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# *O zpívaní a čtení českém tractat* [A Treatise on Reading and Singing in Czech] by Václav Koranda the Younger: A Contribution to the History of Czech Liturgical Language

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The musicologists, who study the use of communal prayer in the liturgical practice of the Utraquist Church in the Jagellonian period, mostly encounter a difficult obstacle – the silence of sources in that regard.<sup>1</sup> A similar situation exists with respect to the use of the Czech language in liturgical song. Not even the probing of the *Jistebnický kancionál* [Jistebnice Kancionál],<sup>2</sup> a crucial document for the assessment of liturgical music following the establishment of the Bohemian Reformation, has as yet fully resolved the question of the Bohemianisation of the mass and the extent of Czech in the liturgy at the time of the manuscript's origin. The extent of the liturgical use of Czech is even less evident for the second half of the fifteenth century despite the fact that we have a source which contains Czech prefaces from the Jistebnice Kancionál and dates from the second half of the century.<sup>3</sup> According to Hana Vlhová-Wörner, there can be no doubt that Czech translations were utilized in liturgical chant at the beginning of the Bohemian Reformation.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> This article is the outgrowth of a paper presented in Petr Daněk's Seminar of Renaissance and Early Baroque at the Institute of Musicology in the Philosophical Faculty of Charles University. I wish to express thanks to Jiří K. Kroupa, David R. Holeton, Jindřich Marek, Jiří Žůrek and Hana Vlhová-Wörner for valuable suggestions, as well as to Stanislav Tesař for providing a digitalized copy of the Kolín Kancionál. The sample from the Jistebnice Kancionál is used with the kind permission of the editors (see n. 3).

See Kouba's view: "For the lack of direct evidence, it is impossible to trace concretely the extent, to which communal singing was practised in the Utraquist liturgy during the Poděbradian and Jagellonian periods." Jan Kouba, "Od husitství do Bílé hory" [From the Bohemian Reformation to the White Mountain], in: Vladimír Lébl, ed., *Hudba v českých dějinách* [Music in Czech History] (Prague, 1983) 96.

<sup>2</sup> MS Prague, KNM II C 7.

<sup>3</sup> MS Vienna, ÖNB 4557, ff. 233b–236b, see Hana Vlhová-Wörner, "The Jistebnice Kancionál – its Contents and the History," in David R. Holeton and Hana Vlhová-Wörner, eds., *Jistebnice Kancionál*, v. 1: *Graduale* (Brno, 2005) 122.

<sup>4</sup> Vlhová-Wörner, *The Jistebnice Kancionál – its Contents and the History*, 122.

Among musicologists, the intellectual basis for the demand for the mass in Czech was seen in the anonymous treatise *De cantu vulgari* found in a manuscript held by the Austrian National Library.<sup>5</sup> It was published for the first time by Zdeněk Nejedlý as a supplement to his *Počátky husitského zpěvu* [The Beginnings of Hussite Singing],<sup>6</sup> and subsequently also in a Czech translation in *Výbor české literatury z doby husitské* [Selection of Literature from the Hussite Period].<sup>7</sup> Nejedlý posits its origin prior to 1419 and in his book locates it at the conclusion “of the disputes about congregational ecclesiastical song” of Hus’s period. A variant of this treatise is a part of the entry *Cantus* in the homiliary of Václav Koranda the Younger, deposited in the Library of the National Museum, which is titled *Cantus in vulgari est licitus in ecclesia*.<sup>8</sup> František Svejkovský called attention to the very close connection of the two texts in 1965 and 1967, when he also produced a comparative edition.<sup>9</sup>

Surprisingly, nobody among the scholars of medieval music has as yet more closely examined another, much more extensive treatise on the same theme, namely, Koranda’s text *O zpívaní a čtení českém* [A Treatise on Reading and Singing in Czech] [Fig. 1], which was printed in 1493 together with the treatises *O vebelné a božské svátosti oltářní* [The Venerable and Divine Sacrament of the Altar], *O rozdávaní dietkám* [Communion for Children] and *O lichvě* [Usury].<sup>10</sup> Moreover, it can be considered the oldest printed treatise in Czech arguing for mass in the vernacular, which is dedicated to that topic alone and whose author is known to us. This is in contrast to the statements of Jan Rokycana<sup>11</sup> or Jakoubek of Stříbro’s remarks recently

<sup>5</sup> MS Vienna, ÖNB 4333, ff. 111a–112b, see Zdeněk Nejedlý, *Dějiny husitského zpěvu* [The History of Hussite Singing] (Prague, 1907) 397–398 and František Svejkovský: “Musejní rukopis XIV E 7 jako pramen k dějinám hudby z doby husitské” [Museum Manuscript XIV E 7 as a Source of Music History in the Hussite Period], in: *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Philosophica et historica* 2 (Prague, 1965) 51.

<sup>6</sup> Nejedlý, *Dějiny husitského zpěvu*, 505–506.

<sup>7</sup> Bohuslav Havránek, Josef Hrabák, and Jiří Daňhelka, eds., *Výbor z české literatury doby husitské*, 1 (Prague, 1963) 220–221.

<sup>8</sup> MS Prague, KNM XIV E 7, ff. 35a–37a, see František M. Bartoš, *Soupis rukopisů Národního muzea v Praze* [List of the Manuscripts in the National Museum in Prague] 2 (Prague, 1927) no. 3482.

<sup>9</sup> Svejkovský, “Musejní rukopis XIV E 7 jako pramen, 45–55; and František Svejkovský, “Dvě varianty husitského traktátu *De cantu vulgari*” [Two Variants of the Hussite Treatise *De cantu vulgari*], in: *Miscellanea musicologica*, 20 (1967) 49–62.

<sup>10</sup> Václav Koranda, Jr., *Tractat o vebelné a božské svátosti oltářní, kterak má přijímána býti od věrných křesťanouv. O rozdávaní dietkám. O zpívaní českém. O lichvě* [Treatise on the venerable and divine sacrament of the altar: how it ought to be received by faithful Christians. About communion for children. About singing in Czech. About usury.] (Prague, 1493), see *Knihopis* 1:11; Jitka Šimáková and Jaroslav Vrchoťka: *Katalog prvotisků Knihovny Národního muzea v Praze a zámeckých a hradních knihoven v České republice* [Catalogue of Incunabula of the National Museum Library in the Castle and Chateau Libraries of the Czech Republic] (Prague, 2001) no. 1175.

