attempted prediction of the date of Antichrist's coming, contained within the *Libellus*, is referenced in their twelve articles against him, with the hope that the papacy would that time take exception to it.<sup>583</sup>

Likewise, Milíč's letter to Pope Urban V, while in theory a personal missive, is more of an open letter. Papal correspondence would be read by more than just the pope himself. Such a letter would arrive at the curia and make its way up to the pontiff only if it was deemed worthy of his time. It would, therefore, be seen by many individuals on its way to Urban. While it was essential that Milíč convince Urban of the rectitude of his message, it was by no means be unwelcome to the preacher if other devout Christians became aware of his views and also began to espouse them.

Milíč considered that he was engaged in a very real battle for the world against the looming threat of Antichrist. If he felt that both pope and emperor ought to work together to avert the coming of the Antichrist, then he would inform as many individuals as possible of that fact. Because the crisis was international, the response had to occur on the same scale. Of course, if personages as eminent as the pope and his brother the cardinal, and even the most hostile members of the Prague clergy, were aware of Milíč's ideas on the proper role of the emperor in religious affairs, then it is likely that Charles would have had some idea regarding them as well. The preacher's willingness to ally himself with the wishes of the imperial court, and to disseminate that message as far as he could, would have done much to ingratiate him at the court.

Despite the efforts of both men, difficulties with the various Avignon delegations would dog Charles up until the end of his life. The papacy never ceased to attempt asserting its power over imperial offices, even after the implementation of

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<sup>581</sup> See, Introduction, pp. 9, 12; Chapter 1, p. 45.

<sup>582</sup> According to Spunar, copies of the *Libellus* survive in Prague, Upper Austria, Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, and Poland. See, Spunar, *Repertorium Auctorum Bohemorum*, p. 183. Janov, of course, also included the *Libellus* in his *Regulae*, which helped it to circulate wider still. Spunar found dozens of *Regulae* manuscripts extant from Saxony to Kaliningrad, see *Ibid.*, pp. 163–169.

<sup>583</sup> See Introduction, p. 10–11.

the Golden Bull. In the final years of his life, for instance, the emperor focused his attention on ensuring that his son Wenceslas [Václav] IV would be elected to the imperial throne following his death. In 1376, just as this plan was coming to fruition and he had received assurances from Pope Gregory XI that Wenceslas's election would be supported, the pope sent a legate to announce that in the papacy's opinion the election of Wenceslas did not meet the necessary requirements. Gregory therefore asked that the election be suspended until the arrival of his designated legate Cardinal Robert of Geneva (1342–1394).<sup>584</sup>

In the meantime Charles was told to listen to the opinion of the Curia outlined by the papal nuncio Audivert di Pignano.<sup>585</sup> Accordingly, in May the emperor received the nuncio, only to be told that he should submit a new appeal to Avignon regarding the decision. Charles was told that in this new appeal he should include requests that the pope authorise the imperial electors to make such a decision. Furthermore, the nuncio insisted that both Charles and Wenceslas should indicate their support for the pope's general constitution prior to the imperial confirmation. The constitution would declare any election decided by the imperial electors null and void if the pope disagreed with their chosen candidate.<sup>586</sup> In other words, the papacy sought to reverse the severance of the election of the King of the Romans from papal control that Charles had introduced in the Golden Bull.

Charles, unsurprisingly, fought back against the directives. He argued that as the electors were already united in their opinion, the delay of the election would serve only to make a new selection impossible. In response to the request that he ratify the pope's constitution, he replied only that Gregory could issue whatever constitution he wished without Charles objecting, but that he would not agree with it. In the end Wenceslas's election was upheld, but was postponed by ten days to allow Cardinal Robert to arrive. His coronation was then suspended for fifteen days at the insistence of the nuncio in order to allow Pope Gregory to confirm the decision.<sup>587</sup> While Charles was able to secure the Roman throne for his son, as this episode makes clear, his efforts to establish imperial authority as autonomous from the papacy were not fully realised in his lifetime. As the church

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<sup>584</sup> In 1378 Robert of Geneva was elected as Antipope Clement VII in opposition to Urban VI.

<sup>585</sup> Caroli Stloukal (ed.), *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Bohemicas illustrantia*, vol. IV, *Acta Gregorii XI pontificis Romani, 1370–1378* (Prague, 1949–1953), p. 632 no. 1114.

<sup>586</sup> Jiří Spěváček, *Karel IV: Život a dílo (1316–1378)* (Prague, 1980), p. 454.

<sup>587</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 455.

continually sought to involve itself in imperial affairs, it is clear that the emperor was pleased to have Milíč's arguments in favour of the emperor's participation in church affairs circulating.

Milíč's works must also be interpreted as doubly pleasing when one considers how they also coincided with Charles's attempts to see the seat of the papacy returned to Rome from Avignon. As acknowledged by the preacher in his *Libellus*, Charles had on several occasions attempted to intercede with Pope Urban V in this matter.<sup>588</sup> His first attempt came in 1365, when he attended Urban in Avignon. Charles at the time hoped to convince the pontiff to abandon the Avignon palace, and escort Urban to the eternal city.<sup>589</sup> In spite of the failure of this initial attempt at papal return to Rome, in 1367 Urban agreed to attempt the journey, and set off with the apparent intention of remaining in the city into perpetuity.<sup>590</sup> It was this very return to Rome which had convinced Milíč to make his own journey to the city in order to await the coming of the pope, and warn him of the advent of Antichrist. Charles's pleasure at the papacy's return was conveyed by his own arrival there in 1368, where he took the opportunity to see Elizabeth of Pomerania (1347–1393), his empress at the time, receive a papal coronation.<sup>591</sup> Even with Charles's support for the papal return, Urban V was forced to abandon Rome in 1370, following the revolt of the Papal States and the disaffection of the French cardinals.

After the election of Pope Gregory XI, Charles continued with his agitation for the return of the papacy to Rome. He again visited Avignon in 1376 in order to meet with Gregory, discuss his son's coronation as Holy Roman Emperor, and make the case for a Roman papacy.<sup>592</sup> In this he found a willing ally in the new pope, who was convinced of the necessity of such a return.<sup>593</sup> Of course, part of Charles's desire to see Gregory ensconced at St. Peter's was likely due to the aspiration of a Roman coronation for his son. Nevertheless, these negotiations provide insight into the emperor's thoughts on the papacy's location, and his own right to influence the ongoing matter. It is not difficult to understand why, for

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<sup>588</sup> See note 535, p. 173.

<sup>589</sup> Ibid.; Seibt, *Karel IV*, p. 334; Spěváček, *Karel IV*, p. 255.

<sup>590</sup> For more on Urban V's move, see Ivan Polancec, "Ibi Papa, ubi Roma": Urban V and his Household between Avignon and Rome, 1367', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 62 (2011), pp. 457–471.

<sup>591</sup> Spěváček, *Karel IV*, pp. 257–258.

<sup>592</sup> Ibid., p. 454.

<sup>593</sup> Seibt, *Karel IV*, p. 340.

reasons of political influence, Charles would prefer to see the popes removed from the sphere of authority of the French king, and installed in territories abutting his own. Indeed, that the emperor would perhaps have more sway over a Rome-based territory is demonstrated by Milíč's identification of the city as (German) imperial territory in his description of the 1365 attempt at a papal return.<sup>594</sup>

While a greater ability to access (and influence) the papacy in person was no doubt at play in Charles's mind, it is of equal likelihood that his religious convictions were also involved. Charles's obvious interest in the work of reformers such as Milíč and Konrad Waldhauser, as argued in the first chapter of this work, is evidence of a deep-seated interest in their general religious message. It is unquestionable that reform-minded individuals in the fourteenth century were in almost universal agreement upon the urgent necessity of a papal return to Rome. Avignon, they held, was a city of iniquity and excess. It was unworthy that the ruler of the church would therefore choose to administer to Christendom from such a moral quagmire. Milíč's writings, in which he alleges to Urban V that Charles wished to 'scatter' Avignon 'as it is said', are evidence that the emperor's desire to return the papacy to Rome was common knowledge.<sup>595</sup> Moreover, to the preacher, the emperor's good sense in this matter was additional evidence of the rightness of his place as a spiritual advisor to the pope. Further still, it was proof of the emperor's indisputable claim to worldly authority.

