

**AN END TO MYTHS AND STEREOTYPES? CONCERNING  
PROBLEMS, NEW WORKS AND INTERPRETATIONS IN CZECH  
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY AFTER 1989**

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*Po desetiletích nuceného půstu, řadě omezení, cenzuře a ideologických manipulacích se po listopadu 1989 mohlo znovu naplno a svobodně rozvinout bádání na poli církevních dějin. Něktěrym autorům však chyběly potřebné znalosti z historie a teologie, kritická práce s prameny, schopnost obecných komparací či oproštění se od přílišné svázanosti s vlastní konfesí. Uplynula dvě desetiletí poskytují poměrně dostatečný prostor ke krátkému ohlédnutí a zhodnocení, co se podařilo a co zůstává úkolem do budoucna.*

*Klíčová slova: Církevní dějiny; konfese; křesťanství; mýty; stereotypy; školní dějepis*

### **Introduction**

After decades of enforced abstinence, many restrictions, censorship and ideological manipulation, research in the field of ecclesiastical history could recommence in full and freely after November 1989. In an attempt to rectify and make up for the wrongs committed against the church (against the Catholic church in particular) during the period of totalitarian rule, at first many enthusiasts and apologists took up this theme, in addition to the small community of experts. But some of them lacked the necessary knowledge of history and theology, critical work with sources, the ability to make general comparisons and the ability to free themselves of the excessive association with their own confession. It is very difficult to arrive at a balanced view free of prejudice, clichés and stereotypes. In this context, the work of Jiří Rak, *Bývali Čechové (They were Czechs)*..., which many other authors later built on, especially in relation to the teaching of history, is a great contribution and inspiration for historians of ecclesiastical history.<sup>1</sup> The work points out with great precision the main Czech myths and stereotypes with no claims for their immediate solution, and it also contains interesting expressions of certain authorities concerning the church, its personalities and role in Czech history.<sup>2</sup>

The past two decades provide a relatively adequate space for a brief retrospective and evaluation of what has been achieved and what remains to be done in the future.

<sup>1</sup> RAK, J.: *Bývali Čechové ... České historické mýty a stereotypy (They Were Czechs ... Czech Historical Myths and Stereotypes)*. Praha 1994; *Stereotypy a mýty v dějepisném vyučování (Stereotypes and Myths in the Teaching of History)*. Ústí n. L.: UJEP, 2008.

<sup>2</sup> “Only a very poorly educated person could not know that in our country as elsewhere, for many centuries all advances in education and enlightenment were made exclusively in church institutions ... My Protestantism was not the reason why I never concealed the fact that in the course of so many centuries some people unworthy of the honour sat upon the throne of the Bishop and Archbishop of Prague, and that infamous, or even wholly woeful attempts and acts arose from the very heart of the Roman Catholic Church. The reason was the fact that I was a persistent and just researcher of history ... But to jump to the immediate conclusion that an entire organisation is evil because there were some evil people in it would be an incorrect and impermissible conclusion, not only from the historical aspect, but also from the aspect of logic. (František Palacký, *Pokrok* 1873 Cf: RAK, J.: l. c., pages 43–44.

Immediately after the fall of the totalitarian regime the church historian Rudolf Zuber pointed to certain serious problems and tasks of ecclesiastical history.<sup>3</sup> One of these problems is the fundamental dispute as to its essence and nature. Many historians see it as historical theology, that is to say the history of salvation, whereas other researchers include ecclesiastical history in the general history of mankind, where it occupies the same place as political, philosophical, economic or cultural history. Zuber also asserted a need for a change in the methodology and content of ecclesiastical history, stating that the day-to-day life of the simple believer or groups of believers in parishes and broader regions had remained unnoticed. He emphasised the need for a deeper study of the Baroque and Enlightenment and also mentioned certain important works concerning these periods, their spiritual movements and personalities.<sup>4</sup> He considered the matter of non-Catholics to be a pressing issue in our history, although the ecumenical view to a certain extent smoothed over many confessional disagreements. Zuber referred to the dechristianisation so characteristic of our spiritual history in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century as the second and more serious problem of Czech ecclesiastical history. This process (not exclusively Czech but occurring in all churches) of the separation of social groups from official churches was impacted by the Enlightenment. It will be necessary to expand the discussion about the meaning of Czech history to include a new conception of the Enlightenment and research into religious sociology. These ideas were taken up at the start of the new millennium by Jiří Hanuš, according to whom the study of the Josephian era is crucial to the understanding of subsequent ecclesiastical history.<sup>5</sup> The original and in many respects revealing work of Eduard Wintř on this period has not yet been improved on, despite its schematic concept.<sup>6</sup> But a new, critical reading of it is one of the basic preconditions for a shift in ecclesiastical historiography.

