

## 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.<sup>1</sup> A letter from the canons of Olomouc to the Council of Constance written in December 1416 details a number of Hussite “errors”.<sup>2</sup> 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.<sup>3</sup>

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traced carefully in: Phillip Haberkern, *The Presence of the Past: Historia, Memoria, and the Making of St. Jan Hus* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Virginia, 2009).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 Ieronimo 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 aliis sanctis, et sic multa gravia et terribilia ac horrenda contra fidem catholicam et statum ecclesie fieri procuraverunt et die hodierna procurant, propter que dicta ecclesia (ut predictum est) multipliciter extitit 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 of 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,<sup>4</sup> 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.<sup>5</sup> Some parishes marked the day with a requiem while others, more remarkably, celebrated the day as the feast of a martyr<sup>6</sup> drawing on propers used for other saints' days. Some of these requiems and other celebrations also included readings either of Hus's "Passion"<sup>7</sup> or from his letters from prison in Constance. Sermons were preached in which both Hus and Jerome were honoured as modern martyrs.<sup>8</sup>

### 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.<sup>9</sup> These consti-

- 4 F.M. Bartoš, "M. Jan Hus v bohoslužbě a úcta církve podobojí a v podání prvního 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 Mladonovic 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 martyrs, for Jerome of Prague, burnt at the stake on 30 May 1416, was often (but not invariably) associated with Hus in a joint commemoration as, in time, were other "martyrs" of the Bohemian reform movement such as Michal Polák, Rokycana's successor whose execution was ordered by Wladislaw Jagiellon in 1480, and the countless others thrown to their deaths in the mine shafts at Kutná Hora. See, Joel Seltzer, "Re-envisioning the Saint's Life in Utraquist Historical Writing," *BRRP* 5,1 (2004) 147-166; Ota Halama, "The Martyrs of Kutná Hora, 1419-1420," *BRRP* 5,1 (2004) 139-146.
- 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).
- 8 See, for example, the sermon of Hus's friend and successor Jakoubek of Stříbro "Sermo habitus in Bethlehem a quodam pio in memoriam novorum martyrum M. Johannis Hus et M. Hieronymi," FRB 8:231-242.
- 9 The earliest known gradual containing a prose composed for the feast (*Clericalis turma, gaude*) is the monumental Smíškovský 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.

tute a significant corpus from which to reconstruct the liturgical texts used at the Eucharist on the feast<sup>10</sup> and the number of these witnesses continues to grow.<sup>11</sup> Most of the Latin<sup>12</sup> 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,<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup>

Material for the office (or hours) is much scarcer.<sup>15</sup> 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 antiphony in the Metropolitan Library in Esztergom.<sup>16</sup> This contains the proper texts for First Vespers, Matins

10 Jana Fojtková, “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.

11 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.

12 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 (Spravedliví, radujte se)* and the communion *lustrorum 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.

13 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.

14 MS. Vienna, ÖNB 12,457 ff. 7a-9b (a fragment dated to the first half of the sixteenth century).

15 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 antiphony 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).

16 MS Esztergom 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 Píbram, Okresní muzeum L 262 ff. 87v-88v) the other is in an antiphony 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).

and Second Vespers for the feast of Hus – these being the offices which were regularly sung by Utraquists in association with major feasts,<sup>17</sup> the office, itself, having been enjoined on the secular clergy of the Diocese of Prague in 1412 and confirmed for the Utraquist clergy at synods in July 1421 and 1437.<sup>18</sup> Written in the rhymed or metrical style so popular in the late mediaeval period,<sup>19</sup> this office represents the most extensive single collection of liturgical texts written for the feast of St. Jan Hus in which proper material for the feast is provided for each of the three offices although some liturgical texts would still have had to have been drawn from the common or from the propers for other saint's days.

### A New Witness to the Office of 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.<sup>20</sup> 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 Antiphony in the Metropolitan 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 Metropolitan 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 *Breviarium Horarum Canoniarum secundum Rubricam Archiepiscopatus Ecclesie Pragensis* [Nuremberg, 1492] adlig. ff. 2a<sup>v</sup>-2b<sup>2v</sup>) 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.