<sup>11</sup> František Šimek, *Učení M. Jana Rokycany* [The Teaching of Jan Rokycana], in: *Rozpravy České akademie věd a umění*, třída III., no. 77 (Prague, 1938).

gathered by David Holeton which are scattered throughout homilies or texts on other themes.<sup>12</sup>

As early as 1912, Kamil Krofta clearly identified Václav Koranda the Younger (c. 1423–1519), master of arts (1458) and later dean and rector of the University, who was elected Administrator of the Utraquist Consistory after Jan Rokycana in 1471 as author of the treatise.<sup>13</sup> Even though the author's name does not appear in the incunabula version, we have several reports, which connect the text of 1493 with Koranda's name, especially the witness of Krasonický in *Sepsání o tom, co se dalo předešlých let mezi Římany a Čechy* [Report on What Had Happened in the Former Years Between the Romans and the Czechs].<sup>14</sup> Krofta shows – on the basis of particular expressions – the common authorial origin of all the four treatises and, among others, he cites a passage from the text *O zpívání a čtení českém*.<sup>15</sup> The only hitherto newly published text of this incunabulum is the edition of the treatise *O lichvě* with commentaries prepared by Noemi Rejchrtová in 1978.<sup>16</sup> At present, Ota Halama is considering an edition of the largest part of Koranda's book, the treatise *O velebné a božské svátosti oltářní*, which represents the best rounded text among Koranda's three works on this theme. The significance of the treatise *O zpívání a čtení českém* was most recently stressed by Josef Macek who – in his book *Víra a zbožnost jagellonského věku* [Faith and Piety of the Jagellonian Age] – included it among the contemporary pieces of evidence for Czech in the liturgy.<sup>17</sup> Macek also deals here at relative length with Koranda's personality and his significance in Utraquism's history.

Jaroslav Kolár covers all the older literature concerning Koranda in his biographical entry of 1993 in the *Lexikon české literatury* [Lexicon of Czech Literature].<sup>18</sup> The entry also comprehensively covers Koranda's published works. Several traditional pieces of biographical data about Koranda, which can still be found in Macek and Kolár, have been recently placed in doubt by Jindřich Marek – for instance, his function as Administrator until 1497 and his sermon in the Bethlehem Chapel.<sup>19</sup> Ota Halama supplemented the list of recent

<sup>12</sup> David R. Holeton, "The Role of Jakoubek of Stříbro in the Creation of a Czech Liturgy: Some Further Reflections," in Ota Halama and Pavel Soukup, eds., *Jakoubek ze Stříbra. Texty a jejich působení* [Jakoubek of Stříbro: Texts and Their Role] (Prague, 2006) 49–86.

<sup>13</sup> Kamil Krofta, "O spisech Václava Korandy mladšího z Nové Plzně" [On the Writings of Václav Koranda the Younger, of Nová Plzeň], in *Listy filologické*, 39 (1912) 122–138, 215–232.

<sup>14</sup> MS Prague, KNM V F 41, ff. 29a–62a, viz Bartoš, *Soupis rukopisů Národního musea*, v. 1, no. 1592; Krofta, "O spisech Václava Korandy," 126.

<sup>15</sup> Krofta, "O spisech Václava Korandy," 127–128.

<sup>16</sup> Noemi Rejchrtová, "Administrátor Václav Koranda *O lichvě*," [Administrator Václav Koranda *On Usury*] ARBI 1 (1978) 129–164.

<sup>17</sup> Josef Macek, *Víra a zbožnost jagellonského věku* (Prague, 2001) 76.

<sup>18</sup> Jaroslav Kolár, "Václav Koranda ml.," in Vladimír Forst, ed., *Lexikon české literatury*, 2/II (Prague 1993) 854–855.

<sup>19</sup> Jindřich Marek, "Schriften des utraquistischen Konsistoriums aus den Jahren 1471–1489 in der Nationalbibliothek der Tschechischen Republik," in Pavel Krafl, ed., *Sacri canones servandi sunt. Ius canonicum et status ecclesiae saeculis XIII–XV* (Prague, 2008) 545–556.

literature on Koranda in his study *Přípisky Václava Korandy ml. v krnovské bibli* [Notations by Václav Koranda the Younger, in the Krnov Bible].<sup>20</sup>

For the sake of historical research into the liturgical use of the Czech language, I shall attempt to explore more closely the contents and the intellectual background of the treatise *O zpívaní a čtení českém*. I wish to introduce it into the musicological discourse and through publication make it accessible for further research. Moreover, on the basis of known and hitherto less studied sources, I intend to assess the liturgical situation to which the treatise addressed itself toward the end of the fifteenth century.

### The Contents of the Treatise

At the start, it needs to be stressed that the treatise *O zpívaní a čtení českém* not only culminates the hundred-year old tradition of promoting the use of an understandable language in the mass, but it is a kind of direct genetic continuation of the text *De cantu vulgari* as we find it in the anonymous treatise and, later, in Koranda's manual for preachers. The author's utilisation of the manual in the composition of a new work<sup>21</sup> to which I shall concretely call attention, helps to explain the considerable degree of relationship between the two. Even more interesting, is the printed version draws on both older manuscript witnesses which indicates the existence of a number of copies and variants of the treatise about vernacular singing in the late fifteenth century. Still more noteworthy is the fact that the author is not satisfied with the utilisation of merely conventional arguments – despite the fact that the printed treatise is an analogous collection of citations from Scripture and other authorities used as models – but he expands certain aspects at the expense of others and, above all, he puts the citations into the service of a text, erected in a rhetorical manner. In my opinion, the request for an understandable language is posited here in a broader and especially a more consistent manner than in the earlier texts. This happens despite the fact that the principal concern is with the defence of traditional Utraquist ideas directed against Roman theologians and the Unity of Brethren.

Koranda begins his treatise, consisting of fourteen folios, by noting a spread of unrighteousness through which many “neglect to hear” [*zanetbávají slyšeti*] the Law of God or even “argue against it, blaspheme against it, and ask for it to be suppressed” [*repci, jemu se porúhají a jej potlačiti žádají*].<sup>22</sup> The relationship to the Law of God constitutes a kind of pillar on which the

<sup>20</sup> Ota Halama, “Přípisky Václava Korandy ml. v krnovské bibli,” [Annotations by Václav Koranda the Younger in the Bible of Krnov] StR 36 (2008) 121–140.

<sup>21</sup> Thanks to the determination that the treatise *O zpívaní a čtení českém* derives from Koranda's manual (see n. 8) we can also more precisely limit the time of its possible origin to the year 1493.

