
The Feast of *Corpus Christi* and Its Changes in Late Utraquism

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In the 1560s a priest from Litoměřice cited two reasons before the Prague Lower Consistory why he had not organised processions with the Lord's Body and Blood for the feast of Corpus Christi. The procession, according to him, had not taken place in Litoměřice for more than forty years; many inhabitants were refusing to participate in the restored processions; some of them, leaning out of the windows of the surrounding houses greeted the procession with ridicule. Priest Jan, Dean of Český Brod, on his part, complained about the town markets held on Thursday, where most of the congregation was irresistibly attracted immediately after the liturgy without remaining in church and joining the solemn procession for Corpus Christi.¹ Rather ironically, the waning of interest in the procession with the sacraments of the Lord's Body and Blood affected, by the end of the sixteenth century, even the Chapel of Corpus Christi in the New Town of Prague.² It seems that the feast of Corpus Christi – important for Utraquism and well established in the Utraquist liturgical sources of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries³ – faced from the second half of the sixteenth century an increasing disinterest, even overt resistance. Was the traditional feast threatened by a gradual disappearance? I shall try to show that attempts were made to save the feast, although salvaging it brought about changes in the liturgical core of the feast of Corpus Christi itself.

The Origin of the Feast of Corpus Christi

The birth of the new liturgical feast was connected with the unique character of Liège and its religious atmosphere in the first half of the thirteenth century. A decisive impulse came from the synergy of new monastic orders and a lay movement of women who yearned for a certain form of communal religious life. Cistercian monks and Norbertine canons took over the spiritual

1 Pavel Kolář, "Utraquist Liturgical Practice in the Later Sixteenth Century, Liturgical Themes in the Protocols of the Utraquist Consistory, 1562–1570," BRRP 8 (2011) 223–234.

2 Ota Halama, "Osudy Kaple Božího Těla po roce 1437 [The Fate of the Chapel of Corpus Christi after the Year 1437]," *Staletá Praha* 29 (2013) 39–49.

3 See Barry F. H. Graham (ed.), *The Litoměřice Gradual of 1517* (Prague, 1999), especially the notes concerning the feast *De Corpore Christi*, 74–76, 225–226.

and economic administration of houses which brought together and provided communal life for women who received the designation of beguines.⁴ They developed a common life, characterised by poverty and chastity, perpetual prayers of repentance, and lengthy fasts culminating in the reception of the Eucharist. The Eucharist became the centre of their spirituality. They required frequent communion from their spiritual pastors and, in their piety, they emphasised the image of the suffering and crucified Christ, a vulnerable man, whom they could see, touch, and receive in a spiritual and physical mode in the consecrated host.⁵ Their wider spiritual circle also encompassed an Augustinian nun, Juliana of Liège, who served in a leprosarium attached to the Norbertine monastery on Mont Cornillon. Most likely, as early as 1208, she experienced a vision in her sleep, that almost twenty years later would be interpreted as a challenge to establish a new feast, aiming at the celebration of the Eucharist and its mystery. Juliana's vision was accepted by the community of beguines and their supporters as a divine confirmation of their Eucharistic piety and practice and, moreover, energised the effort to establish a feast that would celebrate the mysterious presence of the crucified Christ in the Eucharist and spiritual communion with him.⁶

The yearning for a new Eucharistic feast found a positive response from the newly elected bishop of Liège, Robert of Thoret (1240–1246) who became acquainted with the diverse aspects of eucharistic piety during his efforts to regulate conditions in the religious houses and monasteries in his diocese. The bishop's interest in the new feast day was bolstered by his confidant, Archdeacon Jacques Pantaléon, and by Dominican monks who had gradually assumed the care of the beguines' community. After the approval of the Chancellor of the Sorbonne, Bishop Robert issued in 1246 a pastoral letter *Inter alia mira*, whereby the new feast of *Corpus Christi* was to be included in the liturgical calendar of his diocese.⁷ After Robert's death, however, his successor Henry was unsympathetic to the new feast and to its partisans so that the pastoral letter remained moot.

Yet, the feast continued to enjoy strong support from the Dominican order. One of its members, Hugh of St. Cher, a Paris Master and later a Cardinal, on assuming the function of Papal Legate for the Teutonic Lands led the campaign for the introduction of the new feast, the spreading of which he

4 Malcolm Lambert, *Medieval Heresy* (Oxford, 1992) 176–188 and Francis Rapp, *L'Église et la vie religieuse en Occident à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1999) 226–243.

5 Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi, The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge, 1994) 166–169. See also Jean Pierre Delville (ed.), *Fête-Dieu (1246–1996), Vie de sainte Julienne de Cornillon* (Louvain-La-Neuve, 1999).

6 On the character of the community gathered around Mont Cornillon from the viewpoint of historical sociology, see Barbara R. Walters, "Church-Sect Dynamics and The Feast of Corpus Christi", *Sociology of Religion* 65 (2004) 285–301.

7 Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 173–174. Karl-Heinrich Bieritz, *Das Kirchenjahr, Feste, Gedenk- und Feiertage in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Berlin, 1988) 145–147.

supported by grants of indulgences. It seems that his Legatine Letter of 1252, urging the introduction of the feast into the liturgy, found its way even into the Czech Lands. The champion of the feast day, Jacques Pantaléon of Troyes, after his election as Pope Urban IV in 1261, three years later issued the bull *Transiturus* whereby he elevated the originally local Liège feast of 1246 to one of universal observation. Its liturgical celebration was to take place on the Thursday after the octave of Pentecost, and was connected with grants of indulgences to promote believers' participation. It was most likely that the *quaternus* with the office for the feast day was prepared together with the bull of 1264. Even though the pope sent numerous letters in an attempt to introduce the feast into the general liturgical practice of the Church, it appears that even in the last decades of the thirteenth century it spread more by local initiative rather than through a centralised imposition from Rome.⁸

The decisive moment for the incorporation of the feast of Corpus Christi among the common feast days of the Church arrived during the preparation of *Clementines*, the last significant collection of medieval canon law. The initiative for this step came from the Council of Vienne, convoked by the Avignon Pope Clement V.⁹ Although the Council itself regarded critically some of the fruits of piety connected with the beguines (cf. the decree *Cum de quibusdam*), yet in its milieu originated the papal letter *Si dominum*, based on the bull *Transiturus* of Urban IV. This letter was incorporated into the section *De reliquiis et veneratione sanctorum* of the *Clementines*. The latter was published in 1317 by the new pope, John XXII, who also promoted a mitigation of the conciliar decrees against the movement of the beguines and related spiritual currents (by the decree *Ad nostrum*). The situation in the church during the first decades of the fourteenth century which challenged both the Council of Vienne and also Pope John XXII during his pontificate, contributed to an emphasis on the theological aspect of the new Eucharistic feast. Its liturgical celebration was to bolster the orthodox teaching about the Eucharist, as it was formulated by the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 and then further developed by the speculation of the scholastics.¹⁰

The Basic Character and Contents of the Liturgical Celebration of the Feast

The heterogeneity and the richness of liturgical materials, put together to celebrate the new feast, testifies both to the importance attributed to the feast as well as to its gradual theological structuring in the first half of the

8 Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 176–181.

