Bohemian Utraquists' Repertory of Proper Tropes*

Hana Vlhová-Wörner

(Berlin and Prague)

The Latin liturgical repertory from the Utraquist milieu is characterized by a number of remarkable traits, which deserve attention from the viewpoint of liturgical musical development not only in Bohemia, but also within the entire European context. It is true that the song repertory of Utraquist choral brotherhoods [*literati*] was oriented in considerable part toward polyphonic music, partially adapted from an earlier tradition, partially created from contemporary domestic and European production. Nevertheless, the fundamental component of liturgical music, as it was reflected in the Utraquist Latin graduals and kancionáls,[1] still consisted of Latin monody until the sixteenth century. New concerns in the area of theology or in everyday ecclesiastical life led to necessary modification. Such were the introduction of new holy days into the liturgical calendar, that of Jan Hus above all, as well as the special emphasis on certain feasts, such as Corpus Christi. These led to the composition of new choral chants, or to the adaptation of older musical repertory dating from before the Bohemian Reformation. The core of the monodic choral repertory for the main feasts of the liturgical year, however, remained unchanged, and passed on into the Utraquist liturgy in the form in which it had been common in the diocese of Prague before the Bohemian Reformation. The continuation of the older tradition is manifest not only in the prevalent coincidence of the musical repertory for the main feasts of the liturgical year, but also in the choice of identical ways in which the celebratory character of a given holy day could be highlighted. This reverent stance of the Utraquists to the older tradition also assured an extreme longevity to the tropes, which retained their secure place in the liturgy of the mass well into the sixteenth century, not only through the preservation of the older repertory, but also through the active composition of additional repertory.

The introduction of tropes in the mass chants was adopted by the Utraquists from the older Pre-Reformation practice as a means for the refreshment or ornamentation of the liturgical repertory. In part, the troped chants passed on into the Utraquist repertory as already fully established components of the chants of the Proper and Ordinary of the Mass for certain feasts of the liturgical year. For instance, we could not find many manuscripts of either *sub una* provenance (whether Pre- or

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[1] The literature vacillates in the denotation of Utraquist manuscripts containing noted masses. For instance, one speaks of the Franus Kancionál and of the Gradual of Martin Bachelor of Vyskytná, although in reality both are graduals with an appended section of religious songs [*cantiones*], some also polyphonic.

Post-Reformation), or of Utraquist origin, which would lack among the Marian mass chants the offertory *Recordare, virgo mater* with the trope *Ab hac familia* (RTB I, OffTr 2). Similarly, virtually all the manuscripts (of either provenance) after 1400 contain among the chants for the mass of Corpus Christi the offertory *Sacerdotes incensum* with the trope *Ave, salus Christianorum* (RTB I, OffTr 4).[2] Similar cases can be cited from the domain of the chants for the Ordinary. For instance, the collection of tropes for the *Sanctus* in most manuscripts of Bohemian origin is introduced by the chant *Deus pater, iudex iusticie*,[3] regardless of their provenance or date. On the other hand, the Utraquists' choral repertory underwent all the musical and textual changes which affected the monodic liturgical chant in the late Middle Ages. Similarly, it adopted the new forms, which developed in this era. As in the *sub una* repertory of both the Pre- and Post-Reformation period, so also in the Utraquist repertory the alleluia chants became widespread with their verses interlarded with strophic songs.[4] This technique represented the extreme form of interpolation (tropes) of the liturgical chant, and was also transferred to other chants of the mass. It can be documented also from the choral books of Utraquist origin, but such chants are not treated in this article. However, in the Utraquist milieu at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries there was still equally current the older technique of the textation of melismatic chants, which in the mass were represented, above all, by graduals and alleluias.

The survey of the chants of mass propers with tropes from selected Utraquist graduals and kancionáls in Table 1 indicates an important fact: the Utraquist repertory did not uphold a uniform canon of chants with tropes, which would be common to all Utraquist churches. Neither is there uniformity in relation to the earlier tradition *sub una* (see column K): the prologue *Gregorius presul meritis* to the introit for the First Sunday in Advent *Ad te levati*, which is characteristic for Prague liturgy before the Bohemian Reformation, analogously introduces in certain Utraquist graduals (in TAB. 1 represented by the Litoměřice Gradual from 1517[5]) the set of mass chants for the liturgical year in certain Utraquist graduals. Nevertheless, they do not appear in such notable mass books as the Kutná Hora Gradual from the 1490s (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Mus. Hs. [Wi] 15501),[6] the Franus Kancionál from the choir of the church of the Holy Spirit in Hradec Králové from

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[2] The trope *Ave salus Christianorum* – in the Czech version *Budiž pozdraveno Tělo Kristovo* – also appears as a part of the mass proper for the feast day of Corpus Christi in the *Jistebnice Hymnal*; see Jaroslav Kolár, Anežka Widmanová, and Hana Vlhová Wörner, *Jistebnický kancionál*: I. *Graduale* [Monumenta Liturgica Bohemica, II] (Prague, 2004) no. 22a.

