

A Neglected Source of Utraquist Chant from the Poděbradian Period¹

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When on 1 January 1469 the manifesto of “three thousand defenders of truth and the Czech language” – as the participants of the convoked assembly called themselves – saw the light of day,² they were expressing by these words above all their identity as a chosen and orthodox Czech nation.³ In a fairly brief text the phrase “Czech language” appears altogether thirteen times, and moreover in close connection with the requirement to defend “the holy truth, namely, that of the holy chalice and all the other truths laid down in the law [of God].”⁴ The authors declare quite openly: “papež, kterýž by měl tu svatou pravdu do své smrti hájiti a brániti, [...] chce tu svatou pravdu a jazyk český k tomu zkaziti, zahladiti a ovšem potlačiti [the pope, who should protect and defend this holy truth to death [...] instead, wishes to spoil, eradicate and, of course, suppress this holy truth together with the Czech language].”⁵ The authors of the manifesto exhort all those who hear or read its text to feel no regret in the struggle against “the enemies of the Czech language”⁶ even for their heads.⁷ Is it possible to interpret this rather

¹ For helpful comments and advice I would like to thank Hana Vlhová-Wörner, Jiří Žůrek, Pavel Žůrek, Ota Halama, Jindřich Marek, Jiří Málek, Jan Ciglbauer, Jiří K. Kroupa and Jan Baťa.

² František Dvorský (ed.), “Tři vášnivé projevy z války za krále Jiřího z let 1467, 1468 a 1469 [Three Passionate Statements from the War of King George’s Time, 1467, 1468, and 1469],” *Archiv český* 20 (1902) 541–563. Amedeo Molnár (ed.), *Husitské manifesty* [Hussite Manifestoes] (Prague, 1980) 229–240.

³ Dvorský, “Tři vášnivé projevy,” 561: “My bohdá synové jeho poslušní, oni zprotivilí lidé poddaní, my jeho města měšťané, oni naši vrahové; my svátosti jeho, jakož jest on vydal, přijímáme, oni potupují [We are his obedient sons, they are hostile subjects, we are inhabitants of his city; they are our enemies; we receive his sacrament according to his decree, they slander us].” On the Hussite concept of the nation, see the recent, Pavlína Rychterová, “Gens, natio, communitas – lingua, sanguis, fides, Idea národa v českém díle Jana Husa [Idea of the Nation in the Czech Writings of Jan Hus],” in Pavlína Rychterová and Pavel Soukup (eds.), *Heresis seminaria. Pojmy a koncepty v bádání o husitství* (Prague, 2013) 75–110 with references to earlier literature. On earlier views, see Noemi Rejchrtová, *Studie k českému utrakvistu zejména doby jagellonské* [A Study on Czech Utraquism, especially in the Jagiellonian Period] (Habilitation Thesis, Protestant Theological Faculty, Charles University) (Prague, 1984) 87.

⁴ Dvorský, “Tři vášnivé projevy,” 558.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 561.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 562.

symbolic introductory identification also as a profession of the indispensability of the vernacular in the liturgical life of the Utraquist Church and its individual members? How powerful were in the second half of the fifteenth century the practical consequences of the idea of the Czech nation as a chosen people who should defend both its faith and its language?

By the mid-eighteenth century at the latest, that is in the time of Christophorus Miklis as the Prefect of the Clementinum Library (1748–1757),⁸ its holdings included a manuscript with the signature Y III 10 written in red on its freshly whitewashed spine. The same location is proved also by the exlibris on f. 1r: “Caesarei collegii Soc[ieta]tis Jesu Pragae”. The Catalogue from 1781 gives the signature as Y.III.1.N.10 and provides some brief information about the book’s contents, as well as its rough dating, namely, that the item is *Cantus bohemicus cum notis musicis 4 ch S. XV*.⁹ In 1849 Josef Jungmann already lists the manuscript under its present-day signature XVII.F.3, and places it – contrary to the earlier description – in the sixteenth century; and highlights from its contents a sequence from the requiem mass, the Passions, and inserted songs.¹⁰ Josef Truhlář in his catalogue of 1906 gives a more thorough description of our source – listed as number 233.¹¹ His assessment, as to its extent and quality, remains unsurpassed to this day. The manuscript is described as “Chorální kniha zpěvů liturgických, zejména velikonočních, téměř veskrz notami opatřených” [a choral book of liturgical chants, especially for Easter, almost entirely furnished with musical notes]; its older part is generally dated to the fifteenth century, and the text of the Good Friday intercessory prayers is connected with the person of Jan Rokycana. The content of the source is characterised in greater detail, and the later sixteenth-century notations of dating are transliterated. Perhaps, due to Jungmann’s dating, the source remained unnoticed by Zdeněk Nejedlý. This episode caused not only its neglect for more than a hundred years, but also a loss of occasion for comparison with the *Jistebnice kancionál*,¹² which thus remained the only model of Hussite liturgy. During the course of the century the manuscript received only marginal mentions from Adolf Špaldák and David R. Holeton;¹³ more recently it was briefly noted by

⁸ Zdeněk Tobolka, *Národní a univerzitní knihovna v Praze, její vznik a vývoj, I. Počátky knihovny až do r. 1777* [National and University Library in Prague, Origin and Development, I. Beginning to 1777] (Prague, 1959) 48–57.

⁹ MS Prague, NK, IX.A.18, f. 108v.

¹⁰ Josef Jungmann, *Historie literatury české: aneb soustavný přehled spisů českých s krátkou historií národu, osvětlení a jazyka* [History of Czech Literature, or a Systematic Survey of Czech Writings with a Brief History of the Nation, the Culture, and the Language] (Prague, 1849) 131, IV. 54.

¹¹ Josef Truhlář, *Katalog českých rukopisů C. k. veřejné a univerzitní knihovny pražské* [Catalogue of Czech Manuscripts of the Imperial Royal Public and University Library of Prague] (Prague, 1906) 92.

¹² MS Prague, KNM, II.C.7.

¹³ Adolf Špaldák, “O překládání liturgických textů do češtiny za starších dob [Translation of Liturgical Texts into Czech during the Early Times],” ČNM 114 (1940) 177; David Ralph

the author of this article.¹⁴ It is to be hoped that – thanks to this study – the manuscript might find its way into scholarly discourse, which it most certainly deserves.

External Description of the Source

The manuscript is a paper codex in quarto format with binding dimension of 224x158x41 milimeters and a book block of 215x157x39 milimeters. The manuscript contains according to its new foliation (to which I refer in the text), altogether 188 folia; the older foliation in the upper right corner does not take into account empty folia, and moreover in the concluding part it errs; and, therefore, it is inappropriate for my purpose. Altogether 179 folia are covered with writing; nine have remained empty.

The book block is formed by altogether sixteen gatherings to a great extent homogeneous in content. The basis of their composition are regular sexterns; minor deviations in the composition obviously originated during the writing of the text and do not represent subsequent losses, because the text (with one exception) flows smoothly and without any interruption.

The paper of the manuscript contains altogether five kinds of watermarks; every gathering, which is homogeneous in content, or a group of them, have a watermark of their own or, as the case may be, a peculiar combination of two watermarks. The dating of the watermarks can be divided into two groups: the paper of gathering no. 1 and gathering 3 to 6 can be dated, according to the watermarks, to the second half of the 1450s, gathering no. 2 and the entire second half of the manuscript from gathering no. 8 can be dated into the 1460s and again, more likely, into the second half of the decade. Altogether the watermarks then point to a wider span approximately between 1455 and 1470.¹⁵

Several scribal hands shared the writing of the text. Not precisely dated, but quite preponderant, the older part is written in a more or less calligraphic book bastarda. The size and cursivity of the letters, arrangement of the pages, and the quality of ink differ somewhat between the gatherings,

Holeton, "All Manner of Wonder Under the Sun": A Curious Development in the Evolution of Utraquist Eucharistic Liturgy," BRRP 3 (2000) 172.

¹⁴ Eliška Baťová, "Tisk Blahoslavových Evanjelíí v kontextu bratrské liturgie a sakrální rétoriky [The Print of Blahoslav's Gospels in the Context of the Brethren's Liturgy and Sacred Rhetoric]," in *Amica Sponsa Mater, Bible v čase reformace*, ed. Ota Halama (Prague, 2014) 241–260.

¹⁵ For a detailed description of the watermarks, see the longer Czech-language version of this article: Eliška Baťová, "Opomíjený pramen husitského zpěvu doby poděbradské a repertoár cantiones hebdomadae sanctae [A Neglected Source of Hussite Chant from the Poděbrady Period and the Repertoire of cantiones hebdomadae sanctae]," *Hudební věda* 51 (2014) 229–276.

but even so it is probable that the writing might have involved a single principal scribe A1 (ff. 1r-12v, 22r-154v, 186r-187r). It is nevertheless possible to designate the more distinctly variant recordings as scribal hands A2 (ff. 13r-13v a 15r-17r) a A3 (ff. 155r-171v). None of the scribal hands, however, could be more closely identified, although they might have belonged to a single – surely professional – scribe. It is similar in the case of later supplements. During the sixteenth century, three additional scribes (B, C, D) wrote in the empty folia with a very cursive book *bastarda*. The first one (scribal hand B) was the otherwise unidentified Hanuš of Pelhřimov (*tractatum per Hanuš von Pilgram*), working in 1534, as he himself wrote in the rubric of the song without musical notation, *Pán Buoh všemohúci* on f. 14r. On the contrary, scribe C remains entirely anonymous (ff. 18r-20v). Scribe D recorded twice the same notated non-biblical lamentation at the very conclusion of the manuscript (on ff. 174r-184r). The same scribal hand also made the important inscription *in margine* ff. 23v-24r. There he tells twice: “ff [= feria] vj [= sexta] magna 1562 létha na Heřmani děvčatům svým sem zpíval [in 1562 I sang to my girls in Heřmaň]” and the second time, he adds “dcerám svým a vsi [?] zpívaný modlitby [prayers sung to my daughters and to the village [?]].” The name of this singer and last scribe of our source, however, remains unknown.

The Dating and Its Context

As was already indicated, the manuscript contains dated inscriptions only from the sixteenth century. In addition to the mentioned references to 1534 and 1562, we find an exclamation on the last f. 188v written by a different hand: “Pán Buoh smutnejch srdcí (v něho úffajících) potěšuje. T S 1542 [The Lord God cheers up the sad hearts of those who trust in him].” On the basis of these dates, the use of the manuscript is proved for virtually the entire sixteenth century; these dates also evidently enabled Jungmann to date the entire document. The watermarks, however, direct us more to the 1450s and 1460s. But is there any support for this early dating in the text itself?

Josef Truhlář indicates that the text of the Good Friday intercessions might refer to Jan Rokycana as the “elected,” literally “chosen” archbishop.¹⁶ It is known that Rokycana used this title despite the opposition of the sub una,¹⁷ yet it is problematic to connect a mere literal translation of a Latin form of the prayer with a concrete period in the history of the Utraquist Church:¹⁸

¹⁶ Truhlář, *Katalog českých rukopisů*, 92, č. 233.

