A Remarkable Witness to the Feast of Saint Jan Hus

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The Liturgical Commemoration of Jan Hus

From the time of his death at the stake in 1415, Jan Hus has been venerated by Christians for his heroic faith – first in his native Czech lands and then, later, abroad.¹ A letter from the canons of Olomouc to the Council of Constance written in December 1416 details a number of Hussite “errors”.² Among them is the complaint that:

[ Priests] hold services in churches before many people for Jan Hus and Jerome [of Prague] who were condemned as public heretics, as though for the faithful departed. Others celebrate feasts for them and sing [the introit] Gaudeamus and other songs, as though for martyrs, comparing them in merit and suffering to St Lawrence the martyr, and these they prefer to St Peter and other saints.³

¹ More extensive information on the liturgical celebration of the feast of Hus from the time of its inception the year after his death at Constance in 1415 to its appearance in a number of the liturgical calendars of some churches in our own day can be found in: David R. Holeton, “The Celebration of Jan Hus in the Life of the Churches,” Studia Liturgica 25,1 (2005) 32-59. The commemoration of Hus in Bohemia and Germany is traced carefully in: Phillip Haberkern, The Presence of the Past: Historia, Memoria, and the Making of St. Jan Hus (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Virginia, 2009).

² “Kanoniker von Olmütz an das Konstanzer Konzil,” Archiv für österreichische Geschichte 82 (1895) 386-391.

³ Ibid. 386-7. “... alii pro Iohanne Hus et Ieronymo dampnatis hereticis publicis faciunt in ecclesiis coram multitudine populi exequias tamquam pro fidelibus defunctis, alii faciunt festivitates et cantant ‘Gaudeamus’ et alia tamquam de martyribus, comparantes eosdem meritis et penis sancto Laurencio martyri et ipsos preferentes sancto Petro et alii sanctis, et sic multa gravia et terribilis contra fidem katholicam et statum ecclesie fieri procuraverunt et die hodierna procurant, proper que dicta ecclesia (ut predictum est) multipliciter exsitit oppressa.”

The reference to St Peter is an allusion to the fact that Hus’s death took place on the octave day of the feast of SS. Peter and Paul, the proper of which would normally have been used in the liturgy on that day, but was replaced by propers drawn from other feasts by the “offending” clerics. The introit Gaudeamus omnes in Domino was a generic introit often used on the feasts martyrs with the name of the “martyr of the day” being inserted. In the (Utraquist) Litoměřice Gradual of 1517 it was used as the introit for over a dozen feasts. See Barry F. H. Graham, The Litoměřice Gradual of 1517 [Monumenta Liturgica Bohemica I] (Prague, 1999) 285 and No. 1489. The introit also existed in a noted Czech translation by the 1420s where it was used on the feasts of SS. Vitus, Mary Magdalene, Wenceslaus and All Saints. See: Jaroslav Kolár, Anežka Vidmanová, and Hana Vlhová-Wörner edd., Jistebnice Kancionál MS. Prague, National Museum Library II C 7. Critical Edition. Volume 1: Graduale [Monumenta Liturgica Bohemica II] (Prague, 2005) Nos. 35, 42, 54 and 59.
From this and other contemporary witnesses,\(^4\) there is clear evidence that the commemoration of Jan Hus figured in the liturgy in Bohemia from at least 6 July 1416, the first anniversary of Hus’s death at Constance.\(^5\) Some parishes marked the day with a requiem while others, more remarkably, celebrated the day as the feast of a martyr\(^6\) drawing on propers used for other saints’ days. Some of these requiems and other celebrations also included readings either of Hus’s “Passion”\(^7\) or from his letters from prison in Constance. Sermons were preached in which both Hus and Jerome were honoured as modern martyrs.\(^8\)

The Development of a Liturgical Proper for Hus

The Utraquist period (ca. 1415–1620) saw the gradual development of proper texts for the liturgical celebration of the feast of Hus. Other than hymns, most of the extant witnesses are to be found in graduals dating from between the end of the fifteenth century and the early seventeenth century.\(^9\) These consti-

\(^4\) F.M. Bartoš, “M. Jan Hus v bohoslužbě a úctá církve podobojí a v podání prvého století po své smrti,” [M. Jan Hus in the Liturgy and Reverence of the Utraquist Church and in the Tradition of the First Century after his Death] Národopisný věstník československý 17 (1924) 20–37, here 20.

\(^5\) Requiems appear to have been celebrated for Hus from the time that the news of his death arrived from Constance. There also may have been masses using the propers for martyrs as similar events had taken place earlier. Petr of Mladoňovice records that, at Constance, Hus was accused of having had the bodies of the three young men who were decapitated on 11 July 1412 because of their public protest against papal indulgences borne in procession to the Bethlehem Chapel while singing *Isti sunt sancti* [These are saints]. At the Chapel the mass of martyrs, rather than a requiem, was sung for them. (Petri de Mladonowic opera historica nec non aliae de M. Johanne Hus et M. Hieronymo Pragensi relationes et memoriae FRB 8:106–7. English translation in Matthew Spinka, *John Hus at the Council of Constance* [New York, 1965] 218. Spinka will be cited hereafter.) In fact, Hus’s friend Jan of Jičín was responsible for these extraordinary (and, perhaps, precedent-setting) liturgical events. Hus claimed not to have been present. Spinka, *John Hus* loc. cit.

\(^6\) Or martyr

\(^7\) The most famous of these is that of Petr of Mladoňovice (FRB 8:121–147; Spinka *John Hus* 224–234) and a similar *Passio* for Jerome (FRB 8:351–367).


\(^9\) The earliest known gradual containing a prose composed for the feast (*Clericalis turma, gaude*) is the monumental Šmilšíkovský Gradual – MS Vienna ÖNB, Musiksammlung Mus. Hs. 15492 ff. 400r–402v. (Graham No.128). As the first known witness to proper texts for the feast of Hus, the presentation is luxurious. The historiated initial *S* [apienciam] sanctorum of the introit for the Common of Martyrs on f. 285r depicts Hus, with a nimbus and the heretic’s hat, chalice and Bible (?) as his attributes, standing between SS. Stephen and (probably) Laurence. The Martyrs of Kutná Hora are depicted in the bottom margin. Presumably, except for the prose, all the texts for the feast were drawn from this common causing it to be singled out with such rich illuminations.
stitute a significant corpus from which to reconstruct the liturgical texts used at the Eucharist on the feast\textsuperscript{10} and the number of these witnesses continues to grow.\textsuperscript{11} Most of the Latin\textsuperscript{12} Utraquist graduals that contain texts for the feast usually appoint that the introit, gradual and offertory be drawn either from various commons or from the propers for other saints’ days,\textsuperscript{13} while a much smaller number of manuscripts contain texts written specifically for the feast. The most lengthy compositions written for use at the Eucharist were three prose which were fairly widespread – *Clericalis turma, gaude, O quam per contrarium*, and *Rex regum, Ihesu Christe*. A fourth prose, *Ad honorem sacerdotis* still has only one known witness.\textsuperscript{14}

