
A Little Known Utraquist Gradual in the British Library in London

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Due to a great variety of circumstances, only a minority of the musical manuscripts that were intended for the use of literary brotherhoods (*literátská bratrstva*) survive from the period before the Battle of the White Mountain. Most of the extant manuscripts are at present deposited in the collections of state libraries, museums, and galleries in the Czech Republic. Several richly illuminated musical manuscripts found their way into the collections of the Austrian National Library in Vienna and a few found their way under hitherto obscure circumstances as far as the Romanian library in Alba Iulia and the British Library in London. In addition, many hitherto unknown musical manuscripts often appear in American auction catalogues.

Děvana Pavlíková, the Curator of Czech and Slovak collections in the British Library, provided in 1991 in a survey study information about Czech manuscripts and books which are held by the Library.¹ Among the manuscripts, the author lists an illuminated choral manuscript from 1570.² Probably for the first time, she identifies it as having belonged to the Literary Brotherhood at the Týn Church in the Old Town of Prague. Due to the character of her study, she, of course, does not probe the manuscript further. The same author published in 2012 another study, which is devoted to one of the illuminations in the gradual, which depicts an elephant.³

A reproduction of a folio with a Czech trope from the Gradual of Sixt of Ottersdorf had already appeared in 1892 in a French corpus of musical paleography.⁴ The manuscript is mentioned in a brief note in a study from 1921 by Amédée Gastoué about Gregorian chant, published in the journal

¹ Děvana Pavlíková, "Československá sbírka v Knihovně britského muzea" (Czechoslovak Collection in the Library of the British Museum), *Čtenář* 43, 8–9 (1991) 297–301.

² Pavlíková, "Československá," 301; The Gradual of Sixt of Ottersdorf, London: British Library, sign. Add. 16.175. See also *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years MDCCCXLVI–MDCCCXLVII* (1864) 159.

³ Děvana Pavlíková, "Pražské kratochvíle 16. století: nejen kuželky, ale i živý slon" (Shrovetide Entertainments in Prague in the Sixteenth Century: Not Just Skittles but Also a Live Elephant), *Sborník Národního muzea v Praze* 57, Řada C – Literární historie (2012) 113–116.

⁴ *Paléographie musicale. Les principaux manuscrits de chant grégorien, ambrosien, mozarabe, gallican publiés en fac-similés photographiques* 3 (Solesmes, 1889), pl. 152, 153.

*Cyrl.*⁵ The illuminated musical manuscript is mentioned in musicological literature with an inventoried tripartite gradual of Sixt of Ottersdorf that was furnished for the use of the Literary Brotherhood at the Týn Church in the Old Town.⁶ The manuscript is thus cited under the title Gradual of Sixt of Ottersdorf, who is the author of the memorial note in the gradual. Jaroslava Kašparová mentions the manuscript in connection with Sixt of Ottersdorf's private library and erroneously assumes that the gradual was a part of Sixt's library.⁷ Barry F. H. Graham also paid attention to the gradual in connection with Jan Táborský of Klokotská Hora.⁸ The same author included the Gradual of Sixt of Ottersdorf in the catalogue of his controversial publication about Bohemian and Moravian graduals.⁹ In the relevant catalogue entry, the author cites with a series of errors the memorial note from 1674 and lists the contents of the manuscript. He also mentions the preface by Sixt of Ottersdorf and the characteristic monograms SZO (Sixt of Ottersdorf) and IT (Jan Táborský of Klokotská Hora) in the incipits of several chants. Graham assumes that the original provenance of the manuscript is unknown.

The illuminated Gradual of Sixt of Ottersdorf found its way in the holdings of the British Library in 1846 from Foster's auction house, as indicated by a note on f. II^r, "*Purchased at Foster's sale-room 21st July 1846*". It is not clear how the manuscript became part of the auction or who mediated its sale. The memorial note on f. 4^r, dated 1674, indicates that the manuscript still belonged to the Týn Literary Brotherhood towards the end of the seventeenth century.

The manuscript was identified as the property of the Týn Literary Brotherhood in the inventory of the Czech manuscripts of the Brotherhood

⁵ Amédée Gastoué, "Zpěv řehořský a zpěv český" (Gregorian and Bohemian chant), *Cyrl. Časopis pro katolickou hudbu posvátnou v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku* 47 (1921) 6–7.

⁶ Michal Šroněk, Jiří Roháček, and Petr Daněk, "Václav Trubka z Roviny—studie o měšťanském mecenátu v rudolfínské Praze" (Václav Trubka of Roviny, a Study of Burgher Philanthropy in Rudolphine Prague), *Umění* 47 (1999), 308 n. 50; Jan Baťa, *Literátské bratrstvo u Matky Boží před Týnem v Praze v letech 1550–1627* (The Literary Brotherhood at Our Lady before Týn in Prague in the years 1550–1627) (Seminar Paper), Institute of Musicology, Charles University, Faculty of Arts (Prague, 2000) 25; Idem, *Literátské bratrstvo u Matky Boží před Týnem v letech 1550–1627. Příspěvek k poznání hudebního života Prahy na přelomu 16. a 17. století*, (Literary Brotherhood at the Týn Church in Prague in 1550–1627; a Contribution Concerning the Musical Life in Prague at the Turn of the Sixteenth Century), in *Miscellanea z výročních konferencí ČSHV 1999 a 2000* (Prague, 2001) 9–13.

