
Witnesses of a New Liturgical Practice: the *Ordines missae* of Three Utraquist Manuscripts¹

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From a careful analysis of the items which touch on liturgical matters found in the protocols of the Utraquist Consistory (dating from 1562–1570) I have published a list of liturgical practices which diverged from the norms of the Consistory and which were reported to be occurring in a variety of Utraquist parishes.² I shall now attempt to connect these liturgical practices with five contemporary liturgical *ordines* which show varying degrees of distinctiveness from the traditional *ordo* of the Prague Use of the Roman (Western) rite in the late Middle Ages.³

Let us first summarise the basic complaints which we have encountered in the protocols concerning the liturgical shape (*ordo missae*), the canon of the mass (*canon missae*), and the minor canon (*canon minor*). In certain parishes, the order of the mass has been significantly changed. In Kutná Hora, the following liturgical order is applied to the early morning service on Sundays: consecration – singing – [short] sermon – communion – great sermon – dismissal from the church. Similar changes occurred also in the structure and the substance of the canon of the mass (*canon missae*), as well as the so-called minor canon (*canon minor*). Priests altered their texts, left out certain parts, or omitted them in their entirety. Some of them preserved only what, according to their opinion, belonged “*ad substantialem Sacramenti constitutionem*,”

¹ In this part of my article, I rely to a considerable degree on my doctoral dissertation, Pavel Kolář, *Svätostná teologie Jakoubka ze Stříbra a její liturgická recepcie v utrakvismu* [The Sacramental Theology of Jakoubek of Stříbro and its liturgical reception in Utraquism] (HTF UK, Prague, 2007), of which certain parts are included here.

² See, Pavel Kolář, “Utraquist Liturgical Practice in the Later Sixteenth Century,” *BRRP* 8 (2011) 223–234. Many of the recorded proceedings of the Consistory were initiated on the basis of complaints against Utraquist priests and their liturgical practice. Some of these complaints thus show an evident personal and polemical character which, at the very least, casts a shadow of doubt on the credibility of the description of the practice investigated by the Consistory. In an extreme case, we can assume that the substance of the complaint was invented with the intent of harming the priest. But whatever the motives of the complaints, I assume that the authors of the complaints were describing practices which they had themselves encountered or about which they had learned. Thus their account could appear credible to the Consistory and serve as an incentive for an investigation.

³ See, David. R. Holeton, “The Evolution of Utraquist Eucharistic Liturgy: a textual study,” in *BRRP* 2 (1998) 97–126; *idem*, “All Manner of Wonder under the Sun: A Curious Development in the Evolution of Utraquist Eucharistic Liturgy,” *BRRP* 3 (2000) 161–172.

that is, what was obligatory according to their institution by Jesus Christ. The substance of Christ's institution thus included: a. the words of institution ("verba essentialia"), b. *Oratio Dominica*; c. "*pias preces ex maiori a minori canone*." At other times there is an explicit mention of the omission of the reference to *intercessionem sanctorum*, represented in the context of the Roman mass canon especially by the passages *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque*. Another part of the canon, which might have been left out because of a refusal to pray for the dead, was the *Memento etiam* (a supplication for the dead). There was also the possibility of omitting the *Sanctus* chant, which constituted the doxological conclusion of the prefaces. An extreme reduction of the *canon missae* involved retaining only the *verba consecrationis*. We are informed only vaguely about the changes of the so-called *canon missae*, except for the explicit mention of the exhortation *Orate fratres*, which is habitually omitted.⁴

Now let us proceed to a detailed analysis of the three liturgical texts which testify to the Utraquist *lex orandi* in the sixteenth century. For the sake of the lucidity of the explication, it is necessary to introduce abbreviations for the individual *ordines*.

Designation of <i>ordines missae</i>	Manuscript Source
<i>Ordo A</i>	Prague KNM III F 17: <i>Voltářní knihy Adama Táborského</i> ; Latin <i>ordo missae</i> , f. 11r – 29r.
<i>Ordo B</i>	Prague KNM III F 17: <i>Voltářní knihy Adama Táborského</i> ; Unabbreviated Czech <i>ordo missae</i> , f. 29r – 48v.
<i>Ordo C</i>	Prague KNM III F 17: <i>Voltářní knihy Adama Táborského</i> ; Abbreviated Czech <i>ordo missae</i> , f. 1v – 11r.
<i>Ordo D</i>	Prague NK adlig. 54 A 41: Czech <i>ordo missae</i> , the rubrics of which indicate the possibility of its use according to both its shortened, and its complete version; some of its parts are close to the text of the Lutheran <i>Agenda česká</i> .
<i>Ordo E</i>	Prague KNM III G 3: the so-called "Benešovská agenda"; a Czech <i>ordo missae</i> , which in its structure is very close to Luther's <i>Formula missae</i>

2.1. Prague KNM III F 17

The Library of the National Museum holds the manuscript of the Utraquist agenda known as the *Voltářní knihy Adama Táborského* [Altar Book of Adam of Tabor] (Prague KNM MS III F 17). In his article about the Agenda

⁴ Kolář, "Utraquist Liturgical Practice," 224f.

of Benešov (Benešovská agenda),⁵ Ferdinand Hrejsa⁶ mentions the manuscript, and considers the *Voltářní knihy* to be an important witness to the gradual penetration of Lutheran liturgical principles into the Utraquist liturgical tradition. In his work, Hrejsa provided a concise description of the *Voltářní knihy* with a discussion of its dating and authorship.⁷ On the basis of f. 1r⁸ we can hold priest Adam of Tábor to be the author of the *Voltářní knihy*.⁹ The colophon further informs us that the manuscript is a copy of the *Knihy*, copied in 1588 by Václav Čáslavský. Nevertheless, Hrejsa is of the opinion that this dating can refer only to f. 1r-169v,¹⁰ while the text on the additional folios must be dated to 1616.¹¹ It is not our task to decide what temporal layers can be distinguished in the text of the agenda. We can, however, state with certainty that its *ordines missae* – which we shall examine in more detail – can be dated to the years before 1588. We can set aside a detailed description of the entire text of the agenda, inasmuch as this task will be surely performed in the planned critical edition of the *Voltářní knihy*.¹² Let us merely outline the agenda's contents, which will adumbrate its character for us.

If we trust Hrejsa's dating, then the first part of agenda, which we date at the latest to 1588, has the following structure:

1. the abbreviated Czech *ordo missae* (herein *Ordo C*), ff. 1v-11r;
2. unabbreviated Latin *ordo missae* (herein *Ordo A*), ff. 11r-29r;
3. unabbreviated Czech *ordo missae* (herein *Ordo B*), ff. 29r-48v;
4. Czech texts of songs for the *graduale*; ff. 49r-52v;
5. Czech prefaces ff. 53r-103r (for the feast of Master Jan Hus on ff. 74v-76v);
6. Czech *evangelary* (i.e., eight Gospel pericopes for the major Holy Days of the liturgical year), ff. 103v-116v;

⁵ Prague KNM III G 3, our article devotes an independent section to it.

