

From the Cradle to the Grave: The Changing of Transitional Rituals in the Multi-Confessional Milieu of a Bohemian Town in the Seventeenth Century

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Drawing on urban and church archival sources such as handbooks, legal texts and birth registers, this study deals with changes in transitional rituals in the multi-denominational town of Slaný in Bohemia in the years 1600–1640. It focuses on both religious and civil rituals and shows how they changed in the course of the Counter-Reformation.

Keyword: Urban history. Transitional rituals. Counter-Reformation. Seventeenth century.

Introduction

The study of ritualized behaviour in early modern towns has been coming to the fore in Czech historiography. Initially, due to a richer source base, Czech researchers tended to focus on the study of rituals in the milieu of the nobility.¹ In recent years, however, the younger generation of scholars inspired by the classic works of Arnold van Genepp, Edward Muir and Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger in particular has turned its attention to the hitherto neglected urban environment.² In the form of a microanalytical probe the following study deals with the transformation of ritualized behaviour in the Bohemian multi-denominational town of Slaný in the Early Modern Era.³ My work is primarily based on records of town registers, edicts and land registers, but also church registers, memoirs and aristocratic correspondence. This mix of sources is unique in the Czech environment, allowing me to demonstrate how the Counter-Reformation and the pressure of re-Catholicization influenced the development of transitional rituals in the urban environment. The text deals mainly with life-cycle rituals but considers political rituals as well. Due to the narrow source base, previous studies could only be limited to political rituals, especially the question of the renewal of town councils. Furthermore, the town of Slaný ranked among important commercial and political representatives of the seventeenth-century urban estates. I consider these three facts to be significant for the selection of the town of Slaný as the site for this micro-historic probe.

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1 HRDLIČKA – KRÁL – SMÍŠEK, *Symbolické jednání*.

2 GENNEP, *Přechodové rituály*, 64–65. MUIR, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*. STOLLBERG-RILLINGER, *Symbolische Kommunikation*, 492–496.

3 For the main sources see: Státní okresní archiv Kladno [State Municipal Archive Kladno] (hereafter SOkA Kladno), Archiv města Slaný [Municipal Archive Slaný] (hereafter AM Slaný), unprocessed, books No. 57, 58, 59, etc.

Ecclesiastical developments in Bohemia (fifteenth–seventeenth centuries)

During the fifteenth century the teaching of Jan Hus, Bohemian reform theologian and preacher, was transformed into a specific branch of Christianity, of which the main characteristic was the emphasis on communion in both kinds, i.e. bread and wine. The new confession significantly differed from Catholicism in the interpretation of transubstantiation as well. Adherents of this new confession were called Hussites, according to their connection with Jan Hus, Calixtins, according to the lay chalice, or Utraquists, according to the Latin term "*sub utraque specie*" meaning "communion under both kinds".⁴ It must be said the Utraquists did not remain unanimous and many sects appeared. Some of them were even labelled as heretical and their members were slaughtered.⁵

The majority of the population of Bohemia gradually went over to the new confession while Catholicism remained present only in some minority areas and lands of the crown, especially in Moravia. The Utraquist movement was also politically and militarily successful and managed to stave off several crusades organized by the Papal Curia.⁶ The climax came in 1436, when the Pope acknowledged Utraquism as a legitimate counterweight to Catholicism.⁷ Nearly fifty years later, in 1485, both faiths, Catholicism and Utraquism, were legalized in Bohemia.⁸ The entrance of other non-Catholic confessions in the later years was accepted more openly, nonetheless resulting in the combining of the individual confessional elements.

That process started at the beginning of the sixteenth century when newly formed non-Catholic groups (so called Protestant Churches) began to slowly penetrate into Bohemia. Lutheranism found deep resonance in the noble estates bordering on Saxony, and in the environment of the Unity of Brethren.⁹ The Utraquists, who were still dominant in Bohemia, took over some elements of Lutheranism, which caused its splitting into a small conservative wing of Old-Utraquists and a Lutheran majority of so-called New-Utraquists.¹⁰ On account of such complicated doctrinal developments only some intellectuals, from among the aristocracy and bourgeoisie in particular, were able to understand the main differences between the individual faiths.¹¹ Admittedly, many residents were to a certain extent divided between Catholic and non-Catholic, focusing on some of the individually perceived external features of belonging to a particular form of religion.¹² Except for the intellectuals, the majority of the population identified with the "faith of their ancestors", which meant that they maintained the everyday doctrinal routine they had learnt by watching their parents.¹³ It was not uncommon that people

4 EBERHARD, *Zur reformatorischen Qualität*, 213–215.

5 ŠMAHEL, *Husitská revoluce I–IV*.