[3] See edition of the trope in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi 47: Tropi Graduales*, *Tropen des Missale im Mittelalter*, eds. Clemns Blume and Guido M. Dreves (Leipzig, 1905) 335, no. 321; and more recently in *Corpus Troporum VII: Tropes du Sanctus*, [Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 34] ed. Gunilla Iversen (Stockholm, 1990) 103-104, no. 41.

[4] The alleluia chants from the Utraquist repertory were largely published in the volume, *Monumenta monodica medii aevi VIII. Alleluja-Melodien II*, ed. Karlheinz Schlager (Kassel and Basel, 1980).

[5] See Barry Graham, ed., *The Litoměřice Gradual of 1517 (MS Lovosice, Státní okresní archiv Litoměřice, IV C 1)* [Monumenta Liturgica Bohemica, I] (Prague, 1999) 1, no. 1.

[6] Barry Graham recently offered arguments for dating the Kutnohorský Gradual as late as the sixteenth century (1509-1516) as did Emanuel Leminger earlier in the last century. See Barry F.H. Graham "Quandries in Dating Utraquist Mass Books of the Period 1470-1537," BRRP 3 (2000) 147-159 and Emanuel Leminger, *Umělecké řemeslo v Kutné Hoře* (Prague, 1926). I prefer the dating to the 1490s offered in some of the older literature, such as Josef Krása, "Knižní malba, 1420-1526," in *České iluminované rukopisy 13./16. století* (Prague 1990) 311-374.

1505 (Hradec Králové, Museum of Eastern Bohemia [HK] II A 6), the Gradual of Martin Bachelor of Vyskytná (Prague, National Museum Library [PrM] MS. XIII A 2) or the Gradual-Kancionál in the National Library in Prague [PrN] MS. VI B 24 from the early sixteenth century that perhaps belonged to the church of St. Castulus in the Old Town of Prague. The question of the sources of the older repertory and of the criteria of its selection is highlighted by the Easter *Alleluia Pascha nostrum*, which is provided with the trope *Iam redeunt omnia* (AllTr 4) in both the Franus Kancionál and the Gradual of Martin Bachelor of Vyskytná.[7] This trope belongs among the most common chants of its type. Its initial incidence dates to the end of the first millennium. By the eleventh century, it had spread virtually over the entire territory to the West and to the East of the Rhine.[8] In some places, this trope persisted in the mass repertory well into the fifteenth century.[9] Within this context, its presence in the later Utraquist manuscripts should be in no way surprising. What is remarkable, however, concerning the standing of this trope within the repertory of Bohemian mass tropes, is its complete absence in the Pre-Reformation manuscripts of Bohemian origin. Can we attribute this situation without further ado to an inadequate preservation of Pre-Reformation sources? Indeed, considering the small number of extant mass books with musical notes from the Pre-Reformation era, such an explanation would be more than justified.[10] The trope is absent from all the extant graduals, including the *sub una* ones from the Post-Reformation era. This fact suggests that in this period the trope was no longer a stable part of the liturgical repertory and, therefore, the Utraquists had to utilize manuscripts of earlier dates. This would not be an isolated instance. The Easter communion *Pascha nostrum* is recorded in the Franus Kancionál according to an antiquated, and in the late Middle Ages long surpassed, liturgical tradition together with a verse and doxology (f. 55ʳ). Again in this case, the Utraquists had to draw on much older sources. This notable interest in the repertory from the earliest times can perhaps be best explained as an intentional return to the ancient (in a way, the "sacred") liturgical tradition to which Utraquism claimed to be faithful as part of its more general claim to being an ongoing part of the Church Catholic.

Yet, the Utraquist liturgy did not markedly shy away from the later liturgical chants. The liturgical monodic repertory documents this fact, above all, in the large collections of tropes on the ordinary, but it can be also confirmed by the selections of the tropes of the proper. As an example, the so-called Vyšehradský kancionál from the mid-fifteenth century,[11] already includes, next to a large number of Pre-Reformation chants (sequences, responsoria and so forth), both Marian tropes to

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[7] In the Franus Kancionál the text of the trope begins only with the second verse *Festa clara lucent*.