¹⁷ See Jaroslav Boubín and Jana Zachová (eds.), *Žaloby katolíků na Mistra Jana z Rokycana* [Complaints of Catholics against Master Jan Rokycana] (Rokycany, 1997) 34: “Item electus in archiepiscopum a secularibus contra ius et dictamen rationis se archiepiscopum electum scripsit et reputat.”

¹⁸ Emphasis by E. B.

Missale Pragense (Plzeň, 1479) f. 81v

Oremus pro beatissimo [...]

Papa nostro N.

Omnipotens sempiterne Deus,

cuius iudicio universa fundantur:

respice propicius ad preces nostras,

et electum nobis antistitem

tua pietate conserva. [...]

Oremus et pro christianissimo

imperatore nostro N. [...]

MS Prague, NK, XVII.F.3, ff. 186r–186v

Modlme se i za blahoslaveného papeže

našeho N. [...]

Všemohúcí věčný Bože,

jehožto příkázáním všechny věci zpravuje se,

vzhledni milostivě k prosbám našim

a vyvoleného nám arcibiskupa N.

tvú dobrotú zachovaj. [...]

Modlme se i za křesťanského

ciesare našeho N. [...]

If we wished to find a period to which a prayer including both the archbishop (Rokycana) and the emperor refers, we would have to turn to the time immediately after the Compactata. In addition to the possibility of relying on the liturgical translation of the second half of the 1430s, the question arises of whether the cited translation does not intentionally cling to a general (non-specific) dating – thus prepared for the anticipated modifications. We know of such a case in the manuscript *Misál Jana Humpoleckého* of Kutná Hora from 1486. Here in the passage *Te igitur*, the following text is preserved: “una cum famulo tuo papa nostro N. et antistite nostro N. et rege nostro N. et omnibus orthodoxis atque catolice et apostolice fidei cultoribus,”¹⁹ which also makes an impression of remoteness from the contemporary condition of the Utraquist Church, when he remains entirely in harmony with the printed *Missale Pragense*. Hence, the text of the Good Friday prayers does not yield any more definite conclusions concerning the dating of our source.

We can learn more about the dating of the manuscript from an analogous passage at the conclusion of the Easter *Exultet* recorded within its missal part (see Fig. 1). Here it is also interesting to follow the relationship of the Latin original to the Czech translation, which in this case is far freer:²⁰

Missale Pragense (Plzeň, 1479) f. 85v

Precamur ergo te, Domine:

ut nos famulos tuos

omnemque clerum

et devotissimum populum

una cum beatissimo papa nostro N.

MS Prague, NK, XVII.F.3, ff. 142r–142v

Protož prosímef tebe, Hospodine,

aby nás, sluhy tvé,

všecko žákovstvo

i přenábožný lid tvooj

i náměstky tvé, kterýmž si poručil,

[and your deputies whom you commanded]

¹⁹ MS Kutná Hora, Státní okresní archiv, fond AM Kutné Hory, 1216, f. 136; cited by David Ralph Holeton in, “The Evolution of Utraquist Eucharistic Liturgy: a Textual Study,” BRRP 2 (1998) 102.

²⁰ Emphasis mine.

nec non et Antistite nostro N.,

serenissimo Imperatore nostro N.

nec non et illustri Rege nostro N.

quiete temporum concessa
in his paschalibus gaudis
conservare digneris.

aťby byli věrní zprávce lidu tvého,

[to be faithful administrators of your people]

krále našeho Jiříe i královnu naši Johanu

[our King George and our Queen Johana]

i se vším lidem křesťanským

[and with all the Christian people]

tyto svátky velikonoční račiz zachovati,
pójče nám pokojných časuv.

Although it is just a standard liturgical formula recited at the Saturday vigil by every priest in the Kingdom of Bohemia, the reference to King George of Poděbrady appears in a rather unique form. Researching the ruler's image in artworks, connected with a sacral context, has attracted scholars already in the past. From George's lifetime to this day we know of only two portraits from altars and one independent one, while a critical crypto-portrait is still a matter of dispute.²¹ Further, we know of his private prayer book with stylized portraits²² and especially of a famous greater-than-life size statue, which stood in a niche on the western facade of the Týn Church in Prague. This last example is of special interest to us, because it reminds us in many respects of the context, into which King George is also inserted in our manuscript.²³

²¹ It is the altar triptych of St. John the Baptist in Zátouň, the Crucifixion in Skalice and the Crucifixion from the altar of the Holy Cross (the so-called Rajhrad altar). Thus far, however, both the date of these art works and the question of the portraiture of George of Poděbrady are under dispute. See especially Ivo Kořán, "Proměna pohledu na tvář českých panovníků. K ikonografii Ladislava Pohrobka a Jiřího z Poděbrad [The Change of Opinions on the Depiction of Bohemian Rulers. On the Iconography of Ladislav the Posthumous and George of Poděbrady]," ČNM 129 (1960) 184–188; Milena Bartlová, *Poctivé obrazy. České deskové malířství v Čechách a na Moravě 1400–1460* [Honest Images: Czech Tablet Painting in Bohemia and Moravia, 1400–1460] (Prague, 2001) 251, 275, 323–324. For a negative review, see Milada Studničková, "Milena Bartlová: Poctivé obrazy. České deskové malířství 1400–1460," *Umění* 51 (2003) 240–245. For a summary view, see viz Marek Zágora, "Jiří z Poděbrad ve vizuálních pramenech pozdního středověku a počátku novověku [Jiří of Poděbrady in the Visual Sources of the Late Medieval and Early Modern Periods]," *Východočeské listy historické* 25 (2008) 75.

²² MS New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M.921; See especially Jaroslav Pešina, "Modlitební kniha Jiřího z Poděbrad [The Prayer Book of George of Poděbrady]," *Acta universitatis Carolinae – Philosophica et historica* 1, Sborník k sedmdesátinám Jana Květa (1965) 133–146; Zágora, "Jiří z Poděbrad ve vizuálních pramenech," 76.

²³ See especially Rudolf Urbánek, "K ikonografii Jiřího krále [On the Iconography of King George]," *Věstník České akademie věd a umění* 61 (1952) 50–62; Kořán, "Proměna pohledu," 188; Milena Bartlová, "Vlastní stav. Výtvarné umění ve službách vládařské reprezentace Jiřího z Poděbrad a českých cestů v době jagellonské [His Own Way. Plastic Arts in the Service of the Governmental Representation of George of Poděbrady and of the Bohemian Estates in the Jagiellonian Period]," in *Lesk královského majestátu ve středověku*, eds. Lenka Bobková a Mlada Holá (Prague, Litomyšl, 2005) 243–244; Milena Bartlová, "Chrám Matky

According to Milena Bartlová, it was the custom in the fifteenth century to depict a still-living person in a sacral context as a supplicant or in prayer, but not as a self-confident monumental figure.²⁴ The statue of Jiří of Poděbrady held a sword and a chalice. In addition, another chalice with the inscription “Veritas vincit” sparkled above the statue. Still higher, a cross was placed as a symbol of Christ’s work of redemption. Both chalices were gilded so as to attract attention from afar.²⁵ The prominence of the chalice and the cross – as well as the massive church space behind the king’s statue – clearly tended to diminish the impact of the above-mentioned self-confidence. Moreover, placing both symbols above the statue constantly signaled that the shed blood of Christ and the truth (of the Law of God) stood higher than their earthly protector.²⁶

This brief excursus leads us into contexts which we can also observe in our manuscript. In the 1420s, the author of the liturgical text recorded in the *Jistebnice kancionál*²⁷ did not feel the need to mention the sovereign in the conclusion of the *Exultet*, and only briefly translated: “a protož pro milost noci této, přijmiž, svatý Otče, modlitbu nábožnú naši, kterúž vzdáváme tobě **za tvé věrné služebníky v cirkvi svaté**, by všem časov pokojných ráčil poprieti a v utěšení v tomto velikonočnem bez hřiechův ráčil zachovati [and therefore for the mercy of this night, receive, holy Father, our pious prayer, which we address to you **for your faithful servants in the holy church**, that you may deign to grant to all a peaceful time and consolation in this Eastertide to keep us without sins].”²⁸ In comparison, in our earlier quoted passage the ecclesiastical dignitaries likewise are not mentioned by name. The king, however, is as the only one named at the head of “the entire Christian people.”²⁹ This characterisation of him – albeit above all liturgically formulated – is in remarkable harmony with a recent revelation of George’s self-representation in art as a successor to the Old Testament kings David and Solomon, or of the one foretold by Isaiah as

Boží před Týnem v 15. století [The Church of Our Lady Before Týn in the Fifteenth Century],” *Marginalia Historica* 4 (Prague, Litomyšl, 2001) 111–136; Petr Čornej, Milena Bartlová, *Velké dějiny země Koruny české* [The Great History of the Lands of the Bohemian Crown], (Prague, 2007) VI: 204–205.

²⁴ Milena Bartlová, “Vlastní cestou,” 243.

²⁵ Urbánek, “K ikonografii Jiřího krále,” 55–57; Čornej, Bartlová, *Velké dějiny*, 205.

²⁶ Urbánek, “K ikonografii Jiřího krále,” 56.

²⁷ See Stanislav Petr, “Kodikologicko-paleografický rozbor Jistebnického kancionálu [Codicological-Paleographic Analysis of the *Jistebnice kancionál*],” in *Jistebnice kancionál*, eds. David Ralph Holeton a Hana Vlhová-Wörner, (Brno, 2005) I: 37–53.

²⁸ MS Prague, KNM, II.C.7, 194. Emphasis by E. B.

²⁹ Queen Johana is named here together with George; the king similarly mentioned her during his public adherence to the chalice in 1462 (“V tomto přijímaní jsme se narodili [...] a tak činíme [...], ba pro tuto svatou pravdu jsme hotovi položiti nejen korunu, nýbrž i životy s chotí svou i dětmi svými [In this communion we were born [...] and so we do [...] for this holy truth we are ready to lay down not only the crown, but also my life with my spouse and my children]” also the King’s entire family was covered by the anathema of Pope Paul II pronounced on Maundy Thursday 1467. See Čornej, Bartlová, *Velké dějiny*, 203, 241).

“the man, on whose heels strolls justice, [to whom the Lord] delivers nations.”³⁰ In a similar way as in the case of the Týn church, his earthly authority is limited by the scope of extant liturgy. In this “space” there is an emphasis on the motifs of the vanity of earthly glory (in the further course of the vigil the sung formula “Znamenajte, takt' mijie chvála světa [Beware so passes away the glory of the world]”).³¹ Similarly speaking Czech variants of the trope *Ach, homo, perpende, fragilis*,³² and so on. The very substance of the Easter liturgy is then devoted to eucharistic questions and to the cross of Christ. The significance of the chalice is explicitly mentioned both in the Latin (*communio* in the requiem,³³ “Gloria Patri et Filio” of Závěš³⁴), and in the Czech chants. As an example, I cite this trope, which comments on the liturgy in the following way:

Ó křesťané, znamenajte,
dobrodienstvie Boha milého važte,
dal dnes svaté své tělo,
krev, to dvě, aby nás hříšné obživilo.
Jezte, píte, děkujte,
v Bohu milém se radujte,
žádajmež spolu na Bohu,
ať ráčí vysvoboditi svú krev drahú,
nám hříšným dađa pomoc Čechuom.³⁵

O, Christians, take note,
appreciate the benefactions of our dear God
today he has given his holy body,
blood, the two, to nourish us sinners
eat, drink, give thanks,
rejoice in the dear God,
together let us implore God
if only he free us with his precious blood
and give us help, to us sinners and Bohemians.

