The Reformation of Beauty
Protestantism and Spiritual Roots of Functionalism

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It was customary in different historical eras to denote as “beautiful”, “noble” or “gracious” those things which appealed to us, which were good. Therefore, the notions of beauty and goodness were closely linked together, like the notions of goodness and God were. The ideal of beauty has always depended on the relevant historical era and the given culture. I propose that it would be difficult to find a historical period or a civilisation, which would have arrived at such a radical separation of beauty, goodness and the divine as does our civilisation nowadays. At present the concept of beauty is so vague that, in fact, anything can be described as “beautiful” – and/or nothing at the same time. As the largely shared consensus disappears, so do old limits, old authority, old humility and old faith also disappear. Indeed, following these (not merely artistic) revolutions, provocations, avant-gardes and rules of political correctness, the outlook of the world, things and people through the mirror of beauty or ugliness becomes dangerously unfocused or even vanishes from our mentality completely. Life no longer intermingles with art. Good taste is questioned as something relative. The development of events in recent decades documents the falseness of the Enlightenment’s faith in progressive development, yet fragmented society is unable to draw any conclusions from this knowledge. According to the laws of permanent change, “progress” in one discipline of human activity has to be redeemed by the decline of another discipline. I am convinced that the progress of technologies is reflected in the decline of beauty, this one age-old connecting line of aesthetic and spiritual values. With the gradual separation of man from nature and into the grip of technologies, natural beauty, derived from nature, must necessarily vanish. With the decline of natural beauty around us, our human sensibility of recognizing it has also been impoverished. Beauty thus becomes a historical notion.

The above described starting point makes one consider the ways by which we have arrived at it. In what follows, I will endeavour to demonstrate the link between the external fabric of the world, formed by human society, with the changes of religious faith in individual communities. It will be useful to trace how much the radical demands of the European Reformation influenced the form of architecture, arts and the landscape. It is without doubt that a number of Protestants strove to transform theology into living reality, in line with the teaching on the general priesthood of all believers. The direct link between religion and the quality of
creativity from a specific period has until now been challenged or marginalised. An age-old relationship between spirit and matter, the mutual images of “inner” and “outer”, however, has continued until the present time, just as the level of spiritual knowledge of purchasers and creators is linked with the shape of created works. Therefore, the Enlightenment, sometimes labelled as a “third Reformation” of its kind, which followed from the preceding Reformation streams and which accelerated their impact on the society, will be the topic of this research.

The association of the Enlightenment with Protestantism will be viewed from the perspective of the Czech lands where it manifested itself in a specific building design of a “tolerance” prayer house (toleranční modlitebna). The emphasis on the functionality of these buildings and their minimalist resolution justifies their inclusion amongst the predecessors of modernist architecture, which was even noted by contemporary theorists at the beginning of the 20th Century. The dual nature of traditionally spiritual, yet also architectonically “progressive” prayer houses then raised the question of their restoration and conservation.

The Deformation of the Reformation?

It is, certainly, not a coincidence that the utter ugliness, which became so characteristic of the modern world, was at first experienced in Europe by those countries where the Reformation marched triumphantly. The Reformation’s induced wave of iconoclasm is linked to the “flight” of the arts from the spaces of public worship to the safety of private houses and individual admirers. Calvinist theology overturned the concept of divine nature. It rejected the idea that the material world would be capable of containing and transmitting salvific grace. In accordance with that, nature and material possessions should be regarded – in a purely purposeful manner. Protestant industriousness reached its peak in connection with industrialization. The English industrial cities of Manchester, Leeds and other similar towns exposed their inhabitants to an unheard of degree of unsightliness, as if they wanted to put to test Calvin’s conviction that a good and God-observant life can be pursued even in a filthy hovel, made of wood scraps, overlooking an opencast coal pit, as long as there is a copy of the Bible at hand. The process of secularization, the decline of traditional relationships and social coherence, the growth of criminality, the organised working class movement, Communism as a solution and the virtually endless relativization of everything might hold the answer. For centuries, religion permeated through society as a whole, therefore, the church was behind the most important works of art. Did the post-Reformation deficit of beauty in the Church bring about the beginning of the destruction of the human spirit? Is the Reformation an intermediate developmental stage between religion and nothingness?