⁶ Ferdinand Hrejsa, "Benešovská agenda novoutrakvistická" [The Neo-Utraquist Agenda of Benešov], ČMKČ 92 (1918) 57–67, 165–174, 228–237.

⁷ Hrejsa, "Benešovská agenda," 235 n. 1.

⁸ "This is the Altar Book with the canon, prefaces and with the *Venite* [belonging to] the venerable priest Adam, a native of Tábor, and transcribed, for the liturgical needs of one and every priest, by me Václav Čáslavský, from the town of Písek, in the parish of the village Bubovice, A.D. one thousand five hundred eighty-eight."

⁹ Hrejsa concluded on the basis of the marginal notation that the localities "Bubovice" and "Březnice" did not refer to the copyist Čáslavský, but to the original writer, Adam of Tábor.

¹⁰ Ff. 129v-130v in the manuscript contains only scribes' exercises and abortive entries.

¹¹ Hrejsa, "Benešovská agenda," 235 n. 1. With reference to f. 228r, Hrejsa attributes the later dating to the texts on ff. 170r – 274r in particular. The note on f. 228r mentions that the following text is a Czech translation of a Latin chant of St. Bernard, which was produced and published on 14 September 1607 by priest Jiří Hanuš Lanškrounský. Ff. 131r-169v contain largely Czech texts for vespers. The agenda itself does not end until f. 284v.

¹² This task has been assumed by David R. Holeton within the framework of the series *Monumenta Liturgica Bohemica* [MLB].

7. *Rex sanctorum* with a prayer of blessing over baptismal water; ff. 116v-127r;
8. Latin preface for the feast of the apostles (*De apostolis*), ff. 127v-129r.
9. Latin *invitatoria*, ff. 131–156v;
10. Czech texts for Sunday *vespers*, ff. 157r-169v;

The second – according to Hrejsa’s dating – later part of the agenda then has the following order:

11. Czech texts for the office of Good Friday (the burial of Christ), ff. 170r-174r;
12. Czech texts for the morning procession on Easter Sunday, ff. 174r-187v;
13. Czech texts for the morning service (“matura”) on Easter Sunday, ff. 188r-215v;
14. liturgical songs and other texts for various occasions (e.g. Litanies on ff. 223r-228r), ff. 216r-284v.

The *Voltářní knihy* thus appear to be a kind of agenda, which served the Utraquist parish clergy and offered them the basic Czech texts for some of the rituals that they were to perform.¹³ By itself, however, the *Voltářní knihy* was not sufficient. For example, to celebrate the eucharist, it would be necessary to have a collectar, texts with the readings (epistolary and evangeliary or printed bible), and a gradual with the liturgical chants. Because of the limited scope of our article, our attention will focus on the *ordines missae*, which the agenda contains.

2.1.1. Latin *Ordo A* and Czech *ordines B* and *C*

With their basic structure and their textual content, all three *ordines* belong entirely to the existing tradition of Western (Roman) liturgy which at that time still allowed for a certain local variability.¹⁴ Nevertheless, these *ordines* show some important deviations that – especially in *Ordo C* – transgress the boundaries of liturgical variation tolerated at that time.¹⁵

¹³ However, how to conduct rituals, which the book does not mention (for instance, funerals, weddings, baptisms, and others) still remained an open question. It is most probable that the clergy used older liturgical books which were available in their parishes, or certain occasional liturgical “booklets” (*libelli*) with Czech texts for the individual feast days or rituals. Which liturgical manuscripts may have been found in the standard library of Utraquist priests remains an interesting question for future research.

¹⁴ Josef Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum Sollemnia)*, trans. F. A. Brunner 2 vv. (New York, 1955).

¹⁵ See, the Appendix to this article.

a) The Canon of the Mass (*canon missae, canon maior*)

The canon of the mass in *ordines A* and *B* lacks certain traditional parts: the *Communicantes*, *Memento etiam*, and *Nobis quoque* are all missing.¹⁶ Although it is difficult to make any definitive deduction from this, we should note that the *Memento* is a prayer for the dead, whose names may be mentioned at that point and the *Communicantes* and *Nobis quoque* combine an invocation of the community of saints and their merits. Both the Latin and Czech mass orders, likewise abbreviate the *Te igitur* (the introductory prayer of the canon), by omitting the part that begins with a reference to the pope. To what extent this editing of the canon reflects the influence of the Protestant Reformation – and its attitude toward the question of the saints and their merits¹⁷ – is difficult to say, because the Utraquist tradition preserved the veneration of saints, as is clearly witnessed by the prefaces in the *Voltářní knihy*.¹⁸ Perhaps the reason for the omission of these parts (except for the editing of the *Te igitur*) was an effort to emphasise that the canon was understood as a prayer of consecration over the gifts of bread and wine (*oblationes*), and a prayer for those who would share in their reception. A much more radical step was taken by the editor of *Ordo C*, who decided to omit the canon of the mass entirely.

b) minor canon (*canon minor*)

During the High and the Late Middle Ages in the West, the rite of the preparation of the gifts with the *offertorium* was increasingly modelled on the pattern of the *canon missae* and, eventually, came to be known as the *canon minor*.¹⁹ The language of the prayers became increasingly “consecratory” and signs of the cross over both elements multiplied vastly. In effect, it became difficult to distinguish visibly whether eucharistic consecration took place within the *canon missae* or the *canon minor*. In Latin *Ordo A* we find relatively minor changes made to the *canon minor*.²⁰ In Czech *Ordo B* the *canon minor* is expanded with prayers calling for the consecration of the elements which clearly anticipate those normally proper to the *canon missae* creating some doubt as to exactly when eucharistic “consecration” is taking place. *Ordo C*

¹⁶ Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite*, 2:147–274.

¹⁷ Čtyři vyznání (Augsburské, Bratrské, Helvetské a České): Se čtyřmi vyznáními starocírkevními a se čtyřmi články pražskými [Four Confessions (Augsburg, Brethren's, Helvetian, and Bohemian): With Four Confessions of the Ancient Church, and the Four Articles of Prague], eds. Rudolf Řičan and others (Prague, 1951) 79f, 169–171, 197f, and 303.

¹⁸ The *Voltářní knihy* includes prefaces for the feast days of the Virgin Mary, Master Jan Hus (together with Jerome of Prague), Mary Magdalene, James the apostle, John the Baptist the apostles Peter and Paul, and Lawrence. Likewise, it contains prefaces for the commons *de confessoribus*, *de martyribus*, *de virginis*, *de apostolis*, *de omnium sanctorum*, *pro defunctis*, etc.

¹⁹ J. Wickham Legg, “A Comparative Study of the Time in the Christian Liturgy at which the Elements are Prepared and Set on the Holy Table,” in J. Wickham Legg, *Ecclesiological Essays* (London, 1905) 89–178. Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite* II:97–100.

