

Unity, confession, power. Symbolic communication in the town of Slaný in the 17th century

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Presented study deals with the problems of change of symbolic communication during the Counter-Reformation period in the Kingdom of Bohemia. It focuses on a micro-historical characterization of the royal town of Slaný in the 17th century which belonged to the group of significant Utraquist royal towns in Bohemia but was pledged to the Catholic family of Counts of Martinice.

Key words: Jaroslav Bořita z Martinic. Symbolic communication. Rituals. Town of Slaný. Confession. Bernard Ignác z Martinic.

Introduction

Since the 15th century, dual faith legally existed in the Kingdom of Bohemia, its inhabitants being able to quite freely choose between belonging to Catholicism or Utraquism. Subsequently in the 16th century, new reformatory trends began to spread in Bohemia, being more or less tolerated by individual members of manorial lords and the monarch. The majority of inhabitants in Bohemia were then non-Catholic.¹ However, along with the convergence of the Catholic Church and the Habsburg rulers in Bohemia, the inclination of the Bohemian ruler to unify the denomination in the country and promote Catholicism was rising. Following the unsuccessful uprising of the Bohemian estates in the 1620s, the King of Bohemia eventually gained the power and ideological platform necessary for nationwide action against the non-Catholics.² Often precipitous changes brought about by the forced religion change of the majority of the population, was significantly reflected in symbolic communication as well. The next text is going to deal with the transformation of the symbolic communication in the royal town of Slaný, which had belonged to significant Utraquist centres from the 15th century, nonetheless falling upon the Catholic noble family of the Bořitas of Martinice after 1623 owing to its participation in the rebellion against the monarch.³

Symbolic Communication before 1623

The town of Slaný was one of the royal countryside towns with estimated up to 3 500 inhabitants.⁴ Its vicinity to Prague and the position on the way to important North-Bohemian royal towns and to towns in Saxony also played a crucial role. Slaný

1 DAVID, Zdeněk V. Religious Toleration in Utraquist Bohemia. In: HLAVÁČEK, Petr (Ed.). *(In)tolerance v evropských dějinách*. Praha: Filosofická fakulta UK, 2011, pp. 101-115. ŠMAHEL, František. *Entwicklungsphasen und Probleme der Gegenreformation und katholischen Erneuerung in Böhmen*. In: *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte*, 1989, vol. 84, pp. 235-237.

2 CHALINE, Olivier. *Bílá hora*. Praha: Karolinum, 2015, 576 p. MIKULEC, Jiří. *Pobělohorská rekatolizace v českých zemích*. Praha: SPN, 1992, 56 p. MIKULEC, Jiří. 31. 7. 1627. *Rekatolizace šlechty v Čechách*. Praha: Havran, 2005, 193 p.

3 KADEŘÁBEK, Josef. *Protireformace Slaného a její vliv na sociální vazby radních v letech 1610 – 1635*. In: *Historická demografie*, 2009, vol. 33, pp. 9-44.

4 See: KŘESADLO, Karel. *Slaný od prvních zpráv do Bílé hory*. In: *Kniha o Slaném*. Slaný: Městský úřad ve Slaném, 1994, pp. 61-62. MAUR, Eduard. *Urbanizace Čech v raném novověku*. In: *Historická demografie*, 2001, vol. 25, pp. 19-20.

benefited from these two factors both in economic and political ways; cardinal Arnošt of Harrach mentioned the town as one of the most destroyed municipalities by the Thirty Years' War as it had been one of the richest towns prior the conflict.⁵ The significance of the town was represented by a vast administrative structure (municipal, judicial and ecclesiastic) and it enabled me to proceed with this detailed research. We can find similar detailed and various sources more likely for the bigger towns and cities.⁶

Symbolic communication in Slaný was mainly carried out by the members of local elites, above all the members of the town council, whose main responsibility was not only to ensure a smooth running of the town administration and the whole town apparatus in cooperation with other self-governing bodies, municipal seniors and elected individuals, but primarily to maintain the traditional values of the Slaný burgher community, appropriately presenting them on the outside.⁷ What were mostly considered traditional values were the continuity of the municipal law and holding royal liberties, trans-generation cohesion of the burghers, their good reputation, a good reputation of the municipality as well as loyalty to the monarch and towards the generally shared denomination.⁸

