
Jan Hus, the “*Heir of the Bohemian Land*” According to Sixteenth-Century Czech Utraquist Graduals: Hus’s Mass Office

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Thirty years ago Jana Fojtíková published the important study “Musical Documents from the Cult of Hus in the Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries.”¹ Based on an extensive study of primary sources, it is cited to this day. The present article seeks only to fill some of the lacunae in Fojtíková’s work, focusing on the area of plainchant. Her list includes only a limited selection of manuscripts of Czech plainchant intended for the Eucharist. I would therefore like to present the Czech plainchant office of the mass more fully, as well as in greater detail, in order to illuminate the development of multiple, regional redactions of the office and offer a preliminary analysis of the connections between them.

A List of Manuscripts and of Their Compositions

Fojtíková selected for her survey only eighteen codices containing Czech plainchant – which, as a selection, although representative, is rather limited. Today, for the critical edition of the *Graduale Bohemorum*, we used sixty-one volumes, which include fifty-three graduals (some of them in multiple volumes). We shall explore in which of them the mass office of Jan Hus is in some way presented.²

It appears that in most of the choral books the mass office was either entirely or in large part destroyed. We ascribe this to the censorship by – above all – the Jesuits and the Capuchins, who sought to “purify” these manuscripts

1 Jana Fojtíková, “Hudební doklady Husova kultu z 15. a 16. století, Příspěvek ke studiu husitské tradice v době předbělohorské [Musical sources for the cult of Jan Hus from the 15th and 16th Centuries, A Contribution to research on the Hussite tradition in the era before Bílá Hora],” *Miscellanea musicologica* 29 (1981) 51–145.

2 Jiří Žůrek (ed.), *Graduale Bohemorum, Proprium sanctorum* (Prague 2011). This is a critical edition of all the Czech plainchant for saints’ days with the exception of the Marian feasts. The English introduction makes accessible to the global scholarly audience chant melodies furnished with Czech texts. The edition offers the first attempt to gather and sort out the entire contemporary production of Czech-language chants used in the liturgy of the Utraquist church. It also attempts to distinguish the variety of independent redactions of plainchant translated into Czech during the fifteenth and sixteenth century.

during the Counter Reformation, especially in the first half of the eighteenth century. They excised “undesirable” songs or at least inked – or scratched – out the objectionable passages. According to the thoroughness with which this censorship was performed we can distinguish two approaches. Either the office of Hus was removed entirely, in which case damage was done also to the adjacent, “unobjectionable” chants that were written on the reverse sides of the folia (above all, the offices of Sts. Peter and Paul, St. Procop, the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and St. Margaret were thus affected). Or the obliteration was just partial, when – exactly for the sake of not violating the surrounding orthodox chants – certain portions of chants in Hus’s honour were preserved.³ This less drastic approach is, of course, more advantageous for us, because the preserved fragments enable at least an identification of the particular chant.

An additional complication is the fact that many manuscripts traditionally separate chants according to the purpose they serve in the liturgy: placing the *Kyrie* at the beginning of the Gradual in a section called *kyriale*, the “proper” chants in the middle of the manuscript in a section called *proprium sanctorum*, and the prose or sequences in the last section called *sequentiale*. Under these circumstances it could happen that the censor excised only the “proper,” but the prose or sequence and/or the *Kyrie* luckily escaped his attention, as happened, for instance, in manuscripts Lou_IG9, Poděb_G, PrN_XVIIIa6+7, W_15503, W_15509, and Žlu_G.⁴

As a result, although the majority of the fifty-three Czech Graduals known today was vandalised by the censors, in over half of them (namely thirty-three codices) at least torsos of the mass office for the feast of Hus were preserved. In eleven codices, however, it was entirely eradicated (Dač_G, Hr8, Hr13+14, MlaBol_IIA2, PrM_IA17, PrM_ID4, PrN_XVIIA31+32–39, PrN_XVIIA53ab, PrN_XVIIA54, Příbram G, Sedl_M1). In the remaining nine Graduals, what remains is so defective that Hus’s office cannot be identified with certainty.⁵ On the other hand, it needs to be noted that we know of only four Graduals in which Hus’s office survived entirely undisturbed, namely in the manuscripts: PrM_IVB9, PrN_XVIIA3 together with the *sequentiale* PrA_1869, Tep_G, and PrN_XVIIIB21.

The preservation and location of the individual chants for Hus’s office is best documented by a table.

3 In isolated instances the indication of such a treatment of manuscripts was preserved. For instance, in *Graduál Sixta z Ottersdorfu* (MS London, British Library, Add MS 16.175, f. 4r) we read that because of an “earnest request” of the choristers, the Jesuit Father Climent left parts of heterodox chants in the manuscript “so that at the beginning or the end of another chant the beginning would not be torn out or destroyed.” See also Martina Šárovcová, “A Little Known Utraquist Gradual in the British Library in London,” *BRRP* 9 (2014) 250–278, here 252–253.

4 Abbreviations of the manuscripts can be found in the list at the end of this article.

5 These include Graduals: BrMZA_Tiř, Chrud_12579, Chrud_27409, Jíl G, Kmříž_MI1, PrMHP_Vav, PrN_XXIIIB2, PrN_XVIIIB8, Příbor G.

	sigla Graduale Bohemorum	proprum or commune	Sedl. M4	PrM. IVB9	PrM. VB5	Hr57	Třebech. G	Poděb. G	CeŠkal. G	Hr 16	Nbydž. G
chant											
in Radujme se všichni v Hospodinu	hus.in.1	com.			243v						
in Radujme se všichni v Hospodinu	hus.in.1	propr.		170v							
in Radujme se všichni v Pánu Ježíši	hus.in.2	com.						295r			
in Radujme se všichni v Pánu Ježíši	hus.in.2	propr.				//208r			507		
in Radujme se všickni, o by to bylo	hus.in.3	propr.									
in Mnozí jsou zármutkově		com.									
in Jak jest předivný		com.									
in Zarmoucení bývali všickni		com.									
ky Hod slavný pamatujem		propr.		25r							
ky Hospodine mocný, pomocný		com.			(18v)		48r	(58v)		233r	924
ky Hospodine mocný, rač býti		com.									
ky Hospodine mocný, buď nám pomocný		com.									
ky Hospodine všemohúci, nepřemožené		com.									
ky Památku utěšenú slavice		propr.							510//		
ky summum		com.			1r						
ky Všemohúci, věčný Otče		com.				54v					
gl Sláva na výstotech Bohu / a na zemi pokoj		com.					(49v)			234v	
gl Et in terra summum (Bosse 24)		com.									
gl summum (Bosse 24) s votivou Kriste, jenžs		propr.						6r			
gl My na zemi, Kriste, synu Boha		propr.									
al Dnes jest hod památný	hus.all.1	propr.	36v	171r							
al Píseň veselá / Slavice památku	hus.all.2	propr.									
al Chvála, čest / Z daru toho	hus.all.3	propr.				208r				236v	
al // [Z daru toho]	hus.all.4	propr.									
al Slušif zpěvati / Z daru toho	hus.all.4	propr.									
al Veseliti se budou spravedliví		com.									
seq Králi nad Králi / U věčnosti nebeské		propr.									
seq Nuž křesťané važmež		propr.			301v//						
seq Ó blahoslavení		propr.				209r	//353r	422v//	//511	238r	
seq Ó přeblahoslavené blahoslavených		com.									
seq Pamatujmež radostně		propr.		172r							
seq Zpívejmež všickni vesele		propr.									
seq // přebývali s nimi, amen.		propr.									
cr které chceš		com.				211r					
cr Všichni ze všeho srdce		com.								241r	
cr Otce všudyprítomného		com.									671
of -- ant Krista, krále mučedníků	hus.ant.1	propr.									
of Pravda má		com.			243v						
of V moci tvé		com.									
sa které chceš		com.				211r					
sa Otče Bože i tvůrče		com.			(66r)		(95v)			241r	(654)
sa Všemohúci stvořiteli náš		com.									676

text in brackets: manuscript contains the chant, but unrelated to the Hus' office.

//: the chant is a torso.