²⁰ Under the influence of the *ordo missae* of Bamberg, the rite for the preparation of the gifts is separated from the *offertorium* by the reading of the Gospel.

remarkably takes this development one stage further. The *verba institutionis* (the words of institution) are taken out of the *canon missae* and inserted into the rite of the preparation of the gifts transforming the *canon minor* into the rite of consecration. The *ordines* of the *Voltárni knihy* thus are witnesses to a radical transformation of the rite of the preparation of the gifts (*canon minor*), the *canon missae*, and, thus, the entire *ordo missae*. This is particularly the case of *Ordo C*, which was created to satisfy the need for a shortened celebration of the eucharist in the early hours of Sunday morning.²¹

2.2. Prague NK adlig. 54 A 41

The Utraquist *ordo missae*,²² which we have designated *Ordo D*,²³ is a manuscript – partly notated – with the *ordo* for a liturgical celebration with the eucharist. Held by the Czech National Library as adlig. 54 A 41, it is bound behind a printed liturgical text. Each of the two texts have their own pagination.

The printed text bears the title *Ewangelia a nebo čtení swatá kteráž slowau Passie. Řeči některé Prorocké a Prefacij obyčegné, to jest: Zpěwowé k zwlásstním hodům weyročním náležití w nowé zprawení a wytisštění* [The Gospels or the sacred readings, which are called the Passions. Some Prophetic speeches and Ordinary Prefaces, that is: Chants for special annual feast days, cast into a new form and printed]. The printed text is dated at Náměšť (a town with a Brethren's print shop) on 17 May 1571. Jan Blahoslav is given as the author.²⁴ The liturgical character of the two texts, both of which are partly notated, is the probable reason why our manuscript – which contains an unusual liturgical *ordo* – was bound together with the volume bearing the signature NK 54 A 41. The manuscript is not dated, but on the grounds of a structural analogy with the text of the abbreviated Czech liturgical *ordo* of the *Voltárni knihy* of Adam of Tábor (1588)²⁵ and the liturgical *ordo* of the *Agenda česká* (1581),²⁶ we can date it to the second half of the sixteenth century, and definitely before 1588. The fact that the manuscript text of the preface, recorded on ff. 8v-9r, is not the same as the text of any of the prefaces in the Brethren's printed liturgical book – and also differs from it in its orthography – indicates that the

²¹ Prague KNM III F 17, f. 11r.

²² The Utraquist origin of the manuscript – as evident from the further discussion – is beyond any doubt.

²³ The text of *Ordo D*, as used in this article, is transliterated.

²⁴ Prague NK 54 A 41 f. 1v.

²⁵ Both manuscripts also observe analogous orthographic rules.

²⁶ *Agenda česká* (Leipzig, 1581), a copy of which is held by the Library of the Evangelical Theological Faculty UK in Prague (signature 1T 161). The *Agenda* contains liturgical texts exclusively in the Czech language but, according to its preface, draws on other (German) Lutheran agenda for its sources. We need to postpone its more exact characterisation until the time, when its critical edition appears in the series MLB. The same is true for the question of who were its intended users.

manuscript liturgical *ordo* is of independent origin from the printed Brethren's text. An overall interpretation of the structure of the liturgical *ordo* is difficult. Its rubrics apply to both the abbreviated and unabbreviated practice of the liturgy²⁷ as we encounter it also in the *Voltárni knihy* of Adam of Tábor which, however, offer for each variant an independent formulary. In contrast, the author of *Ordo D*, adopts another approach. In the first part, he introduces the *ordo* of the abbreviated liturgy, while in the second part he offers texts with the rubrics for a high mass (*welikau mssi*), but only for the part that follows after the *Credo*. The problem of interpretation arises especially from the question of the form assumed in the high mass by the prayers before the altar at the beginning of the liturgy,²⁸ and by the so-called minor canon (*menssi canon*).²⁹

Here follows the basic structure of the abbreviated form of *Ordo D*, which is entirely described in the text and explained by the rubrics:

1. Preparatory rites [f. 2r]:
 - 1.1. preparatory prayers (Lord's Prayer, Hail Mary, Confession of the Catholic Christian Faith, the Commandments: Ten and Six);
 - 1.2. vesting in the liturgical vestments (alb and chasuble);
2. Prayers in front of the altar [f. 2r]
3. <Introit> [f. 2r]
4. <Kyrie> [ff. 2r – 2v]
5. The preparation of the corporal, the chalice, and the ciborium [f. 2v]
6. <Gloria in Excelsis > [f. 2v]
7. <Collect> [f. 2v]
8. <Epistle> [f. 3r]
9. <Alleluia with prose> [f. 3r]
10. Preparation of the host, and pouring wine [and water] into the chalice: Twice: In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ [f. 3r]
11. <Gospel> [ff. 3r-3v]
12. <Credo> [f. 3v]
13. <Minor Canon> [ff. 3v-4v]
 - 13.1. *In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ... O Lord, I sinful priest with a humble spirit and a penitent heart...*

²⁷ F. 2r: And if the priest is to serve a high mass, he can omit as much before the altar as during the *summa*.

²⁸ Kolář, *Svätostná teologie*, 21–24.

²⁹ F. 5r: And having carefully put down the sacrament, quickly having folded the cassock, he should prepare for himself the chasuble and approach the altar for the high mass, the structure of which you find here in the rubric. *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, etc. up to the *Credo*. And if you do not intend to serve in the morning and the communicants will not come until the high [mass], then omit the saying of those words of the table of the Lord's supper, or their singing, until after the great sermon and after the preface, as soon as the students finish singing the *Credo*, then immediately let the priest, having turned around, perform the *Offertorium*, either aloud or silently.

- 13.2. *Our Father*...
- 13.3. prayer over the host: *Almighty eternal God...may this bread become for us the body of Our Lord*
- 13.4. prayer over the chalice: *Almighty eternal God...let this wine be the blood of Our Lord...*
- 13.5. prayer of consecration: + *Come...O Lord...+sanctify these gifts...*
- 13.6. <the words of *Institution*>
14. <*Sermon*> [f. 4v]
15. <*Communion*> while singing the songs “*O most glorious body of God*” or “*Most precious holy blood*” [ff. 4v-5r]

On the basis of my analyses,³⁰ we can reconstruct the unabbreviated liturgical *ordo* of the manuscript as follows:

Its first part entirely coincides with the structure (1–13), cited above for the abbreviated *Ordo D*, with the exceptions of the augmentation of section 2 by the addition of <penitential prayers + responsoria>,³¹ and in section 13 the omission of the concluding 13.6 <the words of *Institution*>. Sections 14 and 15 are omitted entirely. The second part then assumes this form:

14. *Offertorium* (is reduced merely to the introductory dialogue) [f. 5r]
15. Song before the sermon “*Let us implore the Holy Spirit, the Faithful Comforter...*” [f. 5v]
16. <*Secreta*> [f. 5v]
17. Prayer before the altar for the sermon [f. 6r]
18. *Our Father*
19. Introduction to the Gospel [f. 6r-6v]
20. <*Gospel*> [f. 6v]
21. <*Sermon*> [ff. 6v-7r]
22. prayer of intercession [ff. 7r-7v]
23. General confession + *Our Father* + absolution [ff. 7v-8r]
24. Announcement [f. 8r]
25. <*Preface*> [ff. 8v-9r]
26. <*Sanctus*> [ff. 9r-9v]
27. The “great canon” [*weliký kánon*] [ff. 9v-12v]
- 27.1. prayer of intercession
- 27.2. prayer “Sprinkle me with *hyssop*...” (Ps 51,9)
- 27.3. *Our Father*
- 27.4. <*Institutio [verba]*>
28. Hymn with the theme of the words of *Institution* [ff. 12r-13r]
29. Dialogue between the priest and the communicants – testimony of faith + absolution [ff. 13r-14r]

³⁰ Kolář, *Svátostná teologie*, 24–26.