Symbolic communication, most clearly presented in the field of the town council renewal ritual or during the town festivities in Slaný, did not only communicate its content, but also created a social reality by extending beyond into a broader context. On the one hand, the partakers of the communication legitimized its course and the social status of its creators by consenting and taking part in it, on the other hand they were creating and proving their own social status by recognizing it.⁹ Working in the town council and town festivities, the aldermen consequently ensured not only the continuity of this self-governing unit, but on a symbolic level also the continuity of the entire town community and law, which was enforced by the town council.¹⁰ To demonstrate the assertions outlined above we chose to analyse the renewal of the Slaný town council as well as the ceremony held on the occasion of the Velvary Gate renewal in 1613.

The council renewal mostly had an invariable course. A week before the announced arrival of the royal power representative entrusted with the renewal of the town council in the royal towns (this usually being the so called "hofrychtěř" (*judex curiae civitatum*

5 CATALANO, Alessandro. Příběh jednoho mýtu: Bernard Ignác z Martinic – kardinál Arnošt Vojtěch z Harrachu – jezuité. In: PŘIBYL, Vladimír – PŘIBYLOVÁ, Dana (Eds.). *Slánské rozhovory 2005: Itálie*. Slaný: Vlastivědné muzeum Slaný, 2006, pp. 31-34.

6 KMOCHOVÁ, Romana. „I přišli k nám tito soldáti“ Město Slaný za třicetileté války optikou pramenů městské kanceláře [Master Thesis]. Praha: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, 2015, pp. 263-291.

7 KADERÁBEK, Josef – ĎURČANSKÝ, Marek. Paměť raně novověkých měšťanů. Vytváření, předávání a proměny kolektivní paměti ve středočeských královských městech protireformačního věku. In: HORSKÝ, Jan et al. *Natura et cultura I. Antropologická bádání mezi empirií a interpretací*. Praha: Togga, 2014, pp. 209-220.

8 MILLER, Jaroslav. Snový svět idejí a syrovost skutečnosti. Městská historiografie raného novověku jako utopie? In: *Český časopis historický*, 2008, vol. 106, pp. 261-287.

9 See: STOLLBERG-RILLINGER, Barbara. Much Ado About Nothing? Rituals of Politics in Early Modern Europe and Today. In: *Annual Bulletin of the German Historical Institute*, 2011, vol. 26, no. 48, pp. 9-25. STOLLBERG-RILLINGER, Barbara. Einleitung. In: STOLLBERG-RILLINGER, Barbara – WEIßBRICH Thomas (Eds.). *Die Bildlichkeit symbolischer Akte: Symbolische Kommunikation und gesellschaftliche Wertesysteme*. Münster: Rhema Verlag, 2010, pp. 9-21. STOLLBERG-RILLINGER, Barbara. Zeremoniel, Ritual, Symbol. Neue Forschungen zur symbolischen Kommunikation in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit. In: *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung*, 2000, vol. 27, pp. 289-405.

10 MILLER, Jaroslav. *Uzavřená společnost a její nepřítelé: Město středověčodní Evropy (1500 – 1700)*. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 2006, pp. 184-185.

regalium)), the aldermen summoned the municipal seniors and elected individuals to the town hall. Here they asked them whether they had been satisfied with their work in the town council and if they would like to complain to the monarch regarding their actions,¹¹ the anticipated answer subsequently being the following sentence: "We are well satisfied with the h[onest] l[ords] lords in everything, we are lacking nothing." This message was followed by a thanksgiving to God.¹² The aldermen thus formally waived their offices for a while, becoming ordinary townspeople. They found themselves in the first phase of the transition ritual, awaiting to attain new attributes associated with their offices.