⁷ Jaroslava Kašparová, "Příspěvek k rekonstrukci osobních knihoven humanistů předbělohorského období" [A contribution to the reconstruction of the personal libraries of humanists during the period before the White Mountain], *Miscellanea oddělení rukopisů a starých tisků* 8 (1991) 165.

⁸ Barry Frederic H. Graham, "Three More Jan Táborský Graduals," *StR* 33 (2000) 229–245.

⁹ Barry Frederic H. Graham, *Bohemian and Moravian Graduals 1420–1620* (Turnhout, 2006) 260–263, cat. nr. 39. See also Martina Šárovcová, "Barry Frederic H. Graham, Bohemian and Moravian Graduals 1420–1620" (review), *Umění* 56 (2008) 81–84.

in 1673, the author of which was Daniel Ignatius Mrázek. The inventory is recorded in the book of registers of the Týn church fabric (*záduší*).¹⁰ The registers also contain an older inventory of printed and manuscript compositions and musical instruments, dated 1644. The older inventory records the number of the individual manuscripts and prints (graduals, kancionáls, antiphonaries, psalters, and part books), but does not identify their specific contents unlike the more recent inventory. Both inventories attest that, in the post-White Mountain period, the Literary Brotherhoods copiously used older musical manuscripts and prints. These inventories indicate the extent of pre-White Mountain collections of musical manuscripts and prints of individual Literary Brotherhoods. In comparison with the inventoried number of several dozens of manuscripts and prints, only a very small part was preserved from the holdings of the Týn Literary Brotherhood.¹¹ Regrettably, only a few extant manuscripts (scattered in diverse collections) can be linked in their provenance with the foremost Utraquist church of the pre-White Mountain era. The disbursal of the Týn manuscripts probably occurred in connection with the suppression of the brotherhoods in the late eighteenth century.

The inventory from 1673 records a shabby old book written on paper in 1571, which contained Czech introits, kyries, and alleluias. If we disregard the dating, this record corresponds with the London gradual. The second part of the manuscript, also written on paper in 1571, contained (according to the inventory) sequences, credos and sanctuses. This second part of the gradual remains unknown. The inventory note of a bipartite gradual corresponds with the previously mentioned memorial record on f. 4^r, which mentions the first and the second part of the gradual with an identical listing of their contents.¹² The inventory lists as a third part a paper kancionál with

¹⁰ *Registra ku potřebě věcí potřebných nejsv. Rodičky Boží Panny Marie, Matky Boží před Tejnem v Starém Městě pražském... od Daniele Ignatia Mrázka, měštěnína a kantora školy tejský* (Registers for the Use of Useful Matters of the Most Holy Mother of God the Virgin Mary, at the Church of the Mother of God before Týn in the Old Town of Prague... by Daniel Ignatius Mrázek, a Burgher and Teacher in the Týn School), MS. Prague, City Archives, 1641, f. 52^r. Cited by Emilián Trola, "Česká církevní hudba v období generalbasovém II (1639 – 1648)" (Czech Ecclesiastical Music in the Generalbass Period), *Cyril. Časopis pro katolickou hudbu posvátnou v Čechách, na Moravě a ve Slezsku* 60 (1934) 75; Baťa, *Literátské...* (Seminar Paper) 17–19. Concerning Daniel Ignatius Mrázek, see Jan Baťa, "Inventář hudebnin Daniela Ignatia Mrázka (c. 1600–1667) – kantora u Matky Boží před Týnem (biografický příspěvek k poznání pražské hudební kultury období baroka)" [The Inventory of Musicalities of Daniel Ignatius Mrázek (c. 1600 – 1667), a Teacher at Church of the Mother of God before Týn (Biographical contribution to the Study of Prague Musical Culture of the Baroque Period)], in *Opus musicum* 35 (2003) 10–12.

¹¹ The Křižovnický Gradual was in earlier literature erroneously considered to be a property of the Týn Literary Brotherhood. See Martina Kratochvílová [Šárovcová], "K provenienci Staroměstského a Křižovnického graduálu" [The Provenance of the Old Town and the Křižovnický Gradual] *Umění* 53 (2005) 323–334.

¹² F. 4^r: "Tato kniha neb graduale, v nichž jsou introity, kyrie et in terra a alleluya, v druhý jsou prozy, Patrem a Sanctus, ty v nově přehlídnauté a neb vidimírované jsou o poručení

the songs of Sixt of Ottersdorf. This kancionál is the manuscript that is in the holdings of the National Library in Prague, whither it was transferred from the former Lobkovic Library in Prague.¹³ The kancionál is furnished with a memorial note, which verifies the Týn provenance of the manuscript and states that this manuscript is a third part of a musical set. The kancionál was created by Sixt of Ottersdorf at the expense of the Old Town widow Anna Dvorská.¹⁴ The manuscript contains chants for individual parts of the mass and songs for various purposes. Some songs have their own melodies, while others utilise common melodies. Several places contain – with the incipits of the songs – monograms that designate the authorship of the texts of the songs.¹⁵ The illumination of the manuscript remained largely unfinished. The only illuminated folio is f. FI^r with the incipit *Pane Bože milosrdný* (Lord God Merciful) with the depiction of the Most Holy Trinity with a kneeling