### Subject of study

What is ecclesiastical history, what is the subject of its study, and what are the tasks facing the historians who study it? Frequent misunderstandings arise even in the basic questions and understanding of terms. The history of the church is closely linked with history in general, and it also represents a secondary science to all theological disciplines. The secondary sciences closest to ecclesiastical history are philosophy, sociology, anthropology, and the secondary sciences of history and historical geography. The subject of the study of ecclesiastical history is the church – originally the universal community of Christians. Ecclesiastical history looks at the history of the church from different aspects, but it has no prescribed content. Although it has many lessons, it offers no revelations nor standard. For the Christian the source of both is the Holy Word. The interpretation of ecclesiastical history should thus not be confused with religious education. The ecclesiastical historian faces a difficult task and goals in his work. Despite the fact that today relatively narrow specialisation is required in the field of science, ecclesiastical history should not

<sup>3</sup> ZUBER, R.: *Nové tendence ve studiu církevních dějin. (New Tendencies in the Study of Ecclesiastical History)*. Duchovní pastýř, year XXXIX, January 1990, number 1, pages 1, 4–6.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. for example KUČERA, J. P. – RAK, J.: *Bohuslav Balbín a jeho místo v české kultuře. (Bohuslav Balbín and his Place in Czech Culture)*. Praha: Vyšehrad, 1983; SOUSEDÍK, S.: *Valerián Magni 1586–1661. Kapitola z kulturních dějin Čech 17. století. (Valerián Magni 1586–1661. Chapters from the Cultural History of the Czech Lands of the 17<sup>th</sup> Century)*. Praha: Vyšehrad, 1983 etc.

<sup>5</sup> BASTL, O. – HANUŠ, J. – VÉVODA, R.: *Česká a moravská církev od josefinismu k modernismu. (The Czech and Moravian Church from Josephinism to Modernism)*. In: L. Jan (ed.): *České církevní dějiny ve druhé polovině 20. století. (Czech Ecclesiastical History in the Second Half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century)*. Brno: CDK, 2000, pages 60–69.

<sup>6</sup> WINTER, E.: *Josefinismus a jeho dějiny. (Josephinism and its History)*. Praha 1945.

be limited to just one part of the church or selected Christian denomination. It should not be a mere eulogy to the positive aspects of the church, nor should it try to justify its behaviour at any price.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand the foundation of ecclesiastical history should not be cheap self-flagellation giving an unbalanced emphasis to the failings and crises of the church, nor a merciless, sometimes even mindless, criticism from a hostile party.<sup>8</sup> The term Holy Church, which sounds pejorative to many, is often understood and interpreted incorrectly. Over its two millennia of history, the church as a hierarchically organised society has undergone periods when it flourished and also periods of crisis associated with the failings of individuals and entire groups.<sup>9</sup>

### **Ecclesiastical historical research, possibilities and problems**

After 1989 ecclesiastical history acquired a significant position, and not only in the university environment. Many organisations, societies and associations were also created. We might mention, for example, the Czech Christian Academy and Moravia-Silesia Christian Academy, and at the start of the new millennium the Centre For Ecclesiastical History was created for the Czech Episcopal Conference, with its headquarters in Vranov near Brno, as was the Mikulov Centre for European Culture. These institutions organise symposia, seminars and lecture cycles for the expert and general public, and they issue magazines and anthologies.<sup>10</sup> Some institutions focussing on the popularisation of history also offered the ecclesiastical theme to those interested.<sup>11</sup>