Positive answers to the questions asked constituted a necessary condition for the termination of the town council, creating a consensus between the outgoing council and the two previous boards. Josef Hrdlička pointed out that the accord between both parties was formed by three different ways. Firstly, it was a silence when the burghers responded to the questions asked with stillness. The second way characteristic particularly for Slaný was an affirmative response. The third type of the anticipated response was represented by words of praise. A problem arose when the expected consensus failed to take place, disrupting the course of the ritual.¹³ This happened in Slaný in 1616, when a municipal senior Jan Trnužka opposed the town council, complaining about the alderman Martin Majer, who was supposed to be illegally brewing beer from municipal barley.¹⁴ Nonetheless, it was not Martin Majer who was rebuked for his actions, but conversely it was Jan Trnužka for inappropriately interfering in the course of the questioning.¹⁵ The entire ceremony was then probably repeated, this time with the expected outcome.¹⁶ The consent among all the aldermen and other town residents was publicly declared as the completion of the first phase of the ritual.¹⁷

Subsequently, the arrival of the royal *judex curiae civitatum regalium* was awaited. Even his arrival had its well-defined course. Firstly, the so called "cavalry" was chosen – i.e. young men from the aldermen families, who rode on horseback towards the approaching *judex curiae civitatum regalium* led by one of the former aldermen, who

11 „Nícměně podle starobylého způsobu na ně dotázka jest učiněna, mají-li co sobě buď veřejně všickni nebo někdo z nich obzvláště do Jeho Milosti Císařského pana rychtáře neb pánův konšelův stěžovati, aby se ohlásili tak, aby bylo mezi nimi jaké nedorozumění, to do pana hofrychtáře spokojeno býti mohli“ ("However, in compliance with the ancient way they are asked, if they have something to complain about - whether all of them, or individually, especially regarding His Imperial Grace the reeve and the aldermen, to say it so that any misunderstanding among them can be solved before *judex curiae civitatum regalium*") loose translation. Státní okresní archiv (State Municipal Archive, hereinafter SOKA) Kladno, Archiv města (Municipal Archive, hereinafter AM) Slaný, unprocessed, book no. 57, fol. 92v.

12 SOKA Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book no. 57, fol. 92-93.

13 HRDLIČKA, Josef. Otázky bez odpovědí aneb konsenzuální ticho při obnovách městských rad v raně novověkých Čechách. In: BŮŽEK, Václav – DIBELKA, Jaroslav (Eds.). *Člověk a sociální skupina ve společnosti raného novověku*. České Budějovice : Jihočeská univerzita v Českých Budějovicích, 2007, pp. 210-212.

14 „Jan Trnužka, přední z starších obecních stížnost učinil na pana Martina Majera o pobrání nějakého ječmene k varně bez povolení jiných ouředníků“ ("Jan Trnužka, one of the leading municipality seniors, made a complaint about Mr Martin Majer taking some barley for brewing without the permission of other officials") loose translation. SOKA Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book no. 57, fol. 152v.

15 „To na dočinění vyzdviženo, skaženo a obráceno, takže nemá to k újmě poctivosti Janu Trnužkovi býti“ ("We made everyone acquainted with that particular statement, declaring it irrelevant and untrue so that no harm could come to Jan Trnužka") loose translation. SOKA Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book no. 57, fol. 152v.

16 SOKA Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book no. 57, fol. 153.

17 HRDLIČKA, J. *Otázky...*, pp. 216-217.

welcomed the arriving man by a salutatory speech, leading him behind the town walls.¹⁸ By means of this act, the *judex curiae civitatum regalium* became embodied into the social world behind the town walls for some time. He was shown the good will of the municipality and ensured good treatment, as having crossed the town walls he became the guest of the town.¹⁹ Usually the same day the council was renewed. The whole act was formed by reading the names of the selected persons and cautioning the newly elected aldermen to duly work in their offices.²⁰ This was followed by a festive lunch and the departure of the *judex curiae civitatum regalium*.²¹ The *judex curiae civitatum regalium* entering the town also reflected the ideal values of the Slaný community, as the young men accompanied by a mature man symbolized the trans-generation unity of the municipality and the continuity of the administration.