<sup>22</sup> Václav Koranda, ml., *O zpívaní a čtení českém traktát*, f. 147a; see n. 10; henceforth I cite only the relevant folios.

whole apology rests, as the author sums up at the very start of his explanation of the *raison d'être* of his work: so that the scriptural learning “would silence the ignorance of the rash ones” [*oněměla neumělost neopatrných*] and so that “the faith and the grace of the believers may be strengthened for the elucidation of the Law of God. To act in this way, according to God’s blessing, let the approach be thus: Preaching, reading and singing from the Scripture of God’s Law in the common tongue should be preserved in the Church for the edification of Christians.”<sup>23</sup>

An extensive argumentation then begins with citations from the Old Testament. Koranda adopts only two brief Psalm verses from the variants of *De cantu vulgari* and one citation from the manual from the section of *Lectura vulgaris legis Dei* and supplements them with a commentary and eight more verses from the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and the Psalms. Several principal emphases come to light here already and then permeate the entire text. There is a particular stress on hearing and understanding the Law of God (for instance, in the citation from Nehemiah 8:2–3;11–12: So they read from the book, from the Law of God, with interpretation. They gave the sense, so that the people understood the reading”)<sup>24</sup> and also on the function of singing as a response to the Word of God heard (for instance, Psalm 119:54: “Your just acts were worthy of singing, O Lord,” which is taken over from Koranda’s manual.)<sup>25</sup> Moreover, in my opinion, it was not by accident that – while composing the treatise – Koranda left out passages in which both variants of the *Cantu vulgari* maintain that important figures of the Old Testament and even the Lord himself spoke in their own tongues, and on the contrary, puts the emphasis on the ability of the listening audience to understand.

The shift of emphasis can be clearly seen in the following section of citations from the New Testament, where instead of a brief statement about Christ: “*Item quando predicationem suam in proprio semper linguagio incepit*,”<sup>26</sup> as we find it in the anonymous treatise *De cantu vulgari*, Koranda cites *in extenso* six verses from Luke 4[17–22] and concludes with the comment: “See from this how... Christ the Lord, when he reads the prophecy in the common tongue, the listeners on hearing him understood him and praised him.”<sup>27</sup>

Koranda’s homiletical intent becomes still clearer when he arrives at an explication of 1 Corinthians 14. From the very beginning this passage was

<sup>23</sup> “... věrných posilněna byla viera i milost k osvědčování toho zákona Božieho. K tomu úmyslu podle Božieho požehnání buď přístup tento: Kázanie, čítanie i zpíevanie obecnu řeči z Písem zákona Božieho má k vzdělání křesťanův v cirkvi zachovávano býti” *Ibid.*, f. 147b.

<sup>24</sup> “Ale lid staše i čtli jsú na knihách zákona Božieho rozumně a zjevně k rozumu a rozuměli jsú, když čten bieše.” *Ibid.*, f. 148b.

<sup>25</sup> “Hodny k zpíevaní byly mí spravedlnosti tvé, Pane.” *Loc. cit.*

<sup>26</sup> MS Vienna, ÖNB 4333, f. 111a (see n. 5).

<sup>27</sup> “Pohlediz z tohoto, kterak (...) Pána Krista, když prorocťvie četl, také v řeči obecně slyšeli přítomní, jsúce rozuměli jemu a pochválili jeho.” *Ibid.*, f. 150a.

one of the principal arguments of the advocates of the vernacular in the liturgy. It is cited by the anonymous treatise *De cantu vulgari*, and alluded to by Tomáš Štítný of Štítné,<sup>28</sup> and used as an argument in favour of Czech by Jakoubek of Stříbro,<sup>29</sup> Jan Rokycana,<sup>30</sup> and Martin Lupáč who, according to Svejkovský, explicitly maintained: “Neither St. Cyril, nor papal permission, but St. Paul’s epistle is for us the authority for the legitimacy of song in the people’s tongue.”<sup>31</sup> Koranda cites all the verses, which his precursors mentioned, namely v. 3 (“those who prophesy speak to other people for their up-building and encouragement and consolation”),<sup>32</sup> v. 13 (“Therefore, one who speaks in a tongue should pray for the power to interpret”),<sup>33</sup> v. 15 (“I will sing praise with the spirit, but I will sing praise with the mind also”),<sup>34</sup> v. 16 (“if you say a blessing with the spirit, how can anyone in the position of outsider say the ‘Amen’ to your thanksgiving, since the outsider does not know what you are saying?”),<sup>35</sup> and vv. 18–19 (“thank God that I speak in tongues more than all of you; nevertheless in church I would rather speak five words with my mind, in order to instruct others also, than thousand words in a tongue”).<sup>36</sup> Koranda places these words of the apostle at the centre of his treatise’s argumentation, adding to them a comment of Nicholas of Lyra, as well as his own summing up: “It is evident from all of this, that teaching, prayer, song, or blessing from the Law of God does not contribute to edification, unless those who listen can understand.”<sup>37</sup>

In ensuing passages, Koranda escalates his argumentation on the basis of the first two verses of 1 Corinthians 15: “I would remind you...of the good news that I proclaimed to you, which you in turn received, in which also you stand, through which also you are being saved...”<sup>38</sup> The intelligibility of the Gospel, therefore, is nothing less essential than the very precondition of salvation.

In connection with Paul’s statements, Koranda reminds his readers of the practice of the primitive church. With the help of excerpts from Nicholas

<sup>28</sup> Antonín J. Vrtátko, *Thómy z Štítého Knihy naučení křesťanského* [Books of Christian teaching by Thomas of Štítné] (Prague, 1873) 4.

<sup>29</sup> Holeton, *The Role of Jakoubek of Stříbro in the Creation of a Czech Liturgy*, 70.

<sup>30</sup> Šimek, *Učení M. Jana Rokycany*, 22.

<sup>31</sup> Svejkovský, *Dvě varianty husitského traktátu*, 51.

<sup>32</sup> “Ktož prorokuje lidem, to jest dává naučení, aby rozuměli, ten mluví k vzdělání, k napomenutí i ku potěšení.” Koranda, *De cantu vulgari*, f. 151a.

<sup>33</sup> “Ktož mluví jazykem, modl se, aby vykládal.” *Ibid.*, f. 151a.

<sup>34</sup> “Zpíevati budu duchem, zpíevati budu i myslí.” *Ibid.*, f. 151b.

<sup>35</sup> “Budeš-li i požehnanie dávati duchem, to jest jinú řečí, kto naplní miesto hlúpeho, kterak die ‘Amen,’ to jest ‘bud’ tak nad tvým požehnaním, poněvadž co pravíš, nevie.” *Ibid.*, f. 151b.

<sup>36</sup> “Dieky činím Bohu, že všech vás jazykem mluvím, ale v kostele chci pět slov rozumem svým mluvití, abych jiné naučil, nežli deset tisícúov slov v jazyku, totiž cizím.” *Ibid.*, f. 151b.

<sup>37</sup> “Z toho všeho zřejmo jest, že učenie, modlitba, zpíevanie i požehnanie z zákona Božieho neprospeívá k vzdělání, jediné leč by rozuměli, ktož posluchájí.” *Ibid.*, f. 151b.