P. Pana arcibiskupa pražského /titul/ neb jsme je museli dodati do velebné konsistoře a odtud k Jesuovitům velebnému panu páteru Climentovi, mající sobě on to k přehlídnutí poručeno, od prvního listu až do posledního jest přehlídl neb se v nich mnoho nacházelo. Co se nesrovnávalo s církví svatou katolickau římskau, to, co odporného bylo, vyřezal, a toto zase na velikau prosbu literatův tehdejších navrátil, jsau napomenutím, kdeby se ještě jaký eror s církví svatú katolickau římskau nesrovnával, aby sobě to, dobrotivý čtenář neb literák na zlaou stranu nevykládal, že se to proto stalo, aby se při počátku neb konci jiné písně začátek nevytrhl neb nezkažil, 18 July, anno domini 1674". [This book or Gradual, in which there are introits, kyries et in terra [glorias] and alleluias; in the second one there are prose, credo and sanctus, these are newly reviewed or revised at the command of the Lord Archbishop of Prague [title]; thus we had to deliver them to the reverend consistory and from there to the Jesuits to the Reverend Lord, Father Clement, having been commanded to review everything from first to the last page because much was to be found in them. He was to excise what did not conform with the Holy Catholic Roman Church, what was repugnant; and – at the great intercession of contemporary choristers – he returned it [the book] with an admonition that – if there still remained some error which did not conform with the Holy Catholic Roman Church – the good reader or chorister should not hold it against him; it happened so that he would not tear out or spoil the beginning or the end of another <i.e. unobjectionable> song].

¹³ The Kancionál of Sixt of Ottersdorf, MS. Prague, National Library XXIII B 8 (the original Lobkovic Ms. 578), dated 1578.

¹⁴ F. 1^r: „*Tomus tertius. To jest díl třetí písní a chval božských každodenních, kteréž se v shromáždění církevním dne každého mohou zpívati, sebrány od Syxta z Otrstorfu na náklad poctivé vdovy Anny Dvorské a k kostelu Panny Marie před Tajnem v Starém Městě pražském oddané, aby od pobožných lidí za vochranu i za jiná nesmírná dobrodiní božská čest a chvála pánu Bohu stvořiteli všech věcí i Synu jeho milému pánu Jezu Kristu spasiteli a vykupiteli, i Duchu svatému utěšiteli našemu mohla vzdávati bývati. Unum necessarium 1578*”. [Tomus tertius. That is the third part of the daily divine songs and praises, which can be sung in the ecclesiastical gathering of every day, collected by Sixt of Ottersdorf at the expense of the honest widow Anna Dvorská, and presented to the Church of Our Lady before Týn, so that pious people could give thanks – for the protection and for other immense benefactions – to the Lord God, Creator of all things, and to his Son, our dear Lord Jesus Christ, Saviour and Redeemer, and to the Holy Spirit, our Comforter. Unum necessarium 1578.]. On the blind-stamped leather cover, there is placed a majuscule text “*TRZETI DIL CHVAL BOZSKY[CH]*” [the third part of divine praises].

¹⁵ Baťa, “Literátské...” (Seminar Paper), 25–26.

donor with an inscription “*Adam Tolarz 1578*” on a stone. Other inventoried Czech manuscripts include a bipartite kancionál and antiphonary written by Sixt of Otterdorf, as well as Advent matins and an eight-voice set of mass offices bound in 1605.¹⁶ Only one musical book (*Quinta vox*) has survived from the set, the expense of which was shared by Karel Trubka of Roviny and his son Václav.¹⁷ The illuminations of the codex include a border illumination and a heraldic miniature, which is complemented by a Latin celebratory poem. Moreover, the collections of the Museum of the Capital City of Prague contain a missal, the illumination of which dates to the early sixteenth century. The cover of the manuscript is dated and provided with an inscription “*MISALIS FRATERNITATIS LETE CVRIE 1521*” that confirms the Týn provenance of the missal. The manuscript itself is probably older, as indicated by the overall lay-out of the book block and the type of letters.¹⁸

The Gradual of Sixt of Ottersdorf contains Czech monophonic chants with notes: *ordinarium missae, proprium de tempore* (Advent – Corpus Christi), *propium de sanctis* (Conversion of St. Paul – Katherine), *commune sanctorum*, and a mass for the dead. The musical parts of the gradual are preceded by the original index (ff. 1^v–2^r), a memorial entry by Sixt of Ottersdorf from 1570 (f. 3^r), verses with the acrostic forming the name of Jan Táborský of Klokotská Hora (f. 3^v), and a more recent memorial note from 1674 (f. 4^r). The manuscript illustrates the Utraquist repertoire with its inclusion of fragments of chants for the feast of Jan Hus and accented motifs for the reception of the body and blood of Christ.¹⁹ These chants document the veneration of

¹⁶ It is not entirely out of question that the mentioned kancionál could be a manuscript in the collections of the National Museum that contains songs for the summer part of the liturgical year. The authorship of the textual component of several songs is provided with the characteristic monogram SZO that identifies Sixt of Ottersdorf. *Kancionál*, MS. Prague, National Museum I A 16. The *kancionál* is furnished with illuminations. The manuscript originally contained songs for the feast day of Jan Hus that were excised in the post-White Mountain era.