19 The composition of sets of antiphons and responsories for the celebration of local saints seems to have become a mediaeval fashionable pastime. John Stevens (*Words and Music in the Middle Ages. Song, narrative, dance and drama, 1050-1350* [Cambridge, 1986] 249) counted 865 of them in G.M. Dreves, C. Blume, and H.M. Bannister, *Analecta Hymnica* (AH) vv. 5,13,17,18,24,25,26,28, 45a (Leipzig, 1886-1922) alone. See also: Ritva Maria Jacobsson and Andreas Haug, "Versified Office," in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (London, 2001) 26:493-99 and Andrew Hughes, "Late Medieval Rhymed Offices: a research report," *Journal of the Plainsong and Mediaeval Music Society* 8 (1985) 33-49 and *ibid.* *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices: Resources for electronic research: texts* (Toronto, 1994), *ibid.*, *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices: Resources for electronic research: sources and chants* (Toronto, 1996)

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.<sup>21</sup> The title page reads: *Historia Joannis Hus maximi patroni*<sup>22</sup> *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.<sup>23</sup> The appearance of our manuscript makes it quite possible that it is a libellus of this type. Written in a typical Bohemian Semihybrida Currens,<sup>24</sup> the hand is not of the quality that would usually be expected in a text intended to be used for actual liturgical use.<sup>25</sup> 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 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

21 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.

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

23 Hana Vlhová, *Středověké liturgické rukopisy z katedrál 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.

24 See: Albert Derolez, *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books* (Cambridge, 2003) 163 ff.

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

26 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<sup>26</sup> 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.<sup>27</sup>

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 *Clericalis turma, gaude*. In the Leipzig libellus it is introduced with the rubric *Sequitur alia prosa sub nota de undecim millibus virginum* revealing that the model for Hus's sequence had already served another rhymed sequence, *Virginalis turma sexus*,<sup>28</sup> which was particularly popular in the late medieval Bohemian tradition. The sequence *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, *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 *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

27 A rubric (*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 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., *Repertorium Troporum Bohemiae Medii Aevi*, Vol. II: *Tropi Ordinarii Missae: Kyrie eleyson et Gloria in excelsis Deo* (Prague, 2006) 64-66.

28 Dreves, Blume, *Analecta Hymnica* 55:333.

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.*<sup>29</sup> 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 predicatorum* and his condemnation and execution are described in terms drawn from the *Passio Christi*.<sup>30</sup> 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.<sup>31</sup>

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, iuste**]. 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

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 incorporation 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 Common – something of considerable importance in the late Middle Ages. Even though compositions of the rhymed office fluctuated in Bohemia from the fourteenth 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 precise – 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 individual readings of the text and/or melody, as, for example, the Responsory *Gaude, felix Bohemia*, which starts entirely differently in each source and then proceeds, 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 significantly.

The repertory for First Vespers starts in both sources with the antiphon *Iubilans 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 antiphons (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, describing 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.<sup>32</sup> In the opening antiphon, the author skilfully encrypted Hus's name into the acrostic 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.<sup>33</sup>

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 office<sup>34</sup> (all of which are translations from the Latin<sup>35</sup>), only Antiphon III of the Leipzig libellus – *Humana crudelitas* – is known to have been used in a Czech version,<sup>36</sup> 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

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. Holetón, "The Role of Jakoubek of Stříbra 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 *Kteréz 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.<sup>37</sup> 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.

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.

[[1a]] Historia Joannis Hus maximi  
patroni (!) Bohemie  
The History of Jan Hus, major patron  
of Bohemia

<Antiphona I>  
Iubilans olim honore  
adest namque nobilitas,  
exhilarans sacro more  
Pragensis fulge civitas.  
Nam duo luminaria  
ex te emererunt  
ac per acta martyria  
in celum migrarunt,  
que dira Constantia flamma  
incendii corona[[2b]]vit  
sed celi militia  
empyrreo polo sociavit.  
Alleluia.  
<EUOUAE>

Laudate per omnia.