<sup>38</sup> “Známo činím vám Čtenie, kteréž sem kázal vám, kteréž jste i přijeli, v němž stojíte, skrz něž i spaseni budete.” *Ibid.*, f. 152b.

of Lyra, he asserts summarily: “Being aware of all this and of much else, the faithful in the primitive church received in the vernacular tongue the blessings and other things necessary to salvation which were dispensed in the church as a whole and in particular church buildings.”<sup>39</sup>

From contemporary experiences, the author adduces, in the first place, the example of the eastern churches, which “until now, as they received the teaching from eminent saints, conduct their prayers, blessings, readings and chants in their own tongue.”<sup>40</sup> In the second place, he cites experiences from Italy, where “the people with gladness accept the priestly prayers, read aloud during the mass, and the entire Italian populace, which is able to understand Latin, enjoys reading and singing in that tongue... This is known to those, who have been in the Italian lands.”<sup>41</sup> At the first sight, this statement gives the impression of the author’s subjective insertions and, indeed, Krofta assesses it as one of the proofs of Koranda’s authorship.<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, except for the concluding coda, the statement merely augments a passage from the treatise *De cantu vulgari*.

Only at the end of the second third of the text, the author gets around to mentioning concrete parts of the liturgy for which he explicitly requests the use of vernacular. At first, he moreover emphasizes in citing Romans 10:17 that “faith comes from what is heard, and what is heard comes through the word of Christ.”<sup>43</sup> Then he goes on to enumerate – entirely in agreement with *De cantu vulgari*, and on the basis of conciliar documents and St. Cyprian’s statements – the preface, the creed, and those parts of the mass, when the people’s response is expected, namely, “Lift up your hearts” and “The Lord be with you.” Once more, the need emerges to respond to the heard word of God as Koranda himself sums up in the following words: “Reading and singing in the vernacular should be maintained in the mass so that the people can understand and, understanding, respond so that they would awake to religion.”<sup>44</sup> He immediately adds another comment which indicates that his demand for the liturgy’s intelligibility is clearly not limited to the parts of the mass earlier enumerated: “Inasmuch as the common folk is entitled to sing, who can doubt that other languages should be heard and sung from the law of God.”<sup>45</sup> If we examine

<sup>39</sup> “Všecko toto i jiného více majíce věrní v prvotní církvi před očima svýma, požehnanie i jiné věci obecné spasitelné, kteréž se dály v církvi neb v kostele, puosobili jsú v řeči obecné.” Ibid., f. 153a.

<sup>40</sup> “až doposavad jakž vzali naučení od předních svatých, vedú své modlitby, požehnanie, čítanie i zpievanie v svém jazyku.” Ibid., f.153a.

<sup>41</sup> “... lid s milostí čtenie kněžské, když hlasitě bývá při mši čteno, přijímá a všecken lid vlaský, když podlé své pochopnosti latinské rozomie řeči, v niežto když se čte neb zpívá, potěšení má. (...) To jest známo těm, ktož jsú bývali v krajinách vlaských.” Ibid., ff. 153b–154a.

<sup>42</sup> Krofta, *O spisech Václava Korandy*, 127–128.

<sup>43</sup> Koranda, *De cantu vulgari*, f. 154a.

<sup>44</sup> “Čtenie i zpievanie v řeči obecné má na mši zachováno býti, aby lid rozuměl, a rozuměje, aby odpovídal, a tak zbuzován byl k náboženství.” Ibid., f. 156a.

<sup>45</sup> “Toto poněvadž lidu obecnímu příslušie zpievati, kto pochybuje, že i jiné řeč z zákona Božího (...) mají slyšány i zpívány býti.” Ibid., ff.156a–156b.

more closely the formulation of this statement in both of Koranda's models, we discover that the author follows more closely the form preserved in the anonymous treatise than in the manual that also contains the conciliar edict prohibiting the laity from reading and singing in church, that is the passage, which Koranda omits in the printed text.

The expansion of the demand for an intelligible language in other liturgical acts is then affirmed by Koranda in a citation asserting that "The rite of the holy baptism can be administered variously: in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Armenian, or Slavic because the act is the same, although the words are not. Therefore, let not a Christian, even if faithful, get excited, complain, or blaspheme, if baptism be administered in an intelligible and vernacular tongue,"<sup>46</sup> and in addition that also: "the consecration of God's body and blood can be in any language."<sup>47</sup> This indication of a support for the performance of baptism and consecration – that is of the *Canon missae* – in Czech culminates the entire textual structure of the treatise up to this point. Koranda sums up all that was said in the following words: "It becomes evident from all these statements how it is reasonable, and how to announce to the people – in preaching and in singing – in the vernacular the beneficial holy Scriptures, prayers, blessing and so forth, and also how it is proper for the people to sing..."<sup>48</sup>

In the last and relatively independent section, the author speaks to those, who oppose the national language in the mass, when he addresses them with Matthew 23:13: "But woe to you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For you lock people out of the kingdom of heaven. For you do not go in yourselves, and when others are going in, you stop them."<sup>49</sup> In conclusion, he then turns for the last time to the people with this appeal: "Oh priests, read, preach and sing with gladness and love before the people the writings of the Law of God and those of the holy doctors; and, oh you faithful, listen with pure desire and piously to those scriptures."<sup>50</sup>

### Koranda's Treatise and Contemporary Utraquist Liturgy

After becoming acquainted in some detail with Koranda's argumentation, it is now possible to sum up the treatise's message in several observations. The constantly repeated thesis, that the people must understand the word of God,

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., ff. 156b–157a.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid., f. 157a.

<sup>48</sup> "Ze všech těchto řečí zřejmo jest, kterak rozumno jest i kterak prospěšná Písma svatá, modlitby, požehnání a tak dále v obecné řeči před lidem čtením, kázáním i zpívaním oznamovati i také lidu jakž příslušie zpívatí..." Loc. cit.

<sup>49</sup> "Běda vám kněžíe a zákonníci, pokrytci, ješto zavíeráte království nebeské před lidmi; vy zajisté nevcházíte, ani těm, ktož by chěli vcházeti dopůstíte." Ibid., f. 158a.