9 Klaus Schatz, *Allgemeine Konzilien, Brennpunkte der Kirchengeschichte* (Paderborn, 1997) 118–122.

10 Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 181–185. Gary Macy, "Theology of the Eucharist in the High Middle Ages," Ian. C. Levy, Gary Macy and Kristen van Ausdall (eds.), *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2012) 365–398.

thirteenth century. The elaborations included antiphons, psalms, responsoria, invitatoria, readings (*lectiones*) orations and hymns for daily prayer, which included first and second vespers and a celebration of the feast with an octave. The mass proprium originated in a similar way, including introit, graduale, prosa/sequence, preface, communio, and the three variable prayers. Although, at the start, a procession was not a part of the celebration, it soon turned into a hallmark of the feast. The socially stratified and hierarchically arranged procession (with the consecrated host) was then balanced by accompanying dramatisations of themes associated with the feast, which, to the contrary, preferred playfulness and to a certain extent a socially subversive mischievousness.¹¹

The earliest office of the feast apparently originated in Liège and the incentive for its preparation was the following issue of the pastoral letter *Inter alia mira* (1246). Julian of Liège and John of Lausanne are considered its creators, and – based on the introductory antiphon of I Vespers – it bears the name *Animarum cibus*.¹² Properly speaking it consists of a collection of texts selected from diverse canonical, commentary, and theological-systematic sources, above all, from Gratian's *Decretum* and the writings of Alger of Liège, Hugh of St. Victor, and Jacques of Vitry. Except for the Psalms, it contains virtually no biblical texts. The connecting element is the theme of the Eucharist, treated especially within the context of the Eucharistic discussions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries. With their textual choices, Julian and John thus impressed on the feast a strongly dogmatic character, which resonated with the renewed interest in orthodoxy of the second half of the thirteenth, and the first decades of the fourteenth centuries. The office of Liège nevertheless lacks a distinct idea which would bestow on it a homogeneous and unifying character. The space devoted in the texts of the antiphon and responsaria devoted to "wisdom" testifies to the significance of the Christian sapiential tradition for the religious community of women and for their Eucharistic piety. A part of the formularies are also hymns – composed newly for the feast – together with the sequence, in which both biblical themes and didactic motifs appear. The latter are developed in later versions of the liturgy of the hours and of the mass proper for Corpus Christi. Among the biblical themes we can mention the sacrifice of Melchisedek, the paschal feast of the lamb, and manna in the desert, all of them generally understood as prefigurations of the Eucharist (the sequence *Laureata plebs fidelis*). A part of the office is also the collect *Deus qui nobis sub sacramento mirabili* that henceforth will be a part of the liturgy of the feast.¹³

11 Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 243–287.

12 Barbara R. Walters, Vincent Corrigan, Peter T. Ricketts, *The Feast of Corpus Christi* (University Park, 2006) 3–54. See also André Haquin (ed.), *Fête-Dieu (1246–1996)* (Louvain-La-Neuve, 1999).

13 Walters, Corrigan, Ricketts, *The Feast*, 51–52, 78–79 a 180–182.

The composition of the new office for the feast of Corpus Christi can be reasonably connected with the influence of Cardinal Hugh of Saint-Cher. A witness is also the manuscript of the Strahov Norbertine Breviary (sig. D.E.I.7). Among others, it is connected to the original office by the motif of “wisdom,” which resounds already in the introductory antiphon of I Vespers *Sapientia aedificavit*. It differs, however, from the original office by its own distinctly biblical orientation. The overall character of the formulary reveals much about the influence of Hugh of Saint-Cher’s compendial writings, because the selection of biblical texts corresponds to the collection of biblical passages, which Hugh had used in his discussions of the Eucharist. The theological character of the feast is emphasised by the incorporation – among the texts for matins – of texts from Gratian’s *Decretum* and Alcuin’s commentary on John’s Gospel. New hymns, composed for the office, impress on it an unforgettable seal from the viewpoints both of content and literary quality. The hymn for I Vespers, *Pange lingua gloriosi Corporis mysterium*, echoes the motif of incarnation, which played an important role in interpreting the Eucharist in medieval discussions. The fundamental *anamnesis* of Jesus’s life is briefly presented, followed by an evocation of the Last Supper with his disciples, during which Jesus initially keeps to the order of the Paschal feast, but shortly breaks away from it by the identification of the bread with his Body and the wine with his Blood. What sparks this change is the word of the Word that became the Body (*verbum caro ... verbo carnem efficit*). If natural senses fail to recognise such a mystery, then it is entirely sufficient when a sincere heart is convinced by faith alone (*sola fides sufficit*). In conclusion the hymn exhorts to a manifestation of respect for the sacrament (*sacramentum veneremur*).¹⁴

Matins also acquired a new hymn, *Sacris solem(p)niis*. It again recalls to the mind the Last Supper of Jesus with his disciples, during which he gives his body “entire to all, entire to everyone.” Thereby the hymn expresses one of the fundamental elements of the teaching about the substantial presence of Christ’s Body and his Blood in the Eucharistic gifts. The biblical reception of bread and wine for support or for enjoyment was transferred to the sacramental gifts of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ. The glorified Body of Christ, offered in the Eucharist in a sacramental manner for participation, is the angelic, heavenly bread (*panis angelicus, celicus*), which fulfilled and so also abolished all the preceding Old Testament prefigurations. The repeated celebration of the Eucharist by the church, or rather its priests, is understood as *officium*, which – exactly at the Last Supper with his disciples – Jesus established and commanded to be performed. The conclusion of the hymn celebrates the wonder of divine mercy, inasmuch as this precious gift is donated to the poor, the enslaved, and the humble.¹⁵ The hymn