[8] See the data in *Analecta hymnica medii aevi 49: Tropi Graduales*, *Tropen des Missale im Mittelalter*, eds. Clemns Blume and Guido M. Dreves (Leipzig, 1906) 224-226, no. 436; and *Corpus Troporum II: Prosules de la messe 1, Tropes de l'alleluia* [Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis. Studia Latina Stockholmiensia 22] ed. Olof Marcusson (Stockholm, 1976) ll6, no. 58,1a.

[9] For instance in manuscript Gorizia I, see *Analecta hymnica* 25.

[10] A valuable source of mass tropes is, for instance, the Gradual of Arnošt of Pardubice (Archbishop of Prague), dating to 1364-1374 (Prague, Library of the Metropolitan Chapter of St. Vitus, MS. P VII), from the original bipartite collection of which, however, only the winter part (ending with the Easter Vigil) has survived. It is possible that the trope *Iam redeunt omnia* was a part of the Easter mass at the beginning of the second – now no longer extant – volume of the Gradual. The rubrics of the St. Vitus missals, however, do not mention this trope, while they do record other tropes from Arnošt's Gradual.

[11] Prague, Civil State Archive, KVš 376.

the alleluia which became firmly entrenched in the Utraquist repertory from the end of the fifteenth century, namely *Clericorum caterva/Inclita stripe regia* (RTB I, AllTr 2) and *Sit deo patri nato* (RTB I, AllTr 8).

Several mass tropes appear for the first time in manuscripts from the Utraquist milieu and it is, therefore, possible to attribute to them an Utraquist origin. Although the configuration of these tropes differs in each of the three manuscripts (the Franus Kancionál, the Gradual of Martin Bachelor of Vyskytná, and the Kutná Hora Gradual – see Tab. 1), they have in common their orientation toward models that suggest the composition of countrafacta, and the use of the same technique of interpolation of melismatic chants. For instance, the trope *Virgo ante et post* (RTB I, GrTr 4) to the verse of the Marian gradual *Benedicta et venerabilis* was created in this manner. An analogous trope *Virgo casta, nobis asta* (RTB I, GrTr 5) is first recorded in the Franus Kancionál as a possible (substantially shorter) alternative immediately after the troped verse of the gradual *Benedicta et venerabilis*, and it found its way also into the *sub una* milieu.[12] A continuing living practice was the formation of new countrafacta on the famous late-medieval Marian offertorium *Recordare, virgo mater* and its strophic trope *Ab hac familia*. The Franus Kancionál contains the only hitherto known occurrence of the trope *Audi supremum regem* (RTB I, OffTr1), which is here placed at the offertory *Recordare, virgo mater* after the trope *Ab hac familia* as "*alius trophus.*" A singular record of a new countrafacta can be found also in the Gradual of Martin Bachelor of Vyskytná: the trope *A tuis famulis* (RTB I, OffTr 3) is in this manuscript a part of the newly created offertory *Recordare, Iesu Christe*, which is earmarked for the mass of the Holy Cross.

Special attention and explanation should be given to both tropes for the tractus. A characteristic feature of the Utraquist repertory was the introduction of troped chants into the Lenten period, which otherwise – with rare exceptions – eluded this type of "ornamentation" of liturgical chants.[13] The Lenten liturgy, the content of which was above all restrained penance and examination of consciences, thus gained a new dimension: the choral repertory, which had been created in the spirit of sobriety without elements of celebratory character, henceforth came close to the chants typical for the major feasts of the liturgical year. Troped chants could be found in the votive masses of the Lenten period, which were particularly cherished by the Utraquists. The placing of the thrust of the individual votives masses into the cycle of the week, and especially the configuration of the repertory for individual days, either vacillates in the Utraquist manuscripts, or it cannot be reconstructed because of defective data in the manuscripts. Their synoptic enumeration is given in the Kutná Hora Gradual on ff. 121ᵛ–142ᵛ (see also Appendix 1).
Votive masses are distributed as follows:

- Monday (*feria ii*) was dedicated to the Virgin Mary with reference to the repertory for Marian votive masses on Saturday;

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[12] The trope is recorded in three manuscripts of Hungarian origin from the early sixteenth century; see Janka Szendrei, "Tropenbestand der ungarischen Handschriften," *Cantus Planus* [Papers read at the Third Meeting of the International Musicological Society Study Group *Cantus Planus*, Tihany, Hungary, 19-24 September 1988] (Budapest 1990) 297-325; the trope is also recorded in the Plzeň Gradual from 1527 (PrM XII A 23).