³¹ See n. 42.

30. *Our Father* [f. 14r]
31. Prayer before communion [f. 14r]
32. <Communion> [f. 14r]

If we compare the unabbreviated *Ordo D* with the liturgical *ordo* of the *Agenda česká*,³² we cannot doubt that the author of *Ordo D* had as his model, among others, the liturgical *ordo* which is contained in the *Agenda česká*, and was guided by it in the formulation of his *Ordo D*, especially in the part following the *Credo*. The mutual relationship is also convincingly documented by the fact that the second prayer of intercession (27.1) in *Ordo D* (although inserted elsewhere) loosely reproduces the content of the intercessory prayer in the *Agenda česká*. The text of the chant *Sanctus* (26./10.), *Institutio* (27.4./13.), and likewise the hymn on the theme of the words of the institution (28./14.) are identical in both texts. Because we lack a complete modern study of the sources of Reformational agenda in Bohemia and Moravia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, we are prevented from deducing – on the basis of the mentioned mutual structural relationships between the manuscript *Ordo D* and the *Agenda česká* – the direct dependence of *Ordo D* on the *Agenda*. For we are not able to state with certainty that the liturgical sequence *Sanctus* – *Pater noster*–*Institutio* – *Hymn* constituted an autonomous liturgical unit in the Czech language which was shared by diverse Reformational eucharistic traditions in Bohemia and Moravia in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³³ We can, however, state with certainty that *Ordo D* in its eucharistic rite genetically belongs to the liturgical practice which is contained in the *Agenda česká*.³⁴ This proven correlation helps us clarify yet another uncertainty which we encounter in the study of *Ordo D*. It is the character of the unit of prayers (*Our Father* and *Hail Mary*), the Creed and the Decalogue, with which *Ordo D* begins. We encounter this idiosyncratic liturgical element – except for the prayer *Hail Mary* – likewise in the *Agenda česká*.³⁵ In the *Agenda* it appears as the introductory part for a liturgical *ordo*, which the *Agenda* calls “*Matura*, that is, a morning sermon in the towns and villages for Sundays and feast days.”³⁶ Thus, it is an introduction to the morning (and evening) Reformational office, connected with a sermon.³⁷

³² Kolář, *Svátozná teologie*, 26f.

³³ This diversity was recently noted and properly documented, among others, in *Coena Dominica Bohemica*. ARBI 4 (2006) which offers editions of several important liturgical texts of the Unity of Brethren and the Utraquist Church from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

³⁴ An informative survey of this Reformational tradition is offered by Frank Senn, *Christian Liturgy: Catholic and Evangelical* (Minneapolis, 1997) 323–447.

³⁵ *Agenda česká*, 21–22: “At first the following **preces** are sung: Our Father, etc.; I believe in God, etc.; the Decalogue, etc.; the Summary of God’s Law; Thanksgiving, and Morning prayer: ‘O, God Almighty; etc. as all of this can be properly found in the booklets, which are called Vespers.”

³⁶ *Agenda česká*, 21f.

³⁷ Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský, *Pisně chval božských* (1606) [Songs of Divine Praise (1606)] in *Coena Dominica Bohemica*, 243–290. Závorka’s family was close to the Unity of Brethren,

Ordo D – together with the three *ordines* of the *Voltární knihy* – offers another witness to the transformation of the traditional Latin Roman liturgical *ordo* in the Late Middle Ages. While the liturgical complex of *canon misse et communio* is transformed in accordance with the liturgical practice that we encounter in the *Agenda česká*, the rite of the preparation of the gifts with *offertorium* on the other hand reflects an influence of that practice as it appears in *ordines A, B* and *C*.

2.3. Prague KNM III G 3

The last Utraquist *ordo*, to which we shall pay attention in this article which we have designated as *Ordo E*, is found on folios 44r-48r³⁸ of MS Prague, KNM III G 3. Systematic attention was already devoted to it by Ferdinand Hrejsa in a series of articles published in the *ČMKČ*.³⁹ He delves not only into the overall characteristic of the codex, but also offers a detailed sketch of its contents with the citation of relevant folios. From our point of view, we find particularly important Hrejsa's conclusion that the text is by and large a fragmentary and incomplete Utraquist agenda⁴⁰ which consists of two clearly distinguishable parts. The first, and older, part is recorded on ff. [0]-57r, the second, newer, part then follows from f. 57v. The series of *benedictiones* (ff. [0]-24r), the procession for Sunday after the feast of Corpus Christi (ff.25r-30v), the processional hymn *Rex sanctorum* with the blessing of baptismal water (ff. 19r-23v), etc., which appear in the first part of the manuscript, attest to the close relation of the agenda's first part to the medieval Prague Use of the Roman rite.⁴¹ Hrejsa dates it between 1520 and 1526.⁴² The second part of the agenda is, in contrast, characterised by a great diversity in its contents – scriptural texts, numerous songs, a baptismal rite, poems, drafts of speeches, connected not only with liturgy proper, but also with municipal events, such as a change in administration, and others⁴³ – as

but Závorka himself served in the Utraquist Church. Halama assigns this liturgical text to the Utraquists rather than to the Unity, see Ota Halama, "Utrakvistické agendy k večeři Páně," [Utraquist Agendas for the Lord's Supper] in *Coena Dominica Bohemica*, 133–151.

³⁸ The manuscript has been foliated twice. The first system (and probably the original) ends at f. 57v and appears in the upper right hand corner of each folio. It attests to several missing folios (e.g. 19 and 20). The second foliation is in the lower outer corner of each folio and continues to the end of the manuscript.

³⁹ Hrejsa, "Benešovská agenda," 57–67, 165–174, 228–237.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 58.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 61. Hrejsa refers to an otherwise unidentified manuscript Prague missal which he dates 1294 and the printed Prague missal of 1496.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 64. Hrejsa suggests that the inserted prayer against the Turk (f. 58v) indicates that at the time of the use of the first part the Turkish invasion was perceived as a threat. This would perhaps point to the period of 1526.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 64–67, 165–174, 228–232.

well as diverse annotations in a variety of hands. This indicates a long-lasting use of the agenda by a number of clergy (among whom the foremost place belongs to Izaiáš Camillus, dean of Benešov since 1591⁴⁴), who frequently wrote in new texts according to need. Hrejsa considers 1608 as the date *ante quem* of the entire agenda.