Material for the office (or hours) is much scarcer.\textsuperscript{15} Until recently, the only extensive witness to the Latin office tradition known for the feast of Jan Hus was that which is found in an Utraquist antiphonary in the Metropolitical Library in Esztergom.\textsuperscript{16} This contains the proper texts for First Vespers, Matins

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\item Jana Fojtíková, “Hudební doklady Husova kultu z 15. a 16. století,” [Musical witnesses to the cult of Hus from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries] MM 29 (1981) 51-142 is still the most important, although now dated, attempt to catalogue the various manuscript witnesses.
\item Graham (Bohemian and Moravian Graduals 1420-1620) has brought a number more codices containing new witnesses to the already known eucharistic propers for Hus to light. In addition to the new witnesses found in graduals, an otherwise unrecorded text for the feast is a noted eucharistic preface found in the Altar Book of Adam of Tábor (MS Prague, National Museum Library III F 17 ff. 74v-76v) to be published in the series Monumenta Liturgica Bohemica.
\item The limits of this article do not permit more than a cursory reference to the proper Czech texts for the feast which appeared in number when Czech began to assume an increasing importance in the liturgy during the second decade of the sixteenth century. Arguably, the feast could have been celebrated in Czech from the early years of Utraquism when there was experimentation with using Czech in the liturgy. The Jistebnice Kancionál contains the noted proper for All Saints with Czech translations of the introit *Gaudeamus omnes* (*Radujme se všickni v Hospodinu*), the offertory *Letamini in Domino* (*Spravedlivi, radujte se*) and the communion *Iustorum anime* (*Spravedlivých duše*) (Jaroslav Kolár et al. Jistebnice Kancionál Nos. 59, 62 and 63) which were commonly appointed to be used in the later graduals for the feast.
\item Most of these texts can be found in FRB 8. The Latin texts, including some not edited by Novotný, can also be found in David R. Holeton, “‘O felix Bohemia – O felix Constantia’: the Liturgical Commemoration of Saint Jan Hus,” in HENC 385-403.
\item MS. Vienna, ÖNB 12,457 ff. 7a-9b (a fragment dated to the first half of the sixteenth century).
\item The defeat of the Utraquist forces at Bílá Hora in 1620 was followed by a “purgation” of Utraquist liturgical texts. While the policy was often uneven in its application (some offending texts inexplicably escaped destruction while others, in the same codex, did not) many texts were destroyed while others were rendered unusable either by the excision of the page(s) on which the propers for the feast of Hus were written or by inking them out and thereby rendering them illegible. Among these “purged” codices are an Utraquist antiphonary in the National Library (MS Prague NK IV H 12) in which the office of Hus has been removed in its entirety after f. 148 and new leaf pasted in to supply the hymn for the office of St. Margaret (f. 149a).
\item MS Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár I 313. Two other antiphonaries contain the Responsory *Gaude, felix Bohemia* and the Verse *Pastor pie et benigne* for First Vespers. One is in the Miners’ Museum in Březová Hora (MS Příbram, Okresní muzeum L 262 ff. 87v-88v) the other is in an antiphonary from the first half of the sixteenth century held in the National Library (MS Prague NK XVII E 1 ff. 295v-297v). In both antiphonaries they are the only propers provided for the feast of Hus all other material being drawn from the common (presumably, of a martyr).
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A Remarkable Witness to the Feast of Saint Jan Hus

Recently, an important, perhaps unique, witness to the feast of Jan Hus which contains liturgical material for both the Eucharist and the office has come to light. The manuscript in which it is contained, however, remains somewhat of a mystery. Our only present witness to it is a photographic reproduction made for the late Professor František Michálek Bartoš (1889-1972) of the Evangelical Theological Faculty in Prague. In Bartoš’s notes which accompany the photographs, he describes the text as being on paper and that there is a title page and sixteen folii. On the back of each photograph appears the rubber stamp “Photowerkstatt der Univ.-Bibl. Leipzig. Veröffentlichung genehmigungspflichtig.” Bartoš cites the manuscript as Univ.-Bibl. Leipzig XI.B.1, 1-18. The University Library in Leipzig, however, does not presently hold such a man-

17 See the edition of these texts in David R. Holeton, “The Office of Jan Hus: An Unrecorded Antiphonary in the Metropolitical Library of Esztergom,” in J. Neil Alexander ed., Time and Community (Washington, 1990) 137-152. See also František Fišer, “Hodinkové oficium svátku Mistra Jana Husa,” [The hours for the feast of Mistr Jan Hus] ČNM 135,2 (1966) 81-98 (a work unknown to either the Metropolitical Library in Esztergom or to Holeton at the time the article in English was written.) In addition to this noted office, an adligium to a printed breviary held in the National Library in Prague (Prague NK adlig. 42 G 28 Brevarium Horarum Canonicarum secundum Rubricam Archipiscopatus Ecclesie Pragensis [Nuremburg, 1492] adlig. ff. 2a□-2b□) gives us three Latin prayers used for the day (FRB 8:434).

18 One can understand this legislation only if there was widespread abandonment of the office among the clergy.


20 We are grateful to our colleague Dr. Ota Halama who brought this text to our attention.
uscript and cannot find any trace of it having been a part of its collections. The present location of the manuscript, thus, remains a mystery to be solved.

The format and content of the manuscript is of considerable interest. It is the only manuscript witness known that contains the proper texts for both the office and the Eucharist for the Feast of Hus combining the propers for First Vespers, Matins, the Eucharist and Second Vespers. It is also the only known set of propers for the feast that is contained in a libellus, apparently without other texts. The title page reads: Historia Joannis Hus maximi patróni Bohemiae.

We know that from the time of Prague’s first Archbishop, Arnošt of Pardubice, libelli with new feasts were kept at the Chancellery, and it was there that those wishing to obtain the new liturgical texts were required to copy them. The appearance of our manuscript makes it quite possible that it is a libellus of this type. Written in a typical Bohemian Semihybrida Currens, the hand is not of the quality that would usually be expected in a text intended to be used for actual liturgical use. In the photographs, which appear to be smaller than actual size, the folii measure approximately 16 x 10.5 cm. Even should the actual manuscript, when found, prove to be considerably larger, the quality of the scribe’s work would make it difficult to read the text while singing, thus increasing the possibility that this libellus was intended to be a used as a specimen copy of the propers for the feast which were later to be copied in a fair hand for liturgical use.

The Composition of a New Feast:

a) The Proper for the Eucharist
The repertory of the Mass for a new feast could be assembled quite quickly, in the same way as other new feasts of saints were provided with necessary repertory in the late Middle Ages by using chants from the Common of martyrs (commune martyrum), which were complemented by a proper sequence and possibly also by a new Alleluia chant. This was also the case for the Mass repertory

This is somewhat conjectural and is based on the photographs which appear to show the borders of only two pages at either end of the libellus – not enough space for another office.

Recte: maximus patronus. Alternatively, the title may be missing a reference to Jerome of Prague.

Hana Vlhová, Středověké liturgické rukopisy z katedrály sv. Víta na Pražském hradě [Mediaeval liturgical manuscripts from St. Vitus’s Cathedral in Prague Castle] (Ph.D. diss., Charles University, 2000) 39. There are several extant libelli of this type; see: Antonín Podlaha, Soupis památek historických a uměleckých. Knihovna kapitulní v Praze [Catalogue of historical and artistic monuments. The Capitular Library in Prague] (Prague, 1903) LXXXVII.