Another *cantio* in the form of a lamentation, sung according to the rubric on Maundy Thursday, adds the following:

Tato krev jest krása i také naše sláva,
blaze, ktož jie hodně požívá,
jistůf k nebi naději má.
Protož běda lidem, jenž ji lehce přijímajie,
krev Zákona obecnú mniejie,
v zatracenie tiem padajie.
Což pak bude učiněno rúhavým lidem,
kteřížto majie ohavnost k těm,
jenž ji pijie, hodujie s Kristem?³⁶

This blood is beauty and also our glory,
happy the one, who consumes much of it,
he has a certain hope of heaven.
therefore woe to people, who receive it lightly,
they receive only the common blood of the law.
And fall into damnation.
what will happen to the blaspheming people,
who abominate those,
who drink it, feasting with Christ?

³⁰ Is 41: 2. See Bogusław Czechowicz, “Hle, král sedí v bráně. Hledání biblických asociací hradu Litice [Behold, the King Sits at the Gate. Seeking Biblical Associations of Litice Castle],” in *Východočeská šlechta, její sídla a teritoria*, ed. Zdeněk Beran (Prague, 2013) 116–118.

³¹ MS Prague, NK, XVII.F.3, f. 145r.

³² *Ibid.*, ff. 31r–33r.

³³ *Ibid.*, f. 10v. The Utraquist motif of the chalice has been noted already by Dobroslav Oreš, *Kancionál Franušův [Franus Kancionál]* (Prague, 1922) 46.

³⁴ MS Prague, NK, XVII.F.3, ff. 15r–16v.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, f. 67r.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, ff. 171r–171v.

The mention of the “lightness” with which communion is taken which is also criticised in the Czech tropes to *Media vita*, once more introduce us to the illustrative contexts of the Týn church and Jan Rokycana’s preaching there, because his homily is full of warnings against that type of behaviour.³⁷ To sum up, it is possible to say that the character of passages, in which manuscript XVII.F.3 expresses contemporary realities or ideas (intercessions for the church and the monarch, on one hand, and the texts of tropes or *cantiones*, on the other hand), testify – with the exception of the difficult to interpret Good Friday *orationes* – that the manuscript originates from the same period, which is indicated by the watermarks.

At the conclusion of the considerations about the dating of manuscript XVII.F.3, it remains only to pose the question of whether this manuscript can be connected with the growth of a struggle for the defense of “the truth and the Czech language,” such as we saw in the manifesto of 1469, mentioned in the introduction. The prayer for George of Poděbrady at the head of all Christian people; the prayer for liberation and “help for the Czechs”; as well as the critique of ecclesiastical and secular “seducers;” all testify to the same (traditional) mental background (“spravedlivost násilím mnohým sě utiskuje, kněže i světšti zpravce již blúdie, stádo Božie v zlost zavodie [justice is oppressed by much violence, priests and secular administrators lost their way, they mislead God’s flock into evil]”).³⁸ As a radical feature – rather than the content of the liturgy – may more likely appear the high degree of the use of the Czech language. One of the complaints against Rokycana in 1461, however, shows that such a wide use of the vernacular either in the Týn church or in the practice of Rokycana’s followers was nothing exceptional: “Item ewangelium et epistolam, oraciones et similia in missa tenet vulgariter, dicens cantum vulgarem in scripturis fundatum. Alii de suis vulgariter tenent totam missam, alii tantum ewangelium, alii canonem, alii que placent etc.”³⁹ On the contrary, the concrete form of the chants included, which will be later further

³⁷ As an example, we cite in connection with the Easter Tridium – the chants which our manuscript also includes – a passage from Rokycana’s sermon on Palm Sunday: “Pak skrze Chama všickni se tito znamenají, (...) kteřížto po zevnitřních věcech pamatují umučení Boží, že teď slyší nětco žalostného aneb uzří a že teď ten čas přišel umučení Božího. [...] A také i k Tělu Božímu jdu. Ó, by nechali, nastojte! (...) Já to pravím zajisté, že což mohu znamenati, že maličko a řídko kdo hodně jde k tomu drahému Tělu Božímu. Kdo jsau koli po přijímání zase v smrtedlné hřichy padali a příkázání Boží přestupovali, bojte se, že ste nehodně přijímali. [Then through Cham all of them are marked, (...) who according to external things remember the death of God [Jesus], that now they hear or see something pitiful and that now that the time of death had come. (...) And so also they go to God’s Body. Oh, if they desisted, listen! (...) I am telling you for sure, that what I can note, that little and rarely they go worthily to that dear Body of God. Whoever after communion again falls into mortal sins and transgresses divine commandments, fear, that you have unworthily received.]” See František Šimek (ed.), *Postilla Jana Rokycany* [Homiliary of Jan Rokycana] (Prague, 1928) I: 596.

³⁸ MS Prague, NK, XVII.F.3, f. 30v.

³⁹ Boubín, Zachová, *Žaloby katolíkú*, 40.

noted, reveals many remarkable details, which indicate a connection both with liturgical specifics of the *Jistebnice kancionál* and with the development of Utraquist sixteenth-century liturgy.⁴⁰

Provenance of the Manuscript

To the present day, we find few indications concerning the provenance of the manuscript. Virtually, all that is available is contained in the short notation on ff. 23v–24r: “ff (= feria) vj (= sexta) magna 1562. létha na Heřmani děvčatům svým sem zpíval [in Heřmaň in 1562 I sang to my girls]” with an addition: “dcerám svým a vsi (?) zpívaný modlitby [prayers sung to my daughters and to the village (?)].” All that we learn thanks to this note is that in the second half of the sixteenth century, hence approximately a century after its origin, the manuscript was used in a village named Heřmaň. Even that is not of much help, because there were two municipalities with that name, which had a documented church in the Middle Ages: Heřmaň in Southern Bohemia between Protivín and Písek, and Heřmaň near Chotěboř on the river Doubrava.⁴¹

Any more precise documents, which would indicate where to turn for evidence, are not available at this time. It seems more plausible to connect manuscript XVII.F.3 with the Heřmaň near Chotěboř, because of the proximity of the large Utraquist towns of Eastern Bohemia (it lay on a commercial route between Čáslav and Chotěboř). It also seems that related repertoire, primarily in manuscripts connected with Prague, was preserved in sources of East Bohemian and Silesian origin (such as Kolín, Hradec Králové, Moravská Třebová, Šroda Šlaska, and others).⁴² The choice of this particular Heřmaň is also supported by the ownership of the village by the Utraquist noble family of Trčkas of Lípa which, for instance, welcomed Bishop Augustine Luciani, preserved the Compactata, and required its hospital foundation in Vilémov to distribute communion sub utraque.⁴³ A more basic problem, of course, is

⁴⁰ See the context in which the manuscript is mentioned by Holeton, “All Manner of Wonder,” 172.

⁴¹ Scholarly literature about the history of the two mentioned villages is relatively meager. For the Heřmaň near Písek there is only a guide book. For the Heřmaň near Chotěboř we have a hitherto unpublished seminar paper, which does not use original medieval sources, but is highly critical about all the available references in literature concerning the author’s village. See Věra Matoušová, Petr Matouš, *Heřmaň (dějiny obce a života zdejších obyvatel), turistický průvodce krajem Václava Kršky a Jana Čarka* [Heřmaň. History of the Municipality and of the Lives of Local Inhabitants: A Tourist Guide through the Region of Václav Krška and Jan Čarek] (Heřmaň, 2008); Jiří Málek, *Z dějin osady Heřmaň* [From the History of the Village of Heřmaň], (Seminar Work, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University) (Brno, 2009).

⁴² See the provenance of sources cited below.

⁴³ See Robert Šimůnek, “Poslední pořízení Mikuláše Trčky z Lípy († 1516), Český šlechtický kšaft pozdního středověku jako historický pramen [The Last Will of Mikuláš Trčka z Lípy (d. 1516), A Czech late medieval noble’s testament as an historical source],” in *Východočeská šlechta, její sídla a teritoria*, ed. Zdeněk Beran (Prague, 2013) 93.

the original provenance of the source. Its use in Heřmaň, could have a secondary origin, either by gift or by purchase, as we know from the cases of many Czech Graduals. The cited inscription, moreover, is not clear enough, so that it might not exclude private ownership of the manuscript and its use for the purposes of private prayer.

Although we do not have much material for comparison, we can summarily state – from the viewpoints of paleography and the integral concept of the scribe's intent – that we are dealing with the highest-quality extant manuscript containing Czech liturgy from the second half of the fifteenth century, and which excels even the content-wise much fuller *Jistebnice kancionál*. Also for this reason it behooves us to locate its origin in a rather larger centre, probably Prague or to one of the towns of Eastern Bohemia.⁴⁴ How the manuscript – after the Heřmaň episode of uncertain length – happened to get by the mid-eighteenth century at the latest into the holdings of the Clementinum Library, regrettably we likewise do not know. The questions of provenance – not only of manuscript XVII.F.3 but of the entire repertoire circle – need to be verified by future research.

Repertoire of the Manuscript

The arrangement of the repertoire of manuscript XVII.F.3 resembles that in the sources of the type of *cantionaria*.⁴⁵ Individual sections always gather chants of kindred kind and use. The repertoire of liturgical lamentations and prefaces, however, is – contrary to these collections of choral compositions – redacted into a unified and complete whole. Considering that it contains largely chants for Holy Week, the manuscript creates the impression of a uniform and, in a substantial measure, also melodic and contentual inter-connectedness.

Manuscript XVII.F.3 includes 109 chants and prayers, of which 100 are with musical notation, and only nine without. Altogether eighty-four chants are Czech; not quite a quarter of the repertoire is written in Latin (i.e. twenty-five items). The entire original choral core of the manuscript (102 items) is the choral chants; thus we do not find here mensural songs which represent the most frequently preserved form of Czech ecclesiastical chant from the second half of the fifteenth century. Nevertheless, an entire fifth of the content is devoted to strophic compositions, among which we find non-biblical lamentations, rhymed tropes, and independent paraphrases of hymns. Moreover, these parts form the most specific contemporary part of the source's repertoire.

⁴⁴ See also Čornej, Bartlová, *Velké dějiny*, 359.

⁴⁵ See Hana Vlhová-Wörner, "Cum tuba praedicationis et voce magna, Tropes about the Last Judgement in Pre-Reformation Bohemia," in *Dies est leticie, Essays on Chant in Honour of Janka Szendrei*, eds. David Hiley and Gábor Kiss (Ottawa, 2008) 505.