¹⁷ MS. Prague, City Archives 1870, dated: 1598–1605. Jan Baťa, “Quod laudat praesens, omnis mirabitur aetas. Graduál Trubky z Rovin, jeho repertoár a evropský kontext” [The Gradual of Trubka of Roviny – Its Repertoire and European Context], in Jan Baťa, Jiří K. Kroupa, and Lenka Mráčková, eds., *Littera Nigro scripta manet. In honorem Jaromír Černý, Clavis monumentorum musicorum Regni Bohemiae, Series S (Subsidia) II* (Prague, 2009) 126–152.

¹⁸ On the manuscript, see František Beneš, *Misál týnský* [The Týn Missal], PA 9 (1874) 397–406. The author wrongly assumes that the manuscript originates from 1518 to 1521 in the workshop of Jan Táborský of Klokotská Hora. Bohumír Lifka, *Exlibris a supralibros v českých korunních zemích v letech 1000 až 1900* [Exlibris and supralibros in the Bohemian Crown Lands from 1000 to 1900] (Prague, 1982) 57.

¹⁹ We identify the manuscript as a Utraquist one, considering the use of the vernacular (Czech), the selection of texts, the inclusion of the feast day of Jan Hus and on the basis of external signs (memorial notes, identification of the patrons, etc.). For the determination of Utraquist sources from the musical viewpoint, see also Jitka Snížková, “Vícehlásé hudební památky našeho kraje ze 16. stol. (kancionál rychnovský a solnický),” [Polyphonic Musical Items from Our Region from the Sixteenth Century (the kancionál of Rychnov and Solnice)], *Orlické hory a Podorlicko. Sborník vlastivědných prací. Přírodou, dějinami, současností* 2 (1969) 9.

Hus's memory in the second half of the sixteenth century.²⁰ In the Post-White Mountain era the manuscript was censored from the theological point of view, and the folia with songs for the feast of Jan Hus were torn from the codex and the relevant incipits scratched out from the index.²¹ Likewise several of the passages stressing the reception of the body and blood of Christ were blackened out. A memorial note from 1674 mentions the "purging" of the manuscript. It states that both parts of the gradual were re-examined and that – what did not agree with the Roman Catholic faith – was removed.

The gradual is provided with a memorial note on f. 3^r, [Fig. 1] which notes that the collection of *una voce* Czech chants in the gradual were collected at the expense of the important humanist Sixt of Ottersdorf for the praise of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.²² The author of the memorial inscription was Sixt of Ottersdorf, as is indicated by the concluding Latin personal motto *Unum necessarium*. Sixt's motto appears also on his memorial medal. The memorial note concludes with Sixt's coat-of-arms in a laureated medal and with the inscription "*SYXT OTTERSSTORFV*".²³ Sixt's coat-of-arms is

²⁰ Concerning musical and liturgical examples of the veneration of Jan Hus, see also František M. Bartoš, *Mistr Jan Hus v bohoslužbě a úctě církve podobojí* [Master Jan Hus in the liturgy and veneration of the Utraquist Church] (Prague, 1924); Jana Fojtíková, "Hudební doklady Husova kultu z 15. a 16. století. Příspěvek ke studiu husitské tradice v době předbělohorské" [Musical Documents of Hus's Cult in the Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries. Contribution to the Study of the Hussite Tradition in the Pre-White Mountain Era], *Miscellanea musicologica* XXIX (1981), 51–142; David R. Holeton, "'O felix Bohemia – O felix Constantia': the Liturgical Commemoration of Saint Jan Hus," *HENC* 385–403; Idem, "Oslava Jana Husa v životě církve" [Celebration of Jan Hus in the Life of the Church], *HT Supplementum* 1 (2001) 83–111.

²¹ The incipit of the Kyrie for the feast of Jan Hus was torn out of the manuscript, but the second part of the Kyrie is preserved. The proper for the feast of Jan Hus, recorded on original ff. 347–350, was torn out including the proper for St. Procopius immediately following. On f. 325 (originally f. 351) it is possible to identify as a conclusion of Hus's office the running head that was marked by the title about the Czech Martyrs.

²² F. 3^r: "*Pánu Bohu všemohucímu, věčnému a vždýcky od věkův až na věky požehnanému stvořiteli všech věcí najmocnějšímu, votci najmilosrdnějšímu, synu najmilostivějšímu i Duchu svatému najdobrotivějšímu, v osobách trojímu, ale v bytu jedinému, té přeblahoslavené Trojici ke cti a k chvále: duchovní tato a pobožná v jazyku slovanském zpívání, nákladem Syxta z Ottersdorffu jsau sebraná a zpravená, aby lidé pobožní z vykaupení svého i ze všech jiných dobrodiní božských snažili se panu Bohu v společném církve svaté shromáždění a v této smrtelnosti chválu vzdávati a jeho přesvaté jméno srdcem i ústy vzývajíce velebiti. VNVM NECESSARIVM*". [For the sake of the Lord God omnipotent, eternal and always from ages to eternity blessed Creator of all things the most powerful, the Father most merciful, the Son most gracious, and the kindest Holy Spirit, three in persons, but one in being, to the honour and praise of that most blessed Trinity: these spiritual and pious songs in the Slavonic tongue are collected and arranged at the expense of Sixt of Ottersdorf so that pious people – for the sake of their redemption and of any other divine benefactions – would try (in the common gathering of the Holy Church and in their mortality) to give the Lord God praise and to reverence him invoking by heart and by mouth his most holy Name. VNVM NECESSARIVM].