The 'as it is said' used by Milíč to describe the emperor's desire to scatter the pleasures of Avignon is telling, for it refers to the use of the same verb in two books of the Vulgate Bible. A reference to scattering is found firstly in two chapters in the book of Deuteronomy, initially in chapter four, where God warns the people of Israel that if they return to their idolatrous ways, He will scatter them among all nations.<sup>596</sup> The threat is then repeated in chapter twenty-eight when the Lord warns the people against general disobedience, and makes a specific threat that they will be forced to return to idolatry when He abandons them.<sup>597</sup> The next Biblical reference to a 'scattering' comes in the twenty-fourth chapter of Isaiah, where once again it is warned that the Lord intends to scatter the world's

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<sup>594</sup> See note 535, p. 173.

<sup>595</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>596</sup> 'Atque disperget in omnes gentes et remanebitis pauci in nationibus, ad quas vos ducturus est Dominus.' Deuteronomy 4:27.

<sup>597</sup> 'Disperget te Dominus in omnes populos, a summitate terrae usque ad terminos ejus: et servies ibi diis alienis, quos et tu ignoras et patres tui, lignis et lapidibus.' Deuteronomy 28:64.

inhabitants, as a result of their disobedience.<sup>598</sup>

All these examples therefore imply that if Avignon must be 'scattered' by the emperor it is as a result of the general idolatry. The 'idols' that Charles was so incensed by that he must scatter the papal city Milíč identified as 'temporal riches', the lust for which was causing spiritual neglect within the church.<sup>599</sup> The identification of Avignon with a love of excessive luxury is a characteristic complaint of fourteenth-century reformers. Indeed, the theme was repeated when the preacher refers to the 'pleasures' of Avignon in his other letter to Urban V.<sup>600</sup> Milíč thus refers to Charles as a fellow reformer, as proven by his desire to strike against such an 'idol' and put an end to the profligacy which Avignon represents.

The final instance of a scattering which Milíč may have been referring to comes once again in Isaiah, this time in the forty-first chapter. Unlike the other passages, the second Isaiah section seeks not to punish the people of God for transgressions, but rather to reassure them that He will help them to scatter their enemies.<sup>601</sup> Milíč's reference to this biblical passage thus intimates that the enemy that must be scattered is the Avignonese papacy. What is more, in this same chapter God tells the people that he will assist them against their enemies by appointing his 'servant' Jacob to lead them through this time of difficulty.<sup>602</sup> In referring to Charles's desire to 'scatter' Avignon, Milíč thereby did more than represent the emperor as a reformer; the preacher also presented Charles as a chosen servant of God and a new Jacob, tasked with scattering the enemies of the faith. Such a characterisation would have served the emperor well in his drive for a Roman papacy. If he was God's chosen servant how could the pope

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<sup>598</sup> 'Ecce Dominus dissipabit terram: et nudabit eam, et affliget faciem ejus, et disperget habitatores ejus. ... Et terra infecta est ab habitatoribus suis, quia transgressi sunt leges, mutaverunt jus, dissipaverunt foedus sempiternum.' Isaiah 24:1–5.

<sup>599</sup> 'Excitat nos ad videndum abominationem desolationis etc., ubi tamen dicit, quomodo negligentia pastorum desolata est ecclesia sicut olim negligentia Pharisaeorum desolata fuit synagoga, quia etsi ecclesia modo in pace et divitiis habundat temporalibus, despoliata tamen est divitiis spiritualibus. ... Nonne abominationes et idola sunt haec...' Milíč, *Libellus*, in, Opočenský and Opočenská (eds.), *The Message*, p. 62.

<sup>600</sup> 'Etenim satis alte duxisti rethe de Avinonis voluptate in Romanam austeritatem!' Milíč, 'Ad Papam Urbanum V', in, *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>601</sup> 'Ecce confundentur et erubescunt omnes qui pugnant adversum te; erunt quasi non sint, et peribunt viri qui contradicunt tibi. ... Ventilabis eos, et ventus tollet, et turno disperget eos; et tu exsultabis in Domino, in Sancto Israel laetaberis.' Isaiah 41: 11–16.

<sup>602</sup> 'Et tu, Israel, serve meus, Jacob quem elegi, semen Abraham amici mei: in quo apprehendi te ab extremis terrae, et a longinquis ejus vocavi te, et dixi tibi: Servus meus et tu, elegi te, et non abjeci te. Ne timeas, quia ego tecum sum; ne declines, quia ego Deus tuus; confortavi te, et auxiliatus sum tibi, et suscepit te dextera Justi Mei.' Isaiah 41: 8–10.

refuse to heed his call?

It is thus clear that the emperor wished for a Roman papacy, and that Milíč worked to help further that goal. It must be emphasised, however, that the preacher's support for this endeavour was born of deep personal belief, rather than a wholly calculated effort to ingratiate himself with Charles. Milíč's rapprochement of a supposedly idolatrous Avignon proves his desire for a papal return to Rome, as does, *ipso facto*, his status as reformer. While his excitement for an imperially influenced papal return to Rome was great, it must be remembered that Milíč was accused of heresy on several occasions for his reform and eschatological beliefs. The ways in which Milíč described Charles's efforts to remove the papacy from Avignon thus also served his own religious agenda. In the preacher's quest to see the pope return to Rome, it was helpful to remind audiences that he could count the admired and religious Charles as a sympathiser in the matter.

The emperor was respected as a man of great personal spirituality, and considered above reproach in religious matters. As someone who was often accused of going too far in his beliefs, it was useful for Milíč to remind his detractors that the emperor agreed with him on some aspects of reform. Indeed, Milíč's referrals to Charles's interests in reform and distaste for an Avignonese papacy come in his *Libellus*, which was written under duress while he was imprisoned in Rome for his eschatological concerns. For the preacher, then, the chance to impress upon the pope the similarities between his own reform ideals and those of the emperor was an opportunity to legitimise his own beliefs and disperse suspicion. Further, as the accusations against Milíč made by the Prague clergy attest, the preacher had no compunctions about referencing the connections between his work and that of the emperor.<sup>603</sup> Clearly then, Milíč was aware of the benefits of presenting his work as compatible with that of the emperor.

All these considerations make it plain that both Milíč and Charles shared the common goal of returning the papacy to Rome. These representations were made to no lesser a person than the pope, and would have been seen by his attendant councilors. Milíč's writings on the subject, however, went beyond a papal audience. These texts circulated widely and would be read by and to an

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<sup>603</sup> See Introduction, p. 10–11.

unidentified population across the former Empire. Milíč's written works demonstrate that he considered that the emperor's protection and spiritual guidance ought to be invoked on church matters extending beyond the location of the papacy. In reminding Urban V of Charles's first, failed, attempt at removing the papacy from Avignon in 1365, Milíč was thereby attempting to impress upon the pope that the emperor was already working as a spiritual advisor to the church. In fact, to the preacher's way of thinking, by that point Charles had been doing so for the past two years. By mentioning the incident, Milíč thereby also intimated to the pontiff that Charles was possessed of enough moral rectitude that he ought to be consulted on such matters.