[13] As an exception in the Lenten period, we find for instance the troping of offertory verses, as in the Gradual of Arnošt of Pardubice, in which the trope *Deus auditor meus* (RTB I, OffTr 7) is recorded at the offertorium *Iusticie domini*, earmarked for the Third Sunday in Lent.

- Tuesday (*feria iii*) was dedicated to the Holy Angels with reference to the mass officium *Benedicite domino*, sung for the feast of Michael the Archangel on 29 September (in the manuscript on ff. 109^v-111^{v}[14]).

- Wednesday (*feria iiii*) was dedicated to the Holy Spirit with the mass office *Dum sanctificatus fuero* and the selection of two tracts, the second of which (*Emitte spiritum*) is adorned by the trope *Suspirant mentes*;

- Thursday (*feria v*): the mass for Corpus Christi was prescribed, and it was introduced by the processional antiphon *Melchisedech rex Salem* with the trope *Rex Christe primogenite;*

- Friday (*feria vi*): the Passion of Christ was commemorated with the office *Nos autem gloriari*;

- Saturday (*Sabbato*) was dedicated to the Virgin Mary (just as in the Roman Church during the entire course of the Middle Ages). The repertory, on which also the Marian votive mass for Monday drew, was particularly extensive: it included, inter alia, the gradual *Benedicta et venerabilis* with the troped verse *Virgo ante et post*, troped tractus *Laus tibi, Christe*, offertorium *Recordare, virgo mater* with the trope *Ab hac familia*, and finally two chants Alleluia with song interpolations *Ave, benedicta Maria: O Maria, celi via* and *Ave, mater Christi: Ave, domina*, which apparently – like other Alleluia chants – were not used during the Pre-Lenten and Lenten periods.[15]

According to the above overview, troped chants could be inserted during Lent into four of the six votive masses. This fact does not betray merely an accidental

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[14] The office is configured thus: intr *Benedicite Domino* (GT 607-608), gr *Benedicite Domino* (GT 608-609), all *Concissum est mare* (*Liber usualis missaeet officii* [Paris, Tournai, Rome, 1946]1655-56), off *Stetit angelus* (GT 610), co *Benedicite Domino* (GT 610-611).

[15] For comparative purposes, it is possible to consider the data for votive masses in the Franus Kancionál: The weekly cycle of votive masses for the Pre-Lenten and the Lenten period is not here described in a systematic way (as in the Kutnohorský Gradual), and also their repertory is scattered in various places in the manuscript. The mass propers for the Holy Spirit and Corpus Christi are located in the section of proprium de tempore (after the feast of Corpus Christi) and moreover without an introductory rubric that would explain their function. This can be inferred from the fact that both masses also include the chant of the tractus. *Officium de Sancto spiritu* (70^v-71^v) has the following configuration: gr *Dum sanctificatu*, gr *Beata gens*, trac *Emitte spiritum*, Tr. *Suspirant mentes*, trac *Laudate dominum*. Hence, in comparison with the Kutnohorský Gradual, it lacks the offertorium *Emitte spiritum tuum*. *Officium de Corpore Christi* consists of the following parts: in *Panem de celo*, gr *Caro mea*, trac *Caro mea*, off *Celeste sacrificium*, co *Ave, salutis hostia*. Hence, in comparison with the Kutnohorský Gradual, on the one hand, the office is furnished with the chant of the communion. That is consistently left out from the votive masses of the Kutnohorský Gradual, evidently with the idea of allowing insertion in this place the singing of a liturgical song. On the other hand, the offertory lacks the introductory processional antiphon *Melchisedech rex*. The Franus Kancionál apparently adopted the repertory for the votive mass for Friday from the formulary for the feast of the Holy Cross (ff. 77^r-83^r), which in addition to the customary repertory (in *Nos autem gloriari*, gr *Christus factus est*, all *Dulce lignum*, seq *Laudes crucis attolamus*, off *Protege Domine*, co *Nos autem*, see also GT 598-600) in this manuscript also includes the tract *Dixerunt impii* instead of the offertory *O crux gloriosa* with the trope *Per te namque*. The chants for the Marian votive mass probably could be lifted out of the section *Commune de BMV* (ff. 99^r-114^r). The troped tract *Laus tibi, Christe*, however, is recorded only in the addenda at the end of the manuscript (ff. 303^v-304^v) with the title *Tractus de beata virgine tempore quadragesimali*. The rubrics of the Franus Kancionál do not mention the Tuesday votive mass to the Holy Angels.

occurrence, but rather a conscious, nay intentional, flaunting of something that had traditionally been liturgically "taboo". Moreover, an examination of other manuscripts shows that this liturgical practice could be locally expanded in a freelance fashion. While the votive mass of the Holy Cross consists of chants without tropes in the Kutná Hora Gradual, it was already noted that the Gradual of Martin Bachelor of Vyskytná introduces the (otherwise unknown) troped offertory *Recordare, Iesu Christe*. The Franus Kancionál adds the (again otherwise unknown) chant *O crux gloriosa* with the trope *Per te namque* into the mass repertory for the feast of the Holy Cross (ff. 77ʳ-83ʳ), which was most likely also used for the votive mass on Friday.