[illegible]

The first column of the table contains the designation of the chant (in = introit, ky = kyrie, gl = gloria, al = alleluia, seq = sequence, cr = credo, of = offertorium, sa = sanctus) and the incipit of the text. The second column contains the **sigla** according to *Graduale Bohemorum*. The third column indicates whether the chant belongs to a proper or a common. Additional columns tabulate the occurrence of chants in individual manuscripts, and the following number indicates the folio. The number in parentheses indicates that the given manuscript contains the chant, but of course without a relationship to Hus's feast day. Two oblique lines // indicate a torsal preservation of the chant.

Description of the Redactions of the Czech Mass Office of Jan Hus

It is necessary to point out that Czech plainchant had a distinct development during the sixteenth century. Hence it is normally possible to locate the individual extant chants in a definite place on this developmental line. In sixteenth-century chant, singing differed toward the end of the century from that of the first decades. Hence one of the contributions from research in the area of Czech chant can be a clearer distinction among particular plainchant layers. We call these layers "redactions," based on the materials gathered for the edition *Graduale Bohemorum*.⁶ We recognise "an archaic redaction" from the vantage point of a sixteenth-century scribe, namely the redaction of the *Jistebnice kancionál*,⁷ a codex that is a century older than the period of our focus. It reached into the sixteenth century only marginally; its traces are found only in the early redactions that are characteristic for the songbooks of the first decades of the sixteenth century.⁸ In the 1540s we come across a new redaction, which is associated with the name of the prominent creator of Czech Graduals, Jan Táborský. Táborský himself, however, started in the 1560s to record chants in yet another manner (the so-called second Táborský Redaction). Another differing redaction is found in the manuscripts of East Bohemia. Late sixteenth-century manuscripts manifest a high degree of repertoire variability so that it becomes appropriate to assume the distinct identity of redactions in every individual manuscript. Now we shall try to apply this distinction between redactions to the chants about Hus.

6 For the division of Czech Graduals into redactions, see Jiří Žůrek (ed.), *Graduale Bohemorum*, 20–25.

7 MS Prague, NK ČR (= National Library of the Czech Republic), II.C.7.

8 For traces of the archaic redaction in the sixteenth-century chants, see Jiří Žůrek, "The Analogies between the Chants of the *Jistebnický Kancionál* and the Repertory of the Oldest Czech Graduals in the 16th Century," *Hudební věda* 48 (2011) 41–78. The utilisation of the *Jistebnický kancionál* in additional Czech choral writing is also treated in Eliška Baťová, "Neglected Source of Utraquist Chant of the Poděbradian Era and the Repertoire *cantiones hebdomadae sanctae*," *Hudební věda* 51 (2014) 229–276.

The presentation of the various forms of the office for the mass of Hus will, therefore, be done in two phases. First, the individual redactions and their characteristics will be introduced. Second, the relationships and the transformations of the various forms of Hus's mass office will be demonstrated across the various redactions.

The Early Redactions

The first three manuscripts included in the table (Sedl_M4, PrM_IVB9, PrM_VB5) capture the state of Hus's mass office in the earliest sixteenth-century Czech Graduals. Because each of them contains a different form of the office, we do not speak of an early redaction but, rather, about early redactions. For that reason, the chants are now listed separately for each manuscript.

Sedl_M4

Introit is missing, even though the given place was not torn out (f. 36v); the space left for the rubric is left blank. Evidently, there was supposed to be a reference to the introit here. The introit *Gaudeamus*, which was probably used, is notated in the following folio after the Alleluia for the feast of St. Mary Magdalene (f.37r), in the version *Radujme se všickni a vždycky v Bohu stvořiteli* [Let us all rejoice always in God, the Creator] (magdalena.in.1).⁹ In the text of the introit, there is a place in which the name of the saint being celebrated on the day can be inserted.

Kyrie is not notated. The Kyrie for the feasts of martyrs is not in the manuscript in this place. Because the manuscript is defective and is not preserved in its entirety, it is not possible to judge whether it originally contained the Kyrie.

Alleluia: *Dnes jest hod památný mistra Jana z Husince* [Today is the feast day of Master Jan of Husinec] (f. 36v, the same as in PrM_IVB9, hus.all.1).

Prose or Sequence was torn out, leaving not even the smallest fragment.

PrM_VB5

The Office of Jan Hus is rubricated in the index (f. 353v) as *Den mistra Jana Husi* [The Day of Master Jan Hus].

Introit refers to f.243, where there is the notated chant *Radujme se všickni v Hospodinu* [Let us all rejoice in the Lord]. It is the chant hus.in.1, but with a general text and without a direct reference to Hus. The chant is notated under the rubric *Introjit o mučedlnících a o pannách a o svaté Maří Magdaleně i s. Katherině* [Introit about martyrs and virgins and about St. Mary Magdalene and St. Katherine]. Thus, it is an introit from the common of martyrs.

9 Codes of the chants refer to *Graduale Bohemorum*.

Kyrie and Gloria are referred to by the words *de evangelistis* (crossed out) *vel de martiribus vel summun*. Concerning the martyrs, the manuscript notates the Kyrie *Hospodine mocný, pomocný* [O Lord, powerful, helpful] (f. 18v) with the melody Mel 16,¹⁰ and with the Gloria *A na zemi budiž pokoj* [And on earth let there be peace] (not identified in Bosse's catalogue¹¹). The appearance of this Kyrie indicates the manuscript's relationship to East Bohemia because this Kyrie does not appear elsewhere. The only manuscript outside of the tradition of East Bohemia which contains this Kyrie is Poděb G. No Kyrie is explicitly designated as *summun* in the manuscript; usually the Kyrie for the highest feast days *Cunctipotens genitor*, *Fons bonitatis* and *Magne deus* were so designated. All three are included in the manuscript under the common rubric *Kyriamina slavná*, containing the following chants: *Hospodine všemohúcí, nepřemožené moci* [O Almighty Lord, of unconquerable power] (f. 1r), *Všemohúcí Otče věčný* [Almighty Eternal Father] (f. 2r), *Hospodine studnice dobrot* [O Lord, the fountain of goodness] (f. 3v), and *Hospodine všemohúcí, pane milý* [O almighty Lord, dear Master] (f. 4r). The rubrication *kyrie summun* for the feast day of Jan Hus documents the high degree of feriation of this feast. After this *kyriamina*, Gloria *A na zemi pokoj lidem* (Bosse 24) is notated; the manuscript, however, does not contain any indication that this chant would somehow be connected with a chant for the feast of Jan Hus.

Alleluia: the index does not give a reference.

Prose: refers to f. 301v, which now contains only the incipit *Nuž křesťané važmež, kterak mistr Hus Jan boží byl bohat* [Now, Christians, let us consider how rich in holiness was Hus Jan] the melody is notated without a clef. The following folia were excised; the explicit on the next existing folio perhaps also belongs to the sequence. It consists only of the sentence fragment: *po tomto životě viděti* [to see after this life]. We know the incipit solely from this sequence, because the text appears in no other manuscript.

Offertorium is referred to on f. 243v, *Pravda má a milosrdenství mé* [My truth and my mercy].

Communio: there is no reference in the index.

PrM_IVB9

Introit: *Radujme se všickni v Hospodinu* [Let us all rejoice in the Lord] (f. 170v, in *Graduale Bohemorum* under the code hus.in.1). The incipit coincides with PrM_VB5, but with a variant for the proper of the day. In the relevant place, where the name of the saint of the given day was mentioned, "Master Jan Hus with Jerome" are named.

10 With the abbreviation Mel and the appropriate number we refer to the catalogue of Margaretha Landwehr-Melnicky, *Das einstimmige Kyrie des lateinischen Mittelalters* (Regensburg, 1955).

11 The catalogue of melodies of plainchant Glorias was prepared by Detlev Bosse, *Untersuchung einstimmiger mittelalterlicher Melodien zum Gloria in excelsis Deo* (Erlangen, 1954).

Kyrie: *Hod slavný pamatujem* [A glorious feast we remember] (f. 25r, Mel 18). Because of the melody adopted from *Cunctipotens genitor*, this Kyrie belongs to the group *kyrie summum*. The rubric designates Jan Hus as a saint *O s[vatě]m mist[r]u Janovi z Husince*. Hus is also mentioned in the text of the Kyrie. This Kyrie does not appear in any other Czech Gradual.

Gloria: no reference appears in the manuscript.

Alleluia: the verse opens with the words *Dnes jest hod památný mistra Jana z Husince* [Today is the commemoration of Master Jan of Husinec] (f. 171r, hus.all.1). The Alleluia is common with Sedl_M4, which is – considering the fragmentary preservation of the office – a rare indication of their belonging to a common redaction.