14 Ibid., 52, 68–73, 80–83, 184–239.

15 Ibid., 190.

Verbum supernum prodiens concludes morning lauds. Beginning with the Word, which proceeds from the Father – without leaving him – and becomes Body, the hymn develops the glorification of Christ as one, who – after his rendition to the soldiers (*tradendus*) – gave himself to his disciples (*se tradidit*) in the food of life. Jesus – addressed as *hostia salutaris* – distributed his Body and Blood under two kinds (*sub bina specie*) because he intended to feed the entire human being, which consists of two natural components (*duplicis substantie homo*), namely, body and soul (pseudo-Ambrosiaster).¹⁶

The authorship of the office *Sapientia aedificavit* still remains a question for further research. The author of the formulary for the celebration of the hours and the mass for the feast of *Corpus Christi* (designated as *Sacerdos in aeternum*) is thought most probably to have been Thomas Aquinas. In all likelihood he prepared the formulary in connection with the preparation and publication of the bull *Transiturus* by Urban IV, and it gained general acceptance especially in the first half of the thirteenth century.¹⁷ The choice of biblical texts – on the basis of which especially the antiphons and responsoria were created, and which are also the basis for the mass proper of the feast – harmonise with the late period of Thomas's commentaries and writings in systematic theology. The responsoria develop the theme of the relationship between the Old and the New Testament; *lectiones* edited for individual nocturns present Thomas's concept of the Eucharist, namely its incorporation into the history of salvation and the teaching about transubstantiation.¹⁸ The mass formulary by its internal movement from the past through contemporary celebration of the Eucharist to the future culmination in glory unifies individual orations: the collect *Deus qui nobis sub sacramento mirabili*, the secret *Ecclesie tue quesumus Domine unitatis et pacis* and the post communion *Fac nos quaesumus*. The relationship between the mystery of the incarnation and the Eucharist is expressed, *inter alia*, by the choice of the Christmas preface. A unique text then is the sequence *Lauda Sion salvatorem*, which, in a glorious manner, sums up the fundamental teaching about the Eucharist. It celebrates Christ as the living and life-giving bread (*panis vivus et vitalis*), who by the celebration of the new Paschal feast fulfilled the feast of the Old Testament lamb and instituted the celebration of the new feast in his own memory (*in sui memoriam*).

Among the prefigurations (*figurae*) of Christ in the Old Testament, the sequence includes the Paschal lamb, the sacrifice of Isaac and the manna in the wilderness. Together with the hymn *Pange lingua*, the emphasis is placed on the sufficiency of faith, in which the Eucharistic mystery stands against the natural order, inasmuch as bread and wine pass on (*transit*) into the Body

16 Ibid., 234–235.

17 Walters, Corrigan, Ricketts, *The Feast*, 63–74. See also Jean-Pierre Torrell OP, “Adoro Te! La plus belle prière de saint Thomas,” *La Vie Spirituelle* 152 (1998) n° 726, 29–36.

18 Walters, Corrigan, Ricketts, *The Feast*, 53, 73–74, 83–85, 240–361.

and Blood of Jesus Christ. Faith accepts in the Eucharistic gifts Christ, who is whole under each kind (*Christus totus sub utraque specie*). The character of Christ's presence in the gifts – as a substantial presence – means that neither his Body nor Blood can diminish through their being received in communion; they cannot be broken or crushed (by the teeth). If during the *fractio* the host (*signum*) is broken, Christ (*res*) is whole in its every particle, because the breaking concerns only the sign, not reality itself (*Nulla rei fit scissura, signum tantum fit fractura*). Thomas is of the opinion that the sacramental Body and Blood of Christ is received by all – the good and the wicked – nevertheless each with a different spiritual effect: life for the former, death for the latter. The Eucharist is called the bread of angels (*panis angelorum*), which has become the nourishment of pilgrims (*cibus viatorum*), the bread of the sons of God the Father (*vere panis filiorum*). The conclusion of the sequence is formed by the prayer that Christ might transform those approaching his table into his fellow boarders, fellow heirs, and partners in the communion of saints.¹⁹ The office, composed by Thomas, gained a very powerful promoter in his maternal order, the Dominicans, which to a considerable degree contributed to a general spread of the office and to a repression of the previous diverse local variants of the liturgical proper of the feast.

The gradual formulation of the liturgy of the feast of Corpus Christi, as just outlined, shows convincingly that the celebration of the new Eucharistic feast was from the beginning distributed into the liturgy of the hours and the celebration of the Eucharist. These components formed a single whole and in mutual unity constituted a unique liturgical and theological character, further developed in the dramaturgy of processions and accompanying plays. As for content – especially if we do not lose sight of the readings and hymns – the feast day required considerable theological erudition from those who wished to celebrate it in its full depth and breadth. This is given not only by the circumstances of the feast's origins – especially the coexistence of the lay community of beguines and monastic communities – but also the impact of the theology of Thomas Aquinas on the feast. The liturgical texts were primarily addressed to communities of monastics and canons, the secular clergy, and later to the wealthier townspeople. This trait of a certain reserve and exclusivity was balanced by secondary liturgical or para-liturgical rituals and elements which attracted popular piety and were accessible to the wider strata of both urban and rural inhabitants. They included a procession with the consecrated host – in Utraquism also wine in a chalice – moving through the town or between fields in the countryside, as well as games and dramatic musical pieces in the vernacular.²⁰ This internal heterogeneity and breadth of

19 Ibid, 312, 314–318.

20 Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 243–287. Miri Rubin, "Popular Attitudes to the Eucharist," in *A Companion*, 447–468. John Bossy, "The Mass as a Social Institution 1200–1700," *Past and Present* 100 (1983) 29–61; Mervyn James, "Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late

the celebration of the feast nevertheless merely underlined the fact that its theological character together with the emphasis on the *elevatio* and *expositio sacramenti*,²¹ went hand in hand with the contemporary absence of general and regular reception of the Eucharist by the faithful, as well as with the introduction of its ritualistic substitutions into the liturgical practice. These developments contributed to the exclusion of the Eucharistic gifts from the entirety of the liturgical celebration, and to the transferral of attention to the supernatural event of the metamorphosis and the true identity of the gifts. The feast of Corpus Christi thus represented the liturgical confirmation and culmination of the preceding direction of theological and philosophical reflection about the Eucharist during the previous two centuries.²²