<Antiphona II>  
O mira innocentia  
testium falsorum  
infamata eius firma  
constantia verborum  
mansuete rebellata  
ut ovis humillima  
stetit ad iudicandum.  
EUOUAE. [[3a]]

<Antiphona III>

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

[[2a]] Super psalmos vespere  
antiphonas  
Antiphons to the psalms  
at vespers

<Antiphon 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” throughout.*

<Antiphon II>  
*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.*

<Antiphon III>

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

## &lt;Antiphona IV&gt;

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

## &lt;Antiphon IV&gt;

*The noble jewel of preachers  
 is handled so inhumanely  
 watching the new throng of the blessed  
 he is committed to the care of demons  
 a crown portrayed on his head  
 and covered with abuse  
 he is led to martyrdom.*

## &lt;Antiphona V&gt;

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

## &lt;Antiphon V&gt;

*The preacher of the church  
 is bound to a stake,  
 the disseminator of the word of God  
 is burned with cruel fire,  
 committing his soul to God  
 he thus ends his life,  
 waiting for the glory of heaven,  
 he triumphs eternally.*

## [[4a]] Responsorium ad vesperas preces

## Responsory to the Preces at Vespers

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

*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.*

## &lt;Versus&gt;

## &lt;Verse&gt;

Qui propter testimonium  
veri tulit supplitium  
ac per incendium  
migravit in refrigerium  
militum celestium.  
<R> Tibi dedit ...

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

Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto.  
<R> Tibi dedit ...

*Glory to the Father, the Son and Holy Spirit  
<R> He gave you*

**Sequitur hymnus [[5a]]**

**The Hymn follows**

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

*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.*

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

*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.*

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

*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,*

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

*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.*

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

*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.*

Patri summo atque nato  
 laus sit et imperium  
 spiritui ac beato  
 ultra evi terminum,  
 qui fideli tribulato  
 suum donat gaudium.  
 Amen.

*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.*

**Versi<culus>**

Letamini in domino <et exultate iusti>  
 <R :> Et gloriamini <omnes recti corde>

**Versicle**

*Be glad in the Lord, and rejoice, O righteous  
 <R :>And shout for joy, all you upright  
 of heart!*

**Antiphona ad Magnificat**

Iocundare Germania,  
 tanto fulsa decore,  
 animare Bohemia,  
 roborata vigore  
 nesciens [[5b]] labem malitie  
 sis fortis in agone  
 flagrans flore pudicitiae,  
 fervens in dilectione  
 ob merita patronorum  
 sanguinem fundentium  
 ad pudorem Almanorum  
 tibi resistentium quorum  
 de collegio seve trucidati  
 miro eulogio sunt excommunicati  
 fovearum iactu gravissimo mortificati  
 nec ignis exustione [[6a]] exanimati.

**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 quam pretiosa mors sanctorum  
 que vitam meruit angelorum  
 horum cetus omnium  
 exoret Christum dominum  
 pro salute fidelium.  
 Alleluia.

*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,  
hui sequitur

Everything at Matins is from  
the common of martyrs except  
for the hymn which follows

Plaudat chorus fidelium,  
laudes solvendo debitas  
cuncta regenti domino,  
per quem victores triumphant.

*The chorus of the faithful applauds  
to satisfy the praises owed,  
all things to the reigning Lord,  
through whom the victors triumph.*

Qui de gente Bohemorum  
vergente mundi termino  
zelatorem sue legis  
Johannem Hus dedit populo.

*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.*

Quem replens suo spiritu  
ut Heliam et Baptistam,  
scelestem clerum, ne periret,  
iussit ei arguere: **[[6b]]**

*Filling whom with his spirit  
as Elijah and the Baptist,  
he ordered that the wicked clergy  
prove to him, lest he perish.*

At ille Achab durior  
et Herode austerior,  
ut aspis surda pertransiit  
monita salutifera,

*Yet Ahab the harder  
and Herod the harsher  
as the silent asp passed by  
salutary warnings.*

Sed in suo concilio  
Constantiae tunc habito  
flammis aduri mandavit  
sanctum et deo dilectum.

*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.*

Cuius spiritum dominus,  
pro quo pugnavit strenue,  
ornans coronis celestibus,  
sanctorum iunxit agmini.

*Whose spirit for which  
the Lord fought vigorously  
adorning with celestial crowns  
he joined to the company of saints.*

Oramus, sancte Johannes,  
ut victis cunctis hostibus  
celo reddamur abiles  
tuis beatis precibus.