Prose: *Pamatujmež radostně tento den zpívající* [Let us joyfully remember this day singing] f. 172r, The melody is adopted from *Ave preclara Maris stella*, Raj 46–53).¹²

Offertorium and communio: no reference exists in the manuscript.

If we sum up all of the above observations, it can be stated that the characteristic chant for the early redactions of the Czech sixteenth-century office was, above all, the introit with the code hus.in.1, *Radujme se všickni v Hospodinu*, which is a Czech version of the Latin *Gaudeamus omnes*. The versions PrM_VB5 and PrM_IVB9 differ from each other in an important detail: in one, the introit is taken from the *commune martirum*, in the other the saint is explicitly named. It is an intentional editorial intervention, whereby the *commune* is turned into the *proprium*. In the given case, the adjustment was rather routine, because the introit *Gaudeamus* is constructed to allow the insertion of the saint's name. The change from *commune* to *proprium*, however, is already evident at the level of the gradual's structure. While the common introit of the manuscript PrM_VB5 is located among the other chants of the *commune* and only a reference in the index leads to Hus's *proprium*, the proper introit in PrM_IVB9 is notated directly in the relevant place in the *proprium sanctorum*. Other chants characteristic for the early redactions of the Czech office of Jan Hus are the Kyrie *Hod slavný pamatujem*, the Alleluia *Dnes jest hod památný* (luckily preserved in two manuscripts) and the prose sequence *Nuž křesťané važmež*. These chants did not reappear in the later periods.

Manuscripts from East Bohemia

The **Introit** in most of the manuscripts in this group is missing, either in its entirety or in large part, because it was destroyed during the censorship of these manuscripts (Hr8, Hr13+14, Hr16, NBydž G, PrN_XVIIA42, Třebech G). We

¹² The abbreviation Raj with a relevant number refers to the catalogue of Benjamin Rajeczky, *Melodiarium Hungariae Medii Aevi I. Hymni et Sequentiae* (Budapest, 1956).

find the entry chant *Radujme se všickni v Pánu Ježíši vždycky* [Let us rejoice in the Lord Jesus always] complete only in Rych G and ČeSkal G. It is the syllabic introit hus.in.2, which contains a specific variant in East Bohemia [...] *na upřímné sluší **společné** chválení* (Rych G, Hr42, Hr43 a Hr57). ČeSkal G (p. 509) uses the term *spolu* instead of *společné*. These words, however, do not occur in the verse outside the redaction of Hradec Králové.

A specific and unique version of this verse is found in ÚO_G *Radujme se všickni, ó by to bylo vždycky* [Let us all rejoice, O may it always be so]. A special distinction is vested in the words, by which the appropriation of the introit for Jan Hus is carried out. In fact, Hus is here mentioned as “Jan Hus, the heir of this Bohemian Land.” This entirely unique characterization – which I have borrowed for this article’s title – does not appear in any other Czech Gradual. The epithet “heir of the Bohemian land” evokes the St. Wenceslaus Anthem and it might lead to the idea that Jan Hus had, in some way, replaced the eternal Duke of the Bohemian Land in this important role. This designation, however, must not be overestimated, because the term was used for all the Czech saints. In fact, it was the contemporary liturgical equivalent for the Latin *patronus*. Thus, I agree with David Holeton that Hus was explicitly added to the Czech patron saints, which, of course, does not necessarily mean that he had become the principle Czech patron saint.¹³

Kyrie: *Hospodine mocný, pomocný* [O Lord, Mighty and Helpful] melody of *Orbis factor*, Mel 16). It is a Kyrie *de martiribus* (see, for instance, Třebech_G; Rych_G, ÚO_G), and in Hr16 a reference to this Kyrie also derives from the formulary for St Lawrence (249v) and from the *commune martirum* (f. 331v). This Kyrie appears almost exclusively in the East Bohemian tradition.

Manuscript Hr57 refers to *kyrie summum* in the aperture C9 with the Christmas Kyrie *Všemohúcí věčný Otče (Cunctipotens Genitor, Mel 18)*, which agrees well with the above mentioned rubric of the gradual PrM_VB5 about the chant *kyrie summum*, because in PrM_VB5 we also find this Kyrie. On the margin of the page there is a note: *kirie jiné 4. vocom v kancionálu H.20* [another Kyrie for four voices in the kancionál H. 20], which is the sole instance of combining chants from various liturgical books during the liturgy.

An alternative *kyrie summum* is prescribed in manuscripts Hr42 and Hr43: *Hospodine všemohúcí, nepřemožené moci* [O Lord Almighty, of Unconquerable Power] (melody likewise Mel 18).

ČeSkal G designates for the feast the Kyrie *Památku utěšenú slaviče mistra Jana z Husince* [Celebrating the beautiful memory of Master Jan of Husinec] (Mel 18), even though only a small fragment was preserved. This manuscript uses the Central Bohemian (Prague) musical tradition represented mainly by graduals of the first and the second redactions of Jan Táborský of Klokotská Hora.

13 David Holeton, “O felix Bohemia – O felix Constantia: the Liturgical Commemoration of Saint Jan Hus,” in HENC 385–403, here 394.

Gloria: sources very rarely mention it explicitly, and only Hrl6 notates at the feast day *Sláva na výsostech Bohu a na zemi pokoj lidem, jenž dobrou vůli mají* [Glory to God in the Highest and on Earth Peace to People of Good Will]. The melody could not be found in Bosse's catalogue. The same Gloria is notated in Rych G, where, however, only a fragment of the incipit has survived from Hus's office; the rest has been excised. Therefore we do not know whether this specific Gloria was prescribed for the feast day. According to Třebec G (f. 49v) it is a Gloria for the feasts of martyrs, albeit without an explicit tie with the feast of Jan Hus.

Alleluia: most of the manuscripts, in which the Alleluia was at least partially preserved (Hr16, Hr42, Hr43, Hr57), notate the Alleluia *Chvála čest i sláva / Z daru toho* [Praise, Honour, and Glory/From this Gift] (hus.all.3) for the feast of Hus.

ÚO_G contained a version of the Alleluia, now lost, from which only a fragment presently remains, namely, the verses of the explicit and the concluding alleluia. It is a specific version of Alleluia *Z daru toho*, which is common to the East and Central Bohemian traditions. The existing fragment, however, does not permit us to conclude that it was the Alleluia with the famous *slušíť zpěvati* [it is proper to sing], as Fojtíková maintained.¹⁴

Prose: *Ó blahoslavení sú ti.* [O blessed are those]. This is the prose concerning martyrs *O beata beatorum martirum*, which was textually modified for the feast of M. Jan Hus.

The fragment of the same prose in ÚO_G (354v) differs from the usual version through minor variations in the text (transposition of individual words), mainly by a variation in the second part of the next to last strophe, in which the words *majíc přijímaní krve Kristovy za pravé* [having the reception of Christ's blood for the truth], was replaced by *přidržeť se Páně Kristovy Krve stále* [Hold constantly onto the blood of the Lord Christ].

In Českal G only the explicit is preserved: *///upálili, však toho, což sou chtěli, nedovedli. [...] Často ji nábožně píme, tak zde časně bude s ním a po smrti věčně* [Let us drink it often and piously, so that we will be with him here temporarily, and after death eternally]. It is a variant that we find in Czech manuscripts of the Central Bohemian (Prague) tradition.

Patrem: Very few manuscripts contain the rubric referring to a concrete chant for the creed. The formulary of Hus's feast day in manuscript Hr16 refers to *patrem pěkné* for the feast of the Ascension, *Všickni ze všeho srdce věrmež* [Let us All Believe with Our Entire Heart], to which the office of St. Michael also refers. To be exact, the *commune martirum* of the same manuscript refers to another *patrem*.

14 See Fojtíková, "Hudební doklady Husova kultu," 75.

Hr42 notates for the same feast a two-voice *Otce všudy přítomného, stvořitele* [*Of the Father omnipresent, the Creator*]. Apparently the same *patrem* was notated in NBydž G, but due to the excision of the preceding folia only a part (aperture S11 and following) was preserved.

Hr57 gives freedom of choice to the singers with the rubric *Patrem a Sanctus které chceš* [Patrem and Sanctus as you wish].