Two Witnesses of the Revision of the Feast of Corpus Christi in Late Utraquism

Zdeněk V. David has shown convincingly and has placed into broader contexts the fact that the confession of a real substantial presence of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ in the sacramental gifts of bread and wine – and expressions of adoration toward them after consecration – belonged to the core of the traditional Utraquist teaching on the Eucharist, and of liturgical practice. The impact of the Lutheran, and later also the Calvinist, Reformation, however, posed in many respects a difficult challenge to late Utraquism.²³ Then David Holeton systematically presents evidence from (Utraquist) liturgical sources, which attests the continuity of Western (Latin) liturgical tradition in sixteenth-century Utraquism in all the fundamental areas of liturgical practice.²⁴ However, even for it, the encounter with the Lutheran Reformation and its liturgical practice was a critical period in which some of the Utraquists

Medieval English Town," *Past and Present* 98 (1983) 3–29; Cyrill A. Straka, "Jak slavilo se Boží tělo v Praze v XVI. a XVII. století [On the Celebration of Corpus Christi in Prague in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries]," *Časopis katolického duchovenstva* 57 (1916) 161–173 and 323–336.

21 V. L. Kennedy, "The Moment of Consecration and the Elevation of the Host," *Mediaeval Studies* 6 (1944) 121–150. Idem, "The Date of the Parisian Decree on the Elevation of the Host," *Mediaeval Studies* 8 (1946) 87–96. Gerard G. Grant, "The Elevation of the Host: A Reaction to the Twelfth Century Heresy," *Theological Studies* 1 (1940) 228–250. For the entire context see Rubin, *Corpus Christi*, 12–82.

22 Frank C. Senn, *The People's Work, A Social History of the Liturgy* (Minneapolis, 2006) 167–182. Idem, *Christian Liturgy, Catholic and Evangelical* (Minneapolis, 1997) 211–263.

23 David, *Finding* 80–197.

24 See, for instance, David R. Holeton, "The Evolution of the Celebration of the Daily Office in Utraquism: an overview," BRRP 8 (2011) 198–222. Idem, "Fynes Moryson's *Itinerary*: A Sixteenth Century English Traveller's Observations on Bohemia, Its Reformation, and Its Liturgy," BRRP 5/2 (2005) 379–411. David R. Holeton, Hana Vlhová-Wörner, and Milena Kubíková, "The Trope Gregorius presul meritis in Bohemian Tradition: Its Origins, Development, Liturgical Function and Illustration," BRRP 6 (2007) 215–246.

tend to seek and present compromise or conciliatory proposals for reforms of the traditional mass order, the mass canon, the liturgical calendar, the liturgy of the hours, and Eucharistic forms.²⁵

These reformist proposals included two agendas of late Utraquism, which contained the propers for the feast of Corpus Christi. The Library of the National Museum in Prague holds, under sig. III F 17, a manuscript of the Utraquist agenda, *Voltářní knihy Adama Táborského* [Altar Books of Adam of Tábor]. Its preserved copy was prepared by Václav Čáslavský and later supplemented with several additional liturgical texts, at the latest in 1616.²⁶ *Voltářní knihy* represent, on one hand, a relatively conservative effort at preserving fidelity to the Western Latin liturgical practice within the context of late Utraquism; on the other hand, an attempt at a rather incongruous incorporation of some characteristic emphases of the Lutheran Reformation into the liturgical practice. They offer no fewer than three mass orders for the celebration of the Eucharist, which – especially in the preparation of the gifts and the mass canon – preserve the traditional language of sacramental realism, but they considerably weaken the sacrificial language and the references to the communion of saints, as well as to the intercession for the dead. Above all, the manuscript contains in two places references to the proper of the feast of Corpus Christi. One of them is a melodic (not textual) variant of the traditional inventory of matins for selected feasts *de tempore* and *de sanctis*. The feast of Corpus Christi is included among them, and it shares its invitatory with the feast of Peter and Paul, and with the Assumption and the Nativity of the Virgin Mary (ff. 141r–144r). Likewise Corpus Christi is included among the feasts, for which *Voltářní knihy* offers a special preface. The usual practice was to use the preface for the Lord's Nativity, but the manuscript includes a preface written specifically for the feast of Corpus Christi.²⁷ The introductory part contains the theme of the transubstantiation of bread and wine into

25 Pavel Kolář, "Witnesses of a New Liturgical Practice: the *Ordines missae* of Three Utraquist Manuscripts," BRRP 9 (2014) 221–240.

26 Concerning the basic structure and character of *Voltářní knihy* see Kolář, "Witnesses of a New Liturgical Practice," 222–226.

27 *Voltářní knihy*, f. 79v–80v; a working transcription): "O eternal God, whose Son Jesus Christ under the species of bread and wine, having announced to us the most venerable sacrament, showed and by strangely articulated words changed in his dear Body and his dear Blood most pure, which both to those, who worthily receive, deigned to turn to life and to the unworthy ones to condemnation. O greatest Sweetness and blessed Life; oh, what a mortality and suffering for the condemned or for the unworthily receiving; therefore, let us avoid judgement, receiving worthily the venerable sacrament. And therefore with angels..." [Věčný Bože, jenž Syn tvůj Pán náš Ježíš Kristus pod způsobou chleba a vína předústojnost svatost oznámiv nám, okázal a slovy divně propověděnými chléb a víno změnil v tělo své a drahé svú krev přecistú, kteréžto obé těm, kdož hodně přijímají, ráčil obrátiti k životu a nehodným k odsouzení. O převeliká sladkosti a živote blahoslavený, o jaká smrtedlnost a mouka zatracencúm nebo nehodně přijímajícím, protož vystřihme odsouzení, přijímajice hodně velebnú svátost. A protož s anjely ...].

the Body and Blood of Christ by the power of his words from the Last Supper. The second part then addresses the issues of worthy and unworthy reception of communion. Although the manuscript contains texts designed for the Easter procession, it does not mention an analogous procession within the context of celebrating the feast of Corpus Christi.