6 ŠMAHEL, *Husitská revoluce II*, 235–289.

7 ŠMAHEL, *Basilejská kompaktáta*.

8 DAVID, *Religious Toleration*, 109–112.

9 NEŠPOR – JUST, *Luteráni*.

10 HREJSA, *Česká konfesse*.

11 DAVID, *Religious Tolerance*, 113–114.

12 KADERÁBEK, *Nerovný boj*.

13 MILTNER, *Kalendář historický*, 10.

calling themselves Utraquists unwittingly adopted Lutheran faith elements. Similarly some non-Catholic gravestones embraced images of the saints or the Virgin Mary.¹⁴

The Catholic Church gradually began to take advantage of the fragmentation of non-Catholic faiths. It symbolized tradition, continuity and stability. Catholic officials additionally benefited from the help of the ruling Habsburgs, who had succeeded to the throne in Bohemia in 1526, and who were one of the pillars of the Catholic faith in Europe. In 1561, the Catholic side reached its first major success, when the archbishopric in Prague was restored after 140 years of a *sede vacante* period.¹⁵ A few years later the arrival of the Society of Jesus in the capital was another turning point.¹⁶

These steps were all the more important in that non-Catholics had no collective political or religious platform, which they had failed to create in 1575.¹⁷ In addition, many members of the high nobility also began to show their loyalty to the ruling Habsburgs on a confessional level and started to convert to Catholicism in order to achieve higher social status.¹⁸ This process culminated in 1599, when the highest provincial officers of the Bohemian Kingdom were replaced with Catholic noblemen who governed the non-Catholic majority.¹⁹

After this year, confessional affiliation started to become considerably politicized. The Catholic minority de facto began to rule the non-Catholic majority. It was only the weakness of Emperor Rudolf II that enabled non-Catholics to obtain the Letter of Majesty through defiance in 1609. In it, the emperor virtually granted religious freedom of faith and confirmed the Bohemian Confession in exchange for relative political and financial protection from his brother Matthias.²⁰ However, the charter was practically unenforceable, especially in the environment of noble and ecclesiastical (Catholic) estates, where the nobility had the main say. Increasing political tensions led to a final clash between Catholic and non-Catholic leaders, resulting in the Third Defenestration of Prague in 1618, in which the regents of the newly elected King Ferdinand were thrown out of the windows of Prague Castle by the non-Catholics. This event gave rise to the Bohemian Revolt, with the non-Catholic estates even electing their own "defiance king" – Friedrich. However, this revolt was later bloodily suppressed. The non-Catholics were initially defeated at the Battle of White Mountain in 1620 and subsequently, in 1621, their 27 leaders were demonstratively executed by the victorious Catholics. The road to the complete re-Catholicization of Bohemia was thus fully open.²¹

Slaný – a brief description of its confessional development

These confessional developments are reflected in the local conditions of the royal town of Slaný, on which the following study focuses. In the fifteenth century the town became one of the most important Utraquist centres. The determinative point was the fact that Slaný had been considered by Utraquist preachers to be one of the three

14 MALÝ, "Confessional Identity", 323–335.

15 KAVKA – SKÝBOVÁ, *Husitský epilog*.

16 ČORNEJOVÁ, *Tovaryšstvo Ježíšovo*.

17 DAVID, *The Plebeianization*.

18 WINKELBAUER, *Karrieristen*.

19 *Ibid.*, 446–450.

20 JUST, 9. 7. 1609. *Rudolfův Majestát*.

21 Elaborately: ČORNEJOVÁ – KAŠE – MIKULEC, *Velké dějiny*.

towns chosen by God which would be saved from a future apocalypse.²² The Catholics were therefore expelled from the town so that their presence would not impede the salvation of the town. Considering the fact that these were mainly Germans, the whole "cleansing" also had an obvious ethnic background.²³ From at least the middle of the fifteenth century onwards, only Utraquists were thus living in Slaný.