There was not a clear cut boundary between beauty and ingratitude for the Protestants. The strictest ones even denoted many human strivings for beauty as ingratitude towards God’s work. Puritanical morality replaced sensuous beauty
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with practical beauty, such as depicted in some portraits of Dutch women at the end of the 16th Century and the beginning of the 17th Century. In place of an exultant beauty, we can see a stern, as if civic beauty without passion – the beauty of a housewife, a governess, a housekeeper. This radical Protestant rejection of the artificial beautification of the female face, as known from morality texts, may be, with a certain overstatement, stretched to the rejection of sacralised womanhood as such. Let us envisage what for some might be an idyllic scene of rural beauty: a Baroque chapel nestled amongst fields and meadows, a holy day, a secluded, dark and quiet spot, ordinary women and old men in prayer in front of a painting of the Holy Virgin. The heavenly glow, as if emanating from the Madonna’s face, seems to pour forth consolation to suffering hearts. From the viewpoint of Protestantism, and Enlightenment rationalism or scientific rationalism, which are partially derived from it, the adoration of the Virgin Mary represents the most childish and the most feeble-minded aspect of religion. How could a sensible adult rely on the miraculous help of a woman who lived many centuries ago – if she ever lived at all – and in addition to draw consolation from projecting into her one’s belief in her unblemished heart, her selfless sympathy and her limitless patience? Let us rather not consider to what degree these simple people appealed to the Virgin Mary herself and to what degree only her image in the chapel...

Obviously, the criticism of the Marian Cult was not an invention of pragmatics incapable of imagination, and very focused on the efficient use of time.
Several hundred years earlier, on the cusp of the Middle Ages and the Modern Age, religious reformers declared war on it so that it may be eradicated. In Reformed Christianity, the ideal male and also female principle can be found in the belief in Jesus Christ, who is fully God and fully man. However, the Reformation did not succeed in changing the well-established pigeon-holing of Christ into the earthly role of the Man Warrior, manifested during the Crusades. Without regard to that, the reformers rejected the invocation of essential maternal womanhood as a relic of the past, which, as a consequence, represented a departure from “true Christianity”. Are, then, the values accessible through Marian devotion an anachronism for anyone, no matter how abandoned? Where is there to be found a place for maternal love, a safe haven, a love-filled embrace, a place to find solace and compassion? “The Holy Scriptures will instruct and guide thee along the best pathway to God”, declares the reformer John Calvin. Anything else was to be discarded and paid no attention. Piety was said to thrive as well in an empty room with the Bible as in a cathedral full of precious stones. There was even a danger that the beauty of ostentatious buildings or Marian paintings might distract us so much that we would give precedence to these above faith. Who needs to differentiate a church from a factory floor? The rationalist religionists of the Enlightenment era then focused on the
banning of images (and image making?) as a particular merit of Biblical, or more correctly Old Testament, piety. However, such interpretations most likely miss the true intention of the Ten Commandments.\textsuperscript{10} It is clear that the Calvinist impulse towards visual purity and simplicity influenced the development of modern art much more than generally thought. The Reformation’s iconoclasm created a space for creativity built on new foundations. “Pure” abstract art found a fertile ground for itself especially in Holland and in the United States where its followers even made references to the Old Testament in order to defend this new concept.\textsuperscript{11}

**Czech Pathway**

After the suppression of the Estates’ Rebellion, the prevailing Reformed Confessions were outlawed in the Czech lands. From the second half of the 17\textsuperscript{th} Cen-

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3 František Lukáš, Reconstruction project of Veselí prayer house, variant I, new pulpit and staircases, 1922
tury, public beauty was realized through a dialogue between piety and the effect of the arts, which characterised in a visual form the power of Roman Catholic piety. The public space was crammed with the theatrical glitter of gold, paintings and statues, scenes of human souls suffering in Purgatory. In order to achieve the required impact of beauty (beauty = salvation) it was even admissible to stray from the official theology, if it had the effect of deliverance from sin. Irrational events, which are the subject of faith, become a palpable reality on a Baroque painting. A dream turns into reality and a legend about ancient events becomes a living presence. These tendencies culminated in ceiling frescos which consciously obliterated the border between the reality of an architectonic and three-dimensional work on the one hand and the colour and light fiction of the painting’s perspective on the other hand.