An independent version of the Czech proper for the feast of Corpus Christi is also included in the agenda *Pravidlo služebností církevních* [The Rule of Ecclesiastical Services] of Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský from the year 1607.²⁸ The feast “About the Body and Blood of Lord Jesus Christ, True God and Man” is placed in the index of feasts in the third, i.e. the last group of feast days (together, for instance, with the feasts of Master Jan Hus, St. Wenceslas, the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, and the Nativity of the Virgin Mary). All these should be duly celebrated, but after the end of the liturgy, the faithful could return to their daily work. The formulary for the celebration of the feast in the *Pravidlo* can be found on folia ccxxiii (223b)–ccxxvi (226b) and it is placed after the last, namely, Twenty-seventh Sunday after Trinity, followed by the formulary for the Ember Days (*kvatembrové*). It is evident that Závorka wished to preserve the feast of the Body and Blood of Christ as a part of *de tempore*, but without disturbing the basic structure of the flow of weeks after Trinity Sunday, which are characterised by the formularies for the Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays of every week. Just like other temporal feast days and Sundays of the liturgical year, so also the feast of the Body and Blood of Christ has a proper for both the so-called morning service, and the so-called *summa* service.²⁹

Pravidlo služebností církevních, however, needs to be supplemented by another older work of Závorka, *Písň chval Božských*, a hymnal (*kancionál*) from 1602, or 1606.³⁰ The conclusion of the second volume of this hymnal

28 Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský, *Pravidlo Služebnostij Cýrkewních* (Olomouc, Library of Sciences II 32.062) [cited 15. 10. 2015] <http://eod.vkol.cz/ii32062/>. Concerning the origin and the structure of the agenda, see Pavel Kolář, “The *Canon missae* in the Rule of Ecclesiastical Services of Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský, and Its Source,” BRRP 10 (2015) 225–258. The extant biographical and bibliographical information is gathered in Ondřej Matějovský, *Liturgické texty Tobiáše Závorky Lipenského o manželství*, Bakalářská práce [Bachelor’s thesis], Protestant Theological Faculty (Prague, 2013) 10–30. Concerning the confessional identification of the agenda, see Ferdinand Hrejsa, *Česká konfese, její vznik, podstata a dějiny* [The Bohemian Confession, Its Origins, Substance, and History] (Prague, 1912) 358–359 and František Hrubý, “Luterství a kalvinismus na Moravě před Bílou horou,” [Lutheranism and Calvinism in Moravia prior to the White Mountain] ČČH 41 (1935) 3–4, 19–21.

29 These terms distinguish the service held early in the morning from the principal service of the day. For a systematic classification of the basic forms of liturgical observations of Sundays, holy days, and week days within the context of the Bohemian Reformation at the turn of the sixteenth century, see Martin Horyna, “Česká reformace a hudba, Studie o bohoslužebném zpěvu českých nekatolických církví v období 1420–1620 [Bohemian Reformation and Music, A Study of the Liturgical Chant in the Non-Roman Churches in 1420–1620],” *Hudební věda* 48 (2011) 14–25.

30 Antonín Škarka, “Kapitoly z české hymnologie,” [Chapters from Czech Hymnology], in idem, *Půl tisíciletí českého písemnictví* [Half a Millennium of Czech Literature], ed. Jan

is formed by the section “O velebné svátosti, Těle a Krví, Pána Ježíše Krista.” [About the Venerable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ] (from f. M XXVIIIa to f. N XXVIb), which contains the basic chants of the mass ordinary and proper of the feast, supplemented by selected texts of the liturgy of the hours. In the hymnal the formulary of the feast is inserted differently than it had been in the *Pravidlo*. It becomes a part of the thematic group of “votive” formularies, which in principle follows after the entirety of *de tempore et de sanctis*. This group includes, for instance, sections (formularies) “About the Holy Church,” “About the Servants of Christ’s Church,” “About the Word of God,” “About Penance and the Power of the Keys,” and “About Baptism.” By this inclusion, Závorka observes the existing hymnal practice.³¹ The arrangement of the chants in this section of Závorka’s hymnal is of interest. Its basis consists of texts, which reflect the character of the feast of Corpus Christi. They are, however, supplemented by others, especially song texts, which can and are to be used more generally as hymns suitable for the celebration of the Eucharist in the course of the year.

The first liturgy of the day, (*jitrní*), has in principle the structure of the first nocturn of matins: invitatory (*Christum regem adoremus*), Psalms (1, 4, 15), versicles (*Panem caeli / Panem Angelorum* or *Qui manducat meam carnem / Habet vitam eternam*) and three responsories. Instead of the traditional readings, which had a dogmatic character, three Gospel readings were inserted, taken from Holy Week and always introduced by a brief prayer of blessing with a Eucharistic theme. The Gospel lessons are then preceded by an oration “Pane Jezu Kriste, kterýž jsi z veliké milosti pro nás s nebe stoupiti a člověkem učiněn býti ráčil” [O Lord Jesus Christ, who from a great love for us has deigned to descend from heaven and become man], the theme of which is the establishment of the Eucharist with the emphasis on a worthy (effective) reception under both kinds.

The main divine service of the day (*summa*) is the liturgy with a sermon and celebration of the Eucharist in both kinds, if there are those who

Lehár (Prague, 1986) 190–302, especially, 196–201. Ludmila Brezanová, “Das Kanzional ‘Písně chval Božských’ von Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský,” *Sborník prací Filosofické fakulty Brněnské university* H 7 (1972) 7–11. Antonín Škarka, *Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský Písně chval božských. Kancionál z roku 1606*, Knihovna Ústavu hudební vědy FF UK, undated and uncatalogued typescript, No. 1442, typed name Zdeněk Mácha, added by pencil: Škarka. It is probably the text of a lecture. I thank Ondřej Matějovský for making the text available to me. Ludmila Brezanová, “Das Kanzional Písně chval Božských von Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský,” *Sborník prací Filosofické fakulty Brněnské university* H 7 (1972) 7–11.