As far as Milíč was concerned, any attempt to remove the seat of the papacy from Avignon was an unimpeachable indication of rectitude. In contrast to Urban, who allowed himself to be cowed by the sentiments of other less holy individuals into staying in Avignon, it was impossible to dissuade the emperor from the righteous path. Whether or not the pope chose to acknowledge the (correct) advice of Charles, he was already providing it and it was clear to others that he ought to be heeded. If Milíč had noticed Urban's decision to ignore sound spiritual advice from the pious emperor, doubtless others had too.

It is obvious that Milíč's message of the emperor as an independent power and a divine intercessor for a Roman papacy would be known and pleasing to the court. Yet, it was not the court alone which stood to benefit from such a message, but Milíč himself, as he was imprisoned for the very beliefs he was attempting to promote in his *Libellus*. It was also, therefore, to his own personal benefit that audiences equate the beliefs of popular, saintly Charles with outspoken embattled Milíč. While there were political gains to be made on both sides as a result of these writings, there can be little doubt that Milíč made such statements as a result of personal conviction. If the preacher's works were able to also improve his standing with the emperor, so much the better, but his main concern was always restoring what he saw as the correct balance of power in order to stave off the coming of Antichrist.

Milíč and Charles both shared the belief that the emperor ought to be a force in religious affairs, and the two men were happy to propagate that idea on as large a scale as possible. Charles made his intentions to be free of the interference of the church, and to be seen as an arbiter of spiritual well-being known through his

work on documents such as the Golden Bull, his writings on imperial independence, and his decision to involve himself in the question of papal location. Having a staunch and popular ally writing to argue the case for the emperor as a religious authority equal to the pope was an advantage to Charles as he sought to extricate himself and the imperial throne from centuries of dominance by the papacy.

### **Conclusions**

It is clear that both Milíč and Charles held the same beliefs regarding temporal power, and that the two men were working toward seeing them to fruition. The advantage that Charles gained as a result of Milíč's work was considerable. The preacher covered disputes ranging from the emperor's lineage and right to rule Bohemia, to the dignity of the imperial throne, and its autonomy from the church. Analysis of the preacher's sermons show that he had an awareness of each of these issues, and that in any given dispute, he sided with Charles. Milíč's sermons argue for Charles as a logical heir to the Přemyslid line by encouraging audiences to think about the current king as a counterpart to his saintly ancestor Wenceslas.

The preacher achieved this through a consideration of Charles's moral rectitude as well as through the mention of the family's lineage and participation in the Church of Prague. Such sermons were welcome in that Charles worked to assert his own links to the Přemyslids from the moment he returned to the kingdom. His commissioned artworks and the choices of names for his family show the importance of the undertaking to the monarch. Moreover, because he worked toward creating the same connections in his own written works the king would have understood the value of such sentiments being propagated in Milíč's sermon collections.

The preacher also wrote in support of Charles in opposition to the Bohemian nobility, condemning them for their inability to perform the very functions which they had taken over from the throne. Even more damning, Milíč identified the nobles as servants of the devil for their collection of the *robot*. Once again these sentiments are mirrored in Charles's own policy. As king, he sought to reappropriate alienated royal lands which had come under the jurisdiction of the Bohemian nobility, and to curb their influence in matters of judicial procedure.



Considering the high concentration of surviving manuscripts of Milíč's works in Bohemia, it is safe to say that the preacher was very much able to broadcast this message to audiences affected by the issue.

Outside the kingdom, Milíč also worked to bolster the position of Charles as emperor, writing to audiences as influential as the pope himself in order to make a case for increased imperial power. The preacher sought to warn his audience that the various kingdoms within the Holy Roman Empire were serving Antichrist and endangering Christendom as a whole by attempting to usurp imperial land. So concerned was Milíč with this issue that he hoped to create an 'army' of preachers in order to spread that very message and avert the coming of the Final Enemy. These warnings served the emperor's purposes well in that his own activities show a concern with the waning influence of the imperial throne. Charles was aware of the prevailing ideas regarding the abilities of an emperor to control the imperial lands. The emperor's care to receive coronations in disputed territories and his constant travel throughout the Holy Roman Empire show his determination to prove his influence within them.

The preacher contended that it was not only temporal rulers who ought to reconsider the way that they wielded power in opposition to Charles, however, for Milíč also made the same arguments regarding the papacy. While he did not consider that the popes were as corrupt as temporal rulers, he did feel that the papacy was being too timid in its approach to them. The preacher also felt that the papacy's location in Avignon at the time was further encouraging corruption within the church. Milíč believed that Charles, by virtue of his place on the imperial throne, ought to be consulted by the pope in spiritual matters. To the preacher the two men were equals, tasked with the reordering of society in order to avert Antichrist's advent. Milíč further contended that Charles's commitment to removing the papacy from southern France had proved his abilities as a spiritual advisor to the pope. When the papacy remained in Avignon because of political pressure, Charles had the moral fortitude to do what was right. As such the emperor ought to be looked upon as the protector of the church, the imperial eagle who could enfold the pope in his wings.

These writings were some of Milíč's most widely circulated, and made their way through the highest echelons of the court, as well as in interested circles of reformers. It is thus clear that Milíč as a high-profile supporter was of enormous

benefit to Charles as the emperor worked to reconsolidate imperial power and codify it as independent from the church in his own allegorical writings and the Golden Bull. Indeed, the same works also assisted as the emperor tried to put an end to the papacy's tenure in Avignon. Considering the many challenges which Charles faced on his accession to the Bohemian crown, and then the imperial, such assistance was welcome. Milíč's ability to assist with the emperor's ongoing struggles for temporal power more than explains Charles's willingness to involve himself with the affairs of one of Prague's most contentious religious figures.

## Conclusions

As this study has shown, it can be demonstrated that Milíč and Charles IV shared a mutually advantageous relationship. This finding is in contrast to that of the majority of studies conducted on Milíč up until this point. The tendency toward characterising any interaction between the two men as rancorous seems to have stemmed in large part as a result of the Czech *národní obrození* or national revival. During this period Czech nationalists argued for a conception of an essential 'Czechness' which was inextricably bound with a rejection of the Roman Catholic Church, typified as a 'German' institution. Any critique of religious or moral decay by a Czech, even within the context of a call for renewal or reform, was thus construed as a denunciation of the church in general. Once it had been established that a person had rejected 'German' Catholicism they could then be identified as a Hussite, and therefore an embodiment of the Czech national spirit.

Within this framework it was not only simple, but desirable, to characterise Milíč as a radical and openly critical of any sort of hierarchy, including that of the secular world. Charles IV, however, could not be construed as anything other than a supporter of the church and a part of the German-imperial institution. Because Czechs were theoretically called upon to reject both church and Empire, Milíč was thus necessarily cast as his opponent. This characterisation of Milíč as radical was influential enough that even those working outside of then Czechoslovakia accepted it. Consequently, historians from Germany to the United Kingdom when writing of Milíč simply assumed that he was in constant conflict with both crown and church, and wrote accordingly.

The appeal of such a characterisation is understandable because it is indeed the case that Milíč found himself embroiled in legal troubles on several occasions during his lifetime. Milíč had been arrested for his eschatological preaching and imprisoned in Rome as well as in Prague. He was also subjected to continuous opposition at the hands of other members of the Prague clergy who sought to interrupt his sermons. His students were arrested for their preaching against other clergy members, and even *Jerusalem*, Milíč's most celebrated work, was the subject of legal disputes as others claimed that it infringed their right to collect tithes in the area. Finally, the twelve articles of accusation against Milíč submitted to the papal court at Avignon, and his death while fighting them, make

a compelling case for the preacher as a radical with little regard for religious constraints.