²³ The coat-of-arms of Sixt of Ottersdorf consisted of a blue field of the shield with yellow open wings, a helmet with blue-yellow visor, and in the crest a black eagle with widespread wings.

accompanied by the coat-of-arms of his second spouse, Kateřina Mrázová of Milešov, with an inscription “*KATERZINA Z MILESSOWA [...]*”²⁴ An analogous memorial note (including the Latin motto) is likewise included in the earlier mentioned kancionál from 1578. This kancionál again introduces Sixt of Ottersdorf as the one who collected the individual songs into the relevant manuscript. In addition to his role as selector of the compositions in the gradual, Sixt is (hitherto not closely specified) author of the textual or the musical components of the songs, which are designated in the gradual by the characteristic monogram SZO. Current scholarly literature does not pay sufficient attention to this role of Sixt of Ottersdorf (d. 1583).²⁵ Sixt of Ottersdorf is also known as the author of an analogous note in the Mladá Boleslav gradual of Jan Kantor from 1571 to 1572.²⁶ Texts explicitly related to Sixt of Ottersdorf are also found in the winter part of the gradual from the former Lobkovic Library in Prague from 1573.²⁷ Aside from the monogram SZO, we find in some incipits in the gradual inscriptions: “*S. z Ottr. feria III post nativitatem Domini 1573 composuit*” as with the incipit of the Kyrie for the New Year *Dočkávkše se ve zdraví* (Having reached in good health) (f. 73^r) and “*S. z Ottr. sabbato post Sapientiae 1573 fecit*” at the incipit of the Kyrie for St. Stephen *Chvalmež všickni* (Let us all praise) (f. 76^r). Characteristic monograms SZO – designating Sixt’s authorship of the textual or the musical component of the chants – likewise can be found in the Gradual of Magdalena of the Golden Star and in the Gradual of the Butchers of Prague’s New Town.²⁸

An analogous situation occurs in the case of Jan Táborský of Klokotská Hora (d. 1572) and his unspecified authorship of the textual and musical

See Michal Fiala, “Tři studie k české renesanční heraldice (Znaky měšťanů Starého Města pražského v letech 1526–1618 ve světle salbuchů). Dokončení z Heraldické ročenky 1993” [Three Studies on Bohemian Renaissance Heraldry (Coats-of-Arms of Prague Old Town Burghers in 1526–1618 in the Light of the Salbuch) Conclusion from *Heraldická ročenka* 1993], *Heraldická ročenka* 1994 (1994) 42 no. 89.

²⁴ Kateřina Mrázová of Milešov’s coat-of-arms contains a field of the shield split in half; the first half is blue with half of a lion growing out of a black wall with a tripartite battlement; the second half is black with a yellow hill, a helmet with black-white and yellow-white mantlings; in the crest one half of a white lion with his tongue projecting.

²⁵ A complex evaluation of the hymnographic oeuvre of Sixt will be possible only on the basis of the gathering and assessment of the composition identified as his. See Antonín Truhlář and Karel Hrdina, *Rukověť humanistického básnictví v Čechách a na Moravě od konce 15. do začátku 17. století 4* [The Manual of Humanistic Poetry in Bohemia and Moravia from the Late Fifteenth to the Early Seventeenth Century] (Prague, 1973) 85–86. On Sixt’s religious views see the detailed, Josef Hejnic, “O několika tiscích z knihovny Sixta z Ottersdorfu” [Several Items from the Library of Sixt of Ottersdorf], *Listy filologické* 9 (1960) 281–283.

²⁶ The Mladá Boleslav Gradual, MS. Mladá Boleslav, The Museum of Mladá Boleslav Region 2/70a.

²⁷ The Gradual from the Lobkovic Library in Prague, MS. Prague, National Library XXIII B 2, dated: 1573.

²⁸ The Gradual of Magdalena of the Golden Star, MS. Prague, National Library XVII A 41. The Gradual of the Butchers of the Prague New Town, MS. Prague, National Library XVII A 39.

components of the chants in the Gradual of Sixt of Ottersdorf. That is to say that in the gradual there appears irregularly at the incipits a characteristic monogram IT connected by a slanted hyphen.²⁹ These monograms of Táborský are attached to the incipits of individual chants also in other extant musical sources and prints.

In the gradual, Táborský is honoured by introductory verses with an acrostic of his name “*IAN TABORSKY Z KLOKOTSKE HORY*” (f. 3^v), and with an adjoining crest in a laureated medal.³⁰ The verses refer to the threat to the true Christian faith (that is, the Utraquist Church) and mention – from the viewpoint of national identity – the Czech people as the followers of the true faith. The author introduces the contrast between the true faith in Christ (or Christ himself) as light, and heresy (or the Antichrist) as darkness. Analogous verses – juggling similar motifs, and forming acrostics of Táborský’s name – are found also in other graduals that were produced in Táborský’s scribal workshop (for instance, the gradual of Žlutice). Therefore, it cannot be entirely excluded that this gradual was also written in Táborský’s Prague scribal workshop.

The manuscript underwent a later rebinding that retained the wooden boards with the original blind-stamped leather cover. During the rebinding the codex was distinctly trimmed, the extent of which is especially evident on the illuminated folia. In the bottom part of the folia, miniatures, heraldic items, and ornamental motifs lost almost their entire bottom half which interferes with the legibility of some coats-of-arms.