Ordo E is written on ff. 44r-48r of the above mentioned codex and, thus, belongs to that part of the agenda which Hrejsa considered as older (from the 1520s). Herewith the basic structure of *Ordo E*:

1. *Confessio*
2. *Canon minor* = prayer for the blessing of the gifts (bread and wine)
3. *Preface*
4. [*Sanctus*]⁴⁵
5. *Canon maior*
 - 5.1. Text Lk 22:7–18;
 - 5.2. *Institutio (Consecratio)* = text 1 Cor 11:23b-29:33.34b
 - 5.3. *Pater noster*
6. *Agnus Dei*
7. *Oratio ante communionem* (prayer for a worthy communion)
8. [*Communio*]
9. *Oratio post communionem* (prayer for the appropriation of the fruits of communion)
10. *Blessing*

An interpretation of *Ordo E* as outlined above is not as simple as it might appear. Most likely, it does not represent a full *ordo* for a celebration of the eucharist. We are missing any indications of the traditional elements of the introductory part of the liturgy such as, for instance, the Introit, Kyrie, Gloria, Collect, Epistle and the Gospel, or the Credo. Parts 1–10 of the *ordo* form a single unit, following – regardless of its concrete contents – by and large a traditional structure. If we admit that the introductory *confessio* was placed during a celebration of the liturgy at the very beginning,⁴⁶ then we must assume that between the *confessio* and the beginning of the *Canon minor* there were precisely those missing traditional elements. (We can reasonably think of the Epistle, the Gospel, the hymns – which our manuscript contains in large number elsewhere in the codex – and prayers, possibly even the Credo.) Whoever put together *Ordo E*, most likely intended to offer the priest an alternative *ordo* for those parts of the original Utraquist liturgy (to which the

⁴⁴ Ibid., 232.

⁴⁵ Although it is not recorded in the text, it is presupposed by the traditional conclusion of the Preface.

⁴⁶ As it is possible to judge from a comparison of the individual *confessiones* in the table of the preceding section in *Ordo D*.

Voltární knihy is also a witness), which for pastoral or theological⁴⁷ reasons he considered inappropriate.⁴⁸ If this was his real intention, he did not have any reason to mention those of its elements, which he considered traditional and appropriate. In that case, *Ordo E* would correspond to the structure of liturgy which was suggested by Martin Luther in his treatise *Formula Missae et Communionis* of 1523.⁴⁹ Although in its contents *Ordo E* leans toward Luther's early liturgical reform, it retains one trait which connects it with the Utraquist tradition – “the prayer for the sanctification of the gifts” that is designated as the *canon minor*. This is located in its traditional place, that is, before the preface.⁵⁰ If in *Ordo D* we found a distinct influence of the Reformational (Lutheran) liturgical reform – that had affected especially the structure of the eucharistic *ordo* – then in *Ordo E* we encounter an example of a Utraquist liturgical *ordo* which might reflect an early stage of this reform more consistently. With reference to the structure of the *canon minor* in both *ordines* we can then assume that *Ordo D* follows more closely the liturgical practice represented by *Ordo B* of the *Voltární knihy*.⁵¹

The Agenda of Benešov (*Benešovská agenda*) also witnesses to yet another practice that is also criticised in the protocols of the Utraquist Consistory. On ff. 39r-41v, the Agenda contains rites for the celebration of the Easter *Triduum*.⁵² The text includes two rubrics that instruct the priest what prayer (*oraci*) he is to sing “before you deposit the Sacrament into the tomb” (f. 39r) and “before you take the Sacrament out of the tomb” (f. 40r). In the margin beside the first rubric there is depicted an artless image of a red chalice, which indicates that a chalice with wine is deposited in the tomb as well as the host (in a monstrance). According to the protocols of the Utraquist

⁴⁷ For instance, there is no reference to the gifts in the sense of *sacrificium* (or *oblatio*), which appears in the Latin text of *canon missae* as a part of *Ordo A* of the *Voltární knihy*, ff. 20v-22r.

⁴⁸ See, Senn, *Christian Liturgy*, 275–279.

⁴⁹ 1. Introit; 1a. *Confiteor*; 2. *Kyrie*; 3. *Gloria*; 4. Collect; 5. Epistle; 6. *Graduale*; 7. Gospel; 8. *Credo*; 9. *Sermo*; 10. Preparation of the gifts (without the prayers of *canon minor*); 11. *Praefatio*; 12. *Sanctus*; 13. *Verba institutionis*; 14. *Pater noster* (without the petition *Libera nos*); 15. *Pax Domini*; 16. *Agnus Dei*; 17. *Communio*; 18. *Benedictio*. See, Senn, *Christian Liturgy*, 275–279; Hans-Christian Drömann, “Die Formula Missae 1523,” in “Das Abendmahl nach den Ordnungen Martin Luthers,” in Irmgard Pahl ed., *Coena Domini* (Freiburg Schweiz, 1983) 1:33–36. Nevertheless, there is yet another solution, the relative likelihood of which will emerge from a comparison with the four Brethren's agenda, which considered the prayer of contrition a fixed component of “the service of the Lord's Supper.” See, Kolář, *Svatostná teologie*, 33ff.

⁵⁰ See, Senn, *Christian Liturgy*, 337f. and 365f., who presents examples of individual Reformational *ordines*, which place the “the prayer for the sanctification of the gifts” (similar to the Brethren's practice) into the context of the *Institutio*.

⁵¹ I assume this based on a comparison of the *canon minor* with the Brethren's liturgical practice. See n. 63 below.

⁵² The manuscript on ff. 19r-23v introduces *Rex sanctorum* and *benedictio super aquam* that also belong to the Easter *triduum*.

Consistory, some priests similarly placed “into the tomb” not only the host (in the monstrance), but also the chalice. A priest from Chrudim did so referring to an analogy of carrying the sacrament *ad infirmos*, and the priest Zderaz of Prague deposited “into the tomb” both the monstrance and the chalice accompanied by the appropriate chant. The Consistory, however, viewed critically the practice of placing the chalice with wine “into the tomb” and considered the deposition of the monstrance with a host alone as the norm.⁵³

3. Summary

The ritual of “depositing the sacrament into the tomb” of the Agenda of Benešov on Good Friday is one concrete witness to a practice which can be encountered in the protocols of the Utraquist Consistory in 1562–1570. The liturgical *ordines* **A**, **B**, **C**, and **D**, which we have discussed, demonstrate individual redactions and transformations of not only the traditional Roman *ordo missae*, but also of the much older *canon missae*. They furthermore show attempts to transform the so-called minor canon. The liturgical manuscripts examined offer concrete examples of practices which the Utraquist Consistory criticised and rejected. In our opinion *ordines* **C** and **D** offer clear examples of attempts to introduce “alternative” liturgical practices into Utraquism in the late sixteenth century.⁵⁴ The sources examined suggest the possibility that the changes in the traditional Prague Use of the Roman rite which the Utraquist Consistory condemned might have been more common than just rare local excesses but, rather, witnessed to a rapidly spreading new liturgical use. In this context, it is interesting to note the desire of Adam of Tábor, the author of the *Voltářní knihy* to see his agenda become the fundamental liturgical book used by the Utraquist clergy.⁵⁵ We can see here an effort towards safeguarding the existing Prague liturgical tradition in the new historical context of the Protestant Reformation, and limiting the spread of innovations among the Utraquist clergy and faithful. The protocols of the Utraquist Consistory from 1562–1570 and individual liturgical texts are relevant witnesses.