Several publishers specialise in the publication of literature concerning ecclesiastical history and have replaced the publisher *Česká katolická charita*, which was subject to censorship during the years of the totalitarian regime.<sup>12</sup>

Thus far there has only been a partial recap of ecclesiastical history research and evaluation of historiography concerning Czech ecclesiastical history. Although an Ecclesiastical History

<sup>7</sup> Cf. MOLNÁR, A. – ŘÍČAN, R.: *12. století církevních dějin. (Twelve Centuries of Ecclesiastical History)*. Praha: Kalich, 1989, pages 19–26.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. FIALA, J.: *Hrozné doby protireformace. (The Terrible Times of the Counterreformation)*. Heršpice: Eman, 1997; *Ibid: Temno. Doba Koniášova. (The Darkness. The Time of Koniáš.)*. Benešov: Eman, 2001. Cf. also the reviews of this book prepared by the historian T. Knoz. *Časopis Matice moravské*, č. 2 / 1998, pages 513–516.

<sup>9</sup> Bruce Marshall explains the term comprehensibly in the book *Plná slávy. (All Glorious Within)*. Praha, Zvon, 1993. Holy because it is full of the glory of God through which it speaks to the world. Also see *Předlouhá cesta duchovního uzdravování Tomáše Halíka. (The Long Road of Tomáš Halík's Spiritual Healing)*, interview in the magazine *Xantypa*, August 1996: „*The history of Christianity is also unfortunately a history of the failings of Christians. ....And so the history of the church is a constant struggle between God's call and human weakness. It is an extremely dramatic process with dark figures and various unfit popes, but also positive phenomena, such as Saint Francis of Assisi, who took God's call seriously, with all that it entailed*“.

<sup>10</sup> The Czech Christian Academy issues the magazine *Universum*, and the Moravia Silesia Christian Academy issues the magazine *Dialog XXI. století (21st Century Dialogue)*, the Mikulov Centre started to issue the thematic series *Synesis*, and the Centre for Ecclesiastical History planned a magazine focussing on ecclesiastical history (*Bohemia, Moravia et Silesia sacra*). But the death of the Mikulov provost S. Krátký (2010) has called into question the further existence of the Mikulov centre, and the Vranov Centre for Ecclesiastical History ceased its activities in 2006.

<sup>11</sup> In cooperation with the History Department of the Pedagogic Faculty at Masaryk University, the Moravian Museum in Brno organised the lecture cycles *Ecclesiastical Orders and their Monasteries and Convents in the Czech Lands in the Middle Ages* (autumn 2002), *Ecclesiastical Orders and their Monasteries and Convents in the Czech Lands in the Modern Age* (spring 2004) and *Ecclesiastical Orders and their Monasteries and Convents in the Czech Lands in the “Long” 19th and 20th Century* (autumn 2006). In 2009 there was a lecture cycle focussing on the matter of pilgrimages and pilgrimage sites. Cf. MIHOLA, J. (ed.): *Na cestě do nebeského Jeruzaléma. Poutnictví v českých zemích ve středoevropském kontextu. (On the Road to the Heavenly Jerusalem. Pilgrimages in the Czech lands in the central European context)*. Brno: MZM, 2010.

<sup>12</sup> Zvon, Karmelitánské nakladatelství Kostelní Vydří, the Brno Centre for Democracy and Culture offers more liberal oriented works, the publisher Vyšehrad continued in the work from before 1989.

Section worked at the 8<sup>th</sup> Congress of Czech Historians in Hradec Králové in September 1999, only a contribution focussing on the historiography of Czech medieval ecclesiastical history has been published.<sup>13</sup> A broader view is offered by the publication edited by the ecclesiastical historian Libor Jan, which evaluates the state of research into Czech ecclesiastical history in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with a certain overlap allowing a comparison, for example, with the research into the era of the First Republic.<sup>14</sup> There was a brief evaluation of the history of the church, clergy and monasticism of the early modern era in comparison with the results of research in Austria, Slovakia and Hungary.<sup>15</sup> Amongst other things, the authors of this study pointed to the fact that in contrast with Austrian research, ecclesiastical history in Czech historical science has not yet come to terms with the theoretical concept of confessionalisation. As a result it lacks one of the main methodological axes of possible interpretations. But several synthetic works are also available where one can perceive an evident interpretational shift and broader social, cultural and comparative context in the area of the Habsburg Monarchy.<sup>16</sup> Czech and Slovak historiography focussing on the church and religion of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries received a new and extensive evaluation.<sup>17</sup>