Sanctus: only some of the manuscripts contain a rubric determining the Sanctus for the feast of Hus. Hr16 has a rubric for the Sanctus from the feast of the Ascension: *Otče Bože i tvůrče všech věcí* [O God the Father and Creator of all things] (Than 175).¹⁵ The Office of St. Michael refers to the same, and not, we should note, to the *commune martirum*.

The rubric in Hr57 states: *Patrem a Sanctus které chceš* [Patrem and Sanctus as you wish].

The two-voice sanctus recorded in NBydž_G *Všemohúcí stvořiteli náš / Jsa od věčnosti Otci rovný* [O our almighty creator, who are from eternity equal to the Father] probably referred to Hus's feast, because it was notated in Hus's formulary.

Neither **Offertorium** nor **Communio** occur in the rubrics of the East Bohemian manuscripts. An overview of the manuscripts in this group gives us an outline of a typical East Bohemian office for the feast of Jan Hus: the Introit is *Radujme se všichni v Pánu Ježíši*. Where it rarely survived in its entirety, the version is either general, without mention of Hus, or proprial. The characteristic variant *spolu chválení* or *společné chválení* always appears in the verse. These words do not appear in the verse outside of the redaction of Hradec Králové. The Kyrie *Hospodine mocný, pomocný* in one of its variants (melody *Orbis factor*, Mel 16) is also characteristic. This Kyrie appears within the framework of Hus's office exclusively in the East Bohemian tradition:

Gloria Sláva na výsostech Bohu a na zemi pokoj lidem, jenž dobrou vůli mají.
Alleluia *Chvála, čest / Z daru toho.*

Prose – exclusively: *Ó blahoslavení sú ti.*

Patrem and Sanctus které chceš, [ad libitum] mainly *Patrem Otce všudy přítomného, stvořitele* and *Sanctus Otče Bože i tvůrče*.

Office of the East Bohemian region regularly contains a number of chants from the *commune martirum* (introit, Kyrie).

¹⁵ The catalogue of melodies for the Sanctus was prepared by Peter Josef Thannabaur, *Das einstimmige Sanctus der römischen Messe in der handschriftlichen Überlieferung des 11. bis 16. Jahrhunderts* (München 1962). We note further occurrences of this Sanctus (without a reference to the feast of Jan Hus): PrM_VB5, f. 66r, without assignment; Hr 8, f. 110v for three-voices without assignment; NBydž G, f. 654 *De S. Joanne Baptista*; Třebech G, f. 95v for three-voices without assignment, Agnus then has the same melody.

Manuscripts of the Redaction of Jan Táborský of Klokotské Hory

Manuscripts of the plainchant tradition were notated mainly in Prague or, in some cases, copied according to the Prague models. But, by far, not all the preserved graduals of this group can be linked directly with the name of this prominent writer of liturgical books who also became famous as the manager of the Prague astronomical clock. However, I have chosen his name for this redaction (or really two redactions),¹⁶ because his manuscripts predominate in this group. Moreover, this group of manuscripts begins with his so-called older Litoměřice gradual (PrS_DA16) from 1542–1544. Today, it is in fact the oldest precisely dated Czech gradual. In addition, Jan Táborský undoubtedly shared authorship in the creation of Czech plainchant. His initials provide convincing proof of this, as he signed his chants with them in the margins of the graduals. Let us list, therefore, all the chants which are intended for the feast of Jan Hus in the graduals of this redaction.

Introit: All of the manuscripts notate a specific version of *Gaudeamus omnes*, namely *Radujme se všickni v pánu Ježíši vždycky*, hus.in.2; it is preserved in manuscripts PrS_DA16, Žlu_G, PrN_XVIIIB21, PrN_XVIIA3, Tep G. The text of the introit is modified for the feast day through the insertion of the expression *jeho svatým mučedníkům českým* [to his holy Bohemian martyrs]. The verse ends with the formulation *na upříměť sluší chválení*, whereby it differs from the redaction of Hradec Králové, as noted earlier.

Kyrie: the manuscripts coincide in adopting the Czech Kyrie *O svatém mistru Janovi Husovi* [About Holy Master Jan Hus] (this is the version of the rubric in Žlu G) with the incipit *Památku utěšenú slaviče mistra Jana z Husince* [Celebrating the beautiful memory of Master Jan of Husinec] (Žlu G). This Kyrie is also included in a fragmentary way in W_15503, Tep G, Limyšl G, Třebce G (the text is now defaced, but the notation remains intact), Lou G, W_15509, PrN_XVIIA3, PrN_XVIIIB21, and PrN_XVIIA40. The melody belongs to the Kyrie *Cunctipotens genitor* (Mel 18). This Kyrie appears for the first time in PrN_XVIIIB20 (fragment on f. 6r), but in the earliest Czech gradual of this redaction (PrS_DA16) there are several folios excised at the beginning of the kyriale, in the place where it was usually inscribed. In all probability, it was also once inscribed there.

Gloria: usually is not rubricated in the manuscript. Only one late manuscript PrN_XVIIA3 records a unique proprial Gloria for Hus's feast in the rubric *Et in terra summum o M. Janovi* with the incipit *Aj na zemi, Kriste, synu Boha Otce, všemi chválami* [On Earth, O Christ, the Son of God the Father, with every praise]. It is a matter of *Gloria Dies est leticie*, which has the signature GITr3 in

16 See *Graduale Bohemorum*, 21–22.

the catalogue of Hana Vlhová-Wörner;¹⁷ of course, it is here notated without the sung trope. The trope *Dies est leticie* in a modified mode for the feast of the Bohemian martyrs was previously included in the so-called “votive” in Poděb G.

Alleluia: two alleluia chants belong to the feast. Unfortunately, in the majority of these texts the chants have been destroyed. As a result, today we find them only in a few manuscripts. The manuscript Žlu G preserved only the verse *Z daru toho* [From this gift] without the introductory prosula. This chant, therefore, cannot be exactly identified. In manuscripts not damaged by censorship, specifically Tep G, the same Alleluia appears with the prosula *Slušit' zpěvati dnes* [It is proper to sing today] (hus.all.4), which emerged through a further expansion of the rest of the melisma of the initial *alleluia* / *chvála čest i sláva* [praise, honour, and glory], which we know from the tradition of Hradec Králové (hus.all.3). In Tep G this Alleluia is notated as second in a sequence. The first Alleluia is *Píseň veselá / Chvaliž Pána / Slawijce památku mistra Jana* [A joyous song/ praising the Lord/ Celebrating the memory of Master Jan] (hus.all.2). The same pair, but in a reverse order, is found in the manuscript PrN_XVIIA3. Both of these alleluias are contrafacta of the Latin *Letamini in Domino*. Neither of them utilises the melody of *Letetur in Domino*, which was used for Hus's feast in Latin graduals.

Prose: in manuscripts we regularly find two prose, albeit often in a fragmentary state due to censorship: *Pamatujmež radostně* [Let us remember joyfully] (PrS_DAI6 – fragment, W_15503, PrN_XVIIIA6, Kt_Ms1, Tep G, Limyšl G, Třebce G, PrA_1869, W_15509, Rak G) and *Ó blahoslavení* [O you blessed ones] (PrS_DAI6, PrN_XVIIB20, W_15503, Poděb G, Tep G, PrA_1869), which, of course, has a somewhat different version in its conclusion than the sequence of the same name in the manuscripts of East Bohemia.

As an exception, we additionally find a third sequence, *Králi nad králi, Kriste* [King above Kings, O Christ] (PrA_1869 a Kt_Ms1), which in its conclusion is intertwined with the song *U věčnosti nebeské* [In Heavenly Eternity]. The sequence *Králi nad králi, Kriste* was an object of thorough investigation by Dobroslav Orel; a rubric in the Malá Strana Gradual (*O svatém mistru Janovi z Husince, svaté paměti, na jeho vlastní píseň udělaná od Jana T.* [About Holy Master Jan from Husinec of Holy Memory, an original song composed by Jan T.]) led Orel to conclude that Jan Táborský was the author of even of its Latin version.¹⁸ This view was definitely refuted by Jana Fojtíková.¹⁹ In addition, the sequence *Zpívajmež všickni vesele* [Let us All Sing Joyously] is uniquely notated in PrA_1869.