<sup>50</sup> "Kněžíe, rádi a s milostí čtete, kažte i zpívejte před lidem Písma zákona Božieho i doctorov svatých; a svěšťtí, s žádostí čistú a s náboženství těch Písem poslúchajte." Ibid., f. 159b.

respond and sing, is formulated more sharply than in both of Koranda's models, but in principle it corresponds to the standpoints of the author's precursors, especially that of Jakoubek of Strýbro. It supports mainly the singing by laity during the mass, and the presentation in Czech of readings, sermons, and the dialogical passages, concretely *The Lord be with you* and *Lift up your hearts*. The treatise also demands the Czech language in the prefaces and in the Credo. Hence, it concerns the parts of the mass, which were spoken aloud or which represented responses of the faithful, and Koranda limits himself in the treatise exactly to the sphere of the pronounced word. Although the entire text moves on a theoretical plain, it must be realized that all the enumerated parts of the mass are actually extant in the Czech form from the fifteenth century, as Holeton has shown in his earlier-mentioned study.<sup>51</sup> If we doubt the relevance of the Jistebnice Kancionál for the situation around the year 1493, it must be added that another – hitherto neglected – witness exists for the Czech version of these texts in the Jagellonian period. It is a “kancionál”, which was produced in 1517 probably for the church of St. Bartholomew in Kolín,<sup>52</sup> and which contains, besides Czech songs, three Czech Creeds, the salutation and eucharistic dialogue [Fig. 2] and other Czech liturgical chants including *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* in Czech, in addition to later inscriptions.<sup>53</sup> We also find the *Pater noster* in Czech in the printed Utraquist kancionál from 1522.<sup>54</sup> It is, therefore, likely that Koranda emphasizes those parts of the mass that were sung – albeit perhaps not regularly – in the vernacular in the late fifteenth century; the Synods of 1418 and 1434 having required the lections and the Credo in the people's language.<sup>55</sup> In the case of the Credo, the author moreover refers to the documents of the Council of Toledo which stipulate that it should be “sung by all the people in a clear voice.” The likely practice of this is suggested by the inclusion of paraphrases of the *Credo* in Czech in the first printed kancionál of the Utraquist Church.

When, however, Koranda speaks “also of other statements from the law of God,” which should be expressed in the vernacular, and eventually about baptism and the *canon missae*, of which no Czech texts have been preserved from the Jagellonian period, then we can assume that these are not matters

<sup>51</sup> Holeton: “The Role of Jakoubek of Strýbro in the Creation of a Czech Liturgy,” 81–84.

<sup>52</sup> MS Kolín, Regionální muzeum př. č. 80/88, see František Hoffmann, “Martin bakalář z Vyskytné a rukopisy kolínské,” in *StR* 17 (1978) 59–81, and Stanislav Petr, “Rukopisný fond v regionálním muzeu v Kolíně,” [The manuscript collection in the Regional Museum of Kolín] in *Sborník k nedožitým 65. narozeninám PhDr. Zdeňka Jelínka, CSc., Práce muzea v Kolíně – řada společenskovední*, 7 (2001) 127–152. Henceforth I use the simpler designation of *Kolínský kancionál*, despite the fact that the manuscript is more a combination of a hymnal and a gradual.

<sup>53</sup> Only the Latin versions of *Sanctus* and *Agnus dei* appear in the *Jistebnice Kancionál*.

<sup>54</sup> Jan Kouba, “Kancionály Václava Miřinského” [Hymnals of Václav Miřinský], in *MM* 8 (1959) 125; Knihopis no. K05617, see <http://db.knihopis.org> (accessed: 14. 6. 2008).

<sup>55</sup> *Documenta*, 680 a Blanka Zilynská, *Husitské synody v Čechách* [Utraquist Synods in Bohemia] (Prague, 1985) 117–118.

of contemporary practice but rather logically consequential desiderata voiced by this aged champion of Utraquist values. Nevertheless, the existence of the first known translation of the eucharistic prayers from 1531<sup>56</sup> indicates that even in these matters Koranda was not too far ahead of his times. Most likely, we must view Koranda's treatise as an effort to defend and sum up the Utraquist teaching at the highest level of consistency and principle – hence its intentional setting among the writings of fundamental dogmatic gravity.<sup>57</sup> This is emphasized by Koranda himself in the introductory part of *O velebné a božské svátosti oltářní* in the following words: "Various passages are put together here for the sake of sickly, hesitant, and unstable souls so that they might more firmly hold unto what the Bohemians had accepted and learned from the law of God."<sup>58</sup>

At this point, we need to make a bit of a detour and turn our attention to the earlier-mentioned *Kolínský kancionál* [The Kolín Kancionál]. A closer examination of Czech chant, included here around 1517, shows that the times of Koranda were probably more closely connected with the existence and formation of Czech liturgical translations than was hitherto suspected. Scholars have so far treated the kancionál of the literary brotherhood of Kolín first as an object of codicological analysis,<sup>59</sup> and then as the first extensive independent collection of songs in Czech.<sup>60</sup> This paper codex encompasses altogether 408 folios and is the work of two scribes of which hand A belongs – according to the findings of František Hoffmann – to the scribe of the Kolín town chancellery, Martin Bachelor of Vyskytná.<sup>61</sup> It contains an independent section of

<sup>56</sup> Holeton: "The Role of Jakoubek of Stříbro in the Creation of a Czech Liturgy," 84.

<sup>57</sup> See Halama, *Přípisky Václava Korandy ml. v krnovské bibli*, 124, 130, where Koranda's defence of the chalice, infant communion, and Czech singing are viewed as evidence of traditional Utraquist teaching growing out of Rokycana's circle within the milieu of the University in the Jagellonian period.

<sup>58</sup> Krofta, *O spisech Václava Korandy*, 127.

<sup>59</sup> Hoffmann, "Martin bakalář z Vyskytné a rukopisy kolínské," 59–81; Petr, "Rukopisný fond v regionálním muzeu v Kolíně," 127–152 a Miloslav Veleta, "Kolínský husitský kancionál – hudební dokument závěru husitské revoluce" [The Hussite Kancionál of Kolín, a music document from the End Phase of the Hussite Revolution], in: *Sborník Pedagogické fakulty v Hradci Králové*, 23, hudební výchova (1974) 7–34. Veleta attempts to place *Kolínský kancionál* into a broader historical context, but his work is vitiated by an erroneous dating of the *Kancionál* into the mid-fifteenth century.

<sup>60</sup> Adriana Gemsová, "Kolínský kancionál jako pramen poznání české duchovní písně 1. čtvrtiny 16. století" [The Kolín Kancionál as a Source for the Study of Czech Ecclesiastical Song of the First Quarter of the Sixteenth Century], Diploma Thesis, FF UP (Olomouc, 1997); Marta Procházková, "Kolínský kancionál," Diploma Thesis, FF MU (Brno, 2007); and Anna Tesařová, "Repertoár tištěných kancionálů Václava Mířinského z roku 1522 a 1531 a jeho poměr k repertoáru rukopisného Kolínského kancionálu z roku 1517" [The Repertoire of Václav Mířinský's Printed Hymnals from 1522 and 1531, and its Relationship to the Repertoire of the Manuscript Kolín Kancionál from 1517], Bachelor Thesis, FF MU (Brno, 2004).