31 See Eliška Baťová, *Kolínský kancionál z roku 1517 a bratrský zpěv na počátku 16. století* [The Hymnal of Kolín of 1517 and the Brethren’s song at the beginning of the sixteenth century] (Prague, 2011) 92–93. Idem, “Liturgická specifika a řazení obsahu českých kancionálů 15. a 16. století [Liturgical Specifics and the Sequencing of the Contents in Czech Hymnals of the Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries],” *Hudební věda* 48 (2011) 133–142.

wish to receive, present.³² The liturgy opens with the antiphon *O sacrum convivium* (*Ó svatě a poctivosti hodné hody*), in the traditional form of the feast linked with the chant *Magnificat* during II Vespers; now attached to the original introit *Cibavit eos* (*Nakrmil jest milý Pán Bůh lid svůj*), which is complemented by its modified variant *Kristus, Chléb živý, jenž jest s nebe stoupil* [Christ, the living bread, which has descended from heaven], developing the basic theme of the introit with specifically Johanine Eucharistic motives. The parish priest is then offered by the hymnal three variants of the chant Kyrie (one of which comes from the *Český kancionál* [Czech Hymnal] of Jakub Kunvaldský from 1576) and a song analogous to the mass chant *Gloria in excelsis*. The chants, offered by Závorka, are entirely in harmony with the Eucharistic theme; they mention traditional biblical motifs (especially, John 6); they repeatedly emphasise worthy reception of the sacrament in both kinds and the preservation of the true faith about the sacrament of the Eucharist, the character of which is a mystery incomprehensible to reason. *Pravidlo služebností* then contains the traditional introductory oration of the feast *Deus, qui nobis sub Sacramento* (*Bože, jenž jsi nám v předivné svátosti*), in two slightly different versions, supplemented by two more possible orations. The traditional readings established by the lectionary are from 1 Kings 11 and John 6. These are then linked not only with two variants of the gradual chant *Alleluia*, but especially with the sequence *Lauda Sion Salvatorem*. Závorka first introduces its somewhat modified form, which is limited – in the part devoted to the motif of the transformation of the Eucharistic gifts – to a proclamation that bread is the Body and wine the Blood of Jesus Christ. As an alternative to the traditional sequence – with an explicit comment on its suitability for the “simpler ones” – he placed the song from *Český kancionál* of Kunvald *Chval Sione Hospodina, chval Krista, Marie syna* [O Sion praise the Lord, praise Christ, the Son of Mary]. Závorka in his hymnal, after this song, then placed another sequence, *De superna Hierarchia / vere descendit Sophia / in uterum Virginis* [S nebeské výsosti sestoupila pravá Moudrost v život Panny], which is the work of the Dominican Domaslav.³³

32 See the introductory rubric for the sequences of the celebration: “Tuto se položí pořádek a způsob služby v kostele. Jestližeby posluhování tělem a krví Páně býti nemělo, kněz jde do kapli a berouc na sebe komž; pakli má se dít služba svátostí etc., tehdy albu, ornát;” [Here the order and manner of service in the church is set forth. If the communion in the Body and Blood of the Lord is not intended, the priest goes to the chapel and puts on the cassock; if the service of the sacrament is to occur, etc., then the alb and chasuble] (125b). Rubrics of similar content are known to us also from other liturgical manuscripts of late Utraquism, see Kolář, “Witnesses of a New Liturgical Practice.”

33 *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* (Leipzig, 1915) 54:262 n. 171; Antonín Šarka, *Dominikán Domaslav a čeští hymnografové jeho směru* [The Dominican Domaslav and Czech Hymnographers of His Orientation]. VKČSN– třída filosoficko-historicko-filologická, Nr. 6 (Praha, 1951). Hana Vlhová-Woerner, “Fama crescit eundo, Der Fall: Domaslaus predicator, der älteste bekannte böhmische Sequenzendichter,” *Hudební věda* 39 (2002) 11–330.

For the eucharistic part of the liturgy, Závorka in his *Pravidlo* inserted – between the prefaces for important feasts – a preface for the feast of “*Těla a krve Ježíše Krista*” [The Body and Blood of Jesus Christ].³⁴ Its introduction refers to the traditional Christmas preface with the motives of incarnation and enlightenment, important for the theological reflection on the mystery of the Eucharist (in the citation written in cursive). Thereafter, however, it offers a text rich in specific themes connected with the sacrament and its reception. Both parts give an impression of integrity and lead into the chant *Svatý, svatý, svatý* [Holy, holy, holy], and it is, therefore, possible that Závorka intended them as alternatives:

Spravedlivé jest, slavné i spasitedlné, abychom my tobě vždycky a všudy chválu vzdávali, Pane, svatý Otče, všemohúcí věčný Bože. [It is just, glorious, and salutary that we should always and everywhere give you praise, O Lord, Holy Father, almighty and eternal God.]

Nebo skrze vtěleného Slova tajemství nové světlo tvé jasnosti našemu vnitřnímu zraku se zastkvělo. Abychom poněvadž jsme již viditedlně Boha poznali, skrze téhož neviditedlného, milostí jeho byli zachvácení. A protož ... [Because through the mystery of the incarnate Word the new light of your clarity lit up our internal sight. So that – having already gotten to know God by sight – we should be seized by grace through the same invisible one. And therefore...]

Všemohúcí věčný Bože, kterýžs skrze vtěleného Slova tajemství nové světlo očím víry naší rozsvítil, abychom skrze věci očitě Boha poznajíce, skrze ně v milost oněch věcí neviditedlných byli zachvácení. A skrze pokrm těla Syna tvého chuti podstaty tvé božské okusíc, také skrze nápoj krve jeho okusení slávy tvé mohli dojíti. Totof jsou hody hříšníkům od Boha připravený, aby činíc z hříchů srdečné pokání spravedlnosti docházeli. Tentof jest chléb synům Božím způsobený, a kalich spasení jejich připravený, aby jedouce a napájejíce se ním v milosti Boží věčně hořeli. A protož s anděly i archanděly i se vším rytířstvem dvorstva nebeského píseň k slávě zpíváme říkájíce.... [Almighty eternal God, who through the mystery of the incarnation of the Word has turned on a new light for the eyes of our faith so that, knowing God through visible matters, we would be thrust through them into the grace of the things invisible. And through the food of the Body of your Son having tasted your divine substance, also through the drink of his Blood, we could arrive at the taste of your glory. These are the feasts prepared for sinners by God so that making a sincere repentance of their sins they would attain to justice. This is the bread brought up for the sons of God,

and the chalice prepared for their salvation, so that eating and drinking them, they would forever shine in God's grace. And therefore with angels and archangels, and the entire knighthood of the heavenly host we sing the song of glory saying...]