⁵³ Kolář, “Utraquist Liturgical Practice,” 225f.

⁵⁴ Compare the structure of *Ordo C* with the liturgical *ordo* used in Kutná Hora, see p. 221–222 above.

⁵⁵ See colophon, n. 8 above.

Appendix

Ordo A (ff. 11r – 29r)

(...)

10. Epištolní čtení [Epistle reading]

(Czech text)

11. Alleluia

12. Prose *Sancti Spiritus assit nobis gratia*

13. (příprava darů [preparation of the gifts])

13.0. (rozprostření korporálu [spreading of the corporal]) *Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea*

13.1. Or: *Deus qui nobis sub sacramento mirabili passionis tuæ memoriam reliquisti*

13.2. (vino [wine]) *In nomine Domini benedicatur hæc creatura vini, de cuius latere exivit sanguis*

13.3. (voda [water]) *In nomine Domini benedicatur hæc creatura Aquæ, de cuius latere exivit aqua.*

13.4. (smíšení [mixing]) *Fiat hæc commixtio vini et aquæ*

13.5. *Deus qui humanæ substantiæ dignitatem mirabiliter condidisti, Et mirabilius reformati*

Ordo B (ff. 29r – 48v)

(...)

10. Epištolní čtení [Epistle reading]

11. Alleluia

12. Prose *Svatého Ducha milost račiž býti s námi* [Let the grace of the Holy Spirit deign to be with us]

13. (příprava darů [preparation of the gifts])

13.1. Or: *Ve jméno pána Ježíše Krista nás milej pane Bože račiž těchto darův požehnatí* [In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, our dear God, deign to bless these gifts]

13.2. (vino [wine]) *Ve jménu páně pože+hnáno budiž toto stvoření vína, z jehož boku vyšla jest krev*

[In the name of the Lord ble+ssed be this creation of wine, from whose side sprang blood]

13.3. (voda [water]) *Ve jménu páně pože+hnáno bud' toto stvoření této vody, z jehož boku vyšla jest vo<da>* [In the name of the Lord ble+ssed be this creation of this water, from whose side sprang water]

13.4. (smíšení [mixing]) *Budiž toto smíšení vína (a) vody* [Let this be a mixing of wine (and) water]

13.5. Or: *O pane Bože, kterýž si nám pod svátostí touto předivnou umučení tvého milého Syna pána Ježíše Krista památku večere jeho svaté pozůstaviti ráčil* [O, Lord God, who has deigned to leave us under this most wonderful sacrament a memorial of the passion of your dear Son, the Lord Jesus Christ]

Another: Bože, kterýž jsi lidského přirození podstatnost divně ráčils stvořiti a předivněji pak obnoviti [O God, who didst wonderfully create, and yet more wonderfully restore, the dignity of human nature]

13.6. Or: *Bože: Poněvadž syn tvůj milý pán Ježíš Kristus a spasitel náš svou po [[38r]] slední večeri tělo své za pokrm a krev svou za nápoj vydati ráčil*

[O God: Because your dear Son, Jesus Christ, and our Saviour through his last supper has deigned to give us his body for food and his blood for drink]

13.7. *Otče náš* [Our Father]

13.8. (s hostiemi v pozdvižených rukách [with the hosts in elevated hands]) *Tvé božské milosti srdečně a důvěrně prosíme (...) aby nám tento chléb, kterýž teď patrně a zřetelně vidíme, byl on učiněn + tělem pána našeho Ježíše Krista* [We beg heartily and confidently your divine grace (...) that this bread, which we now visibly and clearly see, may be made + the body of our Lord Jesus Christ]

13.9. (s kalichem v pozdvižených rukách [with the chalice in elevated hands]) *Tvé milosti srdečně a důvěrně prosíme (...) aby ty nám ráčil způsobiti, aby nám toto víno učiněno bylo ta předústojná a požehnaná + krev pána Ježíše Krista* [We beg cordially and confidently your divine grace (...) that you may deign to cause for us that this wine may be made the most worthy and blessed + blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ]

13.10. + *O přijdiž všemohúcí osvětiteli, věčný pane Bože, + i náš pane Ježíši Kriste, + i také milý mistře Duše svatý, a + posvětiž těchto darův* [O come almighty enlightener, eternal Lord God, + and our Lord Jesus Christ, + and also dear master the Holy Spirit, and + sanctify these gifts]

14. *Sekreta Račič nám všemněm dáti stolu večere páně hodně užívati, a to ne k soudu, ne k smrti, ani k peklu, ani k věčnému zatracení* [Deign to give to all of us to use worthily the table of the Lord's Supper, and neither for judgment, nor for death, nor for hell, nor for an eternal damnation]

14.1. *Všemohúcí věčný náš pane Bože, prosím se vším tímto lidem shromážděným tvé božské milosti a velebnosti: Račič za mne uslyšeti (...) tak abychom mohli hodně vzývati stolu večere páně pána a spasitele* [Almighty eternal our Lord God, we beg, with all the gathered people, your divine grace and grandeur: May you deign for my sake listen (...) so that we may worthily invoke the table of the Lord's Supper of our Lord and Saviour]

15. Evangelium

15.1. *Iube domine benedicere. Dominus sit in corde meo*

15.2. <Jn.14:23–31>

15.3. *Per istos sermones sacro sancti Evangelii*

16. Creed

16.1. *Pater noster* and *Ave Maria*

16.2. *Credo in Patrem omnipotentem factorem caeli*

17. [offertorium *Orate fratres et sorores pro me peccatore ad Dominum Deum omnipotentem, ut dignum et acceptabile fiat sacrificium meum in conspectu eius.*]

18. Canon minor

18.1. (hostie) + *Sanctifica quesumus Domine hunc panem, ut nobis Corpus unigeniti Filii Tui fiat*

18.1.1. *In pace factus est locus eius*

18.2. (kalich) + *Sanctifica quesumus Domine hunc calicem, ut nobis sanguis unigeniti Filii tui fiat*

19. [offertorium]

19.2. *Orate fratres, etc*

19.3. “A potom gine modleni ktere chczzes” [And then another prayer as you would like]

20. “Kleknouce na spodním stupni, pomodle se” [Kneeling on the lowest step, pray]

15. Evangelium [Gospel]

15.1. *Přikaz, pane Bože, nám požehnati a pán Bůh račiž bejti v srdci mém* [Award us, Lord God, a blessing and may the Lord God deign to be in my heart]

15.2. <Jn.14:23–31>

15.3. *Skrze tyto řeči svatého Evangelium* [For the sake of the words of the Holy Gospel]

16. Krédo [Creed] Věřimež spolu v tebe,

v jednoho Boha [We together believe in you, in the one God]