<sup>61</sup> Hoffmann, "Martin bakalář z Vyskytné a rukopisy kolínské," 70.

Czech gradual chants and, moreover, a whole series of Czech liturgical chants which are scattered among the songs.<sup>62</sup>

The relatively short section of graduals contains first the chants of the propers for votive masses in the following order: the Most Holy Trinity, Michael the Archangel, Sending of the Holy Spirit (Pentecost), the Body and Blood of the Lord (Corpus Christi), the Passion of the Lord, and the vigil of the Assumption. The section further contains chants of the ordinary, specifically a group of *Kyrie*, *Gloria*, *Sanctus*, and a single chant for the *Agnus Dei*,<sup>63</sup> and as an appendix a *responsorium* for the Lord's Supper. A much more extensive section of songs, which precedes the section of graduals, contains – among the songs for the individual seasons of the liturgical year – *cantia* with Czech paraphrases of the text of the *Credo* which are here, just as in the Jistebnice Kancionál, inserted only in the hymnal part, as well as other chants of the ordinary (except for the *Agnus Dei*) and several sequences. In the introduction to the Kancionál, the salutation and eucharistic dialogue before the Preface were written by hand on a free folio in the quire with the index (see Fig. 2).<sup>64</sup>

The very existence of the liturgical collection in Czech at the start of the sixteenth century – it is clearly the oldest extant collection of Czech gradual chants after the Jistebnice Kancionál – intimates that, even after the Bohemian wars of religion, the Czech language had not vanished from the liturgy to the extent that was hitherto supposed.<sup>65</sup> And not only that: a closer examination of the translated liturgical texts from the Jistebnice and Kolín kancionáls shows that, of the chants which are based on the same Latin originals, eleven have an entirely different text in the *Kolín Kancionál* (mainly just another translation of the same original but, exceptionally, a new text for another feast day) and only two chants are both melodically and textually identical (the paraphrases of the *Credo*, *Věřmež v Boha jednoho* [Let Us Believe in One God] and a Sequence for Corpus Christi, *Abychom hodně pamatovali* [Let Us Much Remember]).<sup>66</sup>

<sup>62</sup> I have studied the contents of the Kancionál with the help of the index in the electronic catalogue *Hymnorum Thesaurus Bohemicus* (<http://www.clavmon.cz/clavis/index.htm>, accessed 1. 9. 2008). At the same time I wish to correct several errors which found their way into the list of the repertoire of this source.

<sup>63</sup> Let this fact be a contribution to the discussion about the use of the chant *Agnus Dei* in the Utraquist mass.

<sup>64</sup> In my opinion, these acclamations in musical notes were written by the scribe A, inasmuch as the shape of individual letters corresponds to his writing in the second part of the manuscript. This hitherto neglected brief text, however, must be subjected to further palaeographic study.

<sup>65</sup> See, for instance, Dobroslav Orel, *Franusův kancionál z r. 1505* [The Franus Kancionál of 1505] (Prague, 1922) 50; and Kouba, “Od husitství do Bílé hory,” 107.

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### Kýrie

Bože věčný, buď pomocný (ff. 157a–157b)	Deus Pater misericordie
Hospodine, Pane všemohúci (ff. 346b–348b)	Angelorum Domina
Pane Bože, tys přikázal (ff. 360a–360b)	Magne Deus
Hospodine všemohúci, pro tvé milosrdenství (ff. 396a–396b)	Clementissime summe Rex
Hospodine všemohúci, smiluj se (f. 397a)	Inmense Conditor poli
Hospodine, Pane náš, jenž jsi pro nás stvořil (ff. 400b–401b)	Omnipotentissime Adonay

### Gloria

A na zemi pokoj lidem dobré vůle (ff. 189a–190b)	Et in terra (Missa Lux et origo)
A na zemi pokoj věrným lidem (f. 396b)	Et in terra
Chvála na výsosti (ff. 397a–400b)	Gloria Patri et Filio

### Credo

Věřím v Boha Otce, všeho Stvořitele (ff. 228b–229a)  
 Věřím v Boha jednoho (ff. 230b–232b)  
 Věřmež v Boha jednoho (ff. 240b–241a)  
 Všickni ze všeho srdce věřmež (ff. 345a–346b)

### Sanctus

Svatý Bože, Otče všemohúci (ff. 360b–361b)	Sanctus
Otče Bože, Stvořiteli / Milostivý Spasiteli (ff. 401b–403a)	Salve, Mater / Angeli et archangeli
Otče Bože, Stvořiteli nebe (ff. 404a–405a)	O Maria, tu cum Agno
Stvořiteli, Otče svatý (ff. 405a–406a)	Sanctus (“scolasticum”)

### Agnus

Beránku Boží Jezu Krista (ff. 403b–404a)	Agnus Dei
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### Introit

Požehnaná buď velebná, cti, chvály hodná (ff. 375a–375b)	Benedicta sit, Sancta Trinitas
Chvaltež Hospodina všickni anjelé jeho (f. 378b)	Benedicte Domino, omnes
Duch Boží, Bohu Otci i Synu rovný (ff. 381b–382b)	Spiritus Domini replevit
Pán Buoh, jehož chvále v nebi anjelé (ff. 384a–384b)	Cibavit eos ex adipe frumenti
My zajisté, jenž jsme vykúpeni (ff. 388a–389a)	Nos autem gloriari
Zdráva Rodičko svatá, porodilas těhotná Krále (ff. 392b–393a)	Salve, Sancta Parens

### Gradual

Kristus, Syn Boží milý (ff. 389a–390a)	Christus factus est
Blahoslavená nad jiné sama (ff. 393a–394a)	Benedicta et venerabilis es

### Alleluia

Požehnaný jsi, Pane panujících (ff. 375b–376b)	Benedictus es, Adonay
Ježíši, Králi anjelský (ff. 378b–379b)	Concussus est mare
Zavítá utěšiteli věrných (ff. 382b–383a)	Veni, sancte Spiritus
Tělo mé právě jest pokrm (ff. 385a–385b)	Caro mea vere est cibus
Vývolená a nad jiné zvolená (ff. 394a–395a)	Egregia sponsa Christi

**Sequence**

Staše Matka žalostivá (ff. 134b–135b a 390a–391a)  
 Nuž velikonoční chválu, křesťané (ff. 185a–186a)  
 Bohu Otci i Synu i milému Duchu (ff. 186b–189a)  
 Navštěv nás Duše Svatý (ff. 201a–201b)  
 Požehnaná, vždycky Svatá buď Trojice (ff. 376b–378b)  
 Svrchní Králi archanjelský (ff. 379b–381b)  
 Zavítaj Duše Svatý (ff. 383a–384b)  
 Abychom hodné pamatovali (ff. 385b–387b)  
 Slovo dobré a lahodné (ff. 395a–396a)