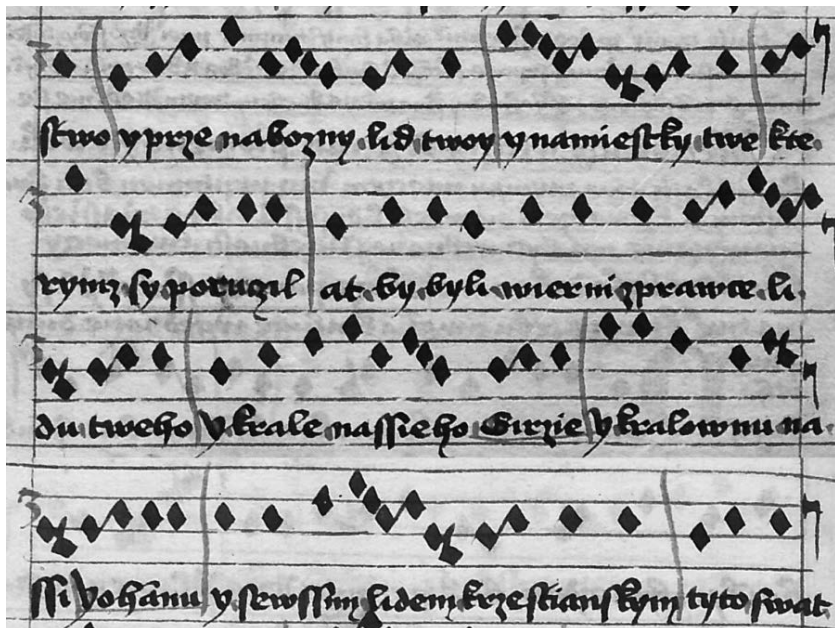


Fig. 1: A passage from the conclusion of the *Exultet* with a prayer for King George and Queen Johana. MS Prague, NK, XVII.F.3, ff. 142r-142v.

Latin Supplements

The first two gatherings of the book-block represent – within the frame of the contents of the entire manuscript – certain supplements which, except for one item, are all in Latin. If we leave aside several later inserted Easter and Lenten songs, the supplements contain compositions, which form contemporary popular complements to the standard Latin repertoire. We find here antiphonies and *Alleluia* chants, which in their overwhelming majority are concordant with the so-called *Vyšehradský sborník* stemming from the same period (approximately from 1460–1470).⁴⁶ Thanks to the latter source, at least in the case of the antiphons *Ave, spes nostra, Dei genitrix* (ff. 9r, 13v), *Bethleem non est minima* (f. 9r) and *Gaude, Dei genitrix Virgo* (f. 13r) informed concerning their performance “in vigilia Nativitatis Christi in prima vespere.”⁴⁷ The more recent concordant manuscripts mostly point to

⁴⁶ MS Prague, Národní archiv, fond Archiv kolegiální kapituly Vyšehradské, 376; Marie Tošnerová (ed.), *Rukopisné fondy archivů v České republice* [Manuscript Holdings in Archives in the Czech Republic], vol. 2 (Prague, 1998) 159.

⁴⁷ MS Prague, Národní archiv, fond Archiv kolegiální kapituly Vyšehradské, 376, f. 122r.

the Advent season, while manuscript XVII.F.3 – because it lacks rubrics – is silent on the liturgical placement. The supplements also contain a Latin *Missa pro defunctis* (f. 9v n.), lacking a sequence which, however, is recorded a few folia earlier in Czech (f. 5v n.) and complemented by another sequence for a similar purpose (Slyš, země, slyš, veliký okol mořský [Hear O earth, hear O vast surrounding sea], f. 7r n.). The relationship of the repertoire for the requiem mass with the chants for Lent or specifically for Holy Week was obviously the practical reason for attaching the entire second gathering to the book-block. A typical example of such chants is the antiphon *Media vita* placed in the original core of the manuscript.

In addition, it is most likely that a growing fashion caused the inscription of three Latin compositions that became famous due to their contemporary attribution to a certain Závíš.⁴⁸ The votive twin parts of the ordinarium *Kyrie Imense conditor poli* a [*Gloria*] *Patri et filio* (f. 15r n.) are preserved in manuscript XVII.F.3 in one of the two earliest records.⁴⁹ In fact, the first so far known source of these chants is the mentioned *Vyšehradský sborník*. Both these sources present an earlier, not yet mensural version of the trope *Patri et filio*.⁵⁰ A version of Závíš-style *Alleluia O Maria, Mater Christi* (f. 17r), which is also preserved here, is remarkable. Its lengthy troped verse, which is often called “leich” because of its frequent independent preservation, is here presented in an abbreviated version (two phrases are missing in the verse, and the trope contains only the first strophe). Moreover, another double strophe, however, is added to the trope, showing that, there is a link here (presupposed already in the past) between this chant and *Alleluia O Maria, rubens rosa / Summi celi gaudium*.⁵¹ It concerns, in fact, the syllabic part of this trope (*Summi celi gaudium*) which serves here also as a certain refrain (*Alleluia, alleluia, tibi canentes*).⁵² In manuscript XVII.F.3 the melody is used in the same syllabic form in the text *Regina celi inclita* and with a conclusion, sung in the same melody, *Alleluia, alleluia, tu sola plena gratia*. Although the chants are not identified by Závíš’s or another’s name, their recording in close proximity shows us that already in the time of the earliest preserved recording of the pair of ordinarium, all these compositions were perceived as belonging together as an integral whole.

⁴⁸ See, especially František Mužík, “Závíšova píseň [The Song of Závíš],” *Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské university* 14/F9 (1965), 167–183; Hana Vlhová-Wörner, “Závíš, autor liturgické poezie 14. století [Závíš, Author of Fourteenth-Century Liturgical Poetry],” *Hudební věda* 44 (2007) 229–260.

⁴⁹ See Mužík, “Závíšova píseň,” 167–183; Hana Vlhová-Wörner, *Tropi Ordinarii Missae, Kyrie eleison, Gloria in excelsis Deo* (Prague, 2006) 125, 162.

⁵⁰ See, *ibid.* The same version is also in the so-called *Mariánský graduál* from 1473, see MS Prague, KNM, XII.A.1, ff. 9r–11v.

⁵¹ This proves the hypothesis of Vlhová-Wörner, “Závíš, autor liturgické poezie,” 229–260.

⁵² See, for instance, MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 23286, ff. 235v–236v.

Antiphonary and Czech Supplements

One of the two basic parts of the manuscript – the chants of the antiphonary (among which, however, we find also parts probably sung in the masses of Holy Week) – contains altogether thirty-seven Czech parts, and one text in Latin. By type, also the supplements, at the conclusion of the manuscript, belong to them; they contain seven additional Czech chants. These are obviously the most interesting components of the source, which reveal certain – hitherto neglected – inter-connections of Czech liturgy. Almost two thirds (27) of these chants we can find approximately up to the 1510s. First place among them belongs to the Latin-Czech manuscript of the Museum of Eastern Bohemia in Hradec Králové Hr 55 (hereafter Hr 55) created around 1500,⁵³ with which more than one half of the chants (eighteen and texts in the margins) coincide,⁵⁴ and to the *Jistebnice kancionál*, to which ten chant parts correspond.⁵⁵ The psalter-breviary from the end of the fifteenth century, deposited in Brno,

⁵³ MS Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech, Hr 55 (6351); see Jaromír Černý, *Soupis hudebních rukopisů muzea v Hradci Králové* [List of Musical Manuscripts in the Museum in Hradec Králové], MM 19 (Prague, 1966) 65. I am grateful to Jiří Žůrek for calling my attention to a more precise dating of this manuscript.

⁵⁴ Temnoty staly sú se po všeliké zemi [Darkness Spread over the Entire Earth] (f. 22r n.), Pilát všed s Ježíšem do rathúzu [Pilate Went with Jesus into the Judgement Hall] (f. 26r n.), Odpolu životem naším položeni jsúc [Across Our Life They Are Laid] (f. 30v n.), Ach, člověče, važ a znamenaj, křehký [O Man, Consider and Note, You Fragile] (f. 31r n.), A stalo se jest, když do vězení [And It Happened When into the Prison] / Alleph. Kterak sedí samo město [Aleph. How the Town Sits by Itself] (f. 34r n.), Alleph. Já sem muž, vida chudobu mů [Aleph. I Am a Man, Seeing My Poverty] (f. 37r n.), Za. Zajistě dnešní den jest každým [Surely This Day Is Everyday] (f. 42v n.), Modlitba Jeremiáše Proroka / Rozpomeň se [The Prayer of Jeremiah, the Prophet / Recall] (f. 44r n.), Alleph. Poslúchajte slova smutná [Aleph. Listen to the Words of Sadness] (f. 46v n.), Kyrieleison. Jezukriste, jenž si přišel na svět [Kyrieleison. Jesus Christ, Who Has Come into the World] (f. 54r n.), Ó synové cirkve svatě [O Sons of the Holy Church] (f. 56r n.), Je. Ježíši Pane od Židuov domácích [Lord Jesus, from the Local Jews] (f. 58r n.), Ji. Jidáš zapomenuv, Pane, tvého dobrodienstvie [Judas, O Lord, Having Forgotten Your Benefaction] (f. 59v n.), Odpusť, Hospodine, lidu svému [O Lord, Forgive Your People] (f. 63r n.), Kterémuž na oslíkovi [To Whom on the Little Ass] (f. 64r n.), Uslyš hlas náš, Pane Bože [Hear Our Voice, O Lord God] (f. 68v), Pomni, Pane, na Slovo své [Remember, O Lord, Your Word] (68v n.), Pane nebeský, silný, veliký a hrozný [O Hreavenly Lord, Mighty, Great, and Terrible] (f. 69r), Kriste, jenž si světlo i den [O Christ, Who Are the Light and Day] (f. 69v).