The Enlightenment reforms of the Emperor Joseph II in the last but one decade of the 18th Century represented the beginning of the fundamental turning point in the understanding of beauty in public space. Rationality, formed by the Enlightenment, assumed the external form of block architecture for public buildings alongside their “ideologically” reduced décor. This provided the basis from which the so-called Barracks style, promoted by the state until the mid-19th Century, devel-

4 František Lukáš, Reconstruction project of Veselí prayer house, variant I, new galleries and organ, 1922
oped. Rationalist architecture represented the turning point in the usual hierarchy of the concept, which until then thought it fit and proper for public buildings to have a higher form of decorative expression than private buildings. Thus, an element of disorientation, which subverted the traditional semantic relationships, was introduced into the Central European landscape. The bare walls of dominant new-builds were interlinked with the destructive role of reforms in the area of religion. This new concept corresponded to calls for simple forms of religious life. This idea permeated the Josephinian Order of Liturgy from 1783, yet also, for example, the new ceremonies and ritual of the Viennese Court. The abolition of monasteries and churches on a widespread scale was accompanied by the plunder of church treasuries, monastical art collections and libraries, which were “privatised” for a fraction of their true value. The Roman Church, until then the principal social power and the guarantor of beauty, which determined the shape of society, was now to be developmentally surpassed.

The universal position of the Catholic Church was also significantly weakened by the issue of the Patent of Toleration (1781), which represented the re-legalisation of Protestant churches. From this time, when the plurality of faiths was legally

5 František Lukáš, Reconstruction project of Veselí prayer house, variant II, c. 1926
permitted, the choice of selecting one’s inner identity also adversely influenced the stability of the traditional hierarchical Estates’ society. This new “freedom of conscience” introduced ideological unease, because it accepted alternative interpretations of the origins, functioning and meaning of the world. Although based on their numbers, the adherents of Reformation constituted an unimportant minority; they succeeded in influencing tendencies in society as a whole. The visibility of their newly constructed ecclesiastical buildings corresponded remarkably to the official Josephinian restriction, enforced from above, (namely, a ban on having an external “church” shape with a belfry and bells) with their own input in the form of their principal rejection of the until then traditionally decorative, i.e. Catholic conception. The old arts were presented as a symbol of oppression. Said simply: now, no more cathedrals, no more grandiosity and splendour playing to be God, no more illusions, no more effects, no more curiosity, no more show, no “obscurity”, no heaven, no hell. The realised type of a “tolerance” prayer house in its
design oscillated between a church and a self-help utilitarian establishment and it generally contributed to the desacralisation of church architecture.

**Functionalism ahead of Functionalism: a Tolerance Prayer House**

A purpose-based building of simple shapes in which form follows function. The building which managed to free itself from pomposity and mannered aesthetics. The open inner space with galleries borne by pillars. Colour scheme is minimalized with the prevailing tones of white and gray... The “tolerance” prayer houses from the end of the 18th Century can be described in words which sound very modernist.

Protestant houses of prayer were furnished exactly in accordance with the “principles of iconoclasm”: none of the mother’s gentle strokes, merely the father’s strictness. Functionalism years before functionalism itself. “Nothing anywhere, which would please the senses. In many congregations this reformed simplicity, indeed emptiness, became unbearable for the people... that reformed emptiness in the Jimramov church luckily remained, awaiting to be filled with the precious fullness of God, which, however, did not arrive yet in my time”, as the Calvinist

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7 Reconstruction project of Veseli prayer house, anonymous alternative variant, c. 1928
minister and writer Jan Karafiát (1846–1929) wrote about the non-beauty of one of the prayer houses. Karafiát noted that the builders of prayer houses achieved a dignified artistic effect through different means than the first-hand appealing-ness. They fulfilled aesthetic ideals through well-designed lightning of the space, appropriate wood-carved arts in the interior and biblical quotes on the walls, which educated, consoled and admonished the reader. Jan Karafiát embodied the ideal of such a Christian temple in his book *The Beetles* (*Broučci*), which became a most famous Czech book for children: “...there beyond the town, in a beautiful garden by the road stood a lovely big house, its windows were immensely large and the door even much larger. And those windows were full of light and the door was wide open and multitudes of people, young and old, boys and girls were streaming through the door all the time. How shall we fly in? The windows, all of them, were half open, so they flew in through the middle one above the door; they sat down on the frame and watched. From the ceiling downwards there hung three enormous candelabras and they sparkled beautifully... Down on the floor there were pews already full of people. Each had two books in front of them [the Bible and a hymn book] and opened one of these immediately.”