Unlike the Esztergom antiphonary which is written in a carefully executed Semihybrida Libraria that would have been easily read by the singers.

The Introit In bonitate et alacritate has a single witness: MS Jičín, Státní okresní archiv, fond Archiv města Sobotka 1497-1945 (1951) kniha 9, inv. č 20 (Olim: fond Archiv města Sobotky kniha 3; ZP 294/283; Sobotka 2/254; PSC 50776) ff. 193v-194r. (Graham No. 24.)
for Jan Hus. As the Leipzig libellus and many other contemporary sources demonstrate, only a few chants lay outside the common repertory: an Introit\textsuperscript{26} one Alleluia and a couple of sequences, which – being the narrative part of the liturgy – recount in detail the events of the Council in Constance and the tragic fate of Hus and sometimes that of his follower Jerome. For the Kyrie, the libellus simply appoints a choice between those used for Easter or for the feasts of martyrs and makes no reference to the troped Kyrie composed specifically for the feast of Hus.\textsuperscript{27}

Composing a new sequence was usually no difficult task for medieval authors. The melody was mostly borrowed from the established repertory. New texts used typical formulations, which were complemented by specific details from the saint’s life, death, and legacy. A good example of such a process is the sequence \textit{Clericalis turma, gaude}. In the Leipzig libellus it is introduced with the rubric \textit{Sequitur alia prosa sub nota de undecim millibus virginitum} revealing that the model for Hus’s sequence had already served another rhymed sequence, \textit{Virginalis turma sexus},\textsuperscript{28} which was particularly popular in the late medieval Bohemian tradition. The sequence \textit{Clericalis turma, gaude} adapted from its model not only the melody but also the narrative strategy and the textual structure; indeed, even the exact wording at the beginning, the end, and in some other crucial places [Example 1]. Interestingly, this sequence is not primarily about Jan Hus or Jerome but, rather, most of it narrates the history of the Council of Constance and the betrayal of the Bohemian nation (see text on p.XXX below).

The second sequence for the feast, \textit{Rex regum, Ihesu Christe}, is of a quite different character. The earliest Bohemian witnesses to the text date from the middle of the fifteenth century (about fifty years earlier than the first documents for the sequence \textit{Clericalis turma, gaude}, appear); thus, its datation has been put in the first half of the fifteenth century. Its most particular characteristics, which set it apart from the late medieval repertory of sequences, are its rhetorical pathos and emotional description of Hus’s fate at Constance in

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\item A rubric (\textit{Martyris Magistri iohannis Hus gloriosi}) in a gradual from Kutná Hora may be the earliest witness to the existence of a troped Kyrie for the feast of Hus. (MS Kutná Hora, Okresní vlastivědné muzeum 88/85 [Olim: 30.339; 264] f. 15v. [Graham No. 34]) All that remains of the Kyrie is the rubric as the text was removed when the manuscript was “expurgated” (presumably during the Counter-Reformation). The manuscript dates from around 1500. The trope might have been the Kyrie \textit{Summe predicator} which is appointed for the feast of Hus in the Klatovy Gradual of 1537 (MS Klatovy, Okresní muzeum, 403 f. 8r. [Graham No. 32]) That a particular trope was appointed for Hus should not be surprising as the collection of tropes used in Bohemian Utraquism were the richest in the musical and liturgical tradition of the time. See: Hana Vlhová-Wörner, “The Collections of Ordinary Tropes in Latin Utraquist Manuscripts from the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries,” in Hana Vlhová-Wörner ed., \textit{Repertorium Troporum Bohemiae Medii Aevi}, Vol. II: \textit{Tropi Ordinarii Missae: Kyrie eleyson et Gloria in excelsis Deo} (Prague, 2006) 64-66.
\item Dreves, Blume, \textit{Analecta Hymnica} 55:333.
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1415. At the beginning, instead of the customary exhortation to praise the memory of the saints, a festive introduction to the long epic narration is inserted: *Rex regum, Hiesu Christe, Anno millesimo ac quadringentesimo et quintodecimo tue nativitatis secundum hominem. / Glorie tue laudes crepando sedulus, de Boemia natus Joanes dictus Hus extremum composuit sui finis diem.*²⁹ In the text that follows, Hus's extraordinary qualities as scholar and moral leader are praised; in the midst of the narration stand, however, the events in Constance and the condemnation of the Roman church and its acts. Strong words describing the behaviour of the Roman clergy are used, thus introducing rhetorical elements of the Bohemian reform movement which antedated Hus into the very heart of the liturgy: the ecclesiastics at Constance are called *complices Antichristi* and even *cohors Sathanica*. Hus, on the other hand, is praised as *lumen predicaturn* and his condemnation and execution are described in terms drawn from the *Passio Christi*.³⁰ In sum, the author of the sequence composed a long epical poem, which was by no means intended to praise the Roman church and its tradition (as we might expect in a liturgical sequence) but to indict it and to bring it to divine judgement.³¹

The contents of the poem affected the formal shape and the musical character of the sequence. It seems that no older sequence served as a model for this piece; its melody is entirely new and its text is composed quite independently of the traditional sequence repertory. It consists of thirty-four strophes and, as such, belongs among the longest examples of its genre. Moreover, its strophes do not use the standard verse scheme which, in the late Middle Ages, was the strophe *Mater* (8pp – 8pp – 7p), but were composed in a free rhythm using only simple assonances at the end of the lines *[Example 2: Pie, iusta]*. The music has a distinctly declamatory character which differs greatly from the other song-like contemporary sequences. The sequence develops with an increasing tension towards the last strophes, which musically bring a powerful element: a simple melody with a strong rhythmic pattern which lets the whole sequence culminate with a forceful, almost bellicose declaration *[Musical Example A]*.

**b) The Proper for the Liturgy of the Hours**

The new-found collection includes – apart from the Mass chants – repertory for the Office. As noted earlier, until recently, we possessed only one extensive witness for the commemoration of Hus during the Liturgy of the Hours – an

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²⁹ The chorus of the faithful applauds/to satisfy the praises owed,/all things to the reigning Lord,/through whom the victors triumph. Who from the Bohemian people/by inclining to the end of the world./He gave Jan Hus to the people,/the zealot of his law.

³⁰ These appear as early as Petr of Mladoňovice’s account where Hus draws analogies between the Passion of Christ and his own. See: Spinka, *John Hus* 229 ff.

³¹ See text below pp. XXX.
antiphonar from the late fifteenth century held in the archiepiscopal library in
Esztergom in Northern Hungary. This new witness affirms Hus’s acceptance
into the full liturgical life of the Utraquist Church in Bohemia and his incorpo-
ration into the host of Bohemian saints by providing his feast with its own
repertory for the morning and evening office rather than simply using the Com-
mon – something of considerable importance in the late Middle Ages. Even
though compositions of the rhymed office fluctuated in Bohemia from the four-
teenth century on, in the context of the cult of Jan Hus, the creation of
a rhymed office in his honour has a particular significance.