Regarding the town festivities what must be mentioned are the celebrations related to the restoration completion of the Velvary Gate, which saw its renovation in 1613. With other members of the bourgeois elite and the entire municipality of Slaný present, the then-Primate Václav Hanžburský had a new gilded finial fitted at the top of the gate, containing a salutation written by the town scribe Jiří Vojna in Czech and Latin. The finial was finished with a gilded star.²² The shared values of the Slaný bourgeois society were reflected in this symbolic act on several levels. The star referred to the Hussite past of the town considered a chosen municipality in the tradition of extreme millenarianism of the 15th century, which would escape destruction along with other towns, especially Louny (moon) and Žatec (sun) thanks to the virtuous life of its inhabitants during the impending apocalypse, becoming the next restorer of faith and society.²³ The star suggested the cognizance of passing on the religious belief, which had been maintained in the municipality for centuries. Contrarily, the salutation turned to the members of other generations of Slaný burghers, indicating the ongoing continuity of the passed on values emphasised in it, such as honour and good reputation of its authors.²⁴ Last but not least, the actual effectuation as well as financing of the entire event played its part as well. The gilding was paid from a financial endowment collection, which took place among the Slaný burghers.²⁵ With its material, the finial highlighted the wealth of the Slaný burgher community, and at the same time, it pointed to the municipality's concord

18 LACINA, Josef. *Paměti královského města Slaného I. Za svobody i v porobě*. Slaný: Nákladem vlastním, 1885, p. 126.

19 About the role of fortification see: HRDLIČKA, Josef. Měšťan. In: BŮŽEK, Václav – KRÁL, Pavel (Eds.). *Člověk českého raného novověku*. Praha: Argo, 2007, p. 146.

20 „[...] k častému a časnému do rady se scházení a bedlivému spravedlivosti lidských považování, potom lidu obecného k náležitému vrchnosti nad sebou vystavené šetření a jí uctivosti všelijakou předcházení“ (“[...] that they should meet at the council in a timely manner, judging vigilantly and fairly, abiding by the orders of their ruler.”) loose translation. SOKa Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book no. 56, fol. 25r.

21 About sharing a table as a ritual of acceptance: GENNEP, Arnold van. *Přechodové rituály. Systematické studium rituálů*. Praha: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 1997, p. 35. About celebratory renewal receptions in České Budějovice cf: STERNECK, Tomáš. Obnovování českobudějovické městské rady za třicetileté války. In: *Jihočeský sborník historický*, 2006, vol. 74, pp. 117-118. For Slaný cf: SOKa Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book no. 56, fol. 25r, 254v. “[judex curiae civitatum regalium] went to the pub, had lunch there and left for Prague.”

22 SOKa Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book no. 57, fol. 35v.

23 ŠMAHEL, František. *Husitská revoluce I*. Praha: Karolinum, 1995, pp. 409-410.

24 SOKa Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, Miltnerova sbírka (Miltner's collection), Jiří Vojna's text, resign.

25 SOKa Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book no. 57, fol. 35v.

and non-divergence, so much valued in the eyes of the burghers, since its funding took place from the financial means of the whole municipality.²⁶

Besides these rather especial events, symbolic communication occurred in everyday life as well.²⁷ The most important part played by elite burghers in everyday symbolic communication was that of the bearers of common integrity and legitimacy, the possibility to transfer both of these qualities in the short term being of a key importance.²⁸ In everyday life, the members of the Slaný bourgeois elites symbolically lent them to e.g. illegitimate children, individuals living dishonourably from the community's point of view or to women abandoned by their husbands. They integrated them into the social circle of the Slaný burgher community by being present at important transition rituals of their life cycles or by interceding and testimonials, restoring their original social statuses.²⁹

Symbolic Communication after 1623

In the case of using the town as a collateral to Jaroslav Bořita of Martinic, there were some important factors to be found. The monarch needed cash which the nobleman had. The monarch also needed to punish the burghers of Slaný who had contributed to the resistance in a major way. The nobleman used this opportunity to consolidate his dominion, it bordered with Slaný and its villages, and to solve the religious and political conflicts which had occurred between him and the burgers before. Slaný was pledged to Jaroslav Bořita of Martinice in 1623.³⁰

After that year, control over the political, denominational and memory symbolic communication completely passed to the hands of nobility. Jaroslav Bořita of Martinice and his officials became authorities who began to intervene in its course, determining its new formative elements. These especially were references to the formal subordination of Slaný burghers to the nobility and the progressive victory of the Catholic Church in the town. The town council renewal was entrusted into the hands of Martinice officials, who oversaw its course. Obligatory prayers to the Virgin Mary and to all the saints as well as the aldermen's mandatory communion under one kind particularly became its new important elements.³¹ Town festivities also gained a strongly Catholic character, e.g. organising processions celebrating the Eucharist and so on. Even in everyday life, the elements of integrity and legitimacy shifted towards the circuit of Jaroslav Bořita of Martinice and his officials. The new nobility certified the marriages of Slaný burghers, overseeing the baptisms of children by Catholic priests and punishing those burghers who tried to have their children baptized by non-Catholic priests.