Contrary to this characterisation, as the first chapter of this thesis has indicated, a closer reading of the less dramatic events of Milíč's life show that in actuality he enjoyed a connection to very important individuals in both the secular and church hierarchy. Milíč's career began in the prestigious Olomouc cathedral school, from which he was able to gain a comfortable chancery position in Kroměříž, home to the bishop's summer palace. Since Jan Očko, then Bishop of Olomouc, was a close advisor to Charles IV, and well known both at court and in the Prague cathedral, it is unsurprising that Milíč was able to later find a place in the capital. Once in the imperial chancery in Prague he rose through the ranks with little difficulty. Milíč even obtained a papal benefice after the intercession of yet another bishop, Jan of Středa. It was in this position that he travelled the Empire as a part of Charles IV's retinue. It is difficult to interpret the steady promotion and the favour of so many individuals within the upper echelons of society in the Czech lands as anything other than a result of careful cultivation on Milíč's part.

Of course, at the end of 1363 Milíč made a decisive break from his comfortable life at the Prague cathedral. He reemerged in the capital the next year not as a canon with a respectable benefice, but as an ascetic preacher, convinced of his role as a reformer in a society on the edge of collapse. Even at this time, and while attracting the ire of others both in Prague and Rome, Milíč had clear connections to the court of Charles, and the emperor himself. The preacher still enjoyed enough support from his old master Jan Očko, by that time the Archbishop of Prague, that he was invited to preach at the Prague synod on three occasions. Their relationship is further demonstrated in Milíč's willingness to forego the income he had received from tithes at the Jerusalem chapel without a fight at the request of Očko in 1373.

Beyond his interaction with members of the court, direct interaction with Charles is also evident in the emperor's involvement with the establishment of the Jerusalem community in 1372. Adding to the argument for a close association between the two is the fact that contemporaries, both supporters and detractors, assumed that Charles and Milíč were working together. This supposition is also shown in Milíč's biography the *Vita venerabilis presbyteri Milicij*, which claims that the preacher was close enough to the emperor that he wrote to him from Avignon

regarding the progress of his trial. What is more, the twelve articles of accusation which were responsible for Milíč's presence at the papal court (and his theoretical missives to the emperor), contained two specific complaints regarding Charles's favouritism toward the preacher. Indeed, the very fact that the accusations were sent directly to Avignon, rather than having been presented to the archiepiscopal court, indicates that there is veracity to the theoretical imperial protection that Milíč's detractors claimed he bragged of. It would seem that the Prague clergy felt that their complaints would be ignored outright within the sphere of influence of the archbishop and emperor. As a result, the papacy was the only authority to which they could appeal to curtail Milíč's practice.

Given that Charles had a history of relations with controversial reformers it is unsurprising that he would be interested in Milíč and his career. Charles, for instance, maintained an avid correspondence with Cola di Rienzo. Although Charles disagreed with the former Roman tribune's apocalyptic theories in fundamental terms, the emperor was nonetheless able to compel Rienzo to rebut Petrarch's calls for an imperial return to Rome. Indeed, so interested was Charles in keeping Rienzo in his own sphere of influence that he was willing to ignore the papacy's repeated commands to send the disgraced tribune to Avignon. Later Charles would again prove his interest in reformers when he requested that the contentious Konrad Waldhauser come preach in Prague. The emperor was so interested in attracting Waldhauser to Prague that he procured a benefice for him close to the city so that the preacher would be well compensated for his presence. Remarkably, Charles's interest in attracting Waldhauser to, and keeping him in Prague came in spite of the fact that the preacher was an outspoken opponent of mendicants and fomented riots in the capital against them. Clearly then, Charles had an ongoing interest in encouraging reformers, even of the most divisive type.

Yet if the emperor can be seen to have a history of encouraging reformers, and if it is evident that he and Milíč were close enough to illicit the resentment of other members of the Prague clergy, what historical case can be made for the *národní obrození* based view of Milíč and Charles at odds? It would seem that the argument for such an idea is based in large part on an episode reported in Milíč's first biography. His student Matej of Janov claimed that at one point during a sermon Milíč had pointed at Charles and proclaimed the emperor to be Antichrist.

This particular anecdote is so popular that it is often the only thing reported by western historians when discussing Milíč's career or the eschatological thought of late medieval Bohemia. The story is popular as well among historians writing on Charles. The anecdote allows them to cast the emperor as a magnanimous and forgiving monarch, willing not only to overlook such a slight, but work with his accuser.

As appealing as the story is, however, further analysis of it leads one to believe that in all likelihood it was an invention of Janov. Janov had ample reason for including this tale in his work, as his mentor Milíč was still popular in Prague at the time that Janov was compiling his life of the preacher. The biography appeared in Janov's own monumental work the *Regulae veteris et novi testamenti*, which he had written as an apologia for his fraught career in Prague. At the time of its assemblage Janov was under interdict and had been forced to give up his preaching practice, in part because of his ability to offend the same court and cathedral that Milíč had spent his career befriending. Janov had a predilection for accusing others of being Antichrist, and had accused Emperor Wenceslas [Václav] IV and the pope, among others, of being the Final Enemy. As such, in his apologia it was to his benefit to intimate that Milíč had himself indulged in such Antichrist language, being as his mentor was still revered in Prague. If Janov could convince others that he was simply continuing on in the tradition of Milíč, he would be able to justify his own actions.

Despite Janov's assertions, careful reading of Milíč's own Antichrist thought reveals that in all of his voluminous works, Milíč never indulged in Antichrist language. Instead, Milíč adhered closely to acceptable Antichrist application. Furthermore, given the emperor's demonstrable support of Milíč at the Jerusalem community, there is little to explain why the preacher would decide that his patron was Antichrist. Therefore, the most popular historical argument for a feud between Milíč and Charles was most probably a fabrication. Given the suspect veracity of this anecdote, and the overwhelming evidence which argues for a collaborative association between Milíč and Charles, it is thus most probable that their relationship was amicable.

While it may be clear that the preacher and the emperor worked together, it is not immediately obvious why it is that Charles chose to do so. The benefits that Milíč received from such an arrangement – support for his work at Jerusalem and

protection in legal matters in the city – are clear. Conversely, what Charles stood to gain from supporting a divisive preacher who spent a great deal of his time quarrelling with others or defending his beliefs in front of religious authorities is less so. When one considers Charles's own goals, and the circumstances of communication in the fourteenth century, however, the utility that an emperor could find in keeping a popular preacher such as Milíč working becomes plain.

Milíč, as a compiler of sermon collections, was adept in employing what d'Avray has described as the mass media of the medieval period. His two sermon apostils *Abortivus* and *Gratia Dei* represented not only a chance for Milíč to compile his thoughts, but to spread them throughout the Holy Roman Empire. When others read and preached from his sermon collections they would be repeating the same message that Milíč was delivering in Prague. With every copy of the sermon collections that was copied and circulated, Milíč thereby increased the chances that his thoughts would gain traction both at home and abroad. Considering the impressive survival rate of both collections, Milíč was very much successful in this mission. The ability which Milíč thus had to circulate his ideas would have been of great utility to Charles because of the overlap in his thought and the ambitions of the crown.