17 Hana Vlhová-Wörner, *Tropi ordinarii missae, Kyrie eleison, gloria in excelsis deo* (Prague 2006) 231.

18 See Dobroslav Orel, “Jana Táborského proza o mistru Janovi z Husince [Jan Táborský's Prose about Master Jan from Husinec],” *Bratislava* 6, 1932, 196–237.

19 Fojtíková, “Hudební doklady Husova kultu,” 56 n. 19.

Offertorium: is rubricated only in one manuscript (Žlu G), specifically the chant *V moci tvé* [In Your Power] from the office for a single martyr. A series of manuscripts refers to *antifona místo ofertoře* [antiphon in place of the offertory], the incipit of which is *Krista krále mučedníkův* [O Christ, the King of Martyrs] (PrN_XVIII A6, Tep G, PrN_XVII B20, Lou_G, PrN_XVII A3, Limyšl G). It is originally the antiphon to the Magnificat for the feast of Hus. The same phenomenon of a secondary use of an antiphon to the Magnificat can be found in Czech graduals and in a series of other formularies of the mass. Two graduals (PrN_XVII A3 a PrN_XVII B21) state that the antiphon could be sung not only at the offertory, but also elsewhere (“*jindy*”). Evidently it was a sort of multi-purpose antiphon on the feast. **Communio** is not mentioned in any of the graduals.

Let us again briefly sketch an outline of the office according to this redaction of Czech graduals:

Troait *Radujme se všichni v Pánu Ježíši* [Let us all rejoice in the Lord Jesus] appears always with the proprial clause *jeho svatým mučedníkům českým* [To His Holy Czech Martyrs]. For the feast day there belongs the proprial Kyrie *Památku utěšenú slávice* [Celebrating the comforting memory] and for the Alleluia either *Píseň veselá / Slávice památku* [A joyous song/ Celebrating the memory] or *Slušit zpěvati / Z daru toho* [It is proper to sing/Because of this Gift]. For the prose, there is a choice of four: *Ó blahoslavení* [O Blessed Ones] (with an ending differing from the above-cited East Bohemian redaction) or *Pamatujmež radostně* [Let us Remember Joyfully]; exceptionally also *Králi nad králi* [King above Kings] or *Zpívajmež všickni vesele* [Let us All Sing Joyfully]. In place of the offertory, the antiphon *Krista, krále mučedníkův* [O Christ, the King of Martyrs]. Neither the Gloria, Patrem, or Sanctus are normally specified, but the proprial Gloria *My na zemi, Kriste, synu Boha* [We on Earth, O Christ, the Son of God] does occur once. The Malá Strana Gradual, parts of which are now held in different locations (PrN_XVII A3 and PrA_1869), offers two unique chants for Hus: the sequence *Zpívajmež všickni vesele* [Let us All Sing Joyfully] and Gloria *Aj na zemi, Kriste, synu Boha Otce, všemi chválami* [Oy, on the Earth, O Christ, the Son of God the Father, with all Praise]. The office of the redaction typically exhibits a high degree of proprial chants.

Additional Observations

A number of manuscripts reveal greater or lesser deviations from the principle redactions discussed above. Let us note at least the most distinctive ones:

PrM_IA17

In the manuscript PrM_IA17 the office for the feast of Jan Hus was excised. Several chants that were customarily sung for the feast of Jan Hus, however,

are included in the *commune martirum*, such as the Kyrie *Hospodine mocný, pomocný* [O Lord, Mighty and Helpful], the introit *Radujme se všickni* [Let Us All Rejoice] and the sequence *Ó blahoslavené blahoslavených* [O Blessed of the Blessed Ones]. The last composition was probably a model, the reworking of which produced the specific sequence for Hus *Ó blahoslavení sú ti* [O Blessed Are Those]. The large number of common chants manifests the character of the East Bohemian musical tradition before the emergence of propers for the feast of Jan Hus.

Rak G

The Rakovník Gradual (f. 214r) contains a brief explicit of an unidentified chant for the feast of Jan Hus because the formulary of the mass was otherwise excised. The text of the fragment is the following: //tými mučedlníky českými, abychom v tvém nebeském království přebývali s nimi, amen [with the holy (?) Bohemian martyrs, that we may dwell with them in your heavenly kingdom, Amen]. The melody in f mode follows that of the last strophes of the prose *Pamatujeť radostně* [Let Us Remember Joyfully]; the melody, however, is syllabified. The text is considerably altered, although parallels with the prose *Pamatujeť radostně* can be found. Instead of Jan Hus, the Bohemian martyrs are cited, and instead of the metaphorical seating at the table, the dwelling in the heavenly kingdom is mentioned. It is therefore possible to guess that the unidentified fragment might have belonged to an unknown redaction of the sequence *Pamatujeť radostně*.

Záv_1606

A distinct Czech gradual is *Písně chvál božských* [The Songs of Divine Praises] of Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský, published first in 1602 and again in 1606 (*Knihopis*, nos. 17175 and 17176). The author approached the Czech plainchant with a great degree of creative freedom and changed many chants considerably, led by a desire to make the old songs conform to his avowed Lutheran faith. As for the feast of Master Jan Hus, he surprisingly prescribes chants from the *commune martirum* (see the unnumbered folio [D iiiii] of the introductory rubric). Among them, of course, we do not find the Czech version of the introit *Gaudeamus omnes*. Instead, there is a choice of three other introits: *Množit jsou zármutkové* [There Are Many Sorrows], *Jak jest předivný Pán* [How Most Wonderful is the Lord] and *Zarmoucení bývali všickni* [All Used to Be Sorrowful]. Závorka's *Písně* is thus the only Czech gradual for the feast of Jan Hus that does not include the introit *Radujme se všickni*. The Kyrie chant with the incipit *Hospodine mocný, buď nám pomocný* is a revised version of the Kyrie, which we know from East Bohemian gradu-als. The Alleluia for the feasts of martyrs has in this gradual the verse *Veselíti se budou spravedliví* [The Just Will Rejoice]. Prose *Ó přeblahoslavné blahoslavených* [O the Blessedness of the Blessed], according to Závorka, is to be sung after the Gospel, while before the Gospel – instead of the prose – one

should sing any of the hymns (Czech songs) which are printed in the section *proprium sanctorum* under the heading *O mistru Janovi Husovi a jiných mučedlnících českých* [About Master Jan and Other Bohemian Martyrs]. The songs included here are: *Zpívej jazyk o přeslavném boji* [Sing My Tongue, of the Most Glorious Battle i.e. *Pange lingua*], *Mučedlníkův Krista Pána památka* [Memory of the Martyrs of Christ, the Lord], and *Národe český chvaliž Boha* [O Bohemian Nation, Praise God]. Thus Závorka's form of Hus's mass office deviates considerably from the other traditions of Czech plainchant. Among others, however, it documents one of the ways in which strophic religious songs were used during the liturgy.

Results of the Examination of the Graduals: An Assessment

Let us now evaluate the results of the research on the various chant redactions. The first result is obvious. In comparison with the study of Jana Fojtíková, I have considerably broadened our knowledge of the Hus repertoire in the area of the Czech plainchant of the mass. Let us enumerate the additions more specifically.

Fojtíková lists in her catalogue three versions of the introit *Radujme se všickni*. She refers to them with the traditional term *kontrafakta*. The nature of the revisions of the text and the melody permits us, however, to speak of different redactions because the text of the introit has a common foundation in all three cases. In no case is it a matter of an entirely new text created for the given melody, as would correspond to the term *kontrafaktum*. I have expanded the enumeration of three Czech versions of the introit *Gaudeamus omnes* to five. Let us add to this Závorka's three introits from the common of martyrs and we arrive at eight different introits usable for the feast of Jan Hus.

While Fojtíková notes four Kyries, we now know of at least seven used for the feast of Hus. This is because the East Bohemian Kyrie *Hospodine mocný* has three distinct versions, which – as in the case of the introit – we count as distinct items. We do not include in this count the ambiguous rubric PrM_VB5, which asks for the chant of *Kyrie summum*.

Fojtíková knew of two chants for the Gloria designed for Hus's feast. I found in the manuscripts references to three different Gloria, one of which is either with a trope (the so-called votive) or without a trope. Therefore, there are in the table altogether four items.

As for Alleluia, I have increased their number from three to six. As for Prose, Fojtíková had listed five. Thanks to Závorka's *Písně* we can expand that number to six. In addition, there is the fragment in Rak_G, which belongs to another – hitherto unknown – redaction of the sequence for Hus *Pamatujmež radostně* [Let us Remember Joyfully], so that the total number of prose would increase to seven.