The Esztergom antiphonary includes a set of antiphons and responsories for
First and Second Vespers as well for Matins [Example 3]. The Leipzig libellus
contains a smaller number of chants – only those for Vespers, to be more pre-
cise – but raises a number of questions.

First of all, there are similarities as well as differences in the repertory for
Vespers between the two sources. The number of chants is – or seems on the
first sight to be – identical. Some chants take a different position within the
daily cycle as, for example, the two antiphons to the Magnificat – Christum
regem martirum and Iocuntare, Germania, which are used in inverted order
for First and Second Vespers in the two witnesses. Other chants show individ-
ual readings of the text and/or melody, as, for example, the Responsory Gaude,
felix Bohemia, which starts entirely differently in each source and then pro-
ceeds, from the third line on, identically with only minor musical variations
[Musical Example B]. Finally, there are a number of antiphons which are
unique to each source; this is the point where both sources differ most signif-
ically.

The repertory for First Vespers starts in both sources with the antiphon Iubi-
lans olim honore; the texts of the remaining antiphons differ. In the Esztergom
Antiphonary, the antiphon Iubilans olim honore consists of four lines, which
makes it equal in length to the remaining four aniphons (antiphons 2–4 also
consist of four lines, the fifth antiphon consists of five) [Example 4]. The series
narrates the martyrdom of the two Prague reformers in Constance: Jan and
Jerome; the first three antiphons are connected by the motif of light, describ-
ing first the glory of Prague (fulget [correctly: fulge] civitas Pragensis), both
martyrs (duo luminaria) and the manner of their death (Quos dira Constancia
flamma incendii coronavit). The set of antiphons starts with a jubilation of both
saints (Iubilans olim honore) and culminates with an acclamation to God (Laus
uni deo). Thus, they follow a clear narrative structure, which is the description
of the path leading from the terrestrial towards the celestial celebration.32 In
the opening antiphon, the author skilfully encrypted Hus’s name into the acro-
tic IOHANNES (Iubilans olim honore adest namque nobilitas, exhilarans sacro)
something overlooked until the present.
Musically, the series of the antiphons for Hus and Jerome in the Esztergom Antiphonary develops in conformity to the rules of the late medieval rhymed office: the modes of the antiphons are organised according to the system of the eight modes (the first antiphon moves in the first mode, the second antiphon in the second mode, etc.). The melodies are composed of standard musical phrases, which we could identify in many other contemporary historiae; they are melodically distinctive, their phrases are nicely rounded. Their author was, without doubt, well familiar with the contemporary compositional praxis and used it elegantly.

The series of the antiphons in the Leipzig libellus is quite different [Example 5]. The antiphons are of varying length (the first, which is extremely long, consists of twelve lines – or even of thirteen, if we count the concluding Alleluia; the second and fourth both consist of seven lines, the third consists of six lines, and the fifth of eight lines). Interestingly, only the first antiphon mentions the memory of both Hus and Jerome. In the other antiphons, it is Hus alone who is the focus of the praise: he was judged (the second antiphon), condemned to death (the third antiphon), crowned and led to his execution (the fourth antiphon), and burned at the stake (the fifth antiphon): the analogy to the description of the Christ’s Crucifixion is apparent and the parallel to the sequence Rex regum is striking. Remarkably, the text of the long antiphon Iubilans olim honore in the Leipzig source is comprised of the text of the first, second, and the third antiphon in the Esztergom Antiphonary. As the series in the Leipzig source, like the Esztergom Antiphonary, is organised according to the system of the eight modes, the melody of the antiphon Iubilans olim honore shares the same music only in the first four lines [Musical Example C]. Starting with Nam duo luminaria, the chant remains in the D-mode and proceeds individually. Its author was, however, less successful in creating a melodious chant – not only for the first but for the whole series of antiphons. Too many repetitive notes as well as irregularities in the coordination of the text and music mar their fluent character. They are more rhetorical than melodious and, as such, show an interesting similarity to the sequence Rex regum which was discussed above.

The incipits of the antiphons in the Leipzig libellus form the sequence of the letters IOHNS which could be understood as a fragment of the acrostic IOHANNES which appears at the beginning of the first antiphon. This seems unlikely to be mere coincidence and results in both vertical and horizontal acrostics of the saint’s name – something most unusual in musical poetry at that time.

32 This strategy seems to be typical of many other late medieval rhymed historiae in Bohemia. The series of five antiphons in the rhymed office for St Ludmila, a major Bohemian patron, starts similarly with the description of Ludmila’s night prayer Laudes canens davidicas and concludes with the praise of her celestial glory in the fifth antiphon Laus celestis resonet.
The hymn *Plaudant chorus fidelium*, appointed for Matins in the Leipzig libellus, provides the office with a second hymn instead of using the hymn *Pange lingua* at all three offices as is directed in the Esztergom manuscript. This hymn, not otherwise recorded in the Czech office tradition, is of considerable antiquity, with its only other witness being dated within the first quarter-century after Hus’s death.33

Space does not allow for a discussion of the Czech version of the office of Hus other than to note that in Fojtíková’s catalogue of the texts known to have been used in the Czech office34 (all of which are translations from the Latin35), only Antiphon III of the Leipzig libellus – *Humana crudelitas* – is known to have been used in a Czech version,36 all other antiphons in the Czech office being translations of texts found in the Esztergom antiphonary.

Was the text of the antiphon *Iubilans olim honore* in the Leipzig libellus composed of three antiphons belonging to the series, which is preserved in the Esztergom Antiphonary? Or shall we say that the text of the antiphon *Iubilans olim honore* in the Leipzig libellus was divided into three parts, each of them corresponding to one of three first antiphons in the Esztergom Antiphonary? A selection of the correct formulation can be made only after a difficult question has been answered, namely, which of the two sources transmits the earlier stage of the office for Jan Hus *Iubilans olim honore*? There are still too few arguments which would unquestionably support one hypothesis or the other. If one were to decide between the emotionally strong and rhetorically emphasised account (as preserved in the series of the antiphons in the Leipzig libellus, or the sequence *Rex regum*) and the “elegant” and formal standardized repertory for a prominent feast (as we can observe in the series of antiphons in the Esztergom Antiphonary, and, for example, the sequence *Clericalis turma, gaude*), one

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33 Novotný (FRB 8, cxx; 420-1) followed by Fojtíková (“Hudební doklady Husova kultu z 15. a 16. století,” 91) report the only other known witness to the text is in MS Vienna, ÖNB 4902 f. 63v – *Ymnus de Magistro Johanne Hus*.

34 Fojtíková, “Hudební doklady Husova kultu z 15. a 16. století,” 94-5.

35 The emergence of Czech as a liturgical language in Utraquism is a very complicated question. (See: David R. Holeton, “The Role of Jakoubek of Stříbro in the Creation of a Czech Liturgy: Some Further Reflections,” in: Jakoubek ze Stříbra: texty a jejich působení, ed. Ota Halama and Pavel Soukup [Prague, 2006] 49-86 and *ibid.* “Bohemia Speaking to God: the search for a national liturgical expression,” in: Milena Bartlová ed. *Media and Structures of Confessional Identity in the Czech Lands During the Late Middle Ages and early Renaissance* (1380-1620) (Prague, 2007) 95-124). While the Jistebnice Kancionál is an important witness to the fact that preparations were made for the translation of both mass and office texts into Czech during the second decade of the fifteenth century, we have no witnesses to the widespread use of Czech liturgical texts until the sixteenth century. The suggestion that is sometimes made (e.g. Novotný, FRB 8, cxxviii) that there was a period of “re-Latinisation” and that Czech liturgical texts were translated into Latin is without foundation. Thus, the Czech office texts that have Latin parallels must be considered translations from the Latin until there is textual evidence to the contrary.