Stabat Mater dolorosa  
 Victimae paschali laudes  
 Congaudent angelorum  
 Veni, sancte Spiritus  
 Benedicta, semper Sancta  
 Summi Regis archangele  
 Veni, sancte Spiritus

Verbum bonum et suave

**Offertory**

Kněží věrní, jenž jsú / Budiž pozdraveno (ff. 387b–388a)  
 Rozpomeň se jednorozený Synu Boží (ff. 391a–392b)

Sacerdotes incensum / Ave, salus  
 Recordare, Iesu Christe

**Responsory**

Temnosti staly jsú se po všeliké zemi (ff. 190a–191b)  
 A opona chrámová roztrhla se jest (f. 191b)  
 Předvěděv smrt svú Pán Ježíš (ff. 406a–408a)

Tenebrae factae sunt  
 Velum templi scissum est  
 Discubuit Iesus et discipuli

**Hymnus**

Přid', Vykupiteli lidský (ff. 8a–8b)  
 Od východu slunce našeho sebranie (ff. 55a–55b)  
 Dnové rozpuštění pomíjjejí (ff. 100a–100b)  
 Dobrým příkladem jsúc naučení (ff. 106b–107b)  
 Duchem svatým sme naučení (ff. 110a–111a)  
 Ježíši, posvětiteli dní čtyrydceťi (ff. 113a–113b)  
 Jakžto noc tmami obsazena (ff. 115b–116a)  
 Uslýš, milostný Stvořiteli (ff. 116a–116b)  
 Kriste, jenž si světlo i také dnem nazván (ff. 117b–118a)  
 Kriste, jenž si světlo i den všeho světa (ff. 118b–119a)  
 Korúhve Krále věčného (ff. 136a–137b)  
 Zpievaj, jazyk, přeslavného boje (ff. 138a–139a)  
 Kriste Králi, Stvořiteli (ff. 153a–154b)  
 Ó spasitedlná oběťi (ff. 222b–223b)  
 Ó světlo, Trojice Svatá (f. 332b)  
 Město to blahoslavené, Jeruzalém (ff. 343b–344b)  
 Přidíž, Stvořiteli, Duše svatý (ff. 367a–367b)

Veni, Redemptor gentium  
 A solis ortu cardine  
 Dies absoluti praeterunt  
 Ex more docti mystico  
 Ex more docti mystico  
 Iesu, quadragenarie  
 Ut nox tenebris obsita  
 Audi, benigne Conditor  
 Christe, qui lux es et dies  
 Christe, qui lux es et dies  
 Vexilla Regis prodeunt  
 Pange, lingua, gloriosi  
 Rex Christe, Factor  
 O salutaris hostia  
 O lux, Beata Trinitas  
 Urbs beata Hierusalem  
 Veni, Creator Spiritus

**Eucharistic Dialogue**

Pán Buoh buď s vámi  
 Vzuhoru srdce  
 Díky Bohu vzdá[vajme] (f. 2a)

Dominus vobiscum  
 Sursum corda  
 Gratias agamus

**Our Father**

Stvořiteli, Otče všie dobrotivosti (ff. 227a–228b)  
 Smrt se blíží každému / Zdráva, Panno Maria (ff. 229a–230b)  
 Otče náš všemohúci / Zdráva, plná milosti (ff. 239a–240b)

**Ave Maria**

Zdráva, jenž si pozdravena (ff. 348b–349b).

Thus, here we find seven texts which are already present in the Jistebnice Kancionál but in a different translation. Moreover, during the change of the text considerable revisions of the melody occur – the new text frequently disrespects the original Latin infrastructure (in distinction from the translations in the Jistebnice Kancionál, which remain, despite many changes, much more faithful to the Latin originals). There is a frequent voiding of *melismata* and the underpinning of the text almost syllabically [Figs. 3 and 4].<sup>67</sup> The independence in the composition of the translations in the Kolín Kancionál is attested by the fact that the *jubilus* – which is in the Jistebnice Kancionál in some cases abbreviated compared to the Latin originals – is utilized in the Kolín Kancionál in its entirety and in general is supported by a trope.<sup>68</sup>

Another important fact is that the Czech version of the chants in the Kolín Kancionál can be found with minor variations in the liturgical manuscripts and publications of the second half of the sixteenth century. According to available databases,<sup>69</sup> the graduals from the Ústí nad Orlicí and Žiželice nad Cidlinou<sup>70</sup> are among the sources with the most numerous concordances; according to these sources, eight chants make a unique appearance. A more definite determination of the relationship of the Kolín Kancionál to the particular sixteenth-century graduals will still require a more detailed investigation. Even a rudimentary comparison, however, indicates that we evidently have here the first witness to a tradition of Czech liturgical texts which then persists until the Battle of the White Mountain [Fig. 3]. Rather than speculate about the date of these texts' origin, I wish to indicate that the problem of the Czech liturgical chants of the Utraquist Church is equally as complex as the question of Czech songs. In both cases, the development was most likely fluid and thus difficult to compartmentalise into individual phases. In both areas, there is vocal music that managed to remain in use for two entire centuries. Among liturgical texts, the Kolín Kancionál attests to this durability, for instance, in the earlier mentioned chants *Věřmež v Boha jednoho* and *Abychom hodně pamatovali*.<sup>71</sup>

Thanks to the liturgical witness of the Kolín Kancionál, we obviously need to abandon the hypothesis about the second wave of ascendance of translated liturgy in the 1540s, or about the effect of the Lutheran Reformation

<sup>67</sup> A helpful description of this procedure is offered by Kouba, "Od husitství do Bílé hory," 108.

<sup>68</sup> Compare, for instance, the triple alleluia "Požehnaný jsi, Bože náš" in *Jistebnice Kancionál* (p. 8) with its parallel "Požehnaný jsi, Pane panujícíech" in the *Kolín Kancionál* (ff. 375b–376b).

<sup>69</sup> *Hymnorum Thesaurus Bohemicus* (see note 62) and *Melodiarium Hymnologicum Bohemiae* (<http://www.firmadat.cz/melodiarium>, accessed 7. 12. 2008).

<sup>70</sup> MS Ústí nad Orlicí, Farní úřad kostela Nanebevzetí Panny Marie, without signature, and MS Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech Hr 57 (8553).