*We pray, Saint John,  
that all the enemies having been defeated  
we may deliver to heaven those prepared  
by your blessed prayers*

Gloria tibi, domine,  
qui natus est de virgine,  
cum spiritus munimine,  
defende nos, rex optime.  
Amen.

*Glory to you, Lord,  
who was born from a virgin,  
with the protection of the spirit,  
defend us, perfect king.  
Amen.*



**Ad missam**

**Introitus**

Gaudeamus <omnes in domino>.

**Kyrie**

Paschale vel de martyribus.

**Alleluia**

Vox exultationis

vel illud, quod sequitur.

Alleluia.

Letetur in domino,

[[7a]] mater ecclesia,

que tempore Concilii

in Christo Constantia

parturiens per ignem

Johannem cum Hieronymo

transmisit ad celestia.

<Alleluia.>

**Sequitur prosa etc.**

Rex regum, Hiesu Christe, Anno millesimo  
ac quadringentesimo et quintodecimo  
tuae nativitatis [[7b]] secundum hominem.

Gloriae tue laudes crepando sedulus,  
de Boemia natus Joannes dictus Hus  
extremum composuit sui finis diem.

Christe, tuum calicem quem tunc  
in die sabbati  
in octava principum bibens, Petri, Pauli  
ad eternum bravium cucurrit fortiter.

**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

*Alleluia.*

*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.*

<Alleluia.>

**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 homi[[8a]]nibus dilectus presbiter  
doctrinis et moribus clarebat pariter.

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

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

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

Patris o Jhesu nate almeque virginis  
propter te fert odia dire voraginis  
clamatur erroneus [[8b]] tuus discipulus.

*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.*

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

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

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

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

Mariae, tuae matris, mirum professorem,  
[[9a]]  
cunctorumque sanctorum verum  
laudatorem  
accusat fallaciter cleri invidia.

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

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

*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.

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

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

*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,*

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

*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.*

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

*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,*

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

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

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

*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.*

Vivere **[[10b]]** non proponunt iustum  
per amplius  
Capiunt, incarcerant et ferro arcus,  
stringunt amicum dei feri contortores.

*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,*

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

*They allege without any pretence of holy  
justice  
that mistaken agitators convict  
the man of holy life and innocence.*

Carie fallacie et innocentiae  
Profugos, vagos, testes [[11a]] docens  
nequitie  
condemnat morte iustum cohors  
sathanica.

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

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

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

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

*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.*

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

*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.*

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

*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.*

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

*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.*

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

*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 [[12b]] traditur  
ignibus.

*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.*

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

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

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

*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.*

Esset nimis dolendum et valde  
mi[[13a]]randum  
Bohemis fidelibus, si non deplangendum  
ducerent continue tam virum preclarum.

*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.*

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

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

Stola predicatorum sartaque virginum,  
merores viduarum fidesque coniugum  
totaque artificum [[13b]] sancta commu-  
nitas,

*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*

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

*of the extraordinary glory  
of the famous lord,  
the magnates, princes, steadfast soldiers  
and the whole Bohemian nobility laments.*

Sempiternae domine, Hiesu Christe pie,  
dimitte peccamina, da dona glorie,  
socians in patria nos predicatori  
glorioso, martyri beato Joanni.  
Ubi nulli amplius clamores queruli,  
nulli **[[14a]]** 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**

**Another Sequence follows to the music  
of that for 11,000 virgins**

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 **[[14b]]** 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 **[[15a]]**  
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.

*By the high dignity of endurance  
 the blushing bride is joined  
 covered by the fine linen of cleanness  
 she is united with the bridegroom, Christ.*

Bissenis gemmis struitur  
 urbis factura celice,  
 ter quaternis statuatur  
 portarum ordo fabricae.

*The formation of the heavenly city  
 is assembled with jewels in pairs,  
 The arrangement of gates  
 by the maker's design  
 is thrice placed four at a time.*

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

*The whole edifice  
 the top and the foundation,  
 arises in precious stone,  
 in sapphire and jasper,*

Quos manus artificis  
 suo locat ordine  
 pressura multiplicis  
 politos examine.