The manuscript dates to 1570, as indicated by other data scattered among several memorial inscriptions in the illuminated borders. The gradual is provided with richly painted decorations that cover twenty-five illuminated folia. The upper layer of colour in the illuminations has been physically damaged by wiping. Illuminations include the traditional historiated initials or

²⁹ A list of incipits of chants, which are marked by monograms SZO a IT and indicate the further unspecified Sixt’s and Táborský’s authorship of the textual or the musical components of the chants, are attached in the conclusion of this study (see Supplement). Jaromír Linda is the only one who devoted himself to Jan Táborský as an author of the textual component of the chants in the gradual of Žlutice; he published their lists by their incipits, see Jaromír Linda, “Jasnost slunečná všecko osvětluje? (Několik poznámek k písním Jana Táborského ve Žlutickém graduálu)” [The Shining Sun Illuminates Everything? (Several Notes to the Songs of Jan Táborský in the gradual of Žlutice)], in Petr Brodský, ed., *Žlutický kancionál 1558–2008, 450 let Žlutického kancionálu* (Sokolov, 2008) 44–50. Linda distinguished through his analysis of the chants no fewer than three language layers. On Táborský’s relationship to the compositions of Václav Miřinský, see also Josef Jireček, *Dějiny církevního básnictví českého až do XVIII. století* [The History of Czech Ecclesiastical Poetry Until the Eighteenth Century] (Prague, 1878) 6–9.

³⁰ The coat-of-arms of Jan Táborský of Klokotská Hora consists of a quartered field with the first field white, the second black, the third black with a white dove, and the fourth one white with a snake; on the quartering there is a red cross of clover with a crown, a helmet with white, red, and black mantlings, and a white dove in the crest.

ornamental initials framed in coloured panels; miniatures; and ornamental motifs in the borders. The ornamental initials are smaller in comparison with the historiated initials, which occupy three lines of notation and text. Illuminations are richly gilded. The ornamental borders are most often formed by richly twisted acanthus leaves, distinguished by colour on the front and the obverse, and supplemented by golden droplets and fantastic flowers and fruits. The vegetative motifs are enriched by animal drolleries in the form of birds (parrots, magpies, owls and peacocks). Occasionally, the borders contain untwisted laurel leaves, or grotesque and candelabrum ornamentation.

With the exception of one folio (f. 347^v), the authors of the painted decorations of the gradual remain unknown. With regard to the later significant trimming of the codex, it cannot be excluded that possible signatures of illuminators were earlier located in the bottom part of the miniatures under the columns. Illuminations were shared among several anonymous artists in view of the conception and quality of the individual illuminations. Thus, it is possible to distinguish six authorial circles. The overall outcome and assessment of the painted ornamentation are negatively affected by the (previously mentioned) mechanical damage to the upper layer of the colours in the illuminations, as well as by their trimming in the course of later rebinding. Formal parallels can be identified, for instance, in the Old Town gradual, which contains a coinciding structural articulation of borders into a characteristic system of inscriptional boards, medals, and gilded little frames. Jan Kantor's Mladá Boleslav gradual from 1571–1572 exhibits parallels with the landscape concept of Netherlandic origin that is executed in sombre dark blue hues.

The iconography of the illuminations corresponds with the liturgical context of the given illuminations and exhibits biblical themes. The gravity centre of illuminations is traditionally found in the *proprium de tempore* and the *proprium de sanctis*. New Testament themes are often thematically expanded on the basis of typological parallelism. For instance, the incipit of the office for Easter (f. 262^r) contains in the body of the historiated initial a depiction of Christ's resurrection, and the border depicts scenes from the life of Jonas: his excretion from a large fish and his casting from a ship's deck into the sea. Some of the biblical themes do not correspond directly with their biblical context, but instead relate subject-wise to the person of the donor. Particular saints then figure as personal patrons of the donors. Thus the New Testament theme of the conversion of St. Paul (f. 36^r) appears in the case of Pavel Radoňovský of Kosmačov. Another example is furnished by the illuminated folio with the coat-of arms of Abraham Hroch of Mezilesice in which, under the columns, there is a miniature that shows Abraham sacrificing Isaac (f. 164^r).

The introductory historiated initial V(-*šemohúcý* [Almighty Father]) depicts David praying homage to the suffering Christ, who holds a chalice

catching blood that springs from his side as an accentuated motif of the redemption of humankind, starting with Adam (f. 5^r) [Fig. 2]. A variant of the suffering Christ, who shows the wound in his side (*ostentatio vulnerum*), is painted in the Old Town gradual, in the Lesser Town (*Malá Strana*) gradual, and in the Gradual of Magdalena of the Golden Star. In Jan Táborský's gradual of Louny, Christ's blood cascades directly onto David's head. We do not find depictions of David in front of the suffering Christ in late Gothic manuscripts. This iconography, however, in part connects with an older variant of David praying to the Lord, which regularly appeared at the incipit of the Advent office *Ad te levavi* in missals or graduals, and which represented a pictorial paraphrase of the Psalm (25:1–3). David, crowned, was depicted as praying, sometimes with his harp laid aside, while the Lord appeared in a cloud – *locus dei*. After the mid-sixteenth century this traditional depiction of God's self-revelation was being replaced by Christ as the Man of Sorrows. The iconography of David before Christ as the Man of Sorrows newly thematises the eschatological hope and refers to the overcoming of original sin by the coming of Christ the Messiah to this world and thanks to his redemptive death. It is precisely the figure of David that occupies the key position in the history of redemption: David was chosen by God himself, to whom he remains profoundly faithful; he was anointed and the divine blessing rests on everything that he does. David analogously, with Moses, a shepherd of Israel (2Sam 5:2) and an heir of the promise given to the Old Testament prophets. The promise that was given to David (Acts 13:32–37) is fulfilled by Christ – the son of David (Mt 1:1) – by his victory over death and sin. The Apostle Peter in his sermon has David testify in that connection with the words: "I saw the Lord always before me, for he is at my right hand so that I will not be shaken; therefore my heart was glad, and my tongue rejoiced; moreover my flesh will live in hope. For you will not abandon my soul to Hades or let your Holy One experience corruption" (Acts 2:25–27). The patriarchal father and prophet David, according to Peter's words, was the one who saw the future and spoke about Christ's resurrection (Acts 2:31).