The forced oath of subjection in 1638 represented the biggest act of symbolic subordination of the town of Slaný to the new nobility, when Jaroslav Bořita of Martinice accomplished a conveyance of a lien possession of the town into a hereditary possession.

26 MILLER, J. *Uzavřená společnost...*, pp. 78-79, 211-215.

27 BERGER, Peter L. – LUKMANN, Thomas. *Sociální konstrukce reality: Pojednání o sociologii věděni*. Brno: Centrum pro studium demokracie a kultury, 1999, pp. 86-87.

28 For methodology see: MATĚJŮ, Petr. Ke kořenům sociálně psychologického modelu sociální stratifikace. In: *Sociologický časopis*, 2005, vol. 41, pp. 7-30.

29 SOKA Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book no. 57, fol. 284r. Státní oblastní archiv (State Areal Archive, hereinafter SOA) Praha, Sběrka matrik a průvodní listinný materiál (Collection of Church Registers), Středočeský kraj (District of Middle Bohemia), farní úřad (Parish) Slaný, inv. no. 1, fol. 392r, 396r.

30 See: KADEŘÁBEK, Josef. *Nerovný boj o víru. Páni z Martinic a rekatolizace města Slaný* (in print).

31 SOKA Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book no. 58, fol. 32v.

The takeover of Slaný by Jaroslav Bořita of Martinice became the stage-managing of the power changes and re-established circumstances. The event took place on 31st August 1638. On this day, the town was officially entered by Zechariah Vejda of Bezděkov, the regent of all Jaroslav Bořita of Martinice's manors, accompanied by the county equerry. The burghers rode from the town gate to meet them, ceremonially leading them into the town.³² Both men headed for the Town Hall, where they summoned the whole community of Slaný. Here Zechariah Vejda of Bezděkov read the emperor's decree to the gathered burghers, laying a particular emphasis on the fact that his decision cannot be opposed to in any way.³³

Then the present burghers had to retire to a manor house standing close by. Ordering the burghers to move from the Town Hall as the traditional place associated with the bourgeois collective memory and carrying out the administration in Slaný to a new place of power at this time, Jaroslav Bořita z Martinice symbolically confirmed his superior position.³⁴ The loss of the burghers' social status, consisting in swearing the allegiance to the new nobility and accepting the subjection constituted the next step in demonstrating the newfound power.³⁵ The gathered people individually approached Zacharias Vejda of Bezděkov, promising a hereditary subjection to him by a handshake ("*subjection, loyalty and obedience*").³⁶ First, the burgo-master came forward, then the Burgo-master followed by the aldermen, municipal seniors and other burghers enjoying full rights. Widows were the last ones in the crowd.³⁷

This was not the only humiliation the Slaný burghers had to experience. In addition to that, the Smečno ruler invited farmers from the surrounding villages who followed the Slaný burghers and promised humanness to their new master for themselves as well as the other citizens.³⁸ The presence of rural residents, generally negatively perceived by the burghers, meant in their eyes a great detriment to their honour in moments of losing their social status and a definitive fall among subjects.³⁹ To complete the disgrace the Slaný burghers had to undergo, the count of Martinice organized a joint feast with the peasants for them. Although the people with a town status had a wine barrel reserved from the nobleman, while the villagers were only rewarded with bitter beer, still the fact that Slaný burghers had to sit at the very same table with people of a peasant status supervised by the nobility officials represented a very bitter experience to swallow.⁴⁰

32 See: MUIR, Edward. *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 254. KADEŘÁBEK, Josef. *Proměny slánských měšťanských elit v době protireformace (1610 – 1635)* [PhD. Thesis]. České Budějovice: Jihočeská univerzita v Českých Budějovicích, 2012, p. 35.