18. Canon minor

18.1. (hostie) + *Posvětiž, prosíme pane, tento chléb, aby nám tělo jednorozného Syna tvého učiněno bylo* [(the host) + Sanctify, we ask you O Lord, this bread so that it may become for us the body of your only Son]

18.1.1. *V pokoji učiněno jest místo jeho* [In the chamber his place is made]

18.2. (kalich) + *Posvětiž, prosíme pane, v tomto kalichu, aby nám byla učiněna krav jednorozného Syna tvého* [(the chalice) + Sanctify, we beg you, O Lord, so that in this chalice may become for us the blood of your only Son]

19. [offertorium]

19.1. *Potvrdiž, náš milej pane Bože, což si kdy nám dobrého učiniti ráčil, a račiž nás požehnati chrámu toho srdečného* [Confirm, our dear Lord God, what you ever deigned to do for us, and deign to bless us to that cordial temple]

19.2. *Modlte se za mne, věrní křesťani – bratři, sestry* [Pray for me, O faithful Christians – brothers and sisters]

19.3. + *Protož žádám: Všemohúci, věčný náš pane Bože, dárce všechněch dobrých věcí* [+ Therefore I beg: Almighty, eternal our Lord God, giver of all good things]

20. *S oním Davidem svatým račiž ty mé rty otevřítí* [With that holy David, deign to open my lips]

20.2. Kázání [The sermon]

21. Preface

22. Sanctus

23. Canon missae23.1. *Te igitur* – omitting the pope23.2. *Memento Domine*23.2.1. [*Communicantes*] – not mentioned23.3. *Hanc igitur oblationem*23.4. *Quam oblationem*

23.5. <INSTITUTIO>

23.5.1. *Qui pridie*23.5.2. *Simili modo*23.6. *Unde et memores*23.7. *Supra quae*23.8. *Supplices te rogamus*23.8.1. [*Memento etiam Domine*] – not mentioned23.8.2. [*Nobis quoque peccatoribus*] – not mentioned23.8.3. *Per quem haec omnia*

23.9. Per ip+sum, Et cum ip+so, est tibi Deo Pa+tri omnipotenti, in uni+tate, Spiri+tus Sancti omnis honor et gloria; Per omnia secula saeculorum.

24. *Pater noster*24.1. *Libera nos*25. *Pax Domini*25.1. *Agnus Dei*25.2. *Domine Jesu Christe, qui dixisti**Apostolis***26. <Communio>**26.1. *Domine JESU CHRISTE Fili Dei vivi, qui ex voluntate Patris (ante communionem)*26.2. *Corpus tuum Domine Iesu christe*26.2.1. *Panem caelestem accipiam*20.1. *Otče náš* [Our Father]**20.2. Kázání [The sermon]**

21. Preface

22. Sanctus

23. Canon missae23.1. *Protož tebe* [Te igitur] – omitting the pope23.2. *Pamatuj, pane* [Memento Domine]23.2.1. [*Communicantes*] – not mentioned23.3. *Protož skrze tuto služebnosti naši* [Hanc igitur]23.4. *Kterouž to obět.* [Quam oblationem]

23.5. <INSTITUTIO>

23.5.1. *Kterýž před tím dnem* [Qui pridie]23.5.2. *Týmž způsobem* [Simili modo]23.6. *Pročež i my, pane, služebníci tvoji pamatující* [Unde et memores]23.7. *Na kteréž to dary* [Supra quae]23.8. *Pokorně tě prosíme* [Supplices te rogamus]23.8.1. [*Memento etiam Domine*] – not mentioned23.8.2. [*Nobis quoque peccatoribus*] – not mentioned23.8.3. *Skrze kteréhož tyto všeckny věci* [Per quem haec omnia]

23.9. Skrze ně+ho a s ním + i v něm + jest tobě, Bohu Otci všemohúcímu, v jedno+tě Du+cha svatého všeliká čest a sláva. [Per ipsum] Through + him and with him + and in him + is to you, O God, Father Almighty, in the uni+ty of the Holy Spirit all the honour and glory]

24. *Otče náš* [Our Father]24.1. *Vysvobod' nás* [Liberate us]25. *Pokoj budiž* [Peace be]25.1. *Beránku boží* [Lamb of God]25.2. *Pane Ježíši Kriste, kterýž si řekl**apostolům* [O Lord Jesus Christ, who said to the apostles]**26. <Communio>**26.1. *Pane Ježíši Kriste, Synu Boha živého, kterýž si z vůle Boha Otce* [O Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, who from the will of God the Father] (ante communionem)26.2. *Tělo tvé, pane Jezu Kriste* [Your body, O Lord Jesus Christ]26.2.1. *Chléb nebeský přijmu* [I shall receive the heavenly bread]

26.2.2. *Corpus Domini nostri Iesu Christi, proficiat*

26.3. *Quid retribuam Domino (...) calicem salutaris accipiam*

26.3.1. *Sanguis Domini nostri Iesu christi custodiat*

26.4. (post communionem)

26.4.1. *Corpus tuum Domine Jesu christe et sanguis,*

27. *Placeat tibi, Sancta Trinitas*

28. *Ite missa est: Ite benedicti et electi*

29. Požehnání [Blessing]

Ordo C (fol. 1v – 11r)

10. Epištolní čtení [Epistle reading]

11. [omit.]

12. Prosa *Chvalme všickni svatou a důstojnou a požehnanou Trojici, jediného pána Boha našeho* [Let us all praise the holy, revered and blessed Holy Trinity, our sole Lord God]

13. (příprava darů) [preparation of the gifts]

13.1. *Ve jméno pána Ježíše Krista: Pane Bože, račiž těchto darův svatých posvětití.* [In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, our dear God, deign to bless these gifts]

13.2. (vino [wine]) *Ve jméno pána Ježíše Krista: Račiž tohoto vína sám svou božskou milostí posvětití.* [In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ: Deign to sanctify for us this wine with your divine grace.]

13.3. (voda [water]) *Ve jméno Otce i Syna i také Ducha svatého.* [In the name of the Father and the Son and also the Holy Spirit.]