Considering the above, we are less startled by the emergence of an anomalous form, such as the troped tract. Two of them are known from the late medieval choral practice of the Utraquists. One of them, the troped tract for the Marian votive mass *Laus tibi, Christe* took root among the *sub una* as well, and not in Bohemia alone, but also abroad.[16] The other, tract *Emitte spiritum* with the trope *Suspirant mentes* was designed for the votive mass of the Holy Spirit, and its usage apparently did not transcend the Utraquist ambiance. In the mass repertory, these chants played the role of the narrative element, which was normally reserved for the sequences in the major feasts of the liturgical year. In particular, the trope *Suspirant mentes*, composed in the style of a strophic prosula with eight Leonine hexameters (see textual Supplement no. 2), resembles the style of sequences also in its melody; as is typical for the sequences, verses regularly end in cadenzas,[17] and the virtually consistent syllabic substrate of the text – one syllable carries only one note – is characteristic of the sequences' melodies. With the text a complete prayer in verse and the melody a discreet unit, the trope *Suspirant mentes* can be considered an independent chant. It is not connected with the tract as such either textually or musically, which is a condition highly atypical for the normal functioning of tropes in general. Its identity as a trope is confirmed by its location inside the chant between the first and second verse, and in the final analysis by the rubric in some of the manuscripts, which designate it as such. For instance, *Suspirant mentes* is called a *Trophus* in the Gradual of Martin Bachelor of Vyskytná (PrM XIII A 2) from 1512.

The troped Marian tract *Laus tibi, Christe* has a completely different character (see textual Supplement no. 2). It consists of insertions–textations of melismatic segments within the melody of the tract, which vary in length (from a single word to several lines), and they embroider the text of the chant's main body, using an unprepossessing vocabulary (for instance, O VIRGO gloriosa, or mater graciosa), or they imitate the sound of the immediately preceding segments of the text (for instance, IN HAC DIE – cottidie, or IUVAMEN, alamen, solamen, etc.). This technique of composition, the roots of which should undoubtedly be sought in the academic milieu, flourished in the late Middle Ages on the territory of Central Europe (with a *Schwerpunkt* in Bohemia and southern Germany), and affected mainly the

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[16] The tract *Laus tibi, Christe* is recorded, for instance, in the so-called Sedlecký Gradual from the late fifteenth century PrN XIII A 5c (see RTB I) and in several sources of Hungarian provenance; see Szendrei, *Tropenbestand der ungarischen Handschriften* 297-321.

[17] The first, second and fourth bi-strophes end on a final tone (tract and trope move in the G-mode) with cadenza f̲-g̲-g̲; the third bi-strophe culminates in the confinalis with the cadenza c̲'-d̲'-d̲'.

repertory of late Alleluia chants, Marian antiphons,[18] and the tropes of the ordinary of the mass. Its application to the chant of the tract is most unusual because it shifts the entire chant into the realm of uninhibited playfulness, which is otherwise alien to the liturgical repertory of Lent. Above all, this Marian tract differs in this regard from the troped tract *Emitte spiritum* for the feast of the Holy Spirit, the sombre tone of which (whether textual or musical) remained unruffled by the insertion of the trope.

The configuration of the chants for the Thursday votive mass dedicated to Corpus Christi reflects another specific phenomenon of Utraquist liturgy, whereby a trope from outside the mass milieu is transferred into the immediate mass context by means of the processional antiphon *Melchisedech rex* with the trope *Rex Christe primogenite*. The antiphon introduces a set of chants, prescribed for this votive mass (see the textual Supplement no. 3 and the note Supplement no.1).[19] The late origin of this chant is indicated by the text of the antiphon gravitating to a regular structure, by the course of the melody line (F-modus, quintal and octave leaps, etc., favoured during the late Middle Ages), and last but not least by the motive of the sacrifice of body and blood in the tradition of the Old Testament.[20] The trope *Rex Christe primogenite* itself, however, draws – at least musically – on older material, and adopts the melody of the old trope *Triumphat Dei filius*, which was a part of the antiphon *Cum rex glorie* for the Easter Vigil.[21] A similar textual and musical character marks the chant *O crux gloriosa* with the trope *Per te namque* (see Musical Example 2) in the Franus Kancionál which – as noted earlier – was neither previously recorded, nor was its precise contextualisation as yet established.[22] In the ensemble of the mass repertory, this chant is recorded between the offertory *Protege, Domine* and the communion *Nos autem*, without a rubric that would specify its function. Considering that the *O crux gloriosa* flows musically in the same D mode as *Protege, Domine*, it could be interpreted as a newly added verse to the preceding offertory.[23] I incline to the alternate solution that it is a matter of an independent chant that might be sung in place of the offertory, or – just like *Melchisedech* – function as a processional chant within the framework of the votive mass. The trope *Per te namque* syntactically represents an insertion between two parts of the text *O crux*