Offertorium: Fojtíková lists only one, namely an antiphon originally intended for the Magnificat *Krista, krále mučedníků* [O Christ, the King of Martyrs] (hus.ant.1). In addition to this antiphon, however, the graduals also refer – as an exception – to two other offertoria, *Pravda má* [My Truth] and *V moci tvé* [In Your Power].

Patrem: Fojtíková knew only one used at mass for the feast of Jan Hus; at present two can be cited. Moreover, certain manuscripts contain an indefinite rubric *Patrem, které chceš* [Patrem as you wish i.e. *ad libitum*]. The same applies to the Sanctus chant.

Altogether (if we do not count unspecified chants, designated by a rubric “*kéře chceš*” and similar) we know at present thirty-eight Czech chants that were used as parts of the mass for Hus’s feast day. This is almost twice as many as Fojtíková’s twenty chants.

This quantitative assessment, however, is not the most important aspect of this research that enriches our knowledge. A more fundamental novelty, compared to previous research results, rests in the recognition and differentiation of the individual redactions. Fojtíková enumerates one chant after another, designating them mutually as *kontrafakta*. At present, we are able to discern in many cases the relationship among particular versions of chants across the redactions.

Above all, there is again revealed the distinction between the earliest redactions of Czech sixteenth-century chant and their subsequent development. This is seen best in the case of the introit, which in the earliest sixteenth-century graduals corresponds to the redaction type hus.in.1, while in later manuscripts to the type hus.in.2, or as the case may be hus.in.3. As for the melodic side, in the case hus.in.1 we see melismata numbering three to eight tones, which in hus.in.2 yield to a syllabic reworking. Another sign of distinction among the redactions is the use of the term *Hospodin* [The Lord]. While in the three earliest sixteenth-century manuscripts the expression is used freely, in later redactions it retreats and is replaced by another synonym like *Pán Ježíš* [Lord Jesus] or *Pán Bůh* [Lord God].²⁰

20 Textually and melodically hus.in.1 forms one of the connecting links between the Czech sixteenth-century chant and the *Jistebnický kancionál*. See Jiří Zůrek, “The Analogies between the Chants of the Jistebnický Kancionál,” 63–65. It is noteworthy that the replacement of the divine name *Hospodin* by other equivalents is cited by Vladimír Kyas (in his treatise on the history of Czech biblical translation) as a characteristic trait of the second redaction the early Czech Bible, see Vladimír Kyas, *Česká Bible v dějinách národního písemnictví* [Czech Bible in the History of National Literature] (Prague 1997) 69. This Bible dates to the first half of the fifteenth century, while additional redactions of the fifteenth-century translation rather tended to suppress the use of the term *Hospodin* (see p.130). The expression *Hospodin* is restored in the sixteenth-century New Testament of Plzeň in 1527 (ibid., 139), and then by the editors in Kralice. While the three earliest sixteenth-century graduals (PrM_VB5, PrM_IVB9 a Sedl_M4) resort to the more archaic name for the Lord, namely *Hospodin*, the later ones use the more contemporary form, namely *Pán*.

With the help of an analysis of the repertoire, we can deepen our knowledge of the individual manuscripts to a certain extent. The Kyrie *Hospodine mocný, pomocný*, which we first encounter in PrM_VB5, continued to be used only in the East Bohemian choral tradition. That – underscored by the presence of the Sanctus *Otče Bože i tvůrče* – reveals a certain connection between this manuscript of uncertain provenance and the East Bohemian region. Furthermore, in the manuscripts of Jan Táborský we note the survival of the sequence *Pamatujmež radostně*, which we find already in PrM_IVB9. Considering that, properly speaking, we know nothing definite about the provenance of the earliest sixteenth-century Czech graduals, these repertoire coincidences provide a certain guide for their – at least approximate – classification.

The overlaps of the various traditions must be considered. First of all, let us note Poděb G. From *Graduale Bohemorum* we know that most of its repertoire relates to the earlier redaction of Jan Táborský, and in some particular cases it is concordant with the earliest sixteenth-century redaction. The office of the feast of Jan Hus in this manuscript, however, stands closest to the redaction of East Bohemia: the introit is from the *commune martirum*, the Kyrie is *Hospodine mocný, pomocný*, and the sequence *Ó blahoslavení*. In the table of chants, this manuscript is therefore placed atypically among the manuscripts of East Bohemia. The most interesting aspect of the manuscript is, of course, the Gloria. It is rubricated as Gloria *summum*,²¹ but with a specific insertion which the scribe called a *votive*. The proprial text for this is *Kriste, jenžs věrné Čechy ráčil posilniti* [O Christ, Who Has Deigned to Strengthen the Faithful Czechs], and is to be sung with the melody *Dies est leticie*.²² For the time being, I have not encountered the term *votiva* in any other gradual.

On the other hand, let us mention a reverse case, in which the East Bohemian manuscript Českal G notates for the feast of Hus the Kyrie *Památku utěšenú slavíce*, typical for manuscripts of Táborský's redaction. Likewise, the conclusion of the prose *Ó blahoslavení sú ti* deviates from the East Bohemian model.

Aside from distinguishing the individual redactions, we are now better able than Fojtíková to establish the degree of relationship among the chants. We can illustrate such connections with the example of the Alleluia chant. Fojtíková designates mutually distinct versions of the alleluia chant as *kontrafakta* without a closer comparison.²³ The differentiation, however, is not sufficiently defined. We know the earliest form of the chant from the

21 Gloria with the code GLTr3 from the catalogue of Hana Vlhová-Wörner, *Tropi ordinarii missae* (Prague 2006), melody Bosse 24.

22 The rubric states: *Tyto votyvy zpívej mezi Et in terra summum tou notou jako Dies est leticie* [Sing these votives between *Et in terra summum* with the same melody as *Dies est leticie*].

23 Cf. Fojtíková, "Hudební doklady Husova kultu," 92–93.

manuscripts Sedl_M4 and PrM_IVB9 (hus.all.1). The introductory Alleluia is still melismatic; even when the concluding *jubilus* on the syllable *-ja* is omitted, the verse begins with the words *Dnes jest hod památný mistra Jana z Husince* [Today is the Memorial Feast of Master Jan of Husinec]. Subsequently in the manuscripts of Jan Táborský's redaction the same Alleluia (hus.all.2) appears with the prosula *Píseň veselá*, which syllabifies the introductory melisma. The introduction of the verse is replaced by the words *Chvaliž Pána Boha všecka říše křesťanská, i také naše země česká, slavíce památku mistra Jana z Husince* [Let the Lord God Be Praised by the Entire Christian Realm, and also by Our Bohemian Land, Celebrating the Memory of Master Jan of Husinec], and further on the verse coincides with hus.all.1. If we compare the melody with the original Latin chant, we discover the uncertainty of the Czech author at the point where the Alleluia ends and the verse begins. The introduction of what the scribe considers the verse, namely the words *Chvaliž Pána Boha... země česká*, is properly speaking a prosula, which syllabifies the original *jubilus* of the syllable *-ja*, the same *jubilus* which is missing in hus.all.1. The verse should correctly begin melodically only with the words *slavíce památku*. There are not many such structural errors in the Czech chant, but this case reveals that the Alleluia without the *jubilus* (hus.all.1) must have been in common knowledge. Otherwise the scribe who recorded the Alleluia with the prosula *Chvaliž Pána Boha* would not have added the *jubilus* to the verse. Of the greatest interest is the fact that this shortening of the final melismata and *jubilus* is characteristic for the Czech chant recorded in the *Jistebnice kancionál*. Specifically this Alleluia is present in the *Jistebnice kancionál* as *Alleluia / Veselte se všickni*²⁴ and to a considerable degree it even melodically coincides with hus.all.1.

The plainchant tradition of East Bohemia offers another version of the Alleluia for Hus (hus.all.3). The melismatic introduction is followed by prosula *Chvála čest*, which fluently passes into the verse *Z daru toho*. The redaction of Jan Táborský, which also contains this Alleluia (hus.all.4), adds another short prosula *Slušit zpěvati* at the beginning (and sometimes also at the end), or, as the case may be, *Vzdávajmež chválu všickni*. These syllabify the last remainders of the melisma, which the tradition of Hradec Králové still (at least partially) preserved. Once more, of course, we encounter here a lack of clarity concerning the beginning of the verse, because the text of the prosula constitutes a part of the verse.