Which works on ecclesiastical history can be used successfully in school history lessons? August Franzen's *Malé církevní dějiny* (*A Concise History of the Church*) (reissued and expanded) gives a basic overview of the matter. The more "textbook" work of James B. North *Dějiny církve od Letnic k dnešku* (*A History of the Church: From Pentecost to the Present*), published in Prague 2001, represents an alternative. The three-volume *Dějiny katolické církve* (*History of the Catholic Church*), published in Olomouc 1993, is one of the works of Czech authors still used. The study text of Radomír Malý called *Církevní dějiny* (*Ecclesiastical History*) has come in for harsh criticism from the part of liberals, but has been supported by some highly conservative Catholic readers.<sup>18</sup> The brief work of the Swiss theologian Hans Küng *Malé dějiny katolické církve* (*The Catholic Church: A Short History*), which after a short time had a second edition in 2010, is of interest due to its non-traditional concept.

Despite the fact that over the past two decades several high-quality syntheses have been published on Czech ecclesiastical history, the two-volume work of Jaroslav Kadlec *Přehled českých církevních dějin* (*Overview of Czech Ecclesiastical History*) (Rome 1988, Prague 1991) still has a significant position. The book market has been enriched by the works of Jaroslav Polc,

<sup>13</sup> HLEDÍKOVÁ, Z.: *České církevní dějiny středověku od roku 1945*. (*Czech Ecclesiastical History of the Middle Ages since 1945*). 8<sup>th</sup> Congress of Czech Historians, Hradec Králové 10–12 September 1999. Ed. J. Pešek. Praha: Scriptorium, 2000, pages 162–177.

<sup>14</sup> JAN, L. (ed.): *České církevní dějiny ve druhé polovině 20. století*. (*Czech Ecclesiastical History in the Second Half of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century*). Brno: CDK, 2000.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. BŮŽEK, V. – KELLER, K. – KOWALSKÁ, E. – PÁLFFY, G.: *Společnost zemí habsburské monarchie 1526–1740 v české, maďarské, rakouské a slovenské historické vědě posledního desetiletí*. (*Association of Countries of the Habsburg Monarchy 1526–1740 in Czech, Hungarian, Austrian and Slovak Historical Science of the Past Decade*). Český časopis historický (*Czech History Magazine*), No 3/2006, pages 485–525, especially pages 503–508.

<sup>16</sup> ROYT, J.: *Obraz a kult v Čechách 17. a 18. století*. (*The Picture and the Cult in the Czech Lands in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> Century*). Praha: Karlinum, 1999; ZUBER, R.: *Osudy moravské církve v 18. století I. (1695–1777)*. (*Fate of the Moravian Church in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century I. (1695–1777)*). Praha 1987; *Ibid: Osudy moravské církve v 18. století II. (Fate of the Moravian Church in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century II)*. Olomouc: Matice cyrilometodějská, 2003.

<sup>17</sup> MAČALA, P. – MAREK, P. – HANUŠ, J.: *Církev 19. a 20. století ve slovenské a české historiografii*. (*Churches of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> Century in Slovak and Czech Historiography*). Brno: CDK, 2010.

<sup>18</sup> MALÝ, R.: *Církevní dějiny*. (*Ecclesiastical History*). Olomouc: Matice cyrilometodějská, 2002. Cf. review of Jan Ziegler: *Mimořádně nepovedené církevní dějiny*. (*An Exceptionally Poor Ecclesiastical History*). MF Dnes, 15. 2. 2003 and reply of Radomír Malý: *Podle stylu 50. let, tentokrát „liberálně“*. (*In the style of the 1950s, this time "liberally"*). Světlo, No 10/2003, page 13.