Just as in the case of the introductory chants in the ordinary, Závorka now also has in the hymnal – for the context of the Eucharistic prayer – prepared a collection of several versions of the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* chants, accompanied by numerous tropes with Eucharistic themes. After them he inserts a group of songs with analogous themes, which are intended both for the feast itself, and for the celebration of the Eucharist at other times (especially during the “consecration”). They include several distinctly traditional liturgical texts connected with the feast of *De corpore Christi*. The first it is a kind of vespers of the feast: antiphons with Psalms, *Sacerdos in aeternum* with Ps 109 or *Calicem salutaris accipiam* with Ps 115 or the alleluia verse *Caro mea vere est cibus* with Ps 147) and the hymn *Pange lingua gloriosis Corporis mysterium* [Zpívej jazyk z oslavnosti, tělo krev svou v svátosti]. The last one expanded, compared with the Latin model by two strophes of interesting content. In part, they emphasise the motif of the inadequacy of human reason to grasp the mystery (which can be accepted only by faith); in part they emphasise the need of a lasting contrition for a worthy communion.

The hymn is followed by the versicle *Kdo jí mé tělo* [Whoever eats my Body], which is also utilised for morning prayer the antiphon to the *Magnificat*; and by the text of the blessing *Benedicamus* (*Bože, kterýž nás krmíš tělem svým* [O God who feeds us with your Body]). The group of Eucharistic songs contains traditional songs, such as *Iesus Christus nostra Salus* (*Pán Ježíš Kristus, náš Spasitel, hněvu Božího odvrátitel*): *Christus aeternalia mundo* (“Kristus k věčné radosti pomohl nám z své milosti”)³⁵ and *Vivus panis angelorum* (“Živý chlebe, ctný anjelský”), The songs are distinguished by the forms of Czech translation and editorial tradition which is particularly evident in the case of the last mentioned song.³⁶

A distinctive place among the Eucharistic chants in Závorka's hymnal belongs to the songs *Veliká láska věčného Pána* [A Great Love of the Eternal Lord] and *Ježíši milý, na nás přelaskavý* [O Dear Jesus, to Us Most Kind], which have a clearly didactic character. They emphasise the real substantial presence of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ in the Eucharistic gifts; the

35 The Latin text, for instance, *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi* (Leipzig, 1886) 1:99 n. 64.

36 The Latin text of the song in *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, 1:147 n. 143. See also Zdeněk Nejedlý, *Počátky husitského zpěvu* [The Beginnings of Hussite Chant] (Prague, 1907) 220. None of the three texts included in Závorka's *Písně*, can be considered simple translations of the original Latin text. The first one, *Živý chlebe, ctný anjelský*, is closest to its Latin model, but its theme independently interprets and applies some theologically significant emphases. The last of the texts, *Kriste chlebe, kterýžs z sebe* is a version of the song *Živý chlebe, kterýžs z sebe* in the *Šamotulský kancionál* (1561).

identity of the historical, glorified and, present in the sacrament, Body of Christ; as well as the obligation and the need of communion in both kinds. In particular, the text of the first song then goes on explicitly to polemicise with the assertion that the relationship between the sacramental gifts of bread and wine, on one hand, and the Body and Blood of the glorified Jesus Christ, on the other, is only figurative and based on the faith of the communicant so that he might remember Jesus's sacrifice and receive its grace spiritually (Appendix1).

Pravidlo offers for the conclusion of the liturgy a series of orations as a "complement" (post communio), the first of which is the classical Roman post-communion prayer *Fac nos, quaesumus Domine*. Rather for the acts of the priest's personal piety, the very conclusion of the formulary then includes Czech translations of prayers, the authorship of which is connected with the foremost theological authorities of the Western Latin Church. They have in common the motif of contrition and of prayer for a worthy reception of the sacrament. The first of them is the prayer *Ad mensam dulcissimi convivii tui* attributed to Ambrose of Milan; the second prayer is by Thomas Aquinas, *Omnipotens sempiterne Deus, ecce, accedo ad sacramentum unigeniti Filii tui*; and it is followed by another prayer of Aquinas, *Gratias tibi ago, Domine sancte, Pater omnipotens, aeterne Deus, qui me peccatorem, indignum famulum tuum*. The last of the prayers, *Transfige, dulcissime Domine Jesu, medullas et viscera animae meae suavissimo ac saluberrimo amoris tui vulnerare*, is attributed to Bonaventure.

Traditionally the feast of Corpus Christi was not formed merely by biblical and liturgical texts. The attributes of its celebration also included liturgical gestures and liturgical postures – the mystery of the change of bread and wine into Jesus Christ culminated in the double elevation of the consecrated gifts during a *sotto voce* recitation of the "institution narrative". The faithful in the Eucharistic assembly accompanied the mystery of the transformation by kneeling together with the clergy, whereby they expressed their reverence to Christ present in the consecrated Eucharistic gifts. A similar attitude marked the occasional exposition of the consecrated host in a monstrance; the most dramatic – at times virtually theatrical – form was then the procession. The Utraquist Consistory insisted on the preservation and practice of the processions even at the turn of the sixteenth century, although their performance was often limited to the most significant feast days.³⁷ The agenda of Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský, however, did not count on any of these traditional ritual elements for the celebration of the Body and Blood of the Lord Jesus Christ. We miss not only any indications about the elevation or genuflection in the context of the mass canon,³⁸ but also any mention about the practice of an exposition of the sacrament, or of its transportation in a procession. These

37 See Kolář, "Utraquist Liturgical Practice," 226–228.

38 See Kolář, "The *Canon missae* in the Rule of Ecclesiastical Services of Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský, and Its Source," 225–258.

were likely the signs of his gravitation from Utraquism to Lutheranism, the liturgical practice of which was adopting an increasingly critical attitude both toward retention of the consecrated host, and to the very feast of Corpus Christi as well as the associated processions.³⁹