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[18] See, for instance, Roman Hankeln, "Eine Teegernseer (?) Handschrift des 15. Jahrhunderts im europäischen Kontext. Zu Zusammensetzung und Stil des Repertoires von D-Mbs cgm 716," in *Miscellanea musicologica* 37 (2003) 111-131.

[19] Here I want to avoid the question of the precise locus of this chant: whether at the conclusion of a procession before the mass, or as an accompaniment for a procession within the mass.

[20] The representative list of the repertory of the liturgy of the hours for Prague diocese lacks this antiphon; see *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*: *Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae* III/A PRAHA (Temporale), ed. Zsuzsa Czagány (Budapest, 1996).

[21] See, for instance, the Gradual of Arnošt of Pardubice ff. 305r-307r. The melody of the trope *Triumphat Dei filius* appears in the most varied contexts (often, for instance, as the trope for the Kyrie) exactly in the late monodic tradition, especially in the Czech-language Utraquist liturgy.

[22] A responsory with the same incipit (*O crux gloriosa* with the verse *Mihi autem absit*) is included in the Prague Breviary in the Matins for the feast of the Exultation of the Holy Cross; see *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii*: *Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae* III/B PRAHA (Sanctorale, Commune Sanctorum), ed. Zsuzsa Czagány (Budapest, 2002) 149, no. 5.0914.0300.

[23] Jiří Žůrek offers this solution in his index to the repertory of Franus Kancionál, prepared as a part of the project *Ave musica.* In this place, I would like to thank the author for letting me use this valuable reference work. – The chant *Protege, Domine* is composed in D mode; *O crux gloriosa* in transposed D-mode with a finalis in a̲.

gloriosa, and in this case does not musically draw on outside material, but it adopts the concluding melody of the chant above the invocation Alleluia.

The tropes of the mass proper are but a small sample of the extensive ensemble of monodic liturgical chants in Utraquist graduals. Thanks to their specific function, however, these tropes afford a unique insight into the targeted formation of the modified liturgy of the Utraquist church as a partial expression of its search for a place within the contemporary ecclesial ambiance. Just as they did not passively adopt in theology the world of older ideas, so also the Utraquists did not hesitate to actively intervene into the configuration of the liturgical repertory. The result was a complex of liturgical chants, which in a unique way intertwined two diverse strands: an intentional turn to the chants of the earliest period on the one hand, and on the other an uninhibited attitude toward certain standing rules that was expressed in experimentation with the traditional forms, or with an introduction of these forms into novel contexts.

[Translated from the Czech by Zdeněk V. David.]