There are several aspects of Milíč's career which dovetail with the emperor's own projects. As the second chapter of this thesis has shown, Milíč was of particular use to Charles because of the work that he undertook in Prague. The most common themes in Milíč's sermons: false teachers (described as sinful or absent members of the clergy, and the mendicant orders), prostitution and lust, and the oppression of the poor correlate with problems then being experienced in the capital. As shown by the complaints of the archdeaconate protocol of 1378–1382, even after the preacher's death Prague experienced issues in all the areas that Milíč described. Priests were unable to minister to their parishioners because they didn't speak the appropriate vernacular languages. Some priests simply drew the stipends which they were entitled to from their parishes and left the pastoral care of their flocks in the hands of their vicars. Other members of the clergy consorted with prostitutes, or even lived with them and allowed them to work out of their own homes.<sup>604</sup> Of course the mendicant orders who preached and gave sacraments could attend to those laymen neglected by sinful or

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<sup>604</sup> See Chapter 2, note 245, p. 77.

absentee parish priests. Yet as far as Milíč was concerned, such a solution was even worse than the actual problem it set out to solve.

Parishioners, perhaps unsurprisingly given the issues with the clergy, were themselves woefully ignorant of any but the most basic tenets of Christianity. These untended laymen had ample access to outlets for their more base impulses, as Prague when Milíč began his preaching practice was home to three official brothels, as well as numerous unchartered prostitutes. The women working in these establishments were largely driven to prostitution as a result of the onerous expenses of living in Prague, and the common custom of requiring debtors to work off any arrears they had accrued. For single young women, the work that was often required was prostitution. Milíč was very much aware of all of these circumstances, since he had served for a time as the vicar-archdeacon of Prague and was then responsible for investigating the same matters that the archdeaconate protocol would uncover sixteen years later.

Disengaged clergy members, religiously ambivalent laymen, prostitutes, and individuals seeking to gain from the misfortune of the impoverished were all problems, to be sure, but not necessarily uncommon in the medieval period. While such issues in a metropolis may be expected, they were of concern to Charles IV, in that he was in the midst of an extensive campaign to establish Prague as a new religious centre. Charles had from his return to the city sought to revivify Prague in a spiritual manner. To this end he had busied himself establishing new monasteries and churches, collecting and distributing relics to numerous religious establishments, requesting that Prague be elevated to an archbishopric, and creating specialised feast days in order to attract pilgrims to the city. A city full of brothels, priests living with prostitutes, and a citizenry with little religious knowledge and limited recourse to pastoral care was not in keeping with the image that Charles sought to craft for Prague. Indeed, one of Charles's own works, the expansion of the city walls had exacerbated the problem. After the creation of the New Town his holy metropolis suddenly had a brothel, Venice, in the very centre of the city.

Much to the pleasure of the court, Milíč's works in Prague went beyond mere identification of the challenges which the city faced. The preacher very much sought to address the city's problems and thereby bring about the spiritual utopia that Charles wished to create. He railed against absentee and sinful clergy both



in his sermon collections and at the synodal sermons, to which he was summoned. At the behest of the archbishop, Milíč admonished any wayward members of the Prague clergy, and confronted the 'false teachers' with their shortcomings. The preacher intimated that if the sinful clergy did not mend their ways they served Antichrist and made it possible for the Final Enemy to enter the world. The very fact that the royal court had asked him to the synod to castigate his fellow clergymen is indicative of the import they saw in spreading this message in the city.

If these individuals did not repent, Milíč had yet another way to combat the neglect that their parishioners would experience. He insisted that more individuals take up preaching, and encouraged them to do so with the creation of his sermon collections, which would allow others to preach, and in training new preachers at Jerusalem. In his *scola et templum* he created the very 'army' necessary to combat Antichrist, and armed them with his own words. When Milíč and his students preached, they helped to undo the harm of the negligent clergy, and instruct the laity. To this end, Milíč himself sometimes preached as many as five times a day, making a significant contribution to the lack of pastoral care in Prague. Moreover, the preacher's ability to speak both of the city's vernacular languages as well as Latin meant that he could serve any ignored community. Indeed, the very fact that Milíč was called upon to preach in so many different locations in the city underscores the dearth of pastoral care available in this theoretical holy capital.

Milíč's work at Jerusalem was also instrumental in adding to the spiritual reputation of Prague that Charles was working toward. With Jerusalem, Milíč was able to reform a number of prostitutes, and in some cases even able to buy them out of the contracts which kept them in the sex trade. Jerusalem was also taking over numerous brothels in the centre of the city and turning them into religious houses, a feat very much in keeping with the emperor's desired narrative for the city. Little wonder then that Charles chose to abolish the charter of the official Venice brothel in the neighbourhood and turn its houses over to Jerusalem as well. Jerusalem thus addressed the city's problems by providing new preachers, and converting women from prostitution. Beyond this, Jerusalem had one final benefit that would have been of use to Charles: it was also a scriptorium.

At Jerusalem Milíč's preachers-in-training copied his daily sermons and compiled them into his collections. They then were able to copy the resultant sermon collections in their entirety and prepare them for circulation throughout the Empire. This circulation allowed the themes of Milíč's sermons to spread, as well as his fame, which in turn was also helpful to Charles. The fact that Prague was home to an individual such as Milíč, who worked at reforming prostitutes, wrote popular sermons, and was influential throughout the lands of the Holy Roman Empire was of benefit to a city interested in positioning itself as spiritually superior. It was not enough that religious individuals such as Milíč were at work in the city, others needed to know that they were. Being as Milíč's sermon collections enjoyed such wide circulation it would seem that others were indeed aware of his work. As such, the emperor's interest in supporting him, and providing him with a community that would allow for further promotion is understandable.

The third chapter of this thesis illustrated yet another reason that Charles may have been interested in supporting Milíč. The works that the preacher was circulating throughout the Empire were similar to his own in that they both sought to promote the cult of the Bohemian saints, and the Church of Prague abroad. For his part, Milíč always displayed a prominent interest in the Bohemian saints, as is shown by the significant proportion of the sermons on saints the Czech cohort makes up in his *Abortivus* collection. By the time Milíč had composed his *Gratia Dei* collection, the Bohemian saints accounted for an even greater number of sermons, some eighteen percent, owing to the inclusion of a sermon on saint Ludmila, who had not been included in the *Abortivus* apostil.

The inclusion of so many sermons on the local saints indicates Milíč's interest in promoting their cults, but that in and of itself is not the only clue. Instead, more telling than the inclusion of such sermons are the saints who were left out in order to make room for Czech holy persons. Among the better known saints excluded were St. Ulrich, who enjoyed a considerable cult in the Holy Roman Empire, and St. George. Once included in the sermon collections Milíč was able to further indicate the importance of his local saints to members of the audience because of the holy individuals that they were included alongside of. With the exception of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, who was an important dynastic saint for the Luxembourg family, all of the other saints included in Milíč's collections were church founders,

or had been active in the antique period. The inclusion of the Bohemian saints among these more famous individuals represented them as equally influential in the history of Christianity. As far as Milíč was concerned, one need only celebrate either his own local saints or individuals such as John the Baptist or Saints Peter and Paul. These were the most important, most influential saints to the preacher. If those who used Milíč's sermon collections followed his suggested celebration of feast days, then they certainly would be taking part in the cults of the Bohemian saints.

Charles IV was interested in encouraging Milíč's work to expand these cults of saints, as he himself appeared to have been engaging in the same effort. Charles's written works make extensive reference to the saints of the Czech lands, and used similar methods to indicate their importance to his audiences. The emperor in his autobiography, for example, used the feast days of his local saints and other important religious festivals to relate particular incidents from his life. He would recount to audiences that an event had taken place on Michaelmas, the Assumption, or the feast of St. Wenceslas. All other dates were simply related in their standard calendar form, meaning that Charles was able to show to his audiences that the only dates he considered worth noting were holy days of obligation, or the feasts of his preferred saints. At times the emperor was much more explicit regarding his interest in the saints. He wrote an extensive treatise on the gospel reading for St. Ludmila's feast day in his autobiography, and composed rhymes about St. Wenceslas for foreign kings. Most tellingly, the emperor rewrote his holy ancestor's life in ways which embellished upon the saint's international influence. Charles's donations of altars to, and relics and statues of the Bohemian saints throughout the Empire are a further illustration of his desire to promote the cult of their attendant saints.