⁵⁵ Kriste, jenž jsi světlem i také dnem nazván [O Christ, Who Are Called the Light and Day] (f. 33r n.), A stalo se jest, když do vězení [And It Happened When into the Prison] / Alleph. Kterak sedí samo město [Aleph. How the Town Sits by Itself] (f. 34r n.), Alleph. Já sem muž, vida chudobu mů [Aleph. I Am a Man, Seeing My Own Poverty] (f. 37r n.), Lameth. Nevěřiliť sú králové zemští [Lameth. Earthly Kings Did Not Believe] (f. 38r n.), Modlitba Jeremiáše Proroka. Rozpomeň se [A Prayer of Jeremia the Prophet. Remember.] (f. 44r n.), Alleph. Poslúchajte slova smutná [Aleph. Listen to the Sad Words] (f. 46v n.), Lameth. Den prchlivosti Páně když přide [Lameth. When the Day of God's Wrath Arrives] (f. 49v n.), Kyrieleison. Jezukriste, jenž si přišel na svět [Kyrieleison. O Jesus Christ, Who Has Come into the World] (f. 54r n.), Ó synové cirkve svatě [O Sons of the Holy Church] (f. 56r n.), Kterémuž na oslíkovi [To Whom on the Little Ass] (f. 64r n.).

contains nine concordant texts.⁵⁶ The manuscript of the National Library XVII.F.46 from the early sixteenth century (further cited as XVII.F.46) offers eight concordances.⁵⁷ The *Kolínský kancionál*⁵⁸ recorded around 1517 contains in its original recordings four chants.⁵⁹ *Vyšehradský sborník* has a concordance in this part of the manuscript with two items and, in addition, includes also the text recorded in the margins.⁶⁰ Two textual concordances can be found also in the manuscript from the turn of the fifteenth century in the Zámecká knihovna [Castle Library] of Křivoklát.⁶¹ A single common item with our source can be found in each: the so-called *Moravsko-třebovský zlomek*⁶² and the manuscript of Národní knihovna I.E.37 (further cited as I.E.37).⁶³ Another nine chants can

⁵⁶ MS Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna v Brně, 57. Zpíevaj, jazyk křesťanský, víťazstvie [O Christian Tongue, Sing Victory] (f. 27v n.), Múdrost Boha Otce, pravda [Wisdom of God the Father, the Truth] (28v n.), A stalo se jest, když do vězení [And It Happened When Into the Prison] / Alleph. Kterak sedí samo město [Aleph. How the Town Sits by Itself] (f. 34r n.), Alleph. Já sem muž, vida chudobu mů [Aleph. I Am a Man, Seeing My Own Poverty] (f. 37r n.), Lameth. Nevěřiliť sú kráľové zemšťi [Lameth. Earthly Kings Did Not Believe] (f. 38r n.), Deleth. Cesty síónské lkajie [Deleth. The Ways of Zion Mourn] (f. 39r n.), Loth. Dobrý jest Hospodin těm, kteříž [Loth. The Lord is Good to Those Who] (f. 41v n.), Modlitba Jeremiáše Proroka / Rozpomeň se [The Prayer of Jeremiah, the Prophet / Remember] (f. 44r n.), Kyrieleison. Jezukriste, jenž si přišel na svět [Kyrieleison. Jesus Christ, Who Has Come Into the World] (f. 54r n.).

⁵⁷ MS Prague, NK, XVII.F.46; see Truhlář, *Katalog českých rukopisů*, 108. Estimated date by Zdeněk Nejedlý, *Dějiny Husitského zpěvu* [History of Hussite Song], v. 5 (Prague, 1955), 366; Odpolu životem naším položení jsúc [Across Our Life They Are Laid] (f. 30v n.), Ach, člověče, važ a znamenaj, křehký [O Man, Consider and Note, You Fragile] (f. 31r n.), A stalo se jest, když do vězení [And It Happened When into the Prison] / Alleph. Kterak sedí samo město [Aleph. How the Town Sits by Itself] (f. 34r n.), Lameth. Nevěřiliť sú kráľové zemšťi [Lameth. Earthly Kings Did Not Believe] (f. 38r n.), Odpust', Hospodine, lidu svému [Forgive, O Lord, Your People] (f. 63r n.), Uslyš hlas náš, Pane Bože [Hear Our Voice, O Lord God] (f. 68v), Pomni, Pane, na Slovo své [Remember, O Lord, Your Word] (f. 68v n.), Pane nebeský, silný, veliký a hrozný [O Heavenly Lord, Mighty, Great, and Terrible] (f. 69r).

⁵⁸ MS Kolín, Regionální muzeum, Nr. 80/88.

⁵⁹ Temnosti staly sú se po všeliké zemi [Darkness Spread over the Entire Earth] (f. 22r n.), Zpíevaj, jazyk křesťanský, víťazstvie [Sing, O Christian Tongue, of Victory] (f. 27v n.), Múdrost Boha Otce, pravda [Wisdom of God, the Father, the Truth] (f. 28v n.), Kriste, jenž jsi světlem i také dnem nazván [O Christ, Who Are Called the Light and Day] (f. 33r n.).

⁶⁰ Kyrieleison. Jezukriste, jenž si přišel na svět [Kyrieleison. Jesus Christ, Who Has Come Into the World] (f. 54r n.), Potem se potil krvavým [He sweated a bloody sweat] (f. 67v n.), text in margin: Ach. Ó křesťané věrní [O Faithful Christians] (f. 30v n.).

⁶¹ MS Křivoklát, Zámecká knihovna, rkp. I e 8; viz Jiří Pražák, *Rukopisy křivoklátské knihovny* [Manuscripts of the Křivoklát Library] (Prague, 1969) 201–203. Odpolu životem naším položení jsúc [Across Our Life They Are Laid] (f. 30v n.), Kriste, jenž si světlo i den [O Christ, Who Are the Light and Day] (f. 69v).

⁶² Rajhrad, Knihovna Benediktinského opatství Rajhrad, rkp. R 625, f. 1r; Srov. Josef Jireček, "Klasobraní z rukopisův staročeských na Moravě chovaných [A Harvest from Old Czech Manuscripts Held in Moravia]," *Časopis Matice moravské* 7 (1875), 100–102; Alleph. Poslouchajte slova smutná [Aleph. Listen to the Words of Sadness] (f. 46v n.).

⁶³ MS Prague, NK, I.E.37, f. 14v; see also Jaroslav Kolár, "K tradici českých dialogických skladeb z husitské doby [On the Tradition of Czech Dialogical Compositions of the Utraquist

be found in various manuscripts or printed works of a more recent tradition until the end of the sixteenth century, and the remaining eight chants – after the examination of the hitherto known manuscripts – can be considered unique.⁶⁴

a. Antiphons, Responsorias, Hymns

The first part of the antiphonary contains a selection of antiphons, responsoria, and hymns. Specifically it is a matter of Good Friday responsoria (*Temnosti staly sú sě po všelíké zemi* [Darkness Spread over the Entire Earth], f. 22r n.; *Pilát všed s Ježíšem do rathúzu / Tehda řekl* [Pilate Having Entered the Judgement Hall with Jesus / Then Said], f. 26r n.), chants for the veneration of the cross⁶⁵ (antiphons *Když Stvořitel světa Buoh muku těžké smrti* [When the Creator of the World, God, the Sorrow of Painful Death], f. 23v n.; *Ó předivné za nás a předrahé zaplacenie* [O Most Wonderful and Dear Ransom for Us], f. 25r n., and the hymns *Múdrost Boha Otce, pravda* [Wisdom of God, the Father, the Truth], f. 28v n.; *Zpievaj, jazyk křesťanský, vítězství* [Sing, O Christian Tongue, of Victory], f. 27v n.) and Lenten chants⁶⁶ (hymn *Kriste, jenž jsi světlem i také dnem nazván* [O Christ, Who Are Called the Light and Day], f. 33r n.). In general, however, we must recall that none of the chants in the antiphonary contain rubrics, therefore we need to resort to their contents for their liturgical location, and to comparisons with other sources kindred in time. Moreover, it is probable that some items were used on several occasions, where they fitted thematically. Besides varying placement of concordant sources, we can also see a proof of it, for instance, in the troped antiphon *Media vita (Odpolu životem naším položení jsúc* [Across Our Life They Are Laid], f. 30v n.) – which belongs traditionally to funeral and Lenten rites – recorded in our source.⁶⁷ Except for its one uniquely preserved trope, all the other mentioned Czech translations found their way into the sixteenth-century liturgical books. The relevant passage is not preserved in the *Jistebnice kancionál*, therefore, it is possible to compare with it only the responsorium *Tenebrae factae sunt (Temnosti staly sú sě po všelíké zemi* [Darkness Spread over the Entire Earth]), which is newly

Period]” *Listy filologické* 90 (1967) 30–37; Lameth. Den prchlivosti Páně když přijde [Lameth. When the Day of God’s Wrath Arrives] (f. 49v n.).

⁶⁴ The following chants are unique: Dali sú za pokrm muoj žluč [They Gave Me Bile for Food] (f. 28r), Křesťané, slyšiec, života polepšte [O Christians, on Hearing, Improve Your Lives] (f. 32r n.), Beth. Lépe bylo jest těm, jenž zbiti sú [Beth. It is better for Those, Who were Beaten] (f. 35r n.), Phee. Roztáhl jest Sion ruce své [Zion Spread Its Arms] (f. 36r n.), Lameth. Ó vy všickni, ješto pomijíte [Lameth. O You All Who Are Passing Away] (f. 40v n.), Abychom poznali obtíženie [So That We May Recognize the Burden] (f. 157v n.), Beth. Povstaň, povstaň nyní [Beth. Rise up, Rise up now] (f. 160v n.), Pane Ježíši najmilostivější, jenžs pro nás zvolil [O Lord Jesus Most Gracious, Who Has Chosen Us] (f. 166v n.).

⁶⁵ See, especially *Missale Pragense* (Plzeň, 1479), f. 83v.

⁶⁶ See MS Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech, Hr 7, 586.

⁶⁷ The most typical liturgical usage is summed up by Vlhová-Wörner, “Cum tuba praedicationis,” 508.

translated in our manuscript, as well as the first of the two versions of the hymn *Christe, qui lux es et dies* (*Kriste, jenž jsi světlem i také dnem nazván*), which follows, with certain variants, the setting of the *Jistebnice kancionál*.⁶⁸ In particular the syllabical text underlay is preserved. The translations of the other mentioned hymns are executed in the same manner. Melodies thereby obtained a regular character and during the half-century were known in this simplified form to such a degree that Martin Bacheler of Vyskytná – while recording them in the *Kolínský kancionál* – did not consider it necessary to provide them with complete musical notation.

b. Lessons, Non-Biblical Lamentations, Tropes

The second part of the antiphonary contains Czech lamentations for Matins of the Easter Triduum, a series of non-biblical lamentations, a group of tropes and several other chants for Holy Week. One third of this part is concordant with the *Jistebnice kancionál*. The remaining two thirds then form an interesting context (also partly preserved in the above mentioned sources), which offers a new view on Utraquist Easter rites. Although the chants are not arranged in formularies, they do raise the question of whether the suggestive sequence of formularies in the *Jistebnice kancionál* is not in reality only one of the possible individual solutions. Because even there, in the complements, it is possible to find still other chants. The impossibility of putting together – on the basis of manuscript XVII.F.3 – complete formularies, at the same time, points to a basic presupposition concerning the interpretation of the contained liturgy, namely, that we see here only the Czech parts of the rituals, which were supplemented by Latin chants. This assumption is unambiguously confirmed by manuscript Hr 55, which in its formularies alternates Czech biblical and non-biblical lamentations with Latin responsoria.⁶⁹

Manuscript XVII.F.3 contains a complete number of liturgical lamentations based on the texts from the Lamentations of Jeremiah, namely, three lessons for Matins for every day of the Easter Triduum. Sections Lam 1: 1–3, 4: 9–11 a 1: 17–19 belong to the Holy Thursday (f. 34r n.). Sections Lam 3: 1–9, 4: 12–16 a 1: 4–6 were meant for Matins of Good Friday (f. 37r n.). Saturday nocturn (f. 40v n.) then encompassed besides sections Lam 1: 12–14 and 3: 25–33 also the *Prayer of Jeremiah the Prophet* (*Modlitba Jeremiáše proroka*) traditionally placed here, that is, the concluding passage of the entire biblical book Lam 5: 1–17, 21. It is, of course, possible to assume the liturgical anticipation of the lamentations, usual at the time:⁷⁰ a shift to Wednesday and to Friday, as for instance, the psalter-breviary of Brno⁷¹

⁶⁸ See MS Prague, KNM, IL.C.7, 98, 139–140.