Even at the beginning of the seventeenth century Slaný was still seen as a traditionally non-Catholic town. In general, it was still possible to speak about allegiance to Utraquism. The non-Catholics of Slaný turned to the Lower Consistory in their affairs even before 1609, when it was opened up to Lutherans and members of the Unity of the Brethren.²⁴ The town received regular reports on the activities of the Consistory and the burghers took an active interest in its staffing.²⁵ The local dean also frequently provided accommodation to the "priests under both kinds", who chose Slaný as a hospitable town for their Consistory renewals, since its proximity to Prague and the certainty of the same confessional environment suited them best.²⁶

Other records also support the thesis of a majority Calixtine town society in Slaný. For example, Daniel Vepřek, a burgher of Slaný, thoroughly recorded commemorative entries ("relics") related to important dates associated with the Utraquist confession in his calendar. The accession of Slaný to the newly established town military union in 1420 and the commemoration of the day Jan Hus was burned at the stake were worth recording for him.²⁷

Besides the dominant Utraquists, who filled the highest town posts, a Catholic minority lived there as well, having settled in the town with special permits issued by the town council. Most of them were people who were important to the local community, such as Italian (Flemish) construction workers who were involved in the building of a new church. Otherwise, the settlement of Catholics was actively discouraged; they were not allowed to buy houses within the town walls. In the same way, the burghers also prevented Jews from settling there. The town was also most likely inhabited by burghers professing to Lutheranism, which can be claimed due to the presence of Lutheran preachers in the town.²⁸

In 1599, there were about 174 townhouses inside the walls of Slaný and 33 other houses in the suburbs. It can be estimated that more than 3,000 inhabitants were living there.²⁹ Due to its economic advancement and the geographical proximity of Prague, the capital of the kingdom, Slaný belonged to the major economic and political entities that contributed to the countrywide events.³⁰ The participation of leading representatives of Slaný in the non-Catholic uprising of 1618 (Bohemian Revolt), which responded to the

22 ŠMAHEL, *Husitská revoluce I*, 409–410.

23 KŘESADLO, *Město Slaný za husitství*, 16–23.

24 SOKA Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, Miltnerova sbírka, zdravice měšťana Jiříka Žďárského věnovaná slánské městské radě [Miltner's collection, salutatory speech of Mr Jiří Žďárek, council man], undated.

25 *Ibid.*, book No. 55, fol. 591.

26 *Ibid.*, unprocessed, Miltnerova sbírka, dopis slánského děkana Kašpara Artopei Pardubského slánské městské radě z 26. listopadu 1612 [Miltner's collection, a letter of Dean Kašpar Artopei Pardubský to the town council of the town of Slaný from 26 November 1612].

27 MILTNER, *Kalendář historický*, 6.

28 KADEŘÁBEK, *Nerovný boj*, 44–49.

29 KŘESADLO, *Slaný od prvních zpráv*, 61–62.

30 *Ibid.*, 63–64.

political changes in 1599 and subsequent years, was quite understandable. Following the 1620 defeat of the non-Catholic estates' rebellion on the White Mountain, the town was pledged to the Catholic gentry and Catholicism was restored. Newly populated by Catholics, the town replaced non-Catholics in its municipal offices with Catholics and the non-Catholic burghers were made to convert or go into exile.³¹

The following study seeks to show how political and confessional changes affected the transformation of local society and transition rituals. First, I focus on the perception of differences in the transitional rituals during the period preceding the Battle of White Mountain. I argue that differences in transitional rituals of the life cycle were much more closely perceived than theological variances between the local confessional groups.³² To demonstrate this, I investigate the social environment of the Bohemian royal town of Slaný from 1600 to 1640, focusing on the rituals of baptism, election of a town council and funerals.

Transitional rituals in the confessionally divided town of Slaný (1600–1620)

The baptismal practices of the Catholics and non-Catholics of Slaný differed in two elemental aspects. The first one was the period that was supposed to pass between the birth and the baptism. Catholics required children to be baptized as soon after the birth as possible, but within three days at the latest.³³ Unbaptized infants were in danger of not being absolved of original sin. In the event of their sudden death they would be doomed to stay in Limbo. There they would not be punished; however, they would not be allowed to behold God.³⁴ The non-Catholics of Slaný believed that a child would be redeemed even without being baptized, since humans are constantly placed before the face of God. They often postponed baptism, frequently to an older age, in order to make the child fully aware of it. The second difference concerned in the person holding the child during the baptism. While the main godfather held the child in his hands during the non-Catholic rituals, the Catholics of Slaný placed their children in the hands of the baptizing priest.³⁵