The chants hus.all.1 and hus.all.2, hus.all.3 and hus.all.4 do not stand vis-à-vis each other as *kontrafakta*, but as two developmental lines of one and

24 See Jaroslav Kolár, Anežka Vidmanová and Hana Vlhová-Wörner (eds.), *Jistebnický kancionál*, MS. Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, II C 7, *Kritická edice* [Critical Edition] (Brno, 2005) 207–208 (chant n. 36). For additional examples of abbreviation of melodies in the chants of *Jistebnice kancionál*, see Jiří Žůrek, “The Analogies between the Chants of the *Jistebnický Kancionál*,” 64–67.

the same chant, which has a melodical foundation in the Latin *Alleluia / Letamini in domino*. The first line is formed by hus.all.1 and from it descending hus.all.2; then the second line hus.all.3 and hus.all.4. Only hus.all.1 and hus.all.3 may be considered as *kontrafakta* with regards to the original Latin chant.

Fojtíková assumed that the Czech office for the feast of Jan Hus stabilised in the period between the 1530s and 1560s.²⁵ This is not entirely precise. Rather, one could say that several mutually different choral traditions stabilised without an evident attempt at unification. The fragmentary preservation of the office of Hus in Bohemian sixteenth-century graduals makes a detailed analysis of the particular redactions and their relationships more difficult, and in some cases impossible. Even so, at least in the fundamental traits this mass office mirrors the relationships sketched in the compendium *Graduale Bohemorum*. Here there is an additional confirmation of the fact that Czech chant was a multi-form, relatively unstable, and changeable entity over time; moreover, it sustained distinct regional variations. Thus, the sixteenth-century liturgical chant reflects the unity in diversity practised by the Utraquists and much lauded by the ecclesiastical milieu at present.

List of Manuscripts:

- MS Brno, Moravský zemský archiv, Fond G 11, FM 631, *Tištínský kancionál*, after 1600 (BrMZA Tiš).
- MS Česká Skalice, Muzeum Boženy Němcové, O 13291, *Českoskalický graduál*, 1567 (ČeSkal G).
- MS Dačice, Městské muzeum a galerie, R 23, *Dačický graduál*, 1586–1587 (Dač G).
- MS Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech, HR 8, *Český gradual literátského bratrstva při kostele sv. Ducha*, 1564 (Hr8).
- MS Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech, HR 10, *Český kancionál*, second half of the sixteenth century (Hr10).
- MS Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech, HR 13 a HR 14, *Dvoudílný český gradual kostela sv. Ducha*, 1584–1604 (Hr13+14).
- MS Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech, HR 16, *Graduál kostela sv. Anny v Kuklenách*, around 1580 (Hr16).
- MS Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech, HR 42, *Graduál lochenických literátů*, 1586–1597 (Hr42).
- MS Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech, HR 43, *Graduál kostela v Nedělišti*, around 1600 (Hr43).
- MS Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech, HR 57, *Graduál z Žiželic*, 1550–1553 (Hr57).

25 See Fojtíková, "Hudební doklady Husova kultu," 57.

- MS Hradec Králové, Státní okresní archiv, a 1–20, *Graduál z Nového Bydžova*, probably 1583 (Nbydž G).
- MS Chrudim, Regionální muzeum, inv. č. 12579, *Chrudimský český graduál*, 1570 and later (Chrud_12579).
- MS Chrudim, Regionální muzeum, inv. č. 27409, *Graduál kůru sv. Jiljí*, last third of the sixteenth century (Chrud_27409).
- MS Jilové, Regionální muzeum, inv. č. 1000, č. 27, *Jílovský graduál*, probably 1580–1590 (Jíl G).
- MS Klatovy, Vlastivědné muzeum Dr. Hostaše, MS. 1, *Klatovský český graduál*, 1560 (Kt_Ms1).
- MS Kolín, Regionální muzeum, př. č. 80/88, *Kolínský kancionál*, probably 1512–1517.
- MS Kroměříž, Arcibiskupský zámek, knihovna, M.I.1, *Svatohaštský graduál*, probably 1580 (Kmříž_MI1).
- MS Litoměřice, Oblastní muzeum, inv. č. 12952, *Mladší litoměřický graduál*, 1578.
- MS Litomyšl, Regionální muzeum, př. č. 104/70, *Litomyšlský graduál*, 1561–1563 (Limyšl G).
- MS Louny, Státní okresní archiv, I G 9, *Lounský graduál*, 1561–1563 (Lou_IG9).
- MS Mladá Boleslav, Muzeum mladoboleslavska, II A 2, *Mladoboleslavský český graduál*, 1571–1572 (MlaBol_IIA2).
- MS Nový Jičín, Státní okresní archiv, inv. č. 188, *Příborský kancionál*, second half of the sixteenth century and later (Příbor G).
- MS Poděbrady, Polabské muzeum, C 5, *Poděbradský graduál*, 1559 (Poděb G).
- MS Prague, Archiv Hlavního města Prahy, fond Sběrka rukopisů, 1869, *Malostranský graduál – sekvenciář*, 1561?–1573 (PrA_1869).
- MS Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, I.A.17, *Solnický graduál*, prior to 1558 (PrM_IA17).
- MS Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, I.D.4, *Výroční písně*, after 1600 (PrM_ID4).
- MS Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, II.B.4, *Písně svaté*, around 1600 (PrM_IIB4).
- MS Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, IV.B.9, *Krolmusův kancionál*, around 1530 (PrM_IVB9).
- MS Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, V.B.5, *Husitský graduál*, around 1530 (PrM_VB5).
- MS Prague, Muzeum hlavního města Prahy, D 1270, *Graduál záduší sv. Vavřince*, 1581–1582 (PrMHP Vav).
- MS Prague, Národní knihovna, XVII.A.3, *Malostranský graduál*, 1569–1572 (PrN_XVIIA3).
- MS Prague, Národní knihovna, XVII.A.31 a XVII.A.32 a XVII.A.39, *Graduály novoměstských řezníků*, 1567–1574 (PrN_XVIIA31+32+39).

- MS Prague, Národní knihovna, XVII.A.40, *Staroměstský graduál*, 1561 and later (PrN_XVIIA40).
- MS Prague, Národní knihovna, XVII.A.41 a XVII.B.19, *Dvoudílný svatohavelský graduál*, 1576 (PrN_svHavla).
- MS Prague, Národní knihovna, XVII.A.42, *Graduál z Nového města nad Metují*, 1604 (PrN_XVIIA42).
- MS Prague, Národní knihovna, XVII.A.53a and XVII.A.53b, *Dvoudílný graduál z Lomnice nad Popelkou*, 1578 and later (PrN_XVIIA53ab).
- MS Prague, Národní knihovna, XVII.A.54, *Graduál kostela sv. Vojtěcha většího*, end of the sixteenth century (PrN_XVIIA54).
- MS Prague, Národní knihovna, XVII.B.8, *Konvolut zlomků graduálů*, sixteenth century (PrN_XVIIIB8).
- MS Prague, Národní knihovna, XVII.B.20, *Českobrodský graduál*, 1557 and later (PrN_XVIIIB20).
- MS Prague, Národní knihovna, XVII.B.21, *Graduál psaný od Jakuba Sklenáře*, 1574 and later (PrN_XVIIIB21).
- MS Prague, Národní knihovna, XVII.E.97, *Kancionál užívaný v kostele v Kuněticích*, around 1600.
- MS Prague, Národní knihovna, fond Křižovnická knihovna, XVIII.A.6 and XVIII.A.7, *Dvoudílný graduál od sv. Valentina*, 1559 and later (PrN_XVIII A6+7).
- MS Prague, Národní knihovna, XXIII.B.2, *Svatoštěpánský graduál*, 1573 and later (PrN_XXIIIB2).
- MS Prague, Národní knihovna, 54.B.38, Tobiáš Závorka Lipenský, *Písně chval Božských*, 1602 (Záv_1606).
- MS Prague, Památník národního písemnictví, Tr I 27, *Žlutický graduál*, 1558–1559 (Žlu G).
- MS Prague, Strahovská knihovna, DA I 6, *Starší litoměřický graduál*, 1542–1544 (PrS_DAI6).
- MS Příbram, Hornické muzeum, L 264 and L 265, *Dvoudílný příbramský graduál*, 1579 and later (Příbram G).
- MS Rakovník, Muzeum TGM, B 98 a B 99, *Dvoudílný rakovnický graduál*, 1594–1596 (Rak G).
- MS Rakovník, Muzeum TGM, inv. č. 95/2002, *Rakovnický kancionál (part tenoru)*, 1583–1598.
- MS Rychnov nad Kněžnou, Muzeum a galerie Orlických hor, př. č. 829/87 (pův. 562/74), *Graduál z Kostelce nad Orlicí*, 1589 (Rych G).
- MS Sedlčany, Městské muzeum, M 1, *Krčínův graduál*, 1582–1596 (Sedl_M1).
- MS Sedlčany, Městské muzeum, M 4, *Graduál uchovávaný v muzeu v Sedlčanech*, probably 1530–1550 (Sedl_M4).
- MS Teplice, Regionální muzeum, Ms. 1, *Teplický graduál*, 1560 (Tep G).
- MS Třebechovice pod Orebem, Třebechovické muzeum betlémů, př. č. 126/81 (pův. 519/53), *Třebechovický graduál*, 1559 (Třebech G).