At the beginning of the 20th Century, “tolerance” prayer houses in contemporary art discussions provided support for modernists in their frontal attack against the historicist style, against revival architecture. A Czech theorist Emil Edgar (1884–1963) did not hesitate to use words such as “monsters”, “demeaning”, “insipid”, “non-intelligent”, “decadent”, “false”, “devalued”, “the most embarrassing malformities” in his venomous diatribes against the building style of the 19th Century. In his work *Protestantism and Architecture* (*Protestantismus a architektura*) he mocked the believers who wanted to “prettify” the appearance of prayer houses and to bring them closer to Catholic churches. A “tolerance” prayer house is, in his eyes, the ideal – a structure both practical and characteristic. The latest evangelical churches, which abandoned the functional model and demonstrate proudly its temple character by steeples and decorations are lacklustre, non-Protestant – even anti-Protestant: “Where there was no opportunity or need to re-build the existing tolerance prayer house following the issue of the Patent of Toleration, it was given at least a steeple. ‘The acme of beauty for a church is seen in a high steeple (...) In some places they added a steeple and the church looked as if it were new.’ The number of steeples additionally built was considerable. All of them, whether they were heavy, too vast, representative of castle or town-hall styles, with corner turrets as in Vtelno, or the most decadent and the most unscrupulous as in Humpolec (from 1891), Klášter and in Horní Vilémovice, which are rather difficult to classify. All these steeples, which none of other periods until then attached to simple buildings and thatched roofs, do not, in any way, invoke admiration but contempt. All building requirements for evangelical congregations were gathered, until recently, in the hands of the least capable and the most backward rural builders, who could not provide anything but the most mediocre buildings lacking any trace of an individualistic resolve and appeal, often even worse than average clichés and ordinariness, often the most embarrassing pseudo-stylistic monstrosities of our lands.”

Edgar’s progressivist views fell on fertile ground and sprouted rapidly after 1918, when evangelical churches were afflicted by a special wave of “iconoclasm”. It would seem that there would be nothing else to destroy with regards to Reforma-
tion buildings constructed on the very principles of iconoclasm. Yet, the contemporary “wreckers of false beauty” were much more diligent in their search than their Hussite and Calvinist predecessors. They may probably have had in mind Edgar’s words, also, that an evangelical church “attains its beauty through the assembly of its congregation” and that “here applies, in fact, the ban on symbolic expression. Who walks with the Romans, who does not comprehend all this, for whom all this is austere and cold, he has no place here”. This new “republican” concept of the united Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren (Českobratrská církev evangelická) preached partial discontinuity and isolation from the preceding development. Contemporary functionalism in building significantly influenced purifying efforts with regard to prayer houses and historicizing churches. However, in their nature these efforts often led to the misapplication of the original functionalist ideas or made them sterile in their often peculiar church applications. The changes were, to a large degree, connected to the integration of originally Lutheran congregations into the united church and to the modernist requirement to “free the life of the Church from cults”. Modernisation led to the drastic reduction of the specifics of the Lutheran confession in the life of worship, in liturgy and in the liturgical space, namely the removal or reconstructions of altars, the suppression of the symbol of the cross and the removal of other minor symbols or artistically valuable objects.

Czech evangelical visuality was forced to re-create itself negatively for a long period of time to make the believers beware of what it should not be. After the fall of the official discrimination of the Protestants in the second half of the 19th Century noisy efforts to change this concept emerged. However, efforts to attain new self-confidence connected with the decorative architecture of historicism met with failure when they clashed with the modernists. Thus, the negativist concept as a significant feature of the Evangelical identity continues to accompany us into the present day.  

8 Reconstruction project of Veselí prayer house, anonymous alternative variant, c. 1928
The prayer house at Veselí near Jimramov in the Bohemian-Moravian Highlands is an important monument of the Protestant community of the Late Enlightenment. By the laying of its foundation stone on 6th July 1782, its adherence to the legacy of Master Jan Hus was declared. The beginnings of this house of prayer are connected with the personality of Tomáš Juren (1750–1829), a “builder of Church”, a teacher, an pietism influenced religious individual, a lay preacher, a composer and an artist. He was the co-author of the evangelical culture of the Word, the Word heard, written, sung, depicted in architecture, in folk art, in literature and music.\textsuperscript{22}