As far as the funeral was concerned, the main difference between a Catholic rite and a non-Catholic one consisted of the singing of songs during the non-Catholic funeral procession.³⁶ The songs' content was seen by the Catholics of Slaný as an insult to their faith.³⁷ Discrepancies, however, concerned not only this subject; they involved such details as the duration of candles flickering at the bedside of the deceased. In some localities the mutual wrangle culminated in the smashing of gravestones of other faith members or even the digging out of the dead bodies and their scattering about carrion sites.³⁸

The reason for such behaviour was that it represented a validation of personal confessional self-identification on the one hand and a mutual defining of one's own faith against other faiths on the other hand. At the same time it was an attack on core

31 KADEŘÁBEK, *Nerovný boj*, 88–94.

32 BERGER – LUCKMANN, *Sociální konstrukce*, 89.

33 GRULICH, *Slavnostní okamžiky*, 49–82.

34 BŮŽEK – KRÁL – VYBÍRAL, *Člověk českého raného novověku*, 18–19.

35 SOKA Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book No. 58, fol. 425.

36 KRÁLÍKOVÁ, *Pohřební ritus*, 115–121.

37 SOKA Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book No 58, fol. 420.

38 NEŠPOR, *Demonstrace konfesionality*, 270.

values of Early Modern burghers, such as honour, social status of the deceased or the family memory.³⁹ Long after the Battle of White Mountain confessional conflicts were still present in funerals; e. g. Czech historian Olga Fejtová found similar cases in the late seventies of the seventeenth century.

The development was no different in other towns of the Czech lands. There was a similar situation in Moravia. For example, at the beginning of the seventeenth century in the town of Brno, Catholics and non-Catholics were buried in one cemetery and confessionally different funeral processions took place there. The situation among burghers escalated after an order from Cardinal František of Ditrichštejn forbidding burials of non-Catholics at the St James Church.⁴⁰ In the town of Jindřichův Hradec confessional disputes about burials intensified together with the establishment of a new burial ground at the Trinity Church. In that case, the Catholic nobility supported by the Jesuits were pitted against the local non-Catholic community.⁴¹

The Slaný town council evidently made some efforts to prevent such excesses. To that effect the council members required written testimonials from the deans regarding the confessional affiliation of the deceased, particularly in the case of handling deceased who were not Slaný burghers.⁴² Unless the priest could convincingly substantiate that the deceased individuals were non-Catholic, the aldermen refused to provide them with extreme unction and a burial on the Slaný cemetery. The Catholics of Slaný were forced to ask the town council for permission to bury their deceased on the holy land.⁴³

The majority of disputes related to the funeral rite in Slaný concerned the duration and course of the death knell. The tolling of the bells was supposed to mediate a connection between heaven and earth, heralding the death of a good Christian and opening up the way to heaven via their sound. In addition to that, they were expected to drive away evil spirits from the deceased according to folk religion ideas.⁴⁴ The situation between the Catholics and non-Catholics of Slaný came to a head in the case of the local Catholic Jan Malíř's daughter's demise. On the day of her funeral, when the families of Jan Malíř and the deceased child's grandfather Ondřej Svícník accompanied her dead body towards the cemetery, the bell-ringers refused to toll the bells.⁴⁵ Ondřej Svícník presented the matter to the town council. Its members considered the interruption of the funeral an inexcusable misconduct. What perhaps played a part as well was the fact that the bell-ringers defied the direct order of the town council calling upon them to perform the tolling duly during the funeral.⁴⁶ As a result, the aldermen spoke out strongly against the bell-ringers. Jan Babička, who was supposed to be personally responsible for the revolt, having urged the other bell-ringers to be rebellious in the case of a Catholic funeral, was put in a log and later whipped out of the town.⁴⁷

39 KRÁLÍKOVÁ, *Pohřební ritus*, 116.

40 STERNECK, *„Chtějí pak krchov“*, 79–113.

41 HRDLIČKA, *Víra a moc*, 205–215.

42 SOKA Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book No. 56, fol. 352 (town council order to local deans).

43 *Ibid.*, Miltnerova sbírka, unprocessed, dopis Kašpara Pardubského městské radě z 20. června 1612 [Miltner's collection, letter written by Kašpar Pardubský, local priest, to a city council, from 20 June 1612].