⁶⁹ The same is true also in the manuscript MS Prague, NK, 59.R.5133, ff. 131v–168r.

⁷⁰ See Silke Leopold, “Lamentatio,” in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Sachteil, ed. Ludwig Finscher (Kassel, 1996) V: 893.

⁷¹ MS Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna v Brně, 57, ff. 217v–225r.

does, and as is indicated also by the rubrics at the non-biblical lamentations of our source. The selection of sections varies within the frame of contemporary Latin and Czech sources of the lamentations, but most of the time there is a concordance in the introductory lessons of individual days (*Quomodo sedet sola civitas* and *Ego vir videns paupertatem*) and in the mentioned concluding prayer of Jeremiah *Recordare, Domine*.⁷² Exactly these lamentations are concordant with both the *Jistebnice kancionál* and with manuscript XVII.F.46. A distinct feature of our source is its coherent selection of verses from the Lamentations of Jeremiah and also the fact that – in distinction from the *Jistebnice kancionál* and manuscript Hr 55 – all three nocturns can do without adding any non-biblical lamentations. Moreover, the text in manuscript XVII.F.3 appears in a different translation from that in the *Jistebnice kancionál*, and this difference also leads to divergent modification of the same late medieval melody. On the other hand, all the more recent concordant manuscripts use the same translation and thus confirm the linkage of the sixteenth-century tradition with our texts. Our manuscript XVII.F.3 does not mention any other lessons for Matins, even so there is no explicit proof of the existence of just a single nocturn, as is the case in the *Jistebnice kancionál*. We cannot arrive at the number of nocturns (or the precise structure of formularies) even according to the extant responsoria, because – as was already mentioned – the preceding section contains only two, namely, a single traditional one (*Temnosti staly sú sě po všeliké zemi* [Darkness Spread over the Entire Earth]) together with another one, which is known not to have been used on Good Friday prior to the turn of the fifteenth century (*Pilát všed s Ježíšem do rathúzu* [Pilate having entered the town hall with Jesus]).⁷³

Lauds are represented in the *Jistebnice kancionál* by the Cantic of Zechariah (*Benedictus*), preserved in the Friday and Saturday formularies. Manuscript XVII.F.3, it is true, does not contain this chant, but it contains the independently recorded *cantio* (trope) *Kterémuž na oslíkovi* [To whom on the little ass] (f. 64r n.), which combines tropes to the cantic *Benedictus* from both of the mentioned formularies and complements additional strophes and refrain. This chant, however, was obviously placed more freely, because in manuscript Hr 55 it follows directly after the litany *Kyrieleison. Ihesu Christe, qui passurus* (see below). According to the manuscript in Národní knihovna 59.R.5133 (henceforth 59.R.5133) it is exactly this litany – with its many verses, including the trope *Kterémuž na oslíkovi* [To whom on the little ass] – that is typical for the repertoire of *laudes* in the entire Easter Triduum.⁷⁴

As for historical values and magnitude, non-biblical *cantiones* – working with the form of lamentations – are an important repertoire group

⁷² See, for instance, MS Prague, NK, XV.A.10, ff. 175r-187v.

⁷³ MS Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech, Hr 55 (6351), f. 169r n.

⁷⁴ MS Prague, NK, 59.R.5133, f. 131v-168r.

of this part of the manuscript. Among the original entries in manuscript XVII.F.3 we find altogether thirteen of them, of which we know two from the *Jistebnice kancionál* and from sources dating to the mid-fifteenth century (*Poslúchajte slova smutná* [Listen to the Words of Sadness], f. 46v n., and *Den prchlivosti Páně když přijde*, [When the Day of God's Wrath Arrives], f. 49v n.);⁷⁵ three from the manuscript Hr 55 recorded around 1500 (*Zajisté dnešní den jest každým* [Surely This Day Is Everyday], f. 42v n.; *Ježíši Pane od Židuov domácích* [Lord Jesus, from the Local Jews], f. 58r n.; *Jidáš zapomenuv, Pane, tvého dobrodienstvie* [Judas, O Lord, Having Forgotten Your Benefaction], f. 59v n.); and we find an additional five in sources of a more recent tradition (*Najprvé u Annáše, toho léta biskupa* [First to Annas who was high priest <bishop> that year], f. 61r n., *Muky těžké našeho Spasitele milého* [Great Sorrows of Our Dear Saviour], f. 155r n.; *Otec nebeský tak nás velmi miloval* [Our Heavenly Father So Very Much Loved Us], f. 162v n.; *Nuž, křesťané, znamenajte, co jest učinil* [Now, Christians, Note What You Have Done], f. 164r n., *Pán Ježíš, maje z toho světa jíti* [Lord Jesus, Having to Depart from This World], f. 169r n.). The remaining three *cantiones* – as far as we know now – are unique. These creations differ among themselves in their contents and in their internal formal structures; their basic connecting and identifying sign, however, is the melismatic beginning of the chant, repeatedly appearing after selected verses, and setting to music either a letter of the Hebrew alphabet – and thus citing liturgical lamentations – or the initial syllable of its own text. Also the melody of the verses is often founded on late medieval melodies of lessons. The conclusion in most (but not all) cases adds the exclamation “O Jerusalem,” again reminiscent of the conclusions of liturgical lamentations.

The two earliest mentioned examples, which have already – because of their appearance in the *Jistebnice kancionál* – attracted the attention of researchers,⁷⁶ represent, on the one hand, the death of Jesus Christ formatted in regular verses and, on the other hand, the dialogical form, namely *Hádání Milosrdenství a Spravedlnosti* [A Dispute between Mercy and Justice] – as noted in the incipit of manuscript I.E.37 – drawing strongly on the Book of Psalms. Jaroslav Kolár describes the literary style of this composition as dependent on the language of the Psalms in many elements

⁷⁵ The dialog *Den prchlivosti Páně když přijde* [When the Day of God's Wrath Arrives] is a Czech parallel to *In die furoris Domini*; it is a different translation from those found in hitherto known sources. Srov. Hana Vlhová-Wörner, “Obsah a liturgie Jistebnického kancionálu [The Jistebnice Kancionál – It's Content and Liturgy],” in *Jistebnický kancionál*, v. 1, eds. David R. Holeton and Hana Vlhová-Wörner (Brno, 2005) 91; Vlhová-Wörner, “Cum tuba praedicationis,” 517–519; Leopold, „Lamentatio,” 896; Konrad Ameln (ed.), *Handbuch der deutschen evangelischen Kirchenmusik I: Der Altargesang*, (Göttingen, 1941) I: 486.

⁷⁶ Jireček, “Klasobraní z rukopisův staročeských,” 100–102; Kolár, “K tradici českých dialogických skladeb,” 30–37; Nejedlý, *Dějiny Husitského zpěvu*, 371–378.

and turns of phrase and, in the case of the version in the *Jistebnice kancionál*, on the turns of phrase known from prayers.⁷⁷ This observation is very important because it also characterises the majority of similar compositions uniquely preserved in our manuscript XVII.F.3. The composition *Zajisté dnešní den* [For Sure, Today's Day], f. 42v n.), which is a parallel to the Latin *Vere. Vere hodierna dies* preserved in the *Neumarkt kancionál*,⁷⁸ is a Good Friday parallel of the Holy Saturday *Exultet*, when every verse celebrates "this day" of Christ's death. Additional compositions are meditations (in regular verse) on Christ's death (*Ježíši Pane, od Židuov domácích* [Lord Jesus, from the Local Jews], f. 58r n.; *Pane Ježíši najmilostivější, jenžs pro nás zvolil* [O Lord Jesus Most Gracious, Who Has Chosen for Us], f. 166v n.); similarly formatted remembrance of selected events from the Passions (*Jidáš zapomenuv, Pane, tvého dobrodientstvie* [Judas, O Lord, Having Forgotten Your Benefaction], f. 59v n.; *Najprvé u Annáše, toho léta biskupa* [First with Annas, High Priest <Bishop> That Year], f. 61r n.) or even the remembrance of Christ's entire life and mission (*Povstaň, povstaň nyní* [Rise up, Rise up now], f. 160v n.; *Otec nebeský tak nás velmi miloval* [Our Heavenly Father So Very Much Loved Us], f. 162v n.). We find here a versed meditation on Christ's death pointing to the responsibility of every faithful (*Muky těžké našého Spasitele milého* [Great Sorrows of Our Dear Saviour], f. 155r n.; *Abychom poznali obtieženie* [So That We May Recognize the Burden], f. 157v n.) and also the celebration of Christ's blood, and of the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper (*Pán Ježíš maje z toho světa jíti* [Lord Jesus, Having to Depart from This World], f. 169r n.). An example – showing already in its external form the tendency of most of these chants toward simplification into a virtual song construction – is the composition *Pane Ježíši najmilostivější, jenžs pro nás zvolil* [O Lord Jesus Most Gracious, Who Has Chosen for Us] (f. 166v n.), which entirely lacks both the introductory and the concluding invocations reminiscent of liturgical lamentations.

The rubrics, concerning the liturgical placement of these compositions, are limited to locating them to individual days of the Triduum (i.e. from Wednesday to Friday), moreover only in cases of the chants recorded in the supplements. As already mentioned, there is no direct evidence here that this was – as in the case of the *Jistebnice kancionál* (and of more recent manuscripts) – a matter of a substitution for liturgical lamentations. All the compositions are recorded *in continuo* and in the context of the entire source there is an outstanding subjective – and in some cases also distinctly literary – character of their texts. Therefore, I assume that they might have served as supplements in the paraliturgical rituals, for instance, in processions or liturgical inscenations, even though one cannot, of course,

⁷⁷ Kolár, "K tradici českých dialogických skladeb," 33.

⁷⁸ MS Wrocław, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne, Hs.58, ff. 230v-231v.

exclude the possibility that these compositions actually served as substitutes for liturgical lamentations. The connection with a certain dramatic action is indicated by the insertion of the dialogue *Den prchlivosti Páně když přijde* [When the Day of God's Wrath Arrives]. In contrast to other hitherto known concordant sources – where this passage is distorted,⁷⁹ or entirely missing⁸⁰ – here an introduction is preserved,⁸¹ in which – just like in the Latin model *In die furoris Domini*⁸² – both principal roles are presented with the words: “Tedy pójdetá dvě řečníci, totižto Spravedlivost za Krista sůdce dovodiecí a Milosrdenství za vinné hřešníci rodujíc.” [“Tunc precedent due advocatores, scilicet Iusticia pro peccatore Cristo allegans et Misericordia pro reis peccatoribus interpellans“]. The consequent distinctions of their voice register – as happens in the case of the Passions – can only further reassure us about the possibility dramatic performance.⁸³

Further, there is the interesting fact that the above-described contents of the individual *cantiones* are entirely in accord with the themes of frescoes which in churches were habitually grouped around Jesus's Grave. In St. James's Church in Kutná Hora such paintings were created in the same period as our manuscript XVII.F.3 (that is approximately in mid-fifteenth century); they also contained inscriptional ribbons adding to the Easter events the noted personal appeal and they formed the background to the exposed eucharist in the staged Christ's Grave.⁸⁴ In processions and liturgical dramatizations on Palm Sunday and Good Friday, the eucharist thus substituted for the previously venerated statues and images.⁸⁵ The fact that the non-biblical lamentations were intended for use in the adoration of the appearance of the martyred Christ – that is rather in conformity with the earlier pre-Utraquist practice – is confirmed quite clearly by the contents of the composition *Abychom poznali obtieženie* [That we recognise injustice], which with the aid of synonyms repeatedly emphasizes the visual aspect of the ritual and adds several interesting descriptive turns of phrase.⁸⁶

⁷⁹ See MS Prague, KNM, II.C.7, 154.