Both men also used a similar method to attract audiences to the cults of their local saints, as they both sought to emphasise the miraculous aspects of the works of the saints in their writings. Milíč in his works highlighted the suffering and struggles that the martyrs underwent in order to prove their holiness, as well as enumerating the miracles that they performed in order to assist others after their deaths. Charles wrote of his own military triumphs in connection with the saints' feast days, a decision which allowed him to underscore the efficacy of their divine intercession to his audiences. Both men's attempts at underlining the

divine aspects of the lives of the Bohemian saints, and the benefits that could be received if one called upon them for help, would have been instrumental in encouraging the average lay person to take up their worship. This is because for most laymen in the medieval period it was the miraculous aspects of divinity which qualified someone as a saint. While the church may have tried to place emphasis on the piety of a given individual, it was still necessary to promote the wonders that a saint had produced if one were to spur the others to take up the worship of any given saint. It would therefore seem that both Milíč and Charles were giving their audiences concrete examples of miraculous intercession in order to encourage others to participate in their cults.

The most striking similarity between the two men's written works, however, is their interest in promoting what they termed 'the Church of Prague'. This 'church' as they conceived it was a religious entity within the universal church, founded by the local saints, and distinct for its religious purity. The members of the Church of Prague proved their religious superiority through intervention on behalf of the innocent who were being persecuted by foreigners, and were in some instances responsible for Christianising foreign peoples as a whole. What is more, Milíč intimated that the Church of Prague in particular should be looked to in times of corruption because the experience that so many of its martyrs had as reformers. In this way the preacher and emperor were able to imply that in this time of spiritual corruption it was the Church of Prague which should lead the way in Christendom.

The fact that both men used the term 'the Church of Prague' is of interest in this discussion because of its uniqueness as a concept. It was common in the medieval period for individuals to refer to the idea of a church of their kingdom – the Church of France, or England, for example. Indeed, in Milíč's earlier works, before he was working as closely as he later would do with the court of Charles, he wrote of the local saints as being part of the Church of Bohemia. The Church of Prague in contrast to these other national churches was not meant to be a source of religious inspiration to Bohemians alone. Because Prague was the capital of the Holy Roman Empire, its church was meant to guide all citizens of

the Empire. As a result, relics which Charles gave to the Church of Prague were meant 'for the entire realm', not only the people of the Czech lands.<sup>605</sup>

Although he had previously only written of the kingdom's church, when Milíč was working on *Gratia Dei* and had established and worked with Charles to create his Jerusalem community, he used the term 'Church of Prague' in his sermons. His later adoption of the term is indicative of a conscious shift in terminology in order to bring his own works into line with those of the emperor, who had been using the term himself in his own written works. That Milíč may have been changing his own works to appeal to Charles is also indicated by his inclusion of a sermon on St. Ludmila in the *Gratia Dei* apostil, when he had neglected to write of her in *Abortivus*. Charles himself had, of course, written his own extensive meditation on the Gospel reading for St. Ludmila. If Milíč wished to prove his worth to his benefactor he would most likely have seen the benefit it including a sermon on his saintly ancestor.

The promotion of Prague as a city of spiritual distinction, and home to its own 'church' was thus an aspect of the works of both Milíč and Charles IV. It is possible to see that the preacher was working to promote more than just the religious projects of the emperor in his works. As chapter four of this thesis has shown, it can be demonstrated that Milíč assisted with the ruler's attempts to consolidate temporal influence as well. One of the first instances in which one is able to see such a goal in action is in Charles's attempts to link himself to his mother's then extinct Přemyslid dynasty. When he returned to Bohemia following his childhood at the French court, Charles was aware of the rancour which the local nobility felt towards his father John of Luxembourg. John had been called 'the Foreign King' by his subjects in the kingdom as a result of his prolonged absence from the kingdom, inability to speak the Czech language, and uninterest in the day to day aspects of ruling the Czech lands.

Milíč was very much aware of the dislike that many in Bohemia had for John of Luxembourg. The preacher was born to noble parents, and from his youth worked in the Olomouc cathedral which was populated in large part by individuals taken from the highest levels of society across the Czech lands. It is thus of little surprise that one can find attempts on Milíč's part to justify Charles as a Přemyslid from early on in his sermon collections. The preacher's St. Wenceslas

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<sup>605</sup> See Chapter 2, note 297, p. 90.

sermons in particular help to argue for a connection between his benefactor and the most famous Přemyslid. Indeed, even in making reference to the saint's name, one could not fail to bring to mind Charles. This is the case because Charles had been born and christened Wenceslas [Václav] at birth. It was only later that his uncle the King of France 'bestowed' the name Charles upon him, a fact that the emperor stressed in his autobiography. Charles for his part had spent a great deal of time linking himself and his family back to his birth name, and had named his two eldest sons Václav in order to do so.

The connection was further underlined because of Charles's careful cultivation of the cult of Wenceslas. The emperor redecorated the saint's tomb and chapel in the Prague cathedral, refashioned the saint's crown for use in Charles's own coronation ceremony, and included both himself and his son in religious artworks featuring the saint. Milíč's works fed into this by encouraging audiences to consider the aspects of both men's reigns, thus making them examples of idealised holy rulers. Milíč advanced this concept through the suggestion that St. Wenceslas had spent his life in conflict with the local gentry. He felt that in contrast to the saint who freed Czechs from the yoke of slavery, the nobility treated men as 'animals' with their demands for the *robotá* or *corvée*. Charles was thus like his ancestor, for he had been working to limit the ability of the nobility to demand the *robotá* by bringing alienated royal lands back under the crown and thus limiting the jurisdiction of the nobles there. Therefore both men could be seen as interceding on behalf of the poor when they were being taken advantage of by the powerful. Indeed, one can consider that the Wenceslas sermons act as a sort of check list by which one can evaluate the attributes of a holy ruler, and thereby find more links between the saint and the emperor.

Milíč sermons also helped to remind audiences of Charles's link to the Přemyslids through their references to the familial connection of Ludmila and Wenceslas. The emphasis placed on the matrilineal links within the family encouraged audiences to consider Charles's connections to these same saints through his mother. Just as Wenceslas's holiness was nurtured by his saintly grandmother, so could Charles's link to the kingdom be seen to emanate from his mother. Any reference to the dynastic progression of the Přemyslids was therefore a reminder of the current king's own claim to a place within it. Charles encouraged the same such connections in his own written works, when he

reminded his audiences that his mother was the 'daughter of King Wenceslas II of Bohemia', and that the male line of her dynasty had died out.<sup>606</sup> He further cemented the link through reference to his own isolation following his mother's death, the emotional turmoil helping to underscore his connection to Elizabeth. Milíč's references to the Přemyslid dynastic succession in his St. Ludmila sermon also bring to mind Charles's own reflections on the saint in his autobiography. With his extensive treatise on the Matthew passage, the emperor was able to present himself as a religious thinker much in the way that his holy ancestor was herself a spiritual luminary. The assistance of a preacher who was as popular as Milíč was in the Czech lands was very much of interest to Charles, as he strove to prove to his subjects that he and his Luxembourg dynasty were the logical inheritors of the kingdom, and that he should be considered 'like any other Czech.'<sup>607</sup>