44 CURVES, *Burial Rituals*, 5–18.

45 SOKA Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book No. 55, fol. 514r (trial with bell-ringers, interrogations).

46 *Ibid.*, fol. 514v.

47 *Ibid.*, fol. 513–515.

It would be wrong to assert that the mutual intolerance confined itself to the relationship between Catholics and non-Catholics. Utraquist burghers of Slaný assumed a negative attitude towards other non-Catholic denominations as well. In 1619 the town was honoured with a royal.⁴⁸ The future Bohemian king, Friedrich I, the Prince Elector of the Rhenish Palatinate, had chosen the town of Slaný for an overnight stay before his coronation in Prague.⁴⁹ The initial enthusiasm of burghers, who were enjoying his visit, was spoilt during his inspection of St Gothard's Church. The prince condemned the alleged splendour of the church and ordered that most of the decorations be removed immediately.⁵⁰ The burghers did not show understanding for his opinions and the city council refused his wish speaking out against the future king (sic!).⁵¹ This was a clash between two denominations, both based on different social and above all confessional environments. While the Utraquist burghers understood decorations of the church as the praise of God, Calvinist Friedrich I understood them as idolatry distracting believers from the original doctrine of Jesus Christ and his teachings of the poverty of the church.

While baptisms and funerals primarily concerned individuals, or particular burgher families, other rituals that affected the entire community of burghers existed in the town of Slaný as well. These rituals related to the tradition of holding of power and privilege, to the cohesion of local society and to the continuity of local cultural and confessional memory.⁵² The restoration of a city council was a ritual which included all of those elements.

Every year the city council was renewed by a king's representative, most often by a royal reeve (*iudex curie civitatum regalium*). A week before his arrival was announced the town councillors summoned the elders of the town to the town hall.⁵³ There the councillors asked the elders whether they were satisfied with their work in the council and whether they wanted to complain to the king's deputy about any activities. The expected response was the sentence: "We are with our honest masters in everything well satisfied; between us there are no issues remaining."⁵⁴ The formula was followed with thanksgiving to God. The councillors formally resigned from their posts and became regular burghers.⁵⁵

Then they awaited the arrival of a royal representative. This had its well-defined course as well. The young men from the most important families of the town were chosen to form a ceremonial cavalry. When the reeve was approaching the town the young men rode out of the gates with banners in their hands to welcome him.⁵⁶ The head of their group grasped the bridle of the reeve's horse and took him through the main gate. In this way the royal reeve was incorporated into the social world within the

48 BRUNSON, *Psalm*, 118, 193–198. DOTZAUER, *Die Ankunft des Herrschers*, 245–288. TENFELDE, *Adventus*, 45–82.

49 ČECHURA, *Zimní král*, 146.

50 SOKA Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book No. 57, fol. 303 (commemorative record of the royal visit).

51 HULÍNSKÝ, *Ohlasy*, 156–174.

52 KADERÁBEK – ĎURČANSKÝ, *Paměť*.

53 SOKA Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book No 57, fol. 92v (records of the city council renewal).

54 *Ibid.*

55 *Ibid.*, fol. 93.

56 LACINA, *Paměti*, 126.

town walls and became a guest of the town.⁵⁷ The same day the council was renewed. The act of restoration took the form of a reading of the new councilmen's names. This act was followed by a festive, non-Catholic Holy Mass and the departure of the reeve.⁵⁸ As can be seen, the ritual was connected with all age groups of the town's society and the non-Catholic church and was a manifestation of power. All those elements held together the town's society and built local cultural memory.