33 SOKA Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book no. 59, fol. 17v.

34 KADEŘÁBEK, J. *Proměny...*, pp. 55-56, 95.

35 See: PRAŽÁK, Václav. Převzetí panství Jindřichův Hradec hrabaty Černínů v roce 1694. Anatomie jednoho rituálu. In: BŮŽEK, Václav – DIBELKA, Jaroslav (Eds.). *Člověk a sociální skupina ve společnosti raného novověku*. České Budějovice: Jihočeská univerzita v Českých Budějovicích, 2007, pp. 160-161.

36 MACEK, Josef. *Jagellonský věk v českých zemích IV*. Praha: Academia, 1999, pp. 7-23.

37 SOKA Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book no. 59, fol. 18r.

38 SOKA Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book no. 59, fol. 18v. About the term of „člověčenství“ see: ČECHURA, Jaroslav. Člověčenství. In: *Právněhistorické studie*, 1993, vol. 33, pp. 33-52.

39 Compare: GRULICH, Josef. *Venkován*. In: BŮŽEK, Václav – KRÁL, Pavel (Eds.). *Člověk českého raného novověku*. Praha: Argo, 2007, pp. 166-167. SOKA Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book no. 56, fol. 218v.

40 SOKA Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book no. 59, fol. 18v.

The whole above described affair gained a shape of a transition ritual.⁴¹ The presence of all constituents of the burghers' society from the most important (the mayor, town councilors) to the lowest (widows and children) pointed out the fact that the acceptance of vassalage went through the generations and it was valid for everybody.⁴² The gathering at the town hall presented the transitional stage when the burghers still enjoyed the liberties of royal burghers but there was the vision of vassalage directly in front of them. The terminal point of the ritual was a handshake with the count's officer – a free man became a subject.⁴³ The presence of villagers and forced feast of burghers and villagers signified burghers' incorporation back into the society in their brand new subordinate position. According to Stollberg-Rillinger statements: symbolic communication thus created a new social reality, accepted and confirmed by the participants via their attendance.⁴⁴

The noblemen of Martinice also greatly approached symbolic communication presented by an overall reconstruction of the town of Slaný. The construction of the aforementioned manor house was important at the level of memory of the tradition and continuity of the bourgeois community freedoms. The place for its erection had been carefully chosen to remind the subordination of the town to Jaroslav Bořita of Martinice and his officials as well as the victory of the Catholic faith in the town. The manorial house went up next to the Town Hall, visually and symbolically repressing its dominance with its size.⁴⁵ The building associated with the image of the burgher community's independence, primarily representing its centre of power, symbolically ended up in thrall of the nobility administration.⁴⁶ Moreover, the clearance of the St. Godehard Church, with a large part of the objects for decades perceived by the burghers during church services removed and replaced by new equipment associated with the Smečno ruler, brought an incurable wound for the identity of the Slaný community.⁴⁷

The most ambitious act that mirrored the victory of the Catholic Church at the Smečno demesne was an extensive project of Bernard Ignatius of Martinice, where the nobleman focused on rebuilding the town of Slaný, its surroundings and last but not least Smečno Castle. The elaborated landscape modifications were supposed to symbolize together the life stories of Jesus Christ and the Virgin Mary. The beginning of the intended story began in the Franciscan Monastery - Bernard Ignatius had it built in a close proximity of the originally Utraquist Holy Trinity Church. The church itself became home to the copy of a Marian House from Italian Loreto.

The building efforts of Bernard Ignatius of Martinice, the son of Slaný's original owner Jaroslav Bořita, were stimulated by a reported religious vision of his wife, on the base of which the Smečno nobleman decided to build the Franciscan Monastery

41 GENNEP, A. *Přechodové rituály...*, pp. 19-21.

42 TURNER, Victor. *Průběh rituálu*. Brno : Computer Press, 2004, pp. 159-162.

43 TURNER, V. *Průběh rituálu...*, pp. 95-102.

44 See: STOLLBERG-RILLINGER, B. *Much Ado About Nothing...*, pp. 9-25. STOLLBERG-RILLINGER, B. *Einleitung...*, pp. 9-21. STOLLBERG-RILLINGER, B. *Zeremoniel...*, pp. 289-405.