13.4. (smíšení) *Budiž toto smíšení vína* [(mixing) Let this be a mixing of wine]

[13.5.] canon minor

26.2.2. *Tělo pána našeho Ježíše Krista prospívej* [The body of our Lord Jesus Christ be of benefit]

26.3. *Čím se odplatím pánu (...) kalich spasení mého vezmu* [How shall I repay my Lord (...) the chalice of salvation I shall take]

26.3.1. *Krev pána našeho Ježíše Krista ostráhej duši* [O, the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ preserve my soul]

26.4. (post communionem)

26.4.1. *Tělo tvé, pane Ježíši Kriste a krev* [Your body, O Lord Jesus Christ, and blood]

27. *Líbíž se tobě, Trojice svatá* [May you like this, O Holy Trinity]

28. *Ite missa est: Jděte, požehnaní a vyvolení* [Go, O blessed and elect ones]

29. Požehnání [Blessing]

Ordo B (fol. 29r – 48v)

10. Epištolní čtení [Epistle reading]

11. *Alleluia*

12. Prosa *Svatého Ducha milost račiž býti s námi* [May the grace of the Holy Spirit deign to be with us]

13. (příprava darů) [preparation of the gifts]

13.1. *Or: Ve jméno pána Ježíše Krista nás milej pane Bože račiž těchto darův požehnati* [In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, our dear God, deign to bless these gifts]

13.2. (vino [wine]) *Ve jménu páně pože+hnáno budiž toto stvoření vína, z jehož boku vyšla jest krev* [In the name of the Lord ble+ssed be this creation of wine, from whose side sprang blood]

13.3. (voda) *Ve jménu páně pože+hnáno bud toto stvoření této vody, z jehož boku vyšla jest voda* [In the name of the Lord ble+ssed be this creation of this water, from whose side sprang water]

13.4. (smíšení) *Budiž toto smíšení vína (a) vody* [Let this be a mixing of wine (and) water]

13.5. *Or: O pane Bože, kterýž si nám pod svátostí touto předivnou umučení tvého milého Syna pána Ježíše Krista památku věčeře jeho svaté pozůstaviti račiž*

13.6. *Bože, já hříšný a nehodný kněz v duchu poníženém a v srdci skroušeném prosím tvé velebnosti* [O, God, I a sinful and unworthy priest with a humble spirit and a penitent heart, beg of your reverence]

13.7. Otče náš [Our Father]

13.8. (s hostiemi v pozdvížených rukách [with the hosts in elevated hands]) *Tvé božské milosti srdečně a důvěrně prosíme s se všemi věrnými křesťany, aby nám tento chléb byl učiněn + tělo pána Ježíše Krista* [We beg cordially and confidently your divine grace with all faithful Christians that this bread may be made for us + the body of our Lord Jesus Christ]

13.9. (s kalichem v pozdvížených rukách [with the chalice in elevated hands]) *Tvé milosti srdečně a důvěrně prosíme (...)* *aby ty nám ráčil způsobiti, aby nám toto víno učiněno bylo + krví pána Ježíše Krista* [We beg heartily and confidently your divine grace (...) that you may deign to cause for us that this wine may be made for us + the blood of Lord Jesus Christ]

13.10. *Přijdi, o světiteli, věčný náš pane Bože, a posvětíš těchto darův* [Come, O enlightener, eternal our Lord God, and sanctify these gifts]

14. INSTITUTIO

Jiná: Bože, kterýž jsi lidského přirození podstatnost divně ráčils stvořiti a předivněji pak obnoviti [O God, who didst wonderfully create, and yet more wonderfully restore, the dignity of human nature]

13.6. Or: *Bože: Poněvadž syn tvůj milý pán ježíš Kristus a spasitel náš svou poslední večeři tělo své za pokrm a krev svou ta nápoj vydati ráčil (...)* *já hříšný a nehodný kněz* [O God: Because your dear Son, Jesus Christ, and our Saviour through his last supper has deigned to give us his body for food and his blood for drink (...) I unworthy and sinful priest]

13.7. Otče náš [Our Father]

13.8. (s hostiemi v pozdvížených rukách [with the hosts in elevated hands]) *Tvé božské milosti srdečně a důvěrně prosíme (...)* *aby nám tento chléb, kterýž ted patrně a zřetelně vidíme, byl on učiněn + tělem pána našeho Ježíše Krista* [We beg heartily and confidently your divine grace (...) that this bread, which we now visibly and clearly see, may be made + the body of our Lord Jesus Christ]

13.9. (s kalichem v pozdvížených rukách [with the chalice in elevated hands]) *Tvé milosti srdečně a důvěrně prosíme (...)* *aby ty nám ráčil způsobiti, aby nám toto víno učiněno bylo ta předústojná a požehnaná + ktev pána Ježíše Krista* [We beg heartily and confidently your divine grace (...) that you may deign to cause for us that this wine may be made the most worthy and blessed + blood of Our Lord Jesus Christ]

13.10. + *O přijdiž všemohúci osvětiteli, věčný pane Bože, + i náš pane Ježíši Kriste, + i také milý mistře Duše svatý, a + posvětíš těchto darův* [O come almighty enlightener, eternal Lord God, + and our Lord Jesus Christ, + and also dear master the Holy Spirit, and + sanctify these gifts]

14. Sekreta *Ráčiz nám všechněm dáti stolu večeře páně hodně užívati, a to ne k soudu, ne k smrti, ani k peklu, ani k věčnému zatracení* [Deign to give to all of us to use worthily the table of the Lord's Supper, and neither for judgment, nor for death, nor for hell, nor for an eternal damnation]

15. Evangelium [Gospel]

15.1. *Prosím, pane Bože, račiž posilnití sám ty* [We beg, O Lord God, deign yourself to strengthen those]

15.2. (text evangelia [the text of the Gospel])

15.3. *Skrze řeči tohoto svatého Evangelium* [Through the words of this holy Gospel]

16. Krédo [Creed] *Věřímež spolu v tebe, jednoho pána Boha,* [We believe together in you, the one Lord God]

18. [omit.]

[19.] *Píseň* [Song]

20. *"Kněz s lidem se tiše Pánu pomodlití"* [The priest with the people is to pray silently to God]

20.2. Kázání [Sermon]

[21.] *Píseň + COMMUNIO* [Song + communion]

14.1. *Všemohúcí věčný náš pane Bože, prosím se vším tímto lidem shromážděným tvé božské milosti a velebnosti: Račiž za mne uslyšeti (...) tak abychom mohli hodně vzývati stolu věčere páně pána a spasitele* [Almighty eternal our Lord God, we beg, with all the gathered people, your divine grace and grandeur: May you deign for my sake listen (...) so that we may worthily invoke the table of the Lord's Supper of our Lord and Saviour]

15. Evangelium [Gospel]

15.1. *Přikaž, pane Bože, nám požehnati a pán Bůh račiž bejti v srdci mém* [Pray, Lord God, a blessing and may the Lord God deign to be in my heart]

15.2. <Jn.14:23–31>

15.3. *Skrze tyto řeči svatého Evangelium* [For the sake of the words of the Holy Gospel]

16. Krédo *Věřímež spolu v tebe, v jednoho Boha* [We together believe in you, in the one God]

18. Canon minor

18.1. (hostie) + *Posvětiž, prosíme pane, tento chléb, aby nám tělo jednorozeného Syna tvého učiněno bylo* [(the host) + Sanctify, we ask you O Lord, this bread so that it may become for us the body of your only Son]

18.1.1. *V pokoji učiněno jest místo jeho* [In the chamber his place is made]

18.2. (kalich) + *Posvětiž, prosíme pane, v tomto kalichu, aby nám byla učiněna krv jednorozeného Syna tvého* [(the chalice) + Sanctify, we beg you, Lord, so that in this chalice may become for us the blood of your only Son]

19. [offertorium]

20. *S oním Davidem svatým račiž ty mé rty otevřítí* [With holy David, deign to open my lips]

20.1. *Otče náš* [Our Father]

20.2. Kázání [Sermon]**21. Preface etc.**