Efforts at the re-Catholicization of rituals (1620–1640)

After the Catholic gentry took over the town in 1621 (1623), the baptismal ritual became the fundamental differentiating factor between the Catholics of Slaný and those who tried to defy the new masters and the re-Catholicization pressure.⁵⁹ Through carrying out godparenthood, the non-Catholics attempted to create a closed community, trying to completely socially shut out the Catholics. They usually identified themselves by seeking out non-Catholic clergymen from out of the town or by refusing to put children in the priest's hands during their baptism.⁶⁰ Such a strategy was successful in the short-term; however it later failed due to some arrivistes seeking to advance their careers.⁶¹

The most detailed depiction of defiance found in the sources is that of the burgher Jan Blejsa, who for a long time resisted having his child baptized by a Catholic priest. He was tried for his convictions by the gentry clerks, who insisted on baptism within the obligatory three-day period.⁶² The Slaný burgher opposed the regional estate governor Mikuláš Hanžburský, claiming that parents may freely decide when they have their child baptized. He shielded himself with the Bible against the governor's insistence on a Catholic course of the baptism, considering the book the highest authority in compliance with the Utraquist tradition saying that "even in the Holy Scripture he could not learn that by reading".⁶³ Furthermore, he argued that God can save unbaptized children: "if [a child] has been formed by the Lord in the life of a mother, it shall stay under God's guardianship, the Lord condescends to see it and thus it does not sin against the Lord".⁶⁴ However, his reasoning did not meet with success; he was eventually dispossessed and forced to emigrate with his whole family.⁶⁵

As far as funerals were concerned, all burghers had to submit to a unified ritual and the singing of non-Catholic songs was forbidden. Therefore, non-Catholics tried to express their confession in their last wills. They stated that they wanted to be buried in the cemetery of Trinity Church, which was perceived by the burghers as non-Catholic in contrast to St Gotthard Church, where Catholic rituals took place as well during the period preceding the Battle of White Mountain.⁶⁶ However, the later war

57 SOKA Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book No 56, fol. 25 (records of the city council renewal).

58 *Ibid.*, book No 57, fol. 254.

59 KADEŘÁBEK, *Protireformace Slaného*, 9–44.

60 *Ibid.*, 36–38.

61 KADEŘÁBEK, *Nerovný boj*, 65–69.

62 *Ibid.*, 78–85.

63 SOKA Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book No 57, fol. 432 (trial with Jan Jahoda and Jan Blejsa, interrogations).

64 *Ibid.*, fol. 455.

65 *Ibid.*, fol. 444.

66 *Ibid.*, unprocessed, book No 59, fol. 73, 115, 119, 120 (donations to the church, copies of last wills).

years often saw burials carried out without any rituals. The only effort the burghers made was to bury their loved ones in sacred ground rather than leaving their bodies outside the fortifications, as done by the new military commanders of the town.⁶⁷ In this respect, all the confessional disputes and discrepancies entirely gave way in the face of wartime atrocities.

In the post-White Mountain period the ritual of the change of the city council completely transformed as well. The new Catholic regent of the town became a key person in it and town councillors were forced to swear loyalty to him instead of to the Bohemian king.⁶⁸ The regent's role was also supported by the presence of a Catholic priest. The oath wasn't sworn to God only but equally to the Virgin Mary and to all the saints.⁶⁹ The strongest attack on the religious faith of the local councillors was forced confession of sins associated with communion under one kind.⁷⁰ In particular, this new element, which followed immediately after the oath, was a great shock for all non-Catholic townsmen. Many of them gave priority to their faith, sacrificed their status and voluntarily gave up their positions on the city council. Many went into exile.⁷¹ The original ritual, which had affirmed burgher rights and freedoms, was transformed into a clear demonstration of the subordination of non-Catholics to a Catholic gentry. With the departure of a greater part of its local elites the town lost its intellectual backbone and the most important bearers of its local cultural memory.⁷² The way to the overall re-Catholicization of the town was thus opened.

Conclusion

Until the 1620s Slaný was a multi-confessional town with a non-Catholic majority. Both religious and civil transitional rituals drew strict lines between Catholic and non-Catholic burghers. Following the 1620 defeat of the non-Catholic estates in the course of the rebellion on the White Mountain, the town was pledged to the Catholic gentry and Catholicism was restored. The new gentry focused on changing transitional rituals, trying to influence burghers' everyday lives and to force them to convert. Many did not withstand the pressure and chose to go into exile. After their departure all rituals became strictly Catholic. Later, during the 1630s and 1640s, the confessional disputes gave way to wartime atrocities.

67 MILTNER, *Kalendář historický*, 5.

68 SOKA Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book No. 58, fol. 32 (report of the city council renewal).

69 *Ibid.*, fol. 33.

70 *Ibid.*, fol. 119.

71 KADEŘÁBEK, *Lidé bez domova*, 72–76.

72 KADEŘÁBEK – ĎURČANSKÝ, *Paměť*, 218–220.

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