36 Where the Czech *Kteréž ukrutné svolání* stood in the place of *Quos dira Constancia* for which we have no known Czech witness. Fojtíková, “Hudební doklady Husova kultu z 15. a 16. století,” 94.
would incline to select the former as being the older. In addition to this, given the many similarities between the Leipzig series and the sequence *Rex regum*, which has been dated to the first half of the fifteenth century, it could be possible that the Leipzig libellus transmits an office for Jan Hus as it was created not too long after Hus’s death. Whatever case, both sources bring us a highly interesting witness to the rearrangement, textual and musical elaboration and formal modification – thus of the extremely vivid transmission – of the repertory for a saint.

**Conclusion**

The Leipzig libellus is an important text for several reasons. First of all, it is a witness to four new liturgical texts which are otherwise unrecorded – all appointed as antiphons for First Vespers. It is also a witness to the apparently rare liturgical use of the hymn *Plaudant chorus fidelium*. Second, the libellus testifies to a developing tradition for the office. As with the Eucharist, it is clear that the office tradition evolved over time. The texts provided for the office in the libellus are only a fraction of those provided in the Esztergom manuscript. This is an interesting testimony to the fact that the liturgical tradition for the feast of Hus may never have been stabilised. Unlike the usual mediaeval liturgical tradition where the propers for a new feast soon took on a fixed and stable form (at least within a given diocese), this never appears to have been true for the feast of Hus. The manuscript witnesses to a relatively large corpus of liturgical texts for the feast of Hus of which parishes used only a selection – and even that selection usually provided a choice of texts, particularly for the texts used at the Eucharist. While the tradition of requiring the clergy to copy texts for new feasts from an *editio typica* kept at the Chancellery may have existed from the time of Arnošt of Pardubice as an instrument of liturgical control, if a similar system existed under Utraquism, it does not seem to have worked very efficiently for the feast of Jan Hus – unless the *editio typica* itself contained a choice of texts from which a selection could have been made. If this were the case, it would, itself, be an interesting innovation in the tradition.

The texts that follow are not offered in a critical edition but are a simple transcription of the texts as recorded in the manuscript. They are intended to give the reader some insight into the manner in which one Utraquist community celebrated the feast of Jan Hus who, for them, had become a sainted martyr and a patron of the Lands of the Crown of St Wenceslaus.

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37 Obvious errors have been corrected where a better reading appears in other witnesses or, if not, when this text contains a clear error of transcription.
Historia Joannis Hus maximi patroni (!) Bohemie
The History of Jan Hus, major patron of Bohemia

Antiphona I
Rejoicing in time past in honour for nobility is nigh
let the citizens of Prague shine delighting in holy action.
For two bright lights rose up from you
and through their deeds of martyrdom have departed into heaven,
Constance which with the fearful flame of fire crowned
but the army of heaven has joined in the fiery sky.
Alleluia.

Laudate per omnia.

O astonishing innocence disgraced by false witnesses, having been resisted by the gentle strong constancy of his words, he stood to be judged as the humblest sheep.

Humana crudelitas judged the innocent man. ah wondrous generosity, he entreated God for them, finally stripped by the blasphemers of his ecclesiastical vesture and degraded.

EUOUAE
Antiphona IV

Nobilis gemma predicatorium
tam inhumane tractatur
novam turmam spectans beatorum
demonibus commendatur,
[3b]
corona desuper depicta
maledictioneque repleta
ducitur ad martyrium.
EUOUAE

Antiphona V

Ecclesie predicator
statue alligatur
verbi dei seminator
igne diro crematur
animam deo commendans
sic vitam consumat,
gloriam celi expectans
eternaliter triumphat.
EUOUAE

[4a] Responsorium ad vesperas preces

Gaude, felix Bohemia,
hora nempe novissima
te respetit dominus
solito clementius,
dum doctorem veritatis
choruscantem honestatis
verbis et operibus.
Tibi dedit eximium
Joannem presbiterum,
predicatorem egregium
prebentem iter regium.
Pastor bone et benigne,
lux Bohemice[4b] gentis,
consolator desperatorum
et reprehensor vitiorum,
duc nos ad regna celorum.
Alleluia.

Versus

Rejoice, O happy Bohemia
truly at the latest hour
the Lord beheld you,
as usual more gently,
when he gave you the glittering
doctor of truth
shining with honesty
in words and deeds.
He gave you the distinguished
Jan the priest,
the excellent preacher
offering the royal road.
Good and kind shepherd,
light of the Bohemian people,
consoler of the despairing
and reprover of vices
lead us to the realms of heaven.
Alleluia.
Qui propter testimonium
veri tulit supplitium
ac per incendium
migravit in refrigerium
militum celestium.
"Tibi dedit …"

Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.
"Tibi dedit …"

Sequitur hymnus [[5a]]

Pange lingua, gloriosi
prelium certaminis,
quo bellantur studiosi
vi divini numinis
contra dolos criminosi
et perversi agminis.

Virum gignit virtuosum
Bohemorum regio,
castum, pium, fructuosum
suo fovet gremio,
viva fide animosum
transmittit concilio .

Ubi legis veritatem
forti mente profitens,
tectam cleri vanitatem
clara voce detegens
ac vivendi puritatem
per scripturas astruens,

Tanquam pravus condemnatur,
verus a fallacibus,
vincis duris mancipatur
iustus a scelestibus,
sanctus igne concrematur
sevis a doctoribus.

Sic fidelis coronatur
servus vite laurea
et honore sublimatur
in celorum patria,
qui triumphat, dum luctatur
mundi cum malitia.

He who because of the testimony
brought punishment to the young man
and through the fire
departed into the consolation
of the heavenly soldiers.
"He gave you"

Glory to the Father, the Son and Holy Spirit
"He gave you"

The Hymn follows

Sing, my tongue the battle
of the glorious fray
by which power the zealous
ones for the divine will fight
against the deceits of slanderous
and perverse throng.

The land of the Bohemians brings forth
a virtuous man,
pure, godly, fruitful,
it nurtures in its bosom.
It sends away to the council
a man full of spirit, with a living faith.

Where professing the truth
of the law with a robust intellect,
laying bare the concealed emptiness
of the clergy with a clear voice,
and adding to the purity
of living through the scriptures,

Just as the corrupt man is condemned,
the truthful man is released
from treacherous, harsh fetters.
The just man by the wicked
is burned with fire, the holy man
by the cruel doctors.

Thus the faithful servant
is crowned with the laurel of life
and is exalted in honour
in the heavenly fatherland,
who triumphs while he strives
with the world’s evil.
To the almighty Father and the Son
be praise and dominion
and to the blessed Spirit
beyond the end of time,
who gives his joy
to the oppressed faithful.
Amen.