APPENDIX I

VOTIVE MASSES AND THEIR REPERTOIRE IN THE KUTNÁ HORA GRADUAL: VIENNA _NB 15501

121v		*In lxx ferialis diebus officia.*	
		Feria ii de domina Salve sancta*, quere post.*	
		Feria iii de Angelis sanctis Benedicite Dominum *per totum, quere ante*.	
		Feria iiii de Sancto Spiritu.	
121v-122r	intr	Dum sanctificatus fuero	
122r-122v	gr	Beata gens	
122v-123r	trac	Laudate Dominum omnes gentes	
		Alius tractus	
123r-124r	trac	Emitte spiritum tuum – Tr. Suspirant mentes	←
124r	off	Emitte spiritum tuum	
124r		*Feria quinta officium de Corpore Christi in lxx. Sequitur antiphona*	
124v-125v	ant^P	Melchisedech rex Salem – Tr. Rex Christe primogenite	←
125v-126r	intr	Panem de celo	
126r-126v	gr	Caro mea vere est cibus	
126v-127r	trac	Caro mea vere est cibus	
127r-127v	off	Celeste sacrificium	
127v		*Feria vi de passione domini*	
127v-128r	intr	Nos autem gloriari	
128r-128v	gr	Christus factus est pro nobis	
128v-129r	trac	Laudate Dominum omnes gentes	
129r-129v	off	Dextera Domini fecit	
129v		*Sabbato de domina antiphona*	
129v-130r	ant	Gaude, Dei genitrix	
130r	intr	Salve, sancta parens	
130v-131r	gr	Benedicta et venerabilis es	
131r		*Vel cum tropho iste versus*	
131r-131v	grV	Tr. Virgo ante et post partum	←
131v-132v	trac	Audi Maria et vide	
132v-133v	trac	Ave, virgo dei Maria	
133v-134v	trac	Laus tibi, Christe – Tr. Fili Marie	←
134v-135r	all	Alleluia Post partum virgo	
135r-135v	all	Alleluia Subveni mater pia	
135v	all	Alleluia Felix es, sacra virgo	
135v-136r	all	Alleluia Salve, virga florens	
136r-136v	all	Alleluia Virga yesse floruit	
136v-137r	all	Alleluia Sancta dei genitrix	
137r-137v	all	Alleluia Imperatrix egregia	
137v-138r	all	Alleluia Ave, sancta Maria	
138r	all	Alleluia Ave, plena gracia	
138r-138v	all	Alleluia Benedicta es, Maria	
138v-139r	all	Alleluia Dulcis mater dulci nato	
139r-139v	all	Alleluia Ave, benedicta Maria – Tr. O Maria, celi via	←
139v-140r	all	Alleluia O consolatrix pauperum	
140r-141v	all	Alleluia Ave, mater Christi – Tr. Ave, domina	←
141v	off	Felix namque es	
141v-142v	off	Recordare, virgo – Tr. Ab hac familia	←

Appendix IIa:
Trope *Suspirant mentes* on the tract *Emitte spiritum tuum* (RTB I, TraTr 2)

Emitte spiritum tuum et creabuntur

Suspirant mentes   ad te, deus alme, gementes.   [Trope]
Respice nunc flentes   scelerum comissa dolentes.
Ure tuo sacro   nunc flamine corda sub acro.
Iugo sustentans   lapsis tua munera prestans.
Olim sanctorum   mentes qui discipulorum
Pneumate replesti,   vatum dux sic, quam fuisti.
Noxia nunc igne   sacro deterge benigne,
Ut sic exuti   vivamus pectore tuti.

Et renovabis faciem terre et germinabit fructum penitencie.

Appendix IIb :
Troped Tract *Laus tibi, Christe* (RTB I, TraTr 1)

Laus tibi, Christe,
filio Marie, tu nobis assiste,
precamur in hac die
cottidie,
nos pie respice et preces nostras ad te dirige.

O virgo gloriosa,
mater graciosa,
rosa formosa,
stella luminosa,
audi et exaudi
decantantes stantes
teque collaudantes,
Maria, mater omnis gracie.

Adiuva nos, Dei genitrix Maria,
ora pro populo prece pia,
interveni pro clero dans solacia.

Intercede pro devoto femineo sexu toto,
senciant omnes tuum iuvamen,
alamen,
solamen,
sublevamen,
Amen.

APPENDIX IIC:
TROPE *PER TE NAMQUE IESUS CHRISTUS* K ANTIFONU (?) *O CRUX GLORIOSA*

O CRUX GLORIOSA,
O CRUX ADORANDA,
O LIGNUM PRECIOSUM ET ADMIRABILE SIGNUM,

Per te namque Iesus Christus Sathan prostravit,   [Trope]
Per te et patres limbo eliberavit,
Mundum sacer cruor per te rigavit.
Statum in priorem locans salvavit gehennalis,

PER QUOD ET DYABOLUS EST VICTUS
ET MUNDUS CHRISTI SANGWINE REDEMPTUS, ALLELUIA.

APPENDIX IID:
TROPE *REX CHRISTE PRIMOGENITE* K ANTIFONU *MELCHISEDECH REX SALEM*

MELCHISEDECH REX SALEM TYPICE PANEM ET VINUM OBTULIT,
PATRIBUS IN DESERTO MANNA PLUIT.
YSAAC YMMOLATUR,
HELIAS PANE SUB CINERICIO ROBORATUR,
AGNUS PASCHE HIC PANIS CELESTIS DECLARATUR.
O IESU PIE, NOS ISTO PANE DIGNOS EFFICE.
O IESU REX, LEX, DUX CLEMENCIE,
        IN HUIUS PANIS LAUDE NOS REFICE.
O IESU, PATER MISERICORDIE,
        NOS PECCATIS SOLUTOS,
        GRACIA SOLATOS ET SOLIDATOS
        HEREDITATIS PATERNE CONSORDES EXHIBE.