The idea to expand the “tolerance” prayer house by building a steeple attached to it, resurged amongst the members of the local community throughout the second half of the 19th Century. Yet, activity on a larger-scale in this matter only occurred in the local, predominantly conservative rural environment shortly before World War I, when a special fund was set up to which donations from the faithful gradually flowed. A further impetus to building came from a donation from the teacher in nearby Vítochov village. He gifted a smaller bell engraved with a picture of Master Jan Hus to the local church in 1913. The bell was provisionally installed in the mortuary building. During the war when bells were being confiscated, the faithful took it down and buried it in the barn of house No. 13 in the village. In 1926 the existence of the bell which had to be installed in a dignified place, together with the gradual deterioration of the prayer house, contributed to the establishment of the congregation’s building committee.\textsuperscript{23}

However, the reconstruction project had been commissioned several years earlier. It was done thanks to the main initiator of the church’s restoration, the head teacher at Veselí Josef Novotný (1868–1949). Novotný knew the works of Emil Edgar and the public discussion around his ideas. He adopted Edgar’s theses in the sense of recognizing the value of the “tolerance” prayer house as a valuable historical monument, which had to be restored in harmony with the spirit in which it had been originally constructed. As a consequence, the concept of reconstruction in those historicising styles which had nothing in common with the nature of the church when built, was rejected. Retaining the qualities of the original building simultaneously meant a rejection of the a-priori modernist approach. Contrary to Edgar, Novotný supposed that adding a steeple could add artistic value to the edifice. He felt that the traditionalist approach, which took as its starting point ecclesiastical architecture from around 1800, would be the most appropriate. The submission was prepared by František Lukáš, a Veselí native-born architect, who lived and worked in Austria. The template of the design fully complies with the reformed arrangement of liturgical space, which differs from Catholic churches. It creatively elaborates the typology of the Protestant construction in actual resolutions. Not merely the steeple is added to the prayer house, but also an entirely new.
entrance in which two “festive” staircases to the balconies are incorporated. The organ should have been shifted to the new part, in the very centre of the church opposite the pulpit and the Lord’s table. The design envisaged the façade divisions; it resolved the main door and the side entrance in a novel way as the portal with fronton on its face. In addition it placed a memorial plaque highlighting the “commemorative” nature of the building above the main entrance. František Lukáš forwarded the drawings by post in June 1922.24 [2, 3, 4]

The master plan was further elaborated into several variants by Lukáš and a couple of local draughtsmen, including alternatives aspiring to both historicism and modernist architecture. In order to popularise individual designs and promote a public discussion about them, a series of their collotype reproductions on postcards appeared, the purchase of which made it possible for individuals to contribute to the building. Architect Lukáš’s building plans and the entire correspondence surrounding them was financed by Josef Novotný from his own savings. As his daughter recalled, “there were three plans in total. The first one had a taller, decorative steeple, a second had the spire as tall as the first one but simpler in design. It was only a third design with a low steeple, which suited the tolerance prayer house well, that Daddy liked.”25 The face of reconstruction was influenced by the centre of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren in Prague. The church and the Synodal Council asked architect Bohumír Kozák (1885–1978) for his opinion. Functionalist and purist Kozák’s drawing pushed
doors, windows and other components devoid of decoration. This vision determined the further direction. Head teacher Novotný contributed to the definitive variant, when he adapted the project into a rigorously defined contextual shape. The height of the added steeple respected the height of the prayer house, similar to the shape of its roof being in harmony with the original attic roof. The chosen façade of the spire was in concord with the existing smooth, simple façade of the prayer house. The only decorative feature was the new semi-circular vaulting of the windows.\[5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10\]

The renovated prayer house was ceremoniously opened for use on 23rd October 1928. In contrast with the original grandiose conceptions, merely an addition of the spire and an lift up of the church nave were realised, alongside some partial interventions (namely the lifting up and restoration of the roof timbers, new roof covering, new floor covering, pews, windows, the reconstruction of the organ and the acquisition of a stove for heating the church in the winter). The new steeple, corresponding in scale to the original church, highlighted the prayer house as the dominant edifice of the village in the picturesque landscape of the Bohemian-Moravian Highlands. In his publication on the history of the Veselí Protestant community, Novotný commented on this: “During the reconstruction of this old tolerance monument, careful attention was paid that everything preserved until then was kept without any change in its original state, namely the entire internal arrangement and, so far as possible, the exterior as well.”\[27\] Financial aspects were undoubtedly the fundamental reason
for the reduction of new features. Yet, what is manifested even here is an uninterrupted continuity with traditional building trades, which for reasons of frugality and good economic management used most of the original materials and constructions. At Veselí, according to records, they, for example, did not destroy the original church windows when replacing them, but sold them to interested parties who managed to use them in a different way. We can see in the case of a grandiose investment in bells that money was not always the most decisive factor. The congregation acquired two new bells, in addition to the Hus bell, which it already owned and for which it built the new steeple. The largest bell was donated by the teacher Novotný and his wife.¹¹