*which polished in appearance  
 the hand of the maker  
 places in proper order  
 of a multitude to be assembled.*

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

*The first fruits to God  
 these from the men  
 carrying palms  
 of justice in their hands  
 before the throne of God,*

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

*Whose blood  
 the Hebrew people  
 had shed and resounding  
 in faith they had hated  
 for the worship of the faith.*

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

*But to these there were long  
 harder fights, which the militant  
 victors fought to the finish  
 and the faithful in Bohemia  
 triumphing in the world,*

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

*Which the steady warriors,  
 zealots of the law of Christ  
 followed up to death  
 the damned of the reprobate  
 through the throng in Constance.*

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  
eterne vite gaudia  
habent in celi curia.

Quorum sequi vestigia  
da, Christe, hic nos in via,  
frui te in **[[17a]]** 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 **[[17b]]** oppressi viventes  
etiam pueri innocentes.  
O fidei auctor,  
sis nostri roborator  
ob eorum merita  
in tui lege agnita  
da digne tuum calicem bibere,  
ut possimus 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 strengthener  
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,  
 fearing 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 gratie.

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

**Flos candoris** tui **rubet**,  
 trucidari cum te **iubet**  
 tortor pudicie.

...

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

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

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

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

**O felix Constantia**,  
 cui tam prestantia  
 Bohemorum natio.

**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**.

Enses, tela, frameas,  
cultros in virgineas  
cruentavit acies.

**Quarum** 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 Constančia	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)

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 lingua gloriosi	[text only]
antM	locundare, 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
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*Example 4*

*(Esztregom Antiphony)*

*ant 1*

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

*ant 2*

Nam duo luminaria  
ex te emerterunt,  
ac per acra martiria  
ad celum migrarunt.

*ant 3*

Quos dira Constančia  
flamma incendii coronavit,  
hos celi milicia  
empyreo 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 emerterunt

ac per acta martyria  
in celum migrarunt,  
que dira Constančia  
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 vestibibus degradatus.

*ant 4*

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

*ant 5*

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

Musical Example A

Sem - pi - ter - ne do - mi - ne, Ihe - su Chri - ste pi - e,  
di - mit - te pec - ca - mi - na, da do - na ho - di - e.  
So - ci - ans in pa - tri - a nos pre - di - ca - to - ri  
glo - ri - o - so, mar - ty - ri be - a - to Io - han - ni.

The image shows a musical score for a Latin hymn. It consists of four staves of music, each with a treble clef and a common time signature (C). The lyrics are written below the notes. The first staff begins with a fermata over the first note. The lyrics are: "Sem - pi - ter - ne do - mi - ne, Ihe - su Chri - ste pi - e,". The second staff continues with "di - mit - te pec - ca - mi - na, da do - na ho - di - e.". The third staff has "So - ci - ans in pa - tri - a nos pre - di - ca - to - ri". The fourth and final staff concludes with "glo - ri - o - so, mar - ty - ri be - a - to Io - han - ni.".

# 184b A Remarkable Witness to the Feast of Saint Jan Hus

## Responsory Gaude, felix Bohemia

Musical Example B

The musical score is presented in two systems. Each system consists of two staves: the top staff is for Esztergom and the bottom staff is for Leipzig. Both staves are in G major (one flat) and 8/8 time. The lyrics are written below the notes.

**System 1:**

Esztergom: Gau - - - de, fe - lix Bo - he - mi - a, ho - ra nem - pe

Leipzig: (Instrumental accompaniment)

**System 2:**

Esztergom: no - vis - - - si - ma te re - spe - xit do-mi-nus // etc.

Leipzig: (Instrumental accompaniment) // etc.

# A Remarkable Witness to the Feast of Saint Jan Hus 184c

## Antiphon Iubilans olim

Musical Example C


Esztergom



lu - bi - lans o - lim ho - no - re // etc.


## = antiphon 2

Esztergom



Nam du - o lu - mi - na - ri - a ex te e - mer - se - runt // etc.


Leipzig



// etc.


## = antiphon 3

Esztergom



Quos di - va Con - stan - ci - a flam - ma in - cen - di - i // etc.

Leipzig



// etc.