Rudolf Zuber and Zdeňka Hledíková, and other monographs from historians of the younger generation are gradually being issued.<sup>19</sup> But there is a lack of guides to Czech or general ecclesiastical history. The guide written by Pavel Mráček did not meet the criteria required of a modern publication of this type and met with something of a negative reaction.<sup>20</sup> The concept, work on which began at the Institute of History of the Academy of Sciences after 2000 in Prague, stagnated from the very start. There is no choice but to refer to the extensive, although now in part outdated, *Příručka českých církevních dějin* (*Handbook of Czech Ecclesiastical History*), written at the start of the 1970s by Bohumil Zlámal.<sup>21</sup> The work of Hubert Jedin, who is also known in the Czech Republic as a result of the translation of the useful work *Malé dějiny koncilů* (*A Brief History of the Councils*), published in Prague 1990, offers a new alternative to general ecclesiastical history.<sup>22</sup> Jedin is the main author of the *Atlas církevních dějin* (*An Atlas of Church History*), which like the guide is at present available only in the original language.<sup>23</sup>

Secondary literature represents a relatively rich offer, with extensive illustrations and in some cases with examples of sources.<sup>24</sup> The well-written *Encyklopedie českých klášterů* (*Encyclopaedia of Czech Monasteries and Convents*), prepared by Pavel Vlček, Petr Sommer and Dušan Foltýn (Libri 1997) was followed by the *Encyklopedie moravských a slezských klášterů* (*Encyclopaedia of Moravian and Silesian Monasteries and Convents*), prepared by Dušan Foltýn et al. (Libri 2005). Both encyclopaedias contain an extensive list of old and new monastery literature and basic information about sources for the individual monasteries and convents. Surprisingly there is as yet no ecclesiastical history in dates, although inspiration for it can be found, for example, in neighbouring Slovakia.<sup>25</sup> For a correct understanding of expert terms from the area of ecclesiastical history in the teaching of history it is possible to use many other encyclopaedias and popular education works.<sup>26</sup>

<sup>19</sup> POLC, J.: *Česká církev v dějinách*. (*The Czech Church in History*). Praha: Akropolis, 1999; HLEDÍKOVÁ, Z.: *Svět české středověké církve*. (*The World of the Medieval Czech Church*). Praha: Argo, 2010, also ZUBER, R.: see note 15.

<sup>20</sup> MRÁČEK, P. K.: *Stručná příručka církevních dějin*. (*Brief Guide to Ecclesiastical History*). Olomouc: Matice cyrilometodějská, 1996. In the case of this book, some historians talk of militant Catholicism. Cf.: *Zájem o historii je únikem do historie*. (*Interest in History is an Escape into History*). (interview with P. Čornej). Host, No 2/2005, page 6.

<sup>21</sup> Zlámal's guide contains these works: 1) *Počátky latinského a slovanského křesťanství na Velké Moravě (800–1000)*. (*Origins of Latin and Slavonic Christianity in Great Moravia (800–1000)*), 2) *Počátky latinského a slovanského křesťanství v Čechách (800–1000)*. (*Origins of Latin and Slavonic Christianity in the Czech Lands (800–1000)*), 3) *Doba románské katolicity (1000–1200)*. (*Era of Roman Catholicism (1000–1200)*), 4) *Doba gotické katolicity (1200–1400)*. (*Era of Gothic Catholicism (1200–1400)*), 5) *Doba husitská, českobratrská a protestantská (1400–1550)*. (*Era of the Hussites, Czech Brethren and Protestants (1400–1550)*), 6) *Doba rekatolizace (1550–1650)*. (*Era of Recatholicisation (1550–1650)*), 7) *Doba barokní katolicity (1650–1750)*. (*Era of Baroque Catholicism (1650–1750)*), 8) *Doba osvícenská (1750–1850)*. (*Era of the Enlightenment (1750–1850)*), 9) *Doba probuzenského katolicismu (1850–1918)*. (*Era of National Revival Catholicism (1850–1918)*), 10) *Doba československého katolicismu (1918–1950)*. (*Era of Czechoslovak Catholicism (1918–1950)*). After more than thirty years Zlámal's guide has been reissued – the content has been preserved and more modern literature has been added.

<sup>22</sup> JEDIN, H. (Hg.): *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*. Freiburg 1973.