⁸⁰ MS Prague, NK, I.E.37, f. 14v.

⁸¹ See MS Prague, NK, XVII.F.3, f. 49v.

⁸² See MS Wrocław, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne, Hs.58, ff. 225v-228v.

⁸³ Nejedlý, *Dějiny Husitského zpěvu*, 374.

⁸⁴ Aleš Mudra, *Ecce panis angelorum. Výtvarné umění pozdního středověku v kontextu eucharistické devoce v Kutné Hoře (kolem 1300–1620)* [Plastic Arts of Late Middle Ages in the Context of Eucharistic Devotion in Kutná Hora (ca. 1300–1620)] (České Budějovice, Prague, 2012) 183–194.

⁸⁵ See the complaints against Jan Rokycana: „Nam in die palmarum, ubi ecclesia vadit cum ymagine crucifixi, ipse vadit cum sacramento venerabili in processione. (...) Item in die Parasceve, ubi ecclesia consuevit cum crucifixi imagine certas ceremonias peragere, ipsi cum sacramento faciunt (...)“ See: Boubín, Zachová, *Zaloby katolíků*, 43.

⁸⁶ MS Prague, NK, XVII.F.3, ff. 159v-160r. Emphasis added by E. B.

My pak **zhledáme** na něho
 k kříži přibitého,
pohledmež v rány
 Pána tak zsinalého,
patřmež na krev svatú,
 jenž teče z boku již mrtvého,
 a **vizme** znamenie veliké
 k nám milosti jeho.
 Hlavu svú ve krvi zkálenú
 ráčil jest k nám skloniti,
 abychom **přistúpice** pokorně
mohli jej celovati. [...]
 Již pak **pod křížem**
stojiec želejme plačtivého,
 lkajme s plačícím
 Pána bolestného,
 abychom měli ho
 v svém srdci přítomného,
 jehož **vidíme**
 na kříži přibitého.

We then **behold** him
 nailed to the cross,
 let us also **see**
 the Lord so ghastly pale,
let us look at the holy blood
 which flows from the already dead side
 and **let us see** a great sign
 of his mercy for us.
 His head marred by blood
 he deigned to incline toward us
 so that humbly **stepping toward him**
we could kiss him. [...]
 Then already **under the cross**
standing let us pity the weeping one,
 let us lament with tears
 the Lord of Sorrows,
 so that we would have him
 present in our heart
 whom **we see**
 nailed to the cross.

A direct proof of the intended use of a similar text to the prayer *kleče před Božími mukami* [kneeling before divine sorrows] – as the rubric informs us – could have been found in the now missing codex of the Upper Austrian monastery Schlägl from the second half of the fourteenth century.⁸⁷ How powerful was still in the time of Jan Rokycana – despite his critical sermons – the physical focus in similar rituals is attested by the Archbishop-Elect’s admonition that the martyrdom of God [Christ] only “pekelníci teď pamatují po zevnitřních věcech a po smyslech, kamž je smyslové vedú, po

⁸⁷ “Klaniem se tobě [...], jenž na kříži stojíš, trnovú korunu na hlavě držíš [...]. Klaniem se tobě [...] na kříži raněnému, žlučí a octem napájanému [...]. Klaniem se tobě [...], v hrob vloženému. [We bow before you [...] who stands on the cross, holding a crown of thorns on your head [...], wounded on the cross, given to drink bile and vinegar [...]. We bow before you [...], laid in the grave.]” See also Adolf Patera, “Drkolenský rukopis ‘Pašije Pána našeho Jezu Krista’ XIV století [Manuscript of Drkolná ‘The Passions of Our Lord Jesus Christ’ from the Fourteenth Century],” ČMKČ 62 (1888) 324–342; Josef Vintr, “Staročeské pašije z hornorakouského kláštera Drkolná/Schlägl [Old Czech Passions from the Upper Austrian monastery Drkolná/Schlägl],” *Listy filologické* 114 (1991) 246–255. The version of the compositions destined for this use was evidently standardized, as attested by Old Czech prayers with analogous incipit (Pane Jesu Kriste, modlím se tobě na kříži visícímu; Pane Jesu Kriste, modlím se k tobě na kříži pověšenému [Lord Jesus Christ, I pray to you hanging on the Cross; Lord Jesus Christ, I pray to you hung on the Cross.]). See also Josef Tříška, “Anonymní česká literatura předhusitské reformace [Anonymous Czech Literature of the Pre-Utraquist Reformation],” AUC-HUCP 1972, Tomus XII, No. 1–2, 155–207. Here are also other occurrences of the cited text.

vidění, že teď uží obraz aneb malování nějaké žalostivé, a teď po slyšení, že uslyší nětco žalostivého čtúce neb zpívající, žeť nejednau i zpláčí i zslintají [the devils now remember according to the externals and according to senses, whereto senses lead them, in seeing, that now they shall gaze at an image or a heart-rendering painting, and then in hearing that they will listen to something woeful, reading or singing, so that frequently they shall weep and turn pale].⁸⁸

The last part of the antiphonary is a section with tropes and the Czech-Latin litany *Kyrieleison. Jezukriste, jenž si přišel na svět* / *Kyrieleison. Ihesu Christe, qui passurus* (f. 54r n.) with several inserted verses, beginning with *Počátek ty jsi a konec všeho* (*Alpha et O tu, finis et origo*).⁸⁹ The litany was traditionally sung at the conclusion of the office on Maundy Thursday; more recent sources, however, indicate that it also could be used more frequently,⁹⁰ namely – as already pointed out – repeatedly within the framework of lauds. In a distorted form, we know it from both the *Jistebnice kancionál* and the *Vyšehradský sborník*. In the *Vyšehradský sborník* the litany is directly inter-connected with the strophic trope *Potem se potil krvavým* [He sweated a bloody sweat], which melodically derives from its verses. We find this trope in manuscript XVII.F.3 recorded independently (f. 67v n.). In the *Jistebnice kancionál* and in manuscript XVII.F.3, on the contrary, the litany is immediately followed by the trope *Ó synové cirkve svaté* (f. 56r n.), a parallel of the chant *O filii ecclesiae*. Evidently, at this time, the chant was popular and widespread, thus in the *Neumarkt kancionál* we find a German version along with the Latin version.⁹¹ Because of its popularity, the chant was being clearly inserted in various ways; for instance, in manuscript Hr 55 as a trope alternating with the individual strophes of the Latin hymn *Rex Christe, factor omnium*. The chant is attached to this hymn also in the manuscript 59.R.5133. Although the introduction of its melody in XVII.F.3 is seriously distorted in all its strophes,⁹² even so it cannot deny its origin in the trope *Ach, homo, perpende, fragilis*. In contrast to the earlier brief versions, here the chant acquires the form of a more extensive strophic composition. Another textual variant of the chant *O filii ecclesiae* is the trope *Všickni již spolu, křesťané* [All now together, Christians] (f. 66r n.). Manuscript 59.R.5133 insinuates that the chant might have served as an additional verse of the litany *Kyrieleison. Jezukriste, jenž si přišel na svět* [Jesus Christ, Who Has Come into the World],

⁸⁸ Šimek, *Postilla Jana Rokycany*, 550.

⁸⁹ The verses were also recoded independently. See, for instance, MS Wrocław, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne, Hs.58, ff. 228v-229v.

⁹⁰ This chant is ascribed to Good Friday (obviously by mistake) in Nejedlý, *Dějiny Husitského zpěvu*, 380. The litany is situated at the end of the office on Maundy Thursday, for instance, in MS Prague, NK, XV.A.10, ff. 189r-190r. See the placement on Wednesday and Thursday in MS Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna v Brně, 57, ff. 219v-220v.

⁹¹ MS Wrocław, Archiwum Archidiecezjalne, Hs.58, ff. 247v, 256v.

⁹² This distorted form is recorded also in MS Prague, NK, 59.R.5133, f. 166v.

according to the placement of a kindred song in manuscript XVII.F.46.⁹³ It is, however, also possible to consider a constant connection with the antiphon *Media vita*, to which the chant is tied by a melodic foundation in trope *Ach, homo, perpende, fragilis*. Considering that it contains the turn of phrase – cited at the beginning of this study – “dal dnes svatě své tělo, krev, to dvě, aby nás hříšné obživilo [he gave today his holy body, blood, the two, in order to revive us sinners],” it is possible that the antiphon was also used directly during the Easter rites, perhaps on Maundy Thursday or Good Friday.

Although we find tropes for the antiphon *Media vita* already earlier among *responsoria*, here several more chants are added, which were used in the same manner. According to concordances in manuscripts XVII.F.46 and Hr 55 and also according to the minor rubrics in XVII.F.3, it can be assumed that two strophes of the trope *Odpust, Hospodine, lidu svému* [Forgive, O Lord, your people] (f. 63r n.) were always placed among the individual parts of the antiphon. The same purpose was also served by the three verses *Uslýš hlas náš, Pane Bože* [Hear our voice, Lord God] (f. 68v), *Pomni, Pane, na Slovo své* [Remember, Lord, Your Word] (f. 68v n.) a *Pane nebeský, silný, veliký a hrozný* [O Heavenly Lord, Mighty, Great, and Terrible] (f. 69r).

Moreover *improperia* are added to the antiphonary, specifically their second part *Poslouchajte žalobu nebeského Otce* [Listen to the Complaint of the Heavenly Father] (f. 70r n.). This passage was obviously separated from the chant *Popule meus* (with the relevant invocations) by the singing of the Psalm *Beati immaculati* (Ps 118),⁹⁴ and preceded the antiphons for the veneration of the cross. Again, both continuity of language, as well as continuity in the form of liturgy with sixteenth-century sources is evident here.

Chants of the Missal

Czech chants of the missal from the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries are a still less documented (and thus also presupposed) area than is the case with other parts of the mass and office. Although mass lections were required to be read in Czech (and Czech Passions are also rubricated in the Psalter-Breviary of Brno), even so their preservation with musical notation is a relatively unusual matter. Other than in the *Jistebnice kancionál*, Czech prefaces are documented only in the manuscript of the Österreichische Nationalbibliothek in Vienna.⁹⁵ If again we take under consideration only sources originating up to the 1510s, then this part of XVII.F.3

⁹³ MS Prague, NK, XVII.F.46, ff. 35v-36v.