<sup>71</sup> Also Vlhová-Wörner, "The Jistebnice Kancionál – its Contents and the History," 125 n.49 cites the sequence *Abychom hodně pamatovali* as a link between the two traditions of liturgical translation.

on the revived use of Czech in the liturgy in Bohemia.<sup>72</sup> Although the majority of sources show a preponderance of Latin, it is evident that already in the Jagellonian period the Utraquist liturgy was in the process of acquiring a Czech form, which we know from the second half of the sixteenth century. It is not yet clear to what extent Koranda's advocacy of Czech in the liturgy was reflected in the creation of new liturgical translations. If, however, as Vladimír Kyas has noted Koranda's part in the genesis of the translation of the *Pražská bible* [Prague Bible], it is possible – with a certain dose of caution – to assume also a role of this Utraquist stalwart in the shaping of Czech liturgical texts.<sup>73</sup>

It is necessary to note that much still remains unknown despite the fact that – thanks to two virtually unknown witnesses of Czech liturgy in the Jagellonian period – we perhaps have succeeded in lifting a small corner of the curtain hiding from us knowledge of Utraquist liturgical practice. We must be very cautious before coming to any conclusions. Likewise, we need caution in considering the possible influence of Koranda on liturgy, especially after doubts have been cast on his position in the ranks of Utraquist clergy, and on his function as Administrator after 1489.<sup>74</sup> Yet, it is certain that, in any case, Václav Koranda the Younger was a highly respected personage in the 1490s. Furthermore, we cannot overlook the fact that – if in this period a similar collection of treatises appeared in print – it must have excelled in significance (and hence in its reach) all other contemporary publications. In my opinion, it is difficult at this time to assess the position of the treatise *O zpívání a čtení českém* in the development of Czech endeavours for reform. It surely represents the traditional Utraquist views on Czech chant on the one hand but, on the other, in the light of *Kolín Kancionál's* testimony, it also occupies a place in the genesis of a new Czech liturgical tradition, and perhaps also in a revitalised reformational thinking of the Utraquist Church. We can, however, state with confidence that the question of the vernacular not only was not dead in the period of the Jagellonian rule, but a certain intellectual and documentary continuity existed with the period of the Bohemian wars of religion of the past, as well as with the future tradition of the Czech liturgical chants of the sixteenth century.

(Translated from the Czech by Zdeněk V. David)

<sup>72</sup> Vlhová-Wörner, "The Jistebnice Kancionál – its Contents and the History," 125.

<sup>73</sup> Vladimír Kyas, *Česká Bible v dějinách národního písemnictví* [The Czech Bible in the history of national literature] (Prague, 1997) 130.

<sup>74</sup> Marek, *Schriften des utraquistischen Konsistoriums aus den Jahren 1471–1489 in der Nationalbibliothek der Tschechischen Republik*, 549–550.

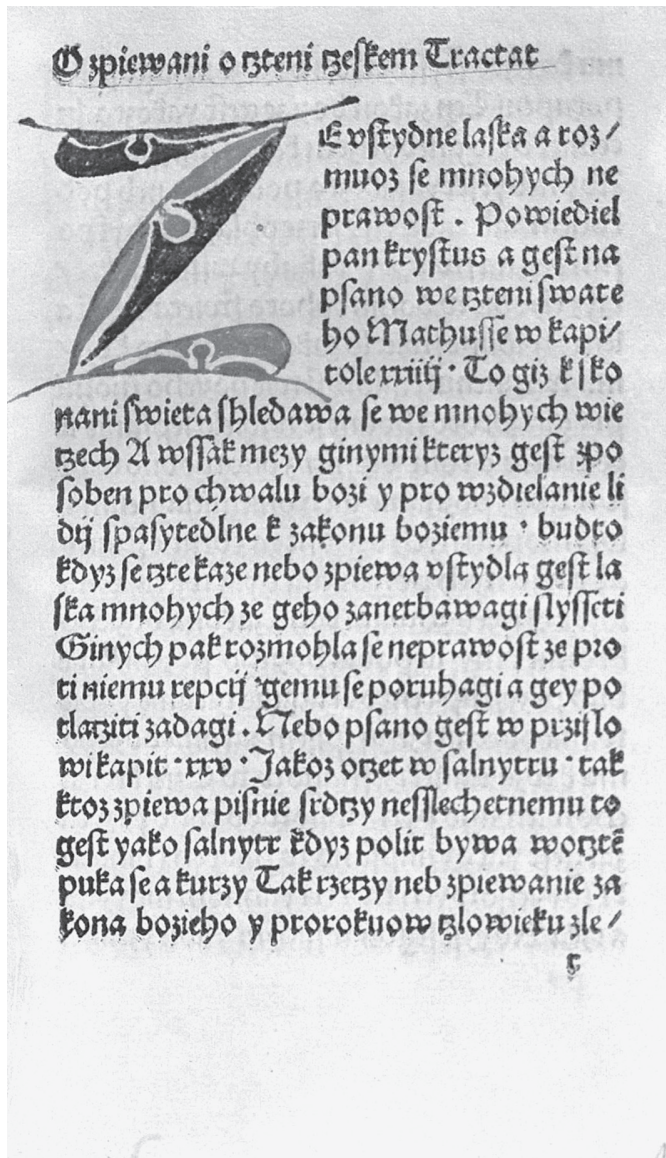


Fig. 1: Václav Koranda the Younger, *O zpiewání a čtení českém traktát* (Praha, 1493) f. 147a.

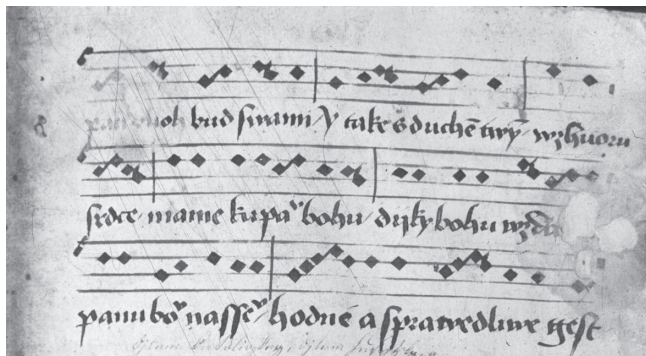


Fig. 2: Eucharistic dialogue; MS Kolín, Regionální muzeum, sig. 80/88, f. 2a.

*Benedictus es, Domine, in firmamento celi etc.*

Fig. 3: Alleluia *Požehnaný jsi, Bože náš*, in: David R. Holeton and Hana Vlhová-Wörner, eds., *Jistebnice Kancionál*, vol 1: Graduale (Brno, 2005) 166.

Fig. 4: Comparison of Alleluia *Požehnaný jsi, Pane panujícíech* in MS Kolín, Regional Museum, sig. 80/88, f. 376a, and in MS Hradec Králové, Museum of Eastern Bohemia, Hr 14 (II A 13b), f. 41a.