Conclusion

Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský retained in his parish agenda *Pravidlo služebnosti* (1607) the feast *Těla a krve Ježíše Krista* [The Body and Blood of Jesus Christ] as a holy day that at the level of liturgical texts preserved a continuity with the traditional Utraquist liturgical practice; on the level of the ritual, on the contrary, represented a departure. In the formulary for the main liturgy of the day he offered the traditional collect of the feast, the prayer after communion, as well as the biblical readings. He added to both prayers possible variants for use during the celebration of the liturgy. With a distinctly traditional effect he likewise included four lengthy additional prayers of a rather private or devotional character, perhaps designed for personal use of the priest before the divine service or at the conclusion; they are connected with the authority of important theologians of the Western Latin tradition. The effort of Závorka Lipenský to respect the existing Utraquist tradition of celebrating the feast is also represented by the collection of the chants of the ordinary, proper, hymns, sequences, and songs, which he arranged in his hymnal *Písně chval božských* (1602/1606) for the celebration of “The Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.” In their content, these components are characterised (1) by an emphasis on the establishment of the Eucharist by Jesus Christ; (2) by a conviction about the real presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Eucharistic gifts (which has the character of a mystery that cannot be explained by reason, only accepted by faith); (3) by the obligation and necessity of (frequent/regular) sacramental communion in both kinds; and (4) finally by persistent prayers for a worthy reception of the sacrament for a spiritual reassurance and salvation.

In the very construction of the liturgy of the feast of “The Body and Blood of Jesus Christ,” Závorka acted creatively, with respect for the tradition, but free to transform it where he considered it unavoidable with regard to the supremacy of the Gospels in matters of faith and salvation, as expressed in the Augsburg Confession. He preserved the basic liturgical Eucharistic texts *Lauda Sion Salvatorem* and *Pange lingua gloriosis Corporis mysterium*. Their Czech version, which he used as a basis, however, was revised and in places altered or complemented by him. As a variant to the sequence *Lauda Sion* he added a sequence of domestic provenance, *De superna Hierarchia*, again

39 See Joseph Herl, *Worship Wars in Early Lutheranism, Choir, Congregation, and Three Centuries of Conflict* (New York, 2004) 39 n. 9; 254.

in the vernacular and after a revision of its text. He used additional traditional Eucharistic texts of domestic provenance, *Vivus panis angelorum* and *Christus eternalia mundo*, although their version differs in many respects from their original Latin models. As a rule, Závorka first offered the traditional text – or one that he considered closest to the original – and then he attached the possible song alternatives of that text. Very freely, albeit respectfully, he also dealt with the traditional liturgy of the hours of the feast, from which he took over especially the antiphons, responsoria, and *versiculi* together with the hymn of I Vespers *Pange lingua*. He had, however, entirely abandoned the elevation of the consecrated Eucharistic gifts, expressions of reverence for them by kneeling, and their exhibition in processions.

It seems that – similarly to the *ordo missae* created for *Pravidlo služebnosti* – in Závorka's view also the feast of The Body and the Blood of Jesus Christ was to serve the purpose – in a milieu extremely critical of traditional Eucharistic piety and theology – to express, to preserve, and to further develop in the new context of late Utraquism the basic principles of Utraquist liturgical and theological tradition. In order to arrive at a deeper understanding of this specific form of continuity in the case of the feast of Corpus Christi, it will be first necessary to map the structural, textual, and also the musical variants and transmutations of their basic structural elements within the context of the liturgical practice of the church in Bohemia and Moravia from the fourteenth to the start of the seventeenth century.

Translated from the Czech by Zdeněk V. David
with the assistance of Madeleine Case

APPENDIX 1

Veliká láska věčného Pána

[The great love of the eternal Lord]

Ježíši milý, na nás přelaskavý

[O Jesus, to us most kind]

3. Mimo duchovní s námi spojení, pro hojnější nás ve víře utvrzení, dává nám své tělo jísti, krev píti skrze svátost... [Aside from the spiritual connection with us, for a more plentiful affirmation in faith, he gives us his Body to eat, his Blood to drink, in the sacrament...]

11. To přirození, jenž jest po vstoupení na pravici mocnosti, dává nám požívati v svátosti. [That nature, which after the ascension sits on the right of power, he gives us to consume in the sacrament.]

12. V nebi anjelé patří naň vesele, jeho požívající, v něm své kochání vzdýcky majíce. [In heaven the angels view him joyfully, consuming him, they always have their delight in him.]

7. Neb ne sám chléb a víno posvátné dává ku pamatování smrti své, jenž by nám tělo, krev vysvědčovalo a od nás jen duchovně přijímáno bylo, nepřítomnou věc figurovalo. [Hence he does not (to remind us of his death) simply give us bread and holy wine which would signify Body and Blood to us, and from us only was received spiritually.]

8. Ale že s chlebem, vínem posvátně dává nám tělo a krev svú jistotně, způsobem nebeským, nadpřirozeným, tejným, ale jemu samému dobře známým, naším rozumem nevystíženým. [But with the bread and wine in a sacramental way he gives us his Body and Blood for certain, in a manner heavenly, supernatural, mysterious, but to him well known, by our reason incomprehensible.]

9. Všemohúcí všecko činí divně... i to, což nám nepodobné, svou mocí činí, chce, bychom jemu věřili všickni. [The Almighty does everything marvelously...and what is for us unlikely, he does by his power, wishing us all to believe him.]

13. Ten lidu svému dal nebeskou mannu, nás pak krmí tělem svým, napájí krví svou způsobem divným. [He who gave his people the manna from heaven, then feeds us with his Body, gives us to drink his Blood in a mysterious manner.]

16. Zvlášť kázal jísti tělo a krev pítí, pod způsobou obojí, rozličných milostí k rozmnožení. [He especially required the eating of his Body and drinking of his Blood, in both kinds, for the multiplication of various kinds of grace.]

17. Tak jedno tělo býváme Kristovo, když jeho tělo jíme, svatou krev s náboženstvím pijeme. [So we are a single body of Christ, when we eat his Body, piously drink his holy Blood.]

18. Tady spojení a s ním součastnění věřící docházejí, když těla, krve jeho požívají. [Here the connection with him and participation in him are attained by the faithful, when they receive his Body and Blood.]

21. S věrou jí beřme, nic se neztazujeme na tejnost té svátosti, na slovích Kristových mějme dosti. [Let's take it on faith, not question the mystery of the sacrament, accept Christ's words as sufficient.]

22. Jím silně věřme, rozum poddávejme, Kristově služebnosti obcujeme, bychom dšli radosti. [Let us firmly believe them, let reason succumb, let us commune in Christ's service, so that we may attain to joy.]