Versicle
Be glad in the Lord, and rejoice, O righteous
And shout for joy, all you upright
of heart!

Antiphon at the Magnificat
Shout for joy, Germania,
sustained by such beauty,
make lively Bohemia,
made strong with energy
not knowing the stain of wickedness
be strong in the struggle,
glowing with the flower of purity
seething in love
because of the merits of the patrons
of those shedding blood
to the honour of the Almans
of those opposing you
savagely slaughtered from the body
of clergy
they were excommunicated from
the wonderful sacrament,
mortified by the heaviest cast of the pits
and not weakened by the conflagration of fire.

O how precious the death of the saints
which earned the life of the angels
the assemblage of these all
entreat Christ the Lord
for the salvation of the faithful.

EUOUAE.
Ad matutinas preces omnia
ut de martyribus preter hymnum,
qui sequitur
Plaudat chorus fidelium,
laudes solvendo debitas
cuncta regenti domino,
per quem victores triumphant.
Qui de gente Bohemorum
vergente mundi termino
zelatorem sue legis
Johannem Hus dedit populo.
Quem replens suo spiritu
ut Heliam et Baptistam,
scelestem clerum, ne periret,
iussit ei arguere: [[6b]]
At ille Achab durior
et Herode austerior,
ut aspis surda pertransit
monita salutifera,
Sed in suo concilio
Constantiae tunc habito
flammis aduri mandavit
sanctum et deo dilectum.
Cuius spiritum dominus,
pro quo pugnavit strenue,
ornans coronis celestibus,
sanctorum iunxit agmini.
Oramus, sancte Johannes,
ut victis cunctis hostibus
celo reddamur abiles
tuis beatis precibus.
Gloria tibi, domine,
qui natus est de virgine,
cum spiritus munimine,
defende nos, rex optime.
Amen.

Everything at Matins is from
the common of martyrs except
for the hymn which follows
The chorus of the faithful applauds
to satisfy the praises owed,
all things to the reigning Lord,
through whom the victors triumph.
Who from the Bohemian people
by inclining to the end of the world
He gave Jan Hus to the people,
the zealot of his law.
Filling whom with his spirit
as Elijah and the Baptist,
he ordered that the wicked clergy
prove to him, lest he perish.
Yet Ahab the harder
and Herod the harsher
as the silent asp passed by
salutary warnings.
Then having been held
in his council of Constance
He ordered that the holy man and loved
by God to be committed to the flames.
Whose spirit for which
the Lord fought vigorously
adorning with celestial crowns
he joined to the company of saints.
We pray, Saint John,
that all the enemies having been defeated
we may deliver to heaven those prepared
by your blessed prayers
Glory to you, Lord,
who was born from a virgin,
with the protection of the spirit,
defend us, perfect king.
Amen.
At the Mass
Introit

Let us all rejoice in the Lord.

Kyrie

For Paschaltide or from the Common of martyrs

Alleluia

The voice of exaltation.

or the following

Rejoice in the Lord,
O mother church
which at the time of the Council in Christ, Constance
producing through the fire, sent forth to the heavens
Jan with Jerome.

Here follows the Sequence &c.

Jesus Christ, king of kings, in the year one thousand
four hundred and fifteen of your birth according to man,

From Bohemia born Jan called Hus
diligent in resounding the praises of your glory
he settled the last day of his end.

Christ, then drinking your cup on the Saturday,
the octave day of the princes Peter and Paul,
he hastened bravely toward the eternal prize.
Pie, iuste et sancte preclarus magister 
deo et hominibus dilectus presbiter 
doctrinis et moribus clarebat pariter.

Dei mandata grata, sancta consilia 
clericum et simplicem docens utilia, 
sicque continuavit Christi discipulus.

Patris o Jhesu nate almeque virginis 
propter te fert odia dire voraginis 
clamatur erroneus tuus discipulus.

Genite veritatis viam clarescentem 
predicantem constanter, 
in ipsum urentem 
capitulum principum dictat sententiam.

Fili dei, o Christe, propria patria 
prophetam tam videntem odit malitia, 
pellit Rhomam citando in contumeliam.

Mariae, tuae matris, mirum professorem, 
cunterumque sanctorum verum 
laudatorem 
accusat fallaciter cleri invidia.

Da, bone Jhesu Christe, plura elicere, 
innocentes laudare, nocentes damnare, 
qui tuos servos mala concutiunt via.

The excellent master, O pious, just and holy, 
a priest beloved by God and men, 
he enlightened equally by his teaching and character.

And thus continued Christ's disciple teaching the clergy and the simple, useful things, 
God's pleasing commands and holy counsels.

O Jesus, born of the Father and the dear virgin for you he bears the hatreds of the frightful abyss, 
your disciple is proclaimed as straying.

In the same burning chapter, he declares the meaning of the first things, preaching constantly, 
the way of begotten truth becoming manifest.

O Christ, son of God, his own land so hated through malice seeing the prophet it banishes to Rome appealing in outrage.

The envy of the clergy falsely accuses the wonderful teacher of Mary, your mother, 
and the true praiser of all the saints.

Grant, good Jesus Christ, to call forth many to praise the innocents, to condemn the wicked who disturb your servants by the evil way.
Opem in iustitia nullam habens sua,  
contumax propallatur ovis, Christe, tua  
extra Pragam pellitur sic innocentia.

Mi [9b] seris miserior a clero notatur,  
sed Christi discipulus minime turbatur,  
per alios districtus serens celestia.

Quos verbo, pertransiens, dei visitabat,  
reos iustos faciens deo commendabat;  
sic bimatu spatio in his desudabat.

Diligis, quos corrigis o Hiesu benigné,  
hoc in tuo comprobas athleta [10a]  
insigne,  
certamen dum fortiter propter te gestabat.

Ut cum in Constantia foret concilium,  
sub salvato conductu ad malignantium  
properat ecclesiam domini agnellus.

Possint fideles Christi dolenter deflere,  
complices Antichristi dum iustum  
premere  
pretendunt, hinc miretur coelum atque tellus.

Vivere [10b] non proponunt iustum  
peramplius  
Capiunt, incarcerant et ferro arcius,  
stringunt amicum dei feri contortores.

Absque quovis tramite sancte iusticie,  
hominem sancte vite et innocentie  
pretendunt convincere falsos permotores.

Having no power in his moral integrity,  
the steadfast sheep is made known,  
Christ,  
so your innocence is banished from Prague.

He is marked out by the clergy  
as unhappier to the pitiable,  
but Christ’s disciple is very little disturbed,  
sowing the things of heaven through other regions,

Passing through which, by the word of God, he visited,  
he commended the accused making them just to God,  
so he toiled in these things over two years.

You love, O Jesus, those whom you kindly correct  
you fully approve this honour for your athlete,  
when he bravely waged the struggle for you,

As when the council was in Constance under safe conduct, the little lamb of God hastened to the church of the evil doers.

Christ’s faithful could bewail painfully the confederates of the Antichrist when they pretend to slander the just man, hence the earth, and indeed heaven, are astonished.