45 Teoretically: BAUMGARTEN, Jens. *Konfession, Bild und Macht. Visualisierung als katholisches Herrschafts- und Disziplinierungskonzept in Rom und im habsburgischen Schlesien (1560 – 1740)*. Hamburg; München: Dölling und Galtz Verlag, 2004, pp. 152-161.

46 WELLER, Thomas. Der Ort der Macht und die Praktiken der Machtvisualisierung. Das Leipziger Rathaus in der Frühen Neuzeit als zeremonieller Raum. In: HOCHMUTH, Christian – RAU, Susanne (Eds.). *Machträume der frühneuzeitlichen Stadt*. Konstanz : IEG Verlag, 2006, pp. 285-307.

47 SOKA Kladno, AM Slaný, unprocessed, book no. 57, fol. 212r.

near the Holy Trinity Church, with the copy of Marian Loreto dominating the interior.⁴⁸ Most of the older literature considered that Bernard Ignatius of Martinice got inspired to its construction during his visit to the original Italian House of the Mother of God, reportedly brought to Loreto from the Holy Land by angels. However, having analysed the diary of Cardinal of Harrach, Alessandro Catalano proved that Bernard Ignatius of Martinice came up with the idea to build a copy of the Loreto building at his manor before his journey, attributing Bernard's act to an attempt to win the Mother of God's favour in order to get her help him to finally see the birth of the longed-for son.⁴⁹ The Loreto tableaux reminded the viewers of the key milestones in Mary's life, whether it was the annunciation of God's conception by Archangel Gabriel, the birth of Jesus Christ and the subsequent bowing down of the three wise men or mourning her passing. Furthermore, Bernard Ignatius of Martinice had the miraculous transposition of the building from the Holy Land to Italy made on the Loreto's facing.⁵⁰ In the 1690s, Count František Josef Šlik also used the Loreto House as a main point of the landscape composition on his manor. In his concept, the Loreto became the centre of the imaginary Cross of Christ, symbolized by forest aisles bound for the most important landscape and sacred dominants of his demesne.⁵¹

In 1660, Bernard Ignatius of Martinice made use of the still unfinished Stations of the Cross to organize a religious procession of penitents, very probably involving the members of the religious brotherhood Nativity of the Virgin Mary from St. Benedict, who the Franciscans and the Smečno nobleman already invited to the processions in 1658 and 1659. The most intense displays of Baroque religiousness appeared in connection with them for the first time. People walked in frayed clothes through the double row of burghers, striking themselves across the back with whips and chains. The crowd carried a painting Passion of the Christ.⁵² During the same time, penitents in Olomouc also carried the instruments of Christ's Passion besides paintings in the procession.⁵³ The Slaný procession of flagellants walked from the St. Godehard Church to Slaný mountain to symbolize suffering Christ going up to Calvary. Their pain should resemble his last hours and painful journey to crucifixion.⁵⁴ At the same time, the flagellants pointed out the sins of the Slaný burghers, which they were removing from them by their own sacrifice of physical pain and prayers, encouraging them to a further penitence. As period descriptions suggest, their procession was accompanied by ecstatic cries of onlookers, some of the present burghers fainting when seeing the

48 PŘIBYL, Vladimír. Umění baroka na Slánsku. In: *Kniha o Slaném*. Slaný : Městský úřad, 1994, p. 84.

49 CATALANO, A. *Příběh jednoho mýtu...*, s. 25.

50 PŘIBYL, V. *Umění...*, pp. 86-87.

51 ŠEDINOVÁ, Jitka. Komponovaná krajina Františka Josefa Šlika. In: *Šlechtické rody a jejich sídla v Českém ráji*. Semily; Turnov : Muzeum Českého ráje, 2009, pp. 328-334. HÁJEK, Pavel. *Česká krajina a baroko. Urbanismus českého baroka na příkladu města Jičína a jeho okolí*. Praha : Malá Skála, 2003, 66 p.

52 ŠŤOVÍČEK, Jan. Loretánská idea a barokní historismus u Martiniců v době pobělohorské. In: PETRÁKOVÁ, Jana – PŘIBYLOVÁ, Dana (Eds.). *Rozpravy o baroku. Umění baroka na území severozápadně od Prahy*. Kladno : Městský úřad Kladno, 1993, p. 16.