The illumination of the incipit of the office for the feast day of the Dedication of a Church *Ó, kterak velmi hrozné jest místo toto* [O how terrible and fearful is this place] is one of the most interesting iconographically. The body of the historiated initial – in the late Gothic and Renaissance musical manuscripts – usually contains the theme representing the consecration of the temple (the Gradual of Žlutice) or the Old Testament theme of Jacob's dream (the Gradual of Klatov, the Gradual of Litomyšl, and the Gradual of Lesser Town), because Jacob called the House of God (*Bétel*) the place, at which the Lord had appeared to him and given him his promise (Gn 28:19). Depiction of the consecration of the temple is connected with the traditional and already fixed iconography of this theme; it represents a temple with a banner protruding from its *flèche* often almost lacking any architectonic style. Motifs, thematically connected with day of the church's dedication,

appear in large numbers in the borders. The Czech milieu especially favoured the game of bowls, which thus frequently is featured in the sixteenth century (Pavel Mělnický's Gradual of Louny, and Gradual of Teplice).³¹ As for other motifs, we can mention a variety of conversing or striding rustics, dancing couples, or wrestling peasants (Gradual of Žlutice). The Gradual of Lomnice, in connection with the commemoration of the dedication of the local church, is adorned (instead of acanthus leaves) with liver sausage, blood sausage, and a roast chicken and rooster. The entire range of motifs – represented by the scenes for church dedication festival – can be glimpsed from the print of Hans Sebald Beham "The Great Anniversary Day" (1539) or from the depictions of Barthel Beham.³² Component parts of the composition include a just interrupted game of bowls, because the players started to fight; a simple church with a *flèche* with a raised banner; and a village square with houses with walled yards. The particular motifs, which we encounter in illuminations depicting the anniversary days, were in the sixteenth century adopted from such graphic sheets.

In the body of the historiated initial of the Gradual of Sixt of Ottersdorf, there appears the Old Testament motif of Jacob's ladder and under the columns the traditional game of bowls with the rustics and with a conglomerate of dedication festival delicacies floating above: garlic, small rolls, a piglet on a spit, a chicken on a spit with a snake, a Christmas cake, a poppy-seed cake, and an apple. Another motif, certainly an atypical one, adorns the border where we find the image of an elephant carrying on his back the following

³¹ See Viktor Kubík, "Na okraj vývoje funkce výzdoby bordur aneb kuželkáři v českých středověkých kancionálech" [Concerning the Functional Edge Development of the Borders' Ornamentation, or the Bowlers in Bohemian Medieval Kancionáls], *Ústecký sborník historický Gotické umění a jeho souvislosti III* (2005) 305–326. Čeněk Zíbrt devoted himself to the study of the cultural and historical context of the game bowling, and to the customs for the anniversary of the consecration of the local church. See Čeněk Zíbrt, "Na českém posvícení za dávných časů" [On the Feast of Dedication of the Local Church in Bohemia in the Olden Days], *Zlatá Praha* 4 (1887) 762, 774–775. Idem, "Hra v kuželky a koule u starých Čechů" [The Game of Pins and Bowls Among the Old Czechs], *Zlatá Praha* 5 (1888) 39. Idem, *Staročeské výroční obyčeje, pověry a zábavy prostonárodní* [Old Czech Anniversary Customs, Superstitions, and Amusements Among the Simple Folk] (Prague, 1889). The motif of parlour games appeared regularly in medieval liturgical manuscripts in the framework of droleries, which depict most varied types of contests, tournaments, and even the game of hide and seeks. A wealth of pictorial examples of such diversions in liturgical manuscripts is offered by Ferdinand Seibt, *Lesk a bída středověku* [The Lustre and Poverty of the Middle Ages] (Prague, 2000).

³² See Keith P. F. Moxey, "Sebald Beham's Church Anniversary Holidays. Festive Peasants as Instruments of Repressive Humour," in *Von der Macht der Bilder. Beiträge des C. I. H. A. Kolloquiums "Kunst und Reformation"* (Leipzig, 1983) 173–195; Jeffrey Chips Smith, *Nuremberg, a Renaissance City, 1500–1618* (Austin, 1983) 186–188; Bernd Schäfer, *Německý dřevorez doby reformace ze sbírky Zámeckého muzea města Gothy* [German Woodcuts from the Reformation Era in the holdings of the Castle Museum of the Town of Gotha] (Prague, 1997) 96; Keith P. F. Moxey, *Peasants, Warriors and Wives: Popular Imagery in the Reformation* (Chicago and London, 2005).