Some of the ways in which Milíč's sermons encouraged audiences to think of Charles as a Přemyslid also aided the king in his quest to reconsolidate power under the throne at the expense of the local nobility. Just as Milíč's sermons bolstered the idea of Charles as a holy ruler worthy of the legacy of his saintly ancestor Wenceslas, so they called into question the spiritual credibility of the Czech nobility. Milíč considered that temporal power was granted by God in order that rulers could work for the spiritual good of all Christendom. The preacher made it clear that he considered the nobility to have negated their ability to rule with their sinful behaviour. He intimated to Pope Urban V that the sins of the 'barons' were too multifarious to even write of; he accused the nobility of selling their own souls to the devil in order to demand the *robot*a from the poor; and he claimed that they perjured themselves and took bribes in order to sway the outcomes of the same judicial cases and were therefore 'judges without justice'.<sup>608</sup> These complaints seem to have been based on issues within the kingdom, for the power and jurisdiction of the nobles had been increasing steadily since the rule of John of Luxembourg. The 'Foreign King' had allowed the nobility to increase their influence in the kingdom in his absence. Milíč characterised the way in which the nobles were subsequently wielding this power in eschatological

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<sup>606</sup> See Chapter 4, note 476, and note 477, p. 156.

<sup>607</sup> See Chapter 4, note 482, p. 158.

<sup>608</sup> See Chapter 4, note 492, p. 160.

terms, and encouraged his audiences to see them as servants of Antichrist, and harbingers of the end times.

While most likely not as concerned with the eschatological implications of the nobility's behaviour, it is clear that Charles was himself working toward curtailing their power. He did so first through the reacquisition of royal property which the nobility had taken up during his father's absence. Charles later reestablished judicial order and sometimes appointed new individuals to different provincial jurisdictions to dilute the influence that the nobles held there. His greatest attempt to reassert royal authority came in the formulation of the *Maiestas Carolina* which would have transferred the majority of judicial functions from the nobility to the crown. While he was not successful in all his ventures, and in particular was forced to withdraw the *Maiestas* following protracted objection from the gentry, Charles nevertheless worked throughout his life to curb their influence and was able to make gains against them.

Milíč served Charles in his ongoing disputes not only because he intimated that the nobility were in league with Antichrist, but because once again Charles was a righteous and religious ruler who should be looked to in contrast to them. Charles had fulfilled the set of ideals on Milíč's spiritual checklist provided in the Wenceslas sermons, and like his ancestor was working at punishing criminals and rulers involved in unjust dealings. Charles furthermore was attempting to curtail the ability that the nobles had to oppress the poor by limiting the lands from which they could demand *robota*. So convinced was Milíč that Charles had to be involved with a generalised reorganisation of society in order to curb the power of the nobility that he exhorted prayers for the emperor so that he would be successful in his goal. It is therefore clear that Milíč was very much asserting that Charles was the ultimate authority within the kingdom, and arguing for the limitation of the powers of the nobility in his written works. Once again, the popularity that Milíč enjoyed within Bohemia and Moravia served Charles well in this matter, and helps to explain his interest in supporting the preacher in his work.

Milíč's calls for increased influence for Charles did not, however, stop at the borders of the Czech lands. The preacher's works can also be seen to advocate for the consolidation of imperial power under the emperor. According to Milíč, Christendom as a whole was threatened by what he saw as a fracturing of



imperial power. For the preacher, what he characterised as nations leaving Holy Roman imperial rule was a fact of fourteenth-century life, and this breaking away was allowing the advent of Antichrist. Charles seems to have been very much aware of the waning influence that he held as Holy Roman Emperor. Indeed, one can interpret many of Charles's decisions: his constant travel around the Empire; the several coronations that he underwent in differing imperial kingdoms; and the recording of these acts in his various chronicles, as part of a programme to re-establish imperial sovereignty in the Empire. Little wonder then that he would be interested in supporting the work of Milíč, as the preacher busied himself with alerting his audiences to what he saw as the imminent threat posed by a weakened Empire. Milíč even went so far as to characterise Charles in his writings as the very embodiment of the Empire itself, the black eagle, who was shielding the world from the harm posed by Antichrist.

It was not just that Milíč upheld Charles as the rightful ruler of the Empire and a servant of righteousness, however, which made him useful to the court. The fact that the preacher also denigrated those who sought to take away from centralised imperial authority aided in the cause. The preacher considered that those who stood in opposition to the holy Charles were tyrants, and furthermore he saw himself and other itinerant preachers as tasked with helping to defeat them. It is therefore possible to understand the *scola* at Jerusalem as being a sort of metaphorical army barracks. The soldiers in Milíč's army were waiting to take on the eschatological enemies of the independent tyrannical princes who sought to take away from the rightful ruler of Christendom, and one of the last hopes for salvation. Once again, the popularity of the Milíč's sermons on these subjects, as shown by their survival rate, demonstrates that there was a great deal of interest in heeding the message of both the preacher and his army. Charles thus did well to support Milíč in his endeavour.

It is therefore clear that Milíč saw Charles as supreme temporal ruler, and that there was an obvious benefit to allowing his work to continue for the court. Further, the same can also be seen to be true in terms of the accumulation of religious authority and imperial sovereignty from the church. Once again, reasons that Charles may have been interested in this sort of support are various. Charles was initially elected as an anti-King of the Romans in place of the excommunicated Ludwig of Bavaria. His election by the three bishop-electors

and his father was thus met with derision and earned Charles the nickname 'the Priests' King.' The young King of the Romans thus found himself in a position of subservience to his old tutor, then Pope Clement VI, the instigator of his election. Clement made no secret of the fact that he expected Charles to do his bidding. The pope was very much of the opinion that the papacy granted imperial power to emperors, echoing the opinions of popes from Adrian I (700–795) to Innocent III. Charles for his part took up the position which emperors had been arguing for centuries – that their position once elected was unassailable. He worked throughout his career to ensure this, writing against papal allegories of power, and going so far as to write his position into imperial law with the Golden Bull. His efforts at securing imperial autonomy meant that Charles was often at odds with the various popes active during his reign, never able to please one pontiff for an extended period of time.

Milíč's works show us that he was very much in agreement with Charles on this point, and that he was happy to argue it to the papacy directly. The preacher wrote to Urban V and indicated that as far as he was concerned the emperor was not subservient to the pope, and instead the pope should be consulting Charles in matters of religion. Milíč pressed for a general council to be called and presided over by both Charles and Urban so that they two together could reorder society and prevent Antichrist's advent. If the pope should quail at such a suggestion, the preacher assured him that Charles would protect him and that Urban could look to the emperor for security and guidance.

For Milíč, the fact that Charles should be consulted in religious matters was not made clear by his status as emperor alone. The preacher considered that the emperor had demonstrated the spiritual rectitude to lead the church even when the papacy itself could not do so. Milíč argued that Charles was willing to help move the papacy back to Rome, which he characterised as imperial or 'German' territory. In so doing the preacher indicated that the emperor was a sort of new Jacob, called upon by God to 'scatter' the idolatrous Avignon. It is most certainly true that Charles was very interested in returning the papacy to Rome. Clearly then Milíč's calls to heed Charles would have been very much welcome alongside references to the emperor's equality with the pope. Again, the excellent survival rates of the documents in which these appeals are made show that Milíč was adept at delivering this message. For an emperor who was

plagued by problems with Avignon up until his death, such well-read and widely circulated arguments would have been more than welcome.