The modernist vision of the world took hold in Veselí completely after World War II. Even before, within the framework of utilitarian adaptations, two sizeable wooden boards from the 19th Century inscribed with biblical texts and the carved outlines decorated with naturalistic shell ornamentation, were removed from the prayer house. There also occurred a “simplification” of the carved decoration of the pulpit, in particular its decorative baldachin. Fortunately, these removed elements, contrary to what happened in many similar cases, did not fall into decay. They remained stored in the loft space of the prayer house, from which they were rescued and after several years’ restoration efforts, they were finally returned to their original places in 2009.²⁹

¹¹ Veselí u Jimramova, “Improved” prayer house in dialogue with the landscape of Bohemian-Moravian Highlands
Conclusions

Protestantism prepared the pathway to modern individualism. In its consequences it became the pioneering force for the separation of church and society, which the Enlightenment brought to its summation later. Although one cannot accept the premise that the Reformation lacked creative “figurative” fantasy, it is certainly true that radical Protestantism strayed far from excessive imagination and monumentality both at the practical and symbolical levels, when it rejected the pyramid power of ecclesiastical hierarchy in favour of “dull” equality of all believers. “The eye is saddened by that little height”, glossed Chateaubriand, a French Catholic, over the monotonous appearance of Protestant towns of the early United States of America at the end of the 18th Century as compared to large edifices of the old church in Europe. “In Philadelphia, New York or Boston no monument rises up as a pyramid above the mass of walls and roofs”. The change of fashion towards simplicity and purity, at the beginning of which the Reformation did also stand, spread across the world and a new wave of “iconoclasm” finally caught up with Evangelical churches. In the 20th Century they were also being “liberated” from the remaining “pollution of likeability” to their allegedly functionalist foundation.

Notes

3 “My aim has always been to recapture the essential quality of architecture, by which I mean the quality which began to disappear something during the 18th Century and which had practically vanished before 1850. […] I have never been able to find an explanation which really holds water. One may for instance put it down to decay of Christian faith but…the thing itself does not appear to depend on faith in that sense…” (Raymond Erith, 1959). Cited from Martin Horáček, Za krásnější svět. Tradicionalismus v architektuře 20. a 21. století/Toward a More Beautiful World: Traditionalism in Architecture of the 20th and 21st Centuries, Brno 2013, p. 353.
8 de Botton (note 6), p. 138.
11 Dyrness (note 7), pp. 303, 308.


15 Ibidem, p. 448.


17 Idem, Broučci. Pro malé i velké děti, Louny 1938, pp. 55, 134.

18 Emil Edgar, Protestantismus a architektura, Praha 1912, p. 51.


20 Edgar (note 18), pp. 110–111.


24 Archiv Farního sboru Českobratrské církve evangelické ve Veselí (The Archive of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren in Veselí), František Lukáš, Návrh k obnovení evangelického chrámu Páně ve Veselí.


26 Archiv Farního sboru Českobratrské církve evangelické ve Veselí (The Archive of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren in Veselí). – Author’s private archive. – Horáček (note 3), p. 220 (non-Catholics wanted to remind of early Christianity in this archaic Romanesque style, they felt connected to).

27 Josef Novotný, Z dějin Horácka a českobratrského evangelického sboru ve Veselí, Nové Město na Moravě, sine dato, p. 32.

28 Hakl (note 23).


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3 František Lukáš, Reconstruction project of Veselí prayer house, variant I, new pulpit and staircases, 1922. Photo credit: Archiv Farního sboru Českobratrské církve evangelické ve Veselí (The Archive of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren in Veselí).

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10 Josef Novotný, Reconstruction project of Veselí prayer house, definitive variant, 1928. Photo credit: Archiv Farního sboru Českobratrské církve evangelické ve Veselí (The Archive of the Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren in Veselí).