They do not propose that the just man live in freedom,  
the cruel perverters seize, jail, bind more tightly with iron, the friend of God,

They allege without any pretence of holy justice  
that mistaken agitators convict the man of holy life and innocence.
Carie fallatie et innocentiae
Profugos, vagos, testes [[11a]] docens
nequitie
condemnat morte iustum cohors
sathanica.

Lumen predicatorum excellentissimum
reputat vilissimum et abiectissimum
spolians officio manus sacrilega.

Celicum mysterium ei denegando,
truncat pilos capitis sic destituendo
tradit potentatui per ignem conflandum.
[[11b]]

Dona bona pro malis iustus reimpendit,
dum cum lachrimis orat genuaque flectit,
se tradens ad victimam, it ad immola
dum.

Ecclesie tractatum, quem composuerat,
simulque et alios, quos illi iunxerat,
ante oculos iusti comittunt ignibus.

Quam insana hec cohors in hac vesania!
nam [[12a]] impingit coronam plenam
blasphemia,
ponens in caput iusti complosis manibus.

Redemisti, domine, me, sed infert iustus
sub spinea corona, dum ibas <h>onustus,
hanc levem pro te fero letus consortio.

The satanic company condemned to death
the just man
teaching the fugitives, the wanderers,
the spectators
about avoidance of deceit and innocence
from malice.

The most excellent luminary
of the preachers
he considers the most vile and abject,
stripping sacrileges by the service of his
hand.

By the heavenly mystery to be denied him
so to be forsaken, he cuts the hairs
of his head
he delivers to the political power
to be burnt by fire.

The just man re-expends good gifts
for the evil
when he prays with tears and kneels,
handing himself as victim, he goes
to be sacrificed.

The homily ‘On the church,’ which he had
composed
together with others, which he had joined
to it,
they commit to the flames before the eyes
of the just man.

How mad this company in this insanity!
for it thrusts a crown full of blasphemy
placing it, with applause, on the head of
the just man.

You redeemed me, Lord, but the just man
carries in
under a crown of thorns, when you went
in honour,
I carry for you in participation this light
death.
Tuo cum pro nomine Jhesu mitissimus, ad locum tormentorum ibat charissimus, te plene invocando traditur ignibus.

Sanguine pro sanguinem tuo suo fuso, optimo sancto fine taliter concluso cum sanctis martyribus tenet aureolum.

Ut cum iudex veneris in fine seculi, bonorumque malorum tunc cernent oculi quod Joannes dictus Hus celi fert coronam.

Esset nimis dolendum et valde mi randum Bohemis fidelibus, si non deplangendum ducerent continue tam virum praeclarum.

Candida scholarium tu universitas, doctorum, magistrorum concors societas, socium deplangite vestrum, pium, clarum.

Stola predicatorum sertaque virginum, merores viduarum fidesque coniugum totaque artificum sancta communitas,

Glorie insignis preclari domini, magnates et proceres, milites strenui cunctaque Bohemica plangat nobilitas.

When for your name most gentle Jesus, the most beloved went to the place of the tormentors earnestly calling on you, he is given up to the flames.

His blood shed for your blood, in such wise the best holy end having been concluded, he possesses a halo with the holy martyrs.

So that when the judge comes on the last day, the eyes of the good and the wicked will then discern that Jan called Hus bears the crown of heaven.

It would have been very much to be grieved and intensely wondered by the Bohemian faithful, if they did not arrange continually to be mourned so remarkable a man.

You dazzlingly white university of scholars harmonious fellowship of doctors, masters, bewail your godly, distinguished colleague.

The stole of the preachers and the garland of the virgins, the griefs of the widows and the faith of spouses and all the holy commonwealth of authors

of the extraordinary glory of the famous lord, the magnates, princes, steadfast soldiers and the whole Bohemian nobility laments.
Sempiterne domine, Hiesu Christe pie, dimitte peccamina, da dona glorie, socians in patria nos predicatori glorioso, martyri beato Joanni. Ubi nulli amplius clamores queruli, nulli luctus nulli emuli tuis sanctis nocere queunt gaudentibus in eternum.

Eternal Lord, holy Jesus Christ, forgive [our] sins, give the gifts of glory, uniting us in our homeland to the glorious preacher, the blessed martyr Jan, where further no shouts of clamour, no mourning, no rivalries are able to harm your saints rejoicing in eternity.

Sequitur alia prosa sub nota de undecim millibus virginum

Clericalis turma, gaude voce psallans, mente plaude martyrum pro gloria.

Priestly throng, rejoice, in voice singing, applaud in your mind for the glory of the martyrs,

Flos candoris quorum rubet, coronari dum hos iubet Christus pro victoria.

Whose flower of brightness is red when Christ orders them to be crowned for victory.

Barbarorum rabie quorum fuse copie sunt in ortu fidei.

By the fury of barbarians whose defeated troops are in the source of faith,

Ut pueri nivei et athlete Thebei martyresque rosei.

as are the snow-white boys and the Theban athletes and the rosy martyrs

Post hec phalanx tenellarum triumpharat puellarum undenis in millibus.

After these, the array of 11,000 delicate girls triumphed,

Et pugnando mortem usque turma sexus utriusque triumphis similibus.

And by fighting death as far as the throng of both sexes with like triumphs.

In pariferia orbis, qui prelia ferentes aspera.

In the circumference of the world, those who bearing harsh conflicts,

Letis cervicibus sertis victricibus vernant ut sydera.

through death by execution, having been born as victors, they flourish as the stars.
Purpura patientie sponsa rubrata conmitur 
bysso tecta munditie sponso Christo coniungitur.

Bissenis gemmis struitur urbis factura celice, 
ter quaternis statuitur portarum ordo fabrice.

Totum [[15b]] edificium caro surgit lapide 
summum et initium Zaphyro et Jaspide.

Quos manus artificis suo locat ordine 
pressure multiplicis politos examine.

Deo primitie hi ex hominibus palmas iustitie 
gestantes manibus ante thronum dei.

Quorum Eberidae sanguinem fuderant gentes et in [16a] fide insontes oderant pro cultu fidei.

Sed his longe durores pugne erant, quas victores decertarunt militantes, et in mundo triumphantes fideles in Bohemia.

Qui constantes bellatores legis Christi zelatores sunt secuti usque mortem reprobatum* per cohortem damnatos in Constantia.
O [[16b]] felix Constantia, cui tam prestantia Bohemorum natio.

Dona celse gratie pro fructu ecclesie misit et solatio.

Christi passi pro nomine stolas laverunt sanguine eternae vitae gaudiae habent in celi curia.

Quorum sequi vestigia da, Christe, hic nos in via, frui te in patria per seculorum secula.

In secundis vesperis ad magnificat antiphona

Christum regem martyrum regnentem dei patris in gloria laudamus hodie omnium Bohemorum spe Christi martyrum in memoria qui pro eius legis dilectione sacrique corporis et sanguinis sumptione; igne usti, ense cesi, fossis iacti, undis mersi, mire sunt oppressi viventes etiam pueri innocentes. O fidei auctor, sis nostri roborator ob eorum merita in tui lege agnita da digne tuum calicem bibere, ut possimius etiam fundere nostrum pro te sanguinem timentes neminem.

O happy Constance to which with such excellence the nation of Bohemians, sent gifts of high favour for the church’s profit and comfort.