<sup>23</sup> Ibid: *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte*. Herder Verlag 2004.

<sup>24</sup> *Kronika křesťanství*. (*Chronicle of Christianity*). Praha 1998; STEMBERGER, G.: *2000 let křesťanství*. (*2000 Years of Christianity*). Kostelní Vydří: Karmelitánské nakladatelství, 1999.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. JUDÁK, V. – ČEKOVSKÁ, E.: *Prehľadné cirkevné dejiny*. (*A Concise History of the Church*). Bratislava: Lúč, 1996.

<sup>26</sup> REMEŠOVÁ, V.: *Ikonografie a atributy svatých*. (*Iconography and Attributes of the Saints*). Praha: Zvon, 1991; ODEHNAL, F.: *Olomoucká arcidiecéze na prahu třetího tisíciletí*. (*The Olomouc Archdiocese at the Threshold to the Third Millennium*). Olomouc: Burget, 1999; CHODURA, R. – KLIMEŠOVÁ, V. – KŘIŠŤAN, A.: *Slovník pojmů sakrálního výtvarného umění*. (*Dictionary of Terms of Sacred Fine Art*). Kostelní Vydří: Karmelitánské nakladatelství, 2001; LEMAITROVÁ, N. – QUINSONOVÁ, M. T. – SOTOVÁ, V.: *Slovník křesťanské kultury*. (*Dictionary of Christian Culture*). Praha: Garamond, 2002; ŠIMANDL, J. – MÁDR, O. – BARTOŇ, J. – HLAVSOVÁ, J.: *Jak zacházet s náboženskými výrazy*. (*How to Treat Religious Expressions*). Praha: Academia, 2004.

The *Historicko-geografický Atlas českých církevních dějin ve 20. století (Historical-Geographic Atlas of Czech Ecclesiastical History in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century)* by Zdeněk Boháč represents a useful aid to Czech ecclesiastical history. Unfortunately the author only managed to map out the Czechoslovak period, and died before he could continue in the work.<sup>27</sup> So a treatment of the older periods remains a challenge for other authors.

### New images and interpretational shifts

In addition to a knowledge of literature, a history teacher should have an overview of the interpretations and current debates about important figures and events in ecclesiastical history. Textbooks accept these conclusions with a delay, and with regard to the generalisation of the subject matter, sometimes only in passing or even not at all.

During the past quarter of a century, Pope John Paul II stood at the very start of the numerous attempts to deal with the injustices of the past. He emphasised the example of the saints and excellent figures in history, but he did not hesitate to make critical references to the painful and difficult chapters in the history of Christianity, including the Crusades, the Inquisition, anti-Semitism, the blunders of the church in the field of scientific advance etc.

One of the most important events in ecclesiastical and general history after 1989 was the holding of an international symposium on the life and works of John Huss at the Pontifical Lateran University in Rome in December 1999. With the participation of Czech and other European experts on Huss, this symposium was the culmination of several years of work of the committee for the study of matters associated with the personality, life and works of John Huss.<sup>28</sup> Although the martyr of Constance was not fully rehabilitated or canonized, agreement was found in that he should now be seen as a reformer and a bridge between the Christian confessions.<sup>29</sup> This was the fulfilment of the wish of John Paul II expressed openly during his historical first papal visit to Czechoslovakia in spring 1990 that experts should „*more precisely define the place which John Huss occupies amongst the reformers of the church along with other well-known figures of the Czech middle ages, such as Thomas Štítný from Štítný or John Milíč from Kroměříž.*“<sup>30</sup>

Another source of the long-term confessional division of the Czech people is the question of the interpretation of the recatholicisation of the Czech lands following the Battle of the White Mountain and the personalities associated with the time of the Catholic reformation and the Baroque period. Here also John Paul II attempted to make a conciliatory gesture during his second visit to the Czech Republic in 1995. During a homily in Olomouc the Pope asked for forgiveness for all wrongs committed in the history of our country against non-Catholics, and at

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<sup>27</sup> BOHÁČ, Z.: *Atlas církevních dějin českých zemí 1918–1999. (Atlas of Ecclesiastical History of the Czech Lands 1918–1999)*. Kostelní Vydří: Karmelitánské nakladatelství, 1999.