Rex Christe primogenite,   [Trope]
agnelle dei mistice,
virtutum fons, vita,
mundi caro viva.

Divinitatis hostia,
eterni patris victima,
omnium creator,
mundi restaurator.

Tuo nos corpore refice
sacroque sangwine ablue
sordes nostre culpe,
Iesu Christe.

TABLE I: TROPES OF MASS PROPERS IN SELECTED MANUSCRIPTS OF UTRAQUIST PROVENANCE FROM THE END
OF THE FIFTEENTH AND THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURIES

Trope	Native Chant	K	Litoměřice	HK II A 6	PrM XIII A 2	Wi 1
Trope to the introit						
Gregorius presul meritis	Ad te levavi	Yes	x[1]			
Tropes to the gradual						
Virgo ante et post	Benedicta et venerabilis	Yes		x		x
Virgo casta nobis	Benedicta et venerabilis	Yes		x		
Tropes to the alleluia*						
Clericorum caterva/Inclita	Prophete sancti	Yes		x	x	x
Iam redeunt gaudia	Pascha nostrum	(Yes)		x	x	
Sit deo patri nato	Post partum, virgo	Yes		x		
Tropes to the tract						
In hac die cottidie	Laus tibi, Christe	No		x		x
Suspirant mentes	Emitte spiritum	No		x	x	x
Tropes to the offertory						
A tuis famulis	Recordare, Iesu Christe	No			x	
Ab hac familia	Recordare, virgo mater	Yes	x	x	x	x
Audi supremum	Recordare, virgo mater	No		x		
Ave, salus Christianorum	Sacerdotes incensum	Yes	x	x		x

Key:
K: trope exists also in the *sub una* tradition; **RTB**: reference to edition *Repertorium Troporum Bohemiae Medii Aevi*, v. I
Dom I Adv: Dominica prima in Adventu Domini; **Res**: Dominica Resurrectionis; **VotSSp**: Missa votiva de Sancto Spiritu; **S. Crux**: Fustum sanctae Crucis; **CX**: Corpus Christi

x[1]: and also additional manuscripts see: Barry GRAHAM, *The Litoměřice Gradual*, 1 No. 1
*: Interpolations of alleluia verses with strophic chants are not included.

Musical Example 1

"Kutnohorský graduál" Wi 15501, ff. 124v–125v

Mel - chi - se - dech, rex Sa - lem, ty - pi - ce pa - nem

et vi - num ob - tu - lit, pa - tri - bus in de - ser - to man - na

plu - it. Y - sa - ac ym - mo - la - tur, He - li - as pa - ne

sub ci - ne - ri - ci - o ro - bo - ra - tur, ag - nus pa - sche

hic pa - nis ce - les - tis de - cla - re - tur. O Ie - su

pi - e, nos i - sto pa - ne dig - nos ef - fi - ce. O

Ie - su rex, lex, dux cle - men - ci - e, in hu - ius pa - nis lau - de nos

re - fi - ce. O Ie - su, pa - ter mi - se - ri - cor - di - e,

nos pec - ca - tis so - lu - tos, gra - ci - a so - la - tos et so - li da - tos

he - re - di - ta - tis pa - ter - ne con - sor - tes ex - hi - be.

Rex Chris - te pri - mo - ge - ni - te, ag - ne - le de - i mi - sti - ce, vir - tu - tum

fons, vi - ta, mun - di ca - ro vi - va, di - vi - ni - ta - tis hos - ti - a,

e - ter - ne pa - tris vic - ti - ma, om - ni - um cre - a - tor, mun - di re - stau -

ra - tor. Tu - o nos cor - po - re re - fi - ce sa - cro - que san - gwi - ne

ab - lu - e sor - dis nos - tre cul - pe, Ie - su Chri - ste.

Musical Example 2

"Franus" Kancionál, HK II A 6, ff. 82v–83r

O crux glo - ri - o - sa, o crux ad - o - ran - da,

o lig - num pre - ci - o - sum et ad - mi - ra -

bi - le sig - num, Per te nam - que Ie - sus Chri - stus Sa - than pro - stra - vit,

Pet te et pa - tres de lim - bo e - li - be - ra - vit. Mun - dum sa - cer cru - or

per te ri - ga - vit. Sta - tum in pri - o - rem lo - cans sal - va - vit

ge - hen - na - lis, Per quod et dy - a - bo - lus est vi - ctus

et mun - dus Chri - sti san - gwi - ne re - demp - tus,

al - le -

lu - ia.