For the name of Christ who suffered they wash their stoles in the blood they have the joys of eternal life in the court of heaven, Whose foot prints grant us, Christ, to follow here in the way, to enjoy you in the fatherland through the ages of ages.

*Other witnesses read: reproborum – the reprehensible.

At Second Vespers: Antiphon at the Magnificat

We praise Christ, the king of the martyrs, reigning in the glory of God the Father. Today from the hope of all the Bohemian martyrs, in a memorial of Christ, who from the love of his law and of his holy body and by the reception of his blood; the living and also innocent children were wondrously overwhelmed to be burned by fire, given over to the sword flung into <mine>shafts, immersed in waters. O author of faith, be our strengtheners on account of the merits of those recognised in your law, grant that we may worthily drink your cup,
O veritatis tutor
esto nunc protector
Bohemice gregis
ab emulis tue legis,
ut [[18a]] cognoscant,
quia veritas tua vincit,
liberat suos et manet
in aeternum.
Amen.
EUOUAE

that we also can pour out
our blood for you,
feared no one.
O guardian of truth
now be the protector
of the Bohemian people
from exhaustion of your law
that they may know,
that your truth conquers,
it liberates its people and remains
into eternity.
Amen.

Example 1

Clericalis turma, gaude
voce psallans, mente plaude
martyrum pro gloria.

Virginalis turma sexus,
Ihesu Christi que connexus
donno sentis gracie.

Flos candoris quorum rubet,
coronari dum hos iubet
Christus pro victoria.
...

Flos candoris tui rubet,
trucidari cum te iubet
tortor pudicicie.

Sed his longe duriores
pugne erant, quas victores
decertarunt militantes,
et in mundo triumphantes
fideles in Bohemia.

Qui constantes bellatores
legis Christi zelatores
sunt secuti usque mortem
reprobarum per cohortem
damnatos in Constantia.

Quam in portu reliquerunt
classem, simul invenerunt
magnum flumen et amenum
navigantes intrant Rhenum
per dei clemenciam.

O felix Constantia,
cui tam prestantia
Bohemorum natio.

Hinc ad locum passionis
duxit eas dux agonis
florem sue iuventutis
parvi pendunt, spem salutis,
euntes Coloniam.

O felix Colonia
subter cuius menia
barbarorum rabies.
Dona celse gratie
pro fructu ecclesie
misit a solatio.
...

Quorum sequi vestigia
da, Christe, hic nos in via,
frui te in patria
per seculorum secula.

Quorum oracionibus
felices cum felicibus,
pace fruamur sedula
in seculorum secula.

Example 2

(Rex regum, strophe 2b)

Pie, iuste et sancte preclarus magister
deo et hominibus dilectus presbiter
doctrinis et moribus clarebat pariter.
Example 3

Esztregom Leipzig (?)

I Vesperae

ant 1 Iubilans olim honore D authentic
ant 2 Nam duo luminaria D plagal
ant 3 Quos dira Constancia E authentic
ant 4 Fide firma E plagal
ant 5 Laus uni deo F authentic

Resp Gaude, felix Bohemia F authentic

antM Christum, regem martirum F authentic

Matutinum

inv Regem regum adoremus

ant 1 Quam preciosus martir D authentic
ant Qui severo passus a clero D plagal
ant Hunc Christus

Resp 1 Letare gens Boemie F authentic
Resp 2 Preciosa mors martirum G authentic

II Vesperae

ant 1 Verus Christi cultor D authentic
ant 2 Est et alter Ieronimus D plagal
ant 3 In numeris E authentic
ant 4 O felix Boemorum regio E plagal
ant 5 Vos, milites omnes Christi F authentic

antM Iocundare, Germania F (auth/plag)
antM O lumen Boemie F (auth/plag)
A Remarkable Witness to the Feast of Saint Jan Hus

ant 1  Iubilans olim honore  D authentic
ant 2  O mira innocencia  D plagal
ant 3  Humana crudelitas  E authentic
ant 4  Nobilis gemma  E plagal
ant 5  Ecclesie predicator  F (auth/plag)

Resp  Gaude, felix Bohemia  F (auth/plag)
hy   Pange ligua gloriosi  [text only]
antM Iocundare, Germania  F (auth/plag)
hy   Plaudat chorus fidelium  [text only]

Mass

intr  Gaudeamus omnes in domino  [rubric]
Ky   Paschale vel de martyribus  [rubric]
All  Letetur in domino
seq  Rex regum, Ihesu Christe
seq  Clericalis turma, gaude

II Vesperae

antM  Christum, regem martyrum  F authentic
Example 4

(Esztregom Antiphonary)

ant 1
Iubilans olim honore
adest namque nobilitas,
exhilarans sacro more,
Pragensis fulge, civitas.

ant 2
Nam duo luminaria
ex te emerserunt,
ac per acra martyria
ad celum migrarunt.

ant 3
Quos dira Constancia
flamma incendii coronavit,
hos celi milicia
empyrreo polo sociavit.

ant 4
Fide firma, spe benigna
Iohannes hus, Christi verna,
una cum Ieronimo
adheserunt Domino.

ant 5
Laus uni Deo,
qui ethereo
hos martires locans celo
nobis eorum meritis
dat uti ymnis celicis.

Example 5

ant 1
Iubilans olim honore
adest namque nobilitas,
exhilarans sacro more
Pragensis fulge civitas.
Nam duo luminaria
ex te emerserunt

ac per acta martyria
in celum migrarunt,
que dira Constantia
flamma incendii coronavit
sed celi milicia
empyrreo polo sociavit.
Alleluia.

ant 2
O mira innocencia
testium falsorum
infamata eius firma
constancia verborum
mansuete rebellata
ut ovis humillima
stetit ad iudicandum.

ant 3
Humana crudelitas
innoxium adiudicavit,
a mira benignitas
deum pro ipsis exoravit,
tandem a blasphematoribus exutus
ecclesiasticis vestibus degradatus.

ant 4
Nobilis gemma predatorum
tam inhumane tractatur
novam turmam spectans beatorum
demonibus commendatur,
corona desuper depicta
maledictioneque repleta
ducitur ad martyrium.

ant 5
Ecclesie predator
statue alligatur
verbi dei seminator
igne diro crematur
animam deo commendans
sic vitam consumat,
gloriam celi expectans
eternaliter triumphat.
A Remarkable Witness to the Feast of Saint Jan Hus

Musical Example A

Sempi-ter-ne do-mi-ne, Ihe-su Chi-ste pi-e,
dimi-te pec-ca-mi-na, da do-na ho-di-e.
So-cian-s in pa-tria nos pre-di-ca-to-ri

glo-ri-o-so, mar-ty-ri be-a-to Io-han-ni.
A Remarkable Witness to the Feast of Saint Jan Hus

Responsory Gaude, felix Bohemia

Musical Example B
Antiphon Jubilans olim

Esztergom
\(\text{lubilans olim honore}\)

= antiphon 2

Esztergom
\(\text{Nam duo lumina exete} \text{emserunt}\)

Leipzig

= antiphon 3

Esztergom
\(\text{Quos diva Constancia flamma incendi}\)

Leipzig

Musical Example C