53 ORLITA, Zdeněk. „Non multi, sed boni“. Mariánské sodality při jezuitské koleji sv. Jiří v Opavě v 17.–18. století a vývoj v ostatních částech olomoucké diecéze. In: JIRÁNEK, Tomáš – KUBEŠ, Jiří (Eds.). *Bratrstva. Světská a církevní sdružení a jejich role v kulturních a společenských strukturách od středověku do moderní doby*. Pardubice : Východočeská univerzita v Pardubicích, 2005, pp. 124-128.

54 See: CARROL, Michael P. *The Cult of The Virgin Mary*. Oxford; Princeton : Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 66-68.

bloody spectacle.⁵⁵ At the top of the mountain, clean robes and vinegar with mushrooms to wash their wounds was already prepared for the penitents. Then the celebratory Mass Te Deum was held, with all the Slaný burghers that followed the penitents through the double row to the top of Slaný mountain having to attend. In 1662, Bernard Ignatius of Martinice had three crosses erected there symbolizing Christ's suffering at Calvary.⁵⁶

The last building phase of the planned Stations of the Cross constituted the creation of the Holy Sepulchre Chapel.⁵⁷ Bernard Ignatius of Martinice seemed to have got its design from the Dietrichstein family. His second wife came from this family, which had a similar structure built near Mikulov at the top of Holy Hill near the St. Sebastian Church in 1622. Eight years later, the Cardinal Francis of Dietrichstein had 14 little alcove chapels illustrating the Stations of the Cross built along the path to Holy Hill, the Holy Sepulchre being a symbolic culmination.⁵⁸

By completing the Holy Sepulchre Chapel, Bernard Ignatius of Martinice connected Slaný and Smečno – his family residence, by an imaginary line. He created the Stations of the Cross in the Slaný landscape, which presented the victory of the Catholic faith and the value system of Smečno rulers in Slaný. Leading from the St. Godehard Cathedral as of 1665 where the image of the Nativity of the Lord was located, the Way continued across the square, where visiting the chapel with an image of the Betrothal of the Virgin Mary also became part of the Way, with the completion of the Piarist college and definitive arrival of the Piarists in Slaný in 1666. Then the penitents visited the Franciscan Monastery's Loreto, where they commemorated the life of the mother of their Saviour. Going up the Slaný mountain followed, with three crosses of Calvary being erected on the top in 1662. Afterwards they continued to the Holy Sepulchre Chapel, where a mass was usually served. The Way ended in the chapel of the Smečno Castle where only the representative of the Smečno family meditated privately in front of the image of triumphant resurrected Christ.⁵⁹

Summary

At the beginning of the 17th century rituals and symbolic communication were used mainly to strengthen the community of the town of Slaný. They should have presented its continuity, power and unity in terms of confession and loyalty as well as the continuity of the municipal law and holding royal liberties, trans-generation cohesion of the burghers, their good reputation, a good reputation of the municipality as well as loyalty to the monarch and towards the generally shared denomination. After 1623, when the town was completely passed to the hands of nobility, Jaroslav Bořita of Martinice and his officials became authorities who began to intervene in its course, determining its new formative elements. These especially were references to the formal subordination of Slaný burghers to the nobility and the progressive victory of the Catholic Church in the town. The forced oath of subjection in 1638 represented the biggest act of symbolic subordination of the town of Slaný to the new nobility, when Jaroslav Bořita of Martinice accomplished a conveyance of a lien possession of

55 ŠŤOVÍČEK, J. *Loretánská idea...*, p. 16.

56 PŘIBYL, V. *Umění...*, pp. 86-87.

57 PŘIBYL, Vladimír et al. *Kaple Božího hrobu u Slaného*. Slaný : Městský úřad Slaný, 2011, 20 p.

58 ŠŤOVÍČEK, J. *Loretánská idea...*, p. 16.

59 ŠŤOVÍČEK, J. *Loretánská idea...*, p. 17.

the town into a hereditary possession. His son, Bernad Ignatius of Martinice, finished his attempts with the construction of the Stations of the Cross in the landscape of Slaný.⁶⁰

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