⁹⁴ Concerning the insertion of Psalm 118 there is an agreement in time *Missale Pragense* (Plzeň, 1479), f. 83v, and also, for instance, *Graduál Samuela Soukenika* from 1558; see MS Prague, KNM, I.A.17, ff. 160r-161r and other manuscripts.

⁹⁵ MS Wien, ÖNB 4557, ff. 233v-236v; see also Vlhová-Wörner, “Obsah a liturgie Jistebnického kancionálu,” 94.

concorde with the *Jistebnice kancionál* in twelve items,⁹⁶ with four chants concordant with the Vienna manuscript,⁹⁷ and one concordance in each the *Kolínský kancionál*⁹⁸ and the *Ústecko-orlický zlomek*.⁹⁹

The missal part of XVII.F.3 contains, first of all, the Passions according to each of the four evangelists (f. 82r n.). While the *Jistebnice kancionál* and *Ústecko-orlický zlomek* have preserved fragments the Passion according to Matthew, otherwise the record with notation in our manuscript XVII.F.3 is unique up to the mid-sixteenth century. A comparison has shown¹⁰⁰ that the redaction of Passions in manuscript XVII.F.3 stands rather at the beginning of the tradition which is manifest in the sources of the second half of the sixteenth century, rather than relating to the *Jistebnice kancionál* (which stands closer to the Latin version of its time)¹⁰¹ as its model. Contrary to the *Jistebnice kancionál*, the text in XVII.F.3 and the more recent sources are divided into shorter segments, punctuated by more frequent lowering of the melody.

The Passions are fluently connected with the chant *Popule meus (Lide můj zvolený, i coť sem učinil tobě, f. 136v)*, which was placed into the missal part, because – contrary to the above-mentioned part of *improperia* – this chant belonged to the priest.¹⁰² Therefore, it neither appears in Graduals designed for school boys or choir singers [literáti]. Thus we can only compare the exclamation, through which the choir entered into the priest's chanting ("Svatý Pán Buoh mocný, svatý Pán Buoh silný, svatý a nesmrtný, smiluj se nad námi [Holy God, Holy and Mighty]") and which is here atypically expanded by the words "Pán Buoh [Lord God],"¹⁰³ and also musically modified in an idiosyncratic way.

The translation of the Saturday Vigil chant *Exultet (Raduj se již andělský zástup nebeský, f. 137v)* is entirely independent of the *Jistebnice kancionál*. Contrary to the *Jistebnice kancionál* all the mentions of the sacrifice of the candle (*benedictio cerei*) are retained, including the passage beginning with

⁹⁶ Umučenie Pána našieho Jezukrista [The Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ] (f. 82r n.), Raduj se již andělský zástup nebeský [Let now the heavenly choirs of angels rejoice] (f. 137v n.), preface: Pascalis (f. 145r n.), In die Nativitatis Christi (f. 148v n.), In Epiphania (f. 149v), Die Sancta Cruce (f. 150r), In Ascensione Domini (f. 150v n.), Die Pentecosten (f. 151r), Trinitatis (f. 151r n.), De Beata Virgine (f. 152v n.), De Apostolis (f. 153r n.); Pater noster (f. 154r n.).

⁹⁷ Prefaces: Pascalis (f. 145r n.), In Ascensione Domini (f. 150v n.), Die Pentecosten (f. 151r), Trinitatis (f. 151r n.).

⁹⁸ Liturgical greeting.

⁹⁹ MS Ústí nad Orlicí, Státní okresní archiv, A 3. Umučenie Pána našieho Jezukrista [The Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ] (f. 82r n.).

¹⁰⁰ The comparative analysis was applied to segment Mt 26: 1–19. See Baťová, "Tisk Blahoslavových Evanjelií."

¹⁰¹ I have used as an example of the contemporary Latin version used in Bohemia MS Prague, NK, VIII.G.16, see Václav Plocek, *Catalogus codicum notis musicis instructorum, qui in Bibliotheca publica rei publicae Bohemicae socialisticae in Bibliotheca universitatis Pragensis servantur*, (Prague, 1973) I: 315–316.

¹⁰² See MS Prague, KNM, I.A.17, f. 159r and several other sources.

¹⁰³ The Latin "Sanctus Deus. Sanctus fortis. Sanctus immortalis" was usually translated verbatim. See *Missale Pragense* (Plzeň, 1479) f. 82v; MS Prague, KNM, I.A.17, f. 159v.

“suscipe, sancte Pater, incensi huius sacrificium vespertinum, quod tibi in hac cerei oblatione solemni [...] sacrosancta reddit ecclesia”¹⁰⁴ [„svatý Otče, přijmiž oběť nešporní v této svieci, kteráž v slavné oběti se obětuje“].¹⁰⁵ On the other hand, in agreement with the *Jistebnice kancionál*, manuscript XVII.F.3 leaves out the passage about “the happy fault” (“O certe necessarium Adae peccatum, quod Christi morte deletum est! O felix culpa, quae talem ac tantum meruit habere Redemptorem!”).¹⁰⁶ The passage is also omitted from the *Missale Pragense* from 1479, as well as from the contemporary manuscript missal from the West Bohemian village of Slavice,¹⁰⁷ although the text *Exultet* – which narrowly antedates Utraquism – retains it.¹⁰⁸

Further our source XVII.F.3 registers orations and *benedictio fontis* with consequent rubrics, and traditional – merely by incipit denoted – litanies. Afterwards a remarkable verse with musical notation is recorded “Znamenajte, takt mijie chvála světa [Take heed, thus passes the glory of the world]” (f. 145r; See Fig. 2). Even more remarkable is the fact that the melody musically notated represents the quotation of the antiphon: “Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam [You are Peter and on this rock I shal build my church].”¹⁰⁹ The text that was sung at papal coronations, while a bunch of flax raised on a pole was burned so that the new pope might be visually reminded of how the glory of the world passed away (“Pater sancte, sic transit gloria mundi”),¹¹⁰ was connected with a melody referring to St. Peter as the head of the Church. Only at the conclusion of the *Exultet* – discussed at the start of this study – is there a prayer for King George at the head of the entire Christian people that is followed by a reference to the passing of worldly dominion. It is up to future research to determine whether the statement was referring to George’s reign.

The conclusion of the original part of manuscript XVII.F.3 contains prefaces for the entire ecclesiastical year starting with the Easter preface (f. 145r n.), which comes immediately after the verse cited above. It is followed by four versions of prefaces usable anywhere “in summis festivitibus.” They are concordant in text, but always differ in melody according to the selected passages. In accordance with the customary recording in Latin missals,¹¹¹ in contrast to the full (“summa”) version, the version called “mediocris” is less melismatic, and the version used in cases of “three readings” (“trium

¹⁰⁴ *Missale Pragense* (Plzeň, 1479) f. 85r.

¹⁰⁵ MS Prague, NK, XVII.F.3, ff. 40v-41r.

¹⁰⁶ See also Nejedlý, *Dějiny Husitského zpěvu*, 387.

¹⁰⁷ MS Prague, NK, I.A.46, f. 65r.

¹⁰⁸ MS Prague, KNM, XVI.A.13, f. 96v.

¹⁰⁹ See for instance, contemporary MS München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 4305, f. 89v.

¹¹⁰ See János M. Bak, *Coronations: Medieval and Early Modern Monarchic Ritual* (Berkeley, 1990) 187–188; Norbert Ohler, *Umírání a smrt ve středověku* [Dying and Death in the Middle Ages] (Jihlava, 2001) 138.

¹¹¹ See, for instance, MS Prague, NK, I.A.46, ff. 90v-96v.

lectionum”) is the simplest with only very few melismata. In addition to the Easter Preface, full coverage is provided also for the Trinity preface (f. 151r) – which also has its “middle” version,¹¹² preface of the Blessed Virgin Mary (f. 152v n.) and the Apostles (f. 153r n.). From the passage *Eterne Deus* on, the following prefaces are recorded: *In die Nativitatis Christi* (f. 148v n.; likewise including a version “mediocris”), *In Epiphania* (f. 149v), *Quadragesimalis* (f. 150r), *Die Sancta Cruce* (f. 150r), *Die Palmarum* (f. 150r n.), *In Ascensione Domini* (f. 150v n.) and *Die Pentecosten* (f. 151r). The conclusion adds also prefaces for Sundays without feast days, and for other, more varied, occasions (f. 153v n.).

In contrast to the version *Exultet*, these prefaces point to a dependence on the translation offered in the *Jistebnice kancionál*. Most concordant prefaces adopt the model in the *Jistebnice kancionál* with just minimal variants; marked differences appear only in the texts for the Holy Cross, the Ascension, and the Apostles. Deviations in melody – as in the case of the Passions – involve mainly infringements of regular recitation by a more frequent lowering of the voice.

The last original Czech part that has not been mentioned yet is the prayer *Otče náš* [Our Father] (f. 154r n.) concluded with the giving of the peace (“Pokoj Boží buď vždycky s vámi [The Peace of God be always with you]”). The Czech liturgical translation is evidently fairly stable at this time (it differs from the *Jistebnice kancionál* only in minor matters); the melody, however, is quite independently and distinctly modified. Despite the necessary shortening of melody for the Czech text, nevertheless it is evident that – as in the case of the *Jistebnice kancionál* – the use was made of the “full,” that is the most melismatic, version of the prayer.¹¹³

Conclusion

The study of manuscript XVII.E.3 opens the door for a sizable collection of Czech chants for Holy Week to enter into the medieval musicological and hymnological discourse. Although most of the compositions were already known from previous research on the *Jistebnice kancionál* and other sources, only the new accumulation of concordances reveals the richness of the repertoire layer. In toto, the chants of the antiphony and the missal – aside from a series of historically valuable individual items – reveal an important fact, namely, the existence of a different, but developmentally perhaps more influential, translation of liturgical parts than the one which the *Jistebnice*

¹¹² Prefaces for Christmas and the Trinity, designated as “mediocris,” however, by their melodies correspond rather to the simplest version, called in Latin “infima”. See MS Prague, NK, I.A.46, ff. 93r, 95v.

¹¹³ See MS Prague, NK, I.A.46, f. 97r.

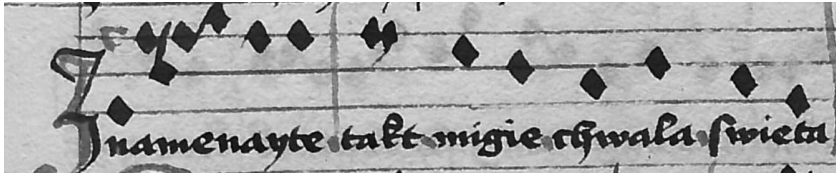


Fig. 2: Joining of citations: "Pater sancte, sic transit gloria mundi" (text) and "Tu es Petrus et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam" (melody). MS Prague, NK, XVII.F.3, f. 145r.

kancionál represents. It is exactly this question of an alternate derivation that will urgently require critical testing. A number of texts in manuscript XVII.F.3, which we find in a virtually concordant form in sources of the first half of the sixteenth century, indicates that in the mid-fifteenth century there must have been additional activity of translating, and possibly in another milieu than the one which gave rise to the *Jistebnice kancionál*.

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