MS Třebenice, Městský úřad, (dnes uložen v Oblastním archive v Litoměřicích), bez sign., *Třebenický graduál*, 1574–1575 (Třebce G).

MS Ústí nad Orlicí, Děkaný farní úřad, bez signatury, *Graduál z Ústí nad Orlicí*, 1588 and later (ÚO_G).

MS Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus.Hs.15503, *Graduál z Čáslavi*, 1557 (W_15503).

MS Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Mus.Hs.15509, *Rybářovský graduál*, 1568 (W_15509)

Translated from the Czech by Zdeněk V. David

ALLELUIA

hus.all.1

Sedl_M4 (36v)

A 

hus.all.2

PrN_XVIIA3 (364r)

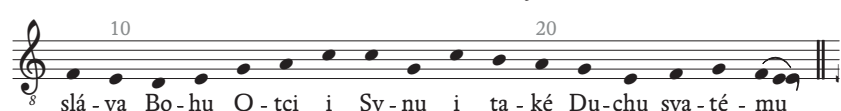
A 

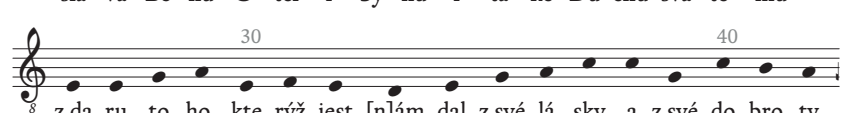
ké-mu od nás zpí - vá - na. Chva-liž Pá-na Bo-ha vše-cka ří - še kře-
 stan-ská i ta-ké na-še ze-mě če - ská, sla-ví - ce pa-má-tku Mi-
 stra Ja - na z Hu-si - nce a Je - ro - ný - ma, kně - ze Mi - cha - la i všech,
 kte - ří jsou pro Kri - sta tr - pě - li. Ra - duj - te se, mo - ci ne - bes - ké,
 neb jsou k vám při - po - je - ni mu - čedl - ní - ci ze - mě če - ské, kte - řích
 pro Kri - sta v Kon - stan - cí jsou spá - le - ni a ji - ní u Ho - ry do ša -
 chet vme - tá - ni, ji - ní jsou stí - ná - ni, ji - ní na Karl - štej - ně u vě -
 ze - ní zmo - ře - ni. Pro krev Pá - na Kri - sta jsou bo - jo - va - li, již se
 s ním ra - du - jí na vě - ky vě - kův, a - men. Al - le - lu - ja! Bud' věč - ně
 chvá - len Buoh O - tec i Syn i Duch sva - tý, je - den Buoh, a - men.

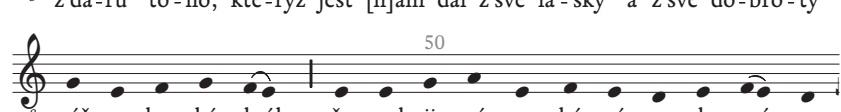
hus.all.3

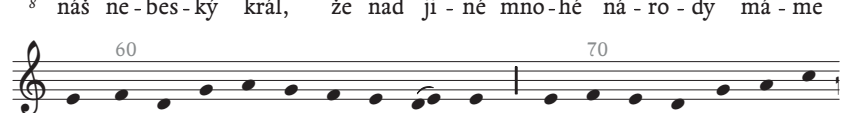
Hr57 (208r)

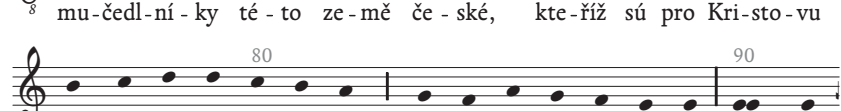
A  L - le - lu - - ja! Chvá-la, čest i

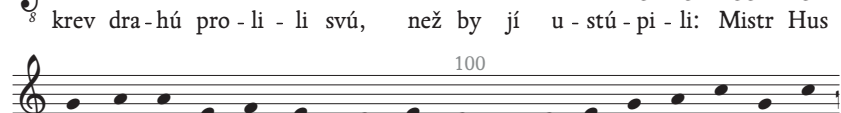
 10 20
slá - va Bo - hu O - tci i Sy - nu i ta - ké Du - chu sva - té - mu

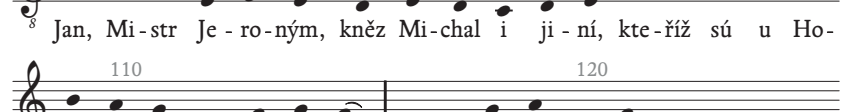
 30 40
z da - ru to - ho, kte - rýž jest [n]ám dal z své lá - sky a z své do - bro - ty

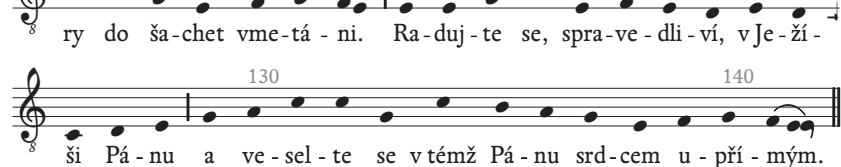
 50
náš ne - bes - ký král, že nad ji - né mno - hé ná - ro - dy má - me

 60 70
mu - čedl - ní - ky té - to ze - mě če - ské, kte - říž sú pro Kri - sto - vu

 80 90
krev dra - hú pro - li - li svú, než by jí u - stú - pi - li: Mistr Hus

 100
Jan, Mi - str Je - ro - ným, kněz Mi - chal i ji - ní, kte - říž sú u Ho -

 110 120
ry do ša - chet vme - tá - ni. Ra - duj - te se, spra - ve - dli - ví, v Je - ži -

 130 140
ši Pá - nu a ve - sel - te se v témž Pá - nu srd - cem u - pří - mým.

hus.all.4

Tep_G (151v)

A  10
L - le - lu - já! Slu - šíť zpě - va - ti dnes ná - ro - du vše - li - ké -

20 30

mu, a zvlášť če-ské - mu chvá-la, čest i slá-va Bo-hu Vo-tci i

40 50

Sy-nu i ta-ké Du-chu sva-té - mu z da-ru to-ho, kte-rýž jest

60

nám dal z své lá-sky a z své do-bro-ty náš ne-bes-ký král, že

70 80

nad ji-né mno-hé ná-ro-dy má-me mu-čedl-ní-ky slav-né ze-

90

mě če-ské, kte-říž jsou pro Kri-sto-vu krev dra-hú pro-li-li

100 110

svú, [než by] jí u-stou-pi-li: Mistr Hus Jan, Mistr Je-ro-ným,

120 130

kněz Mi-chal i ji-ní u Ho-ry mno-zí do ša-chet sou vme-tá-

140

ni. Ra-duj-tež se v Pá-nu Je-ží-ši, spra-vě-dli-ví, a ve-sel-

150 160 [Added after PrN_XVIIA3.]

tež se v témž Pá-nu srd-cem u-pří-mí. Al-le-lu-ja! Vzdá-vaj-

170 180

mež chvá-lu, vši-ckni věr-ní, Pá-nu Bo-hu z je-ho do-bro-di-ní.