Given the evidence presented in this thesis it is necessary for historians to rethink the way in which Milíč and his relationship with the crown are considered. The romantic notion of the preacher as a demagogue intent on the rejection of the medieval hierarchy must be discarded. Milíč was the son of lower nobles, spent his early career in the upper echelons of Czech society, and even after rejecting them remained close to the court. The court's decision to support someone so profoundly adept at attracting trouble – from heresy accusations to shouted invective – becomes understandable when one considers that he was a master of contemporary mass-communication and circulating ideas which were of great benefit to Charles. Indeed, even with his most controversial projects, such as the Jerusalem community, one can see that there was definitive utility for Charles IV in allowing Milíč to continue his work unimpeded. The preacher was able to reach audiences throughout the Holy Roman Empire with his messages. He used this platform to engage in an international campaign to sway others to a way of thinking that happened to coincide with that of the emperor. Milíč did not seek to tear down the world around him, but rather to convince Christendom as a whole to reorder it in the way he thought most advantageous. Jan Milíč of Kroměříž was, therefore, not a Czech-centric radical who rejected a German-Catholic ideal. Instead, he considered that it was Bohemia that should be leading the Holy Roman Empire into a new phase of reformed Catholicism. The Czech lands were for Milíč a Catholic spiritual beacon. It was to this concept that he dedicated his life.

# Table 1

## Saints' Feast Days in *Abortivus* and *Gratia Dei*<sup>609</sup>

### *Abortivus*

St. Andrew (30/11)

St. Nicolas (6/12)

St. Thomas (21/12)

St. Matthew (24/2)

St. Gregorius (12/3)

St. Ambrosius (4/4)

**St. Adalbert** (23/4)

St. Mark (25/4)

Sts. Philip and Jacob (1/5)

**St. Vitus** (15/6)

St. John the Baptist (24/6)

Sts. Peter and Paul (29/6)

**St. Procopius** (4/7)

St. Margaret (13/7)

St. Mary Magdalene (22/7)

St. Jacob (25/7)

St. Lawrence (10/8)

St. Bartholomew (24/8)

St. Augustine (28/8)

St. Matthew (21/9)

**St. Wenceslaus** (28/9)

Archangel Michael (29/9)

St. Jerome (30/9)

St. Luke (18/10)

Sts. Simon and Jude (28/10)

All Saints (1/11)

St. Martin (11/11)

St. Elizabeth (19/11)

St. Catharine (25/11)

### *Gratia Dei*

St. Andrew

St. Nicolas

St. Thomas

**St. Adalbert**, [St. George]

St. Mark

Sts. Philip and Jacob

**St. Vitus**

St. John the Baptist

Sts. Peter and Paul

**St. Procopius**

St. Margaret

St. Mary Magdalene

St. Jacob

St. Martha (29/7)

St. Lawrence

St. Bartholomew

St. Augustine

St. Giles (1/9)

**St. Ludmila** (16/9)

St. Matthew

**St. Wenceslaus**

Archangel Michael

St. Jerome

Sts. Simon and Jude

All Saints

St. Martin

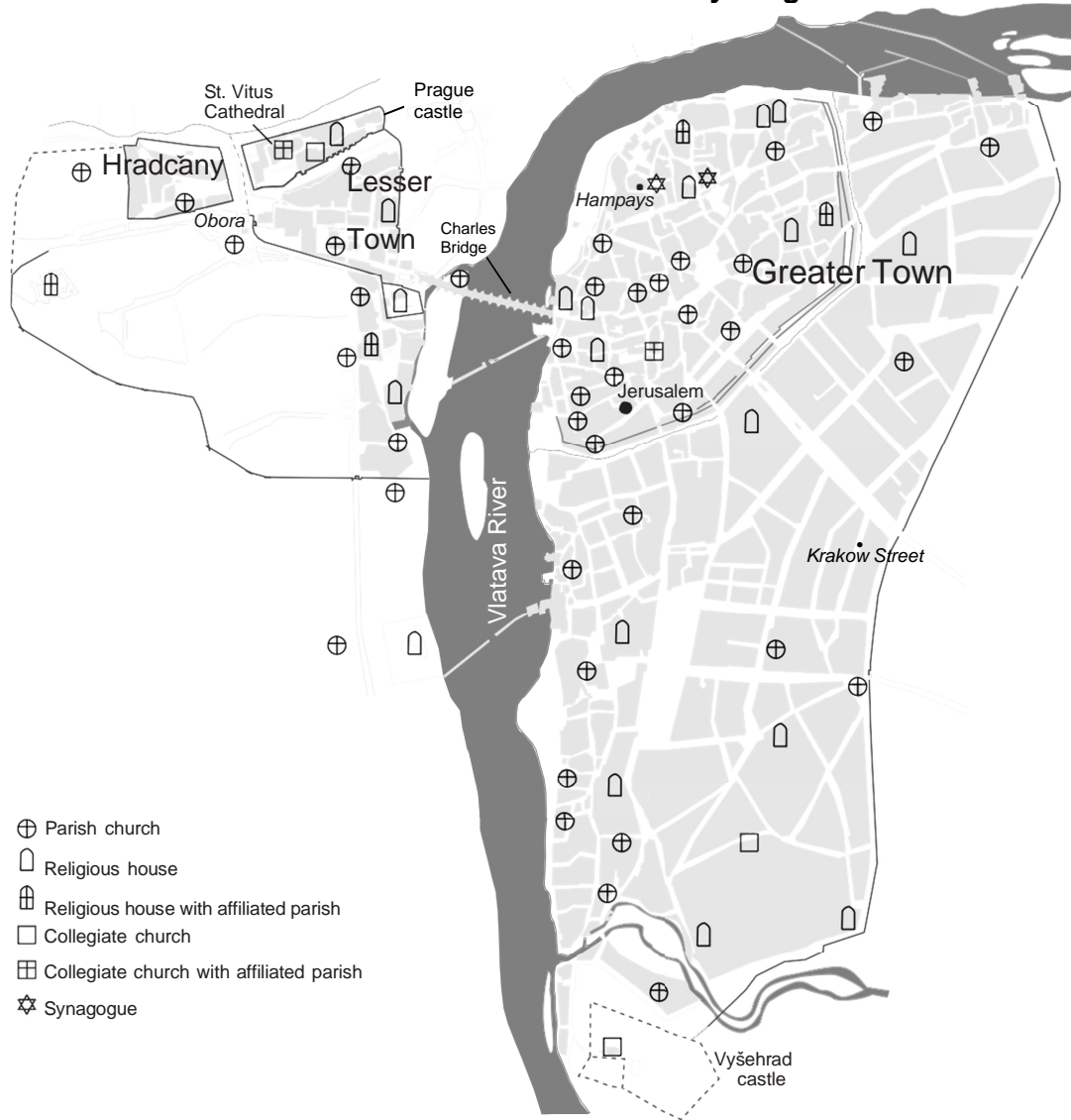
St. Elizabeth

St. Catharine

<sup>609</sup> This count does not include sermons on feast days celebrating a particular event in a saint's life, such as those for the Decollation of John the Baptist, or the Conversion of St. Paul. Names in **bold** indicate Bohemian saints.

# Map 1

## Jerusalem, Major Areas of Prostitution in, and the Sacred Topography of Later Fourteenth-century Prague<sup>610</sup>



- ⊕ Parish church
- ⏏ Religious house
- ⏏ Religious house with affiliated parish
- Collegiate church
- ⏏ Collegiate church with affiliated parish
- ☆ Synagogue

<sup>610</sup> This map is based on Map 4.2, Jerusalem and the Sacred Topography of Prague, in Mengal, *Bones, Stones, and Brothels*, p. 251.

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