<sup>28</sup> Concerning the work and results of the commission: MIHOLA, J: *Reformator Kościola i most między konfesjami. Przeobrażenia obrazu Mistrza Jana Husa i jego recepcji u progu nowego milenium*. In: Maria Kujawska – Bogumil Jewsiewicki (eds.): *Historia – Pamięć – Tożsamość*. Poznań 2006, pages 215–223; MIHOLA, J.: *Reformátor cirkve. Cesta k novému obrazu Mistra Jana Husa. (Church Reformer. A Way to a New Image of John Huss)*. Dialog XXI., No. 1–4, 2001, pages 82–87.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. DRDA, M. – HOLEČEK, F. J. – VYBÍRAL, Z. (edd.): *Jan Hus na přelomu tisíciletí. (John Huss at the Turn of the Millennium)*. Sborník husitského muzea. Tábor 2001; KEJŘ, J.: *Jan Hus známý i neznámý. (The Known and Unknown John Huss)*. Praha: Karolinum, 2009; KOTYK, J.: *Spor o revizi Husova procesu. (Dispute on Review of Huss Trial)*. Praha: Vyšehrad, 2001.

<sup>30</sup> *Evokace fondu demokratických iniciativ. (Evocation of Fund of Democratic Initiatives)*. Special edition focussing on first visit of John Paul II to the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, no page numbers, 1990.

the same time offered forgiveness for all wrongs committed by the other side.<sup>31</sup> But the canonisation of the Blessed John Sarkander provoked considerable outrage, in particular amongst the non-Catholic confessions, despite the concurrent canonisation of the “problem-free” Blessed Zdislava. In the case of Sarkander, historians refer to the problem of finding a clear boundary between the historically documented, legendary honourable Catholic and demonically perceived Sarkander of the Evangelists.<sup>32</sup> Unfortunately it was not possible to initiate the work of the intended recatholicisation commission which would examine and evaluate this phenomenon in detail. But many themes of the early modern age gained new images and interpretations. The articles, discussions and polemics on the pages of the popular-education magazine *Dějiny a současnost* are highly important for school history.<sup>33</sup> In particular the polemic on the theme of recatholicisation following the Battle of the White Mountain attracted attention.<sup>34</sup> The image of the Society of Jesus and the notorious figure Antonín Koniáš could also change fundamentally as a result of new research.<sup>35</sup> Moravian historians once again offered a critical appraisal of Cardinal František from Ditrichštejn and his times.<sup>36</sup> A special commission looked into the sources concerning the witch trials in northern Moravia in the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. One result of their work is the rehabilitation of the Šumperk deacon Lautner, who was burnt at the stake.<sup>37</sup>

Certain hitherto overlooked themes from the ecclesiastical history of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century were opened up at the Masaryk University Faculty of Education as part of the preparation of theses, some of which were published.<sup>38</sup>

The aim of historians and commissions is not to rewrite history, nor to manipulate it, but to interpret it correctly and sensitively on the basis of critical work with sources. Despite the differing standpoints, in problematic questions it will remain important to seek out that which unites us, rather than that which divides us, because Huss is just as much a part of Czech history as Saint John of Nepomuk, John Amos Comenius and the Jesuit Koniáš, Saint Zdislava or Saint John Sarkander and the Catholic and non-Catholic tradition.

<sup>31</sup> Papež Jan Pavel II. se omluvil za křivdy spáchané na nekatolících. (*Pope John Paul II Apologises for Wrongs Committed against Non-Catholics*). ZN noviny, 22. 5. 1995, page 1.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. VLNAS, V.: *Dvojitý život Jana Sarkandera I.–III. (The Double Life of John Sarkander I.–III.)*. Dějiny a současnost No 6/1994, pages 19–23; No. 2/1995, pages 14–19; 3/1995, pages 27–32; Catholic interpretation of saint cf. in: ZLÁMAL, B.: *Blahoslavený Jan Sarkander (Blessed John Sarkander)*. Praha: Zvon, 1990.

<sup>33</sup> SOUKUPOVÁ, H.: *Svatá Anežka česká v legendě a skutečnosti. (Saint Agnes of Bohemia in Legend and Reality)*. Dějiny a současnost 4/1992, pages 11–17; VLNAS, V.: *Svatý Jan Nepomucký, český poutník v barokním světě. (Saint John of Nepomuk, a Czech Pilgrim in the Baroque World)*. Dějiny a současnost, 3/1993, pages 7–11; *ibid: Jan Nepomucký. Česká legenda. (John of Nepomuk. A Czech Legend)*. Praha: Mladá fronta, 1993 and others.

<sup>34</sup> ČORNEJOVÁ, I.: *Pobělohorská rekatolizace. Nátlak nebo chvályhodné úsilí? (Recatholicisation following the Battle of the White Mountain. Coercion or Commendable Effort?)*. Dějiny a současnost 4/2001, pages 2–6; cf. polemic KOŘÁN, I.: *Pochopit, ale neodpouštět. (Understand, but do not Forgive)*. Dějiny a současnost 6/2001, pages 49–50.

<sup>35</sup> ČORNEJOVÁ, I.: *Tovaryšstvo Ježíšovo. Jezuité v Čechách. (The Society of Jesus. Jesuits in the Czech Lands)*. Praha: MF, 1995; SVATOŠ, M.: *Misionář Antonín Koniáš S. J. – služebník Boží či ďáblův? (Missionary Antonín Koniáš of the Society of Jesus – Servant of God or the Devil?)* Dějiny a současnost 2/1996, pages 14–19; RAK, J.: l. c., pages 132–133.

<sup>36</sup> *Kardinál František z Ditrichštejna a jeho doba. (Cardinal František of Ditrichštejn and his Times)*. 29<sup>th</sup> Mikulov Symposium. Brno: MZA, 2006; BALCÁREK, P.: *Kardinál František Ditrichštejn (1570–1636). Gubernátor Moravy. (Cardinal František Ditrichštejn (1570–1636). Governor of Moravia)*. České Budějovice: Veduta, 2007.

<sup>37</sup> SPURNÝ, F. – CEKOTA, V. – KOUŘIL, M.: *Šumperský farář a děkan Kryštof Alois Lautner, oběť čarodějnických inkvizičních procesů. (Šumperk Priest and Deacon Kryštof Alois Lautner, Victim of Inquisitorial Witch Trials)*. Šumperk 2000.

<sup>38</sup> POSPÍŠILOVÁ, J.: *Naděje v lepší budoucnost. Život ThDr. Karla Skoupého, XII. brněnského biskupa. (Hope in a Better Future. The life of Doctor Karel Skoupý, 12<sup>th</sup> Bishop of Brno)*. Újezd u Brna 2005; one of the sought-after themes was, for example, female congregations operating in the urban environment.

## Shrnutí

### **Konec mýtů a stereotypů? K problémům, novým dílům a interpretacím v českých církevních dějinách po roce 1989**

Kromě schopnosti orientace v literatuře by měl mít učitel dějepisu přehled o nových interpretacích, ale i aktuálních polemikách nad významnými osobnostmi a událostmi církevních dějin. Učebnice tyto závěry akceptují se zpožděním, s ohledem na generalizaci látky někdy jen náznakem nebo vůbec.

Na počátku čtených snah o narovnání křivd minulosti stál v uplynulém čtvrtstoletí papež Jan Pavel II. Zdůrazňoval příklad světců a vynikajících osobností v dějinách, neváhal se však také kriticky vyjadřovat k bolestným a problematickým kapitolám dějin křesťanství mezi něž patří křížová tažení, inkvizice, antisemitismus, přehmaty církve v oblasti vědeckého pokroku aj.

Cílem historiků i komisí není přepisovat dějiny, ani s nimi manipulovat, ale správně a citlivě je interpretovat na základě kritické práce s prameny. I přes odlišná stanoviska bude v problematických otázkách i nadále důležité hledat nikoliv to co nás rozděluje, ale to, co nás spojuje. Do české historie totiž náleží stejně Hus, jako sv. Jan Nepomucký, Jan Amos Komenský i jezuita Koniáš, sv. Zdislava nebo sv. Jan Sarkander, katolická i nekatolická tradice.