trophies: a helmet, vases, armour, a shield, banners with dynastic colours, a quiver with arrows, a spear, a bow, and a sabre. An identifying inscriptional ribbon, attached to the elephant, bears a partly damaged Czech majuscule text: "SLON ZIWEI NA PRAZSKE[M] / RYNKV W TAKOWEM ZPV[S][O]/ BV WIDIN W [N]EDIEL[I] OCVL[I]" [A living elephant on the Prague square was seen in this manner on Oculi Sunday [The Third Sunday in Lent]].³³ The inscription enables us to identify the painted elephant with a living elephant that was a part of the tournament games, which took place in front of the Týn Church in the Prague Old Town Square on Oculi Sunday which in 1570 fell on 26 February. Colourful theatrical images were a part of the Prague tournament games.³⁴ Invited by Maximilian II, the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol came from Innsbruck for the celebration. The celebration began on 26 February 1570 with a theatrically conceived tournament in the Old Town Square. A part of the allegorical theatrical performance was also our living elephant with the Indian King Porus, led to the tournament battleground, as well as a lion in a cage. The tournaments (including the exhibit of the elephant) were described in the leaflet *Ordentliche Beschreibung: Des gewaltigen treffenlichen und herzlichen Thurniers zu Rosz und Fuss... So am Sonntag Oculi Anno 70* (1570).³⁵ The miniature is thus one of the interesting sources capturing a specific event of the tournament shortly after their performance. It is one of a number of such pictorial documents in the illuminated musical manuscripts of the sixteenth century.

A part of the extensive painted decoration of the gradual is hitherto unidentified heraldic decoration. Coats-of-arms and guild crests are placed within laureated medals or into small gilt frames. The identification of the individual bearers of the previously undetermined heraldic decoration confirms the presumption that the gradual was produced to serve the use of the Týn Literary Brotherhood – a close relation can be documented between the individuals portrayed and the parish of Our Lady before Týn. The coats-of-arms and the guild crests – accompanied by inscriptional tablets – represent persons who shared the expenses of producing the gradual. The accompanying inscriptional ribbons and tablets, Czech and Latin textual entries, devices,

³³ Imprecise and incomplete deciphering of the texts on the inscriptional tablets of the border and a survey of contemporary sources for the depiction of the elephant can be found in the study of Pavlíková, *Pražské*.

³⁴ See Václav Bůžek, "Zrcadlo ctností, bohů a rozkoší. Sebereprezentace Ferdinanda Tyrolského v rytířských kratochvilích" [A Mirror of Virtues, God, and Delights. Self-Representation of Ferdinand of Tyrol in Knightly Amusements], *Studia Rudolphina. Bulletin Centra pro výzkum umění a kultury doby Rudolfa II.* 6 (2006) 45–58.

³⁵ I thank Jan Bařa for providing the print. The relevant passage describes the elephant as well as the individual trophies that are depicted in the miniature. The documentation of the same tournament is known under the title *Ordentliche Beschreibung des gwalltigen treffenlichen und herrlichen Thurniers zu Ross und Fuss... So am Sonntag Oculi Anno 70* (Augsburg, 1570) is furnished with contemporary illustrations by Guiseppo Arcimboldo. Bůžek, *Zrcadlo*, 57. See also Tomek, *Dějepis* 12 (Prague, 1901) 194.

and chronologies mediate one of the many variants of personal reference to the person in question. A considerable weight in this context thus belonged to the issue of memorialisation and to the endeavour of being remembered not only by one's contemporaries, but also by descendants and later generations.³⁶

Considering the great expense of such manually written and illuminated codices, the donor could not have been a single individual but a substantial group of sponsors who often paid for particular parts (feasts or holy days) of the text. Socially, by and large, it is possible to place the identified individuals into the circle of ennobled burghers and the so-called urban elite. It was from their midst that members of the Literary Brotherhoods became ennobled, and it was for their use that these gigantic illuminated codices were produced. The attached coats-of-arms and guild crests shared in the representational character of the painted decorations because the use of these symbols supplied evidence of their high social standing. It must be added that the attachment of such heraldic signs was typical even for such persons who lacked the right to use a coat-of-arms in the sense of a hereditary distinction granted by the sovereign. Some of them paid for the painting of a variant of at least the initials of their proper names.

The expense for the gradual was shared by Ottersdorf's daughter from his second marriage, Dorota, to whom, with the incipit *Hospodine* [O Lord] f. 14^r, it was dedicated. An inscriptional ribbon with the name and date "*Dorota z Ottersdorffu 1570*" identifies the bearer of the fragmentarily preserved coat-of-arms.³⁷ Pavel Radovaňský of Kosmačov can be identified on the basis of the coat-of-arms of his family in the border on f. 36^r at the incipit *Pane Bože* [O Lord God] with a miniature of the Conversion of St. Paul.³⁸ Hence, the Apostle Paul performs the role of a personal patron of Pavel Radoňovský of Kosmačov. Radoňovský was original a burgher of Klatovy, where he served as customs collector. At the incipit of the office for Christmas *Dítě krásné a rozkošné* [O child beautiful and delightful] (f. 149^r) the border contains the coat-of-arms of the Granovskýs of Granov with an attached inscriptional tablet with initials [-]GZG [i.e. in Czech = Granovský z Granova].³⁹ We assume

³⁶ Concerning these issues, see Václav Bůžek and Pavel Král, eds., *Paměť urozenosti* [The Commemoration of Nobility] (Prague, 2007).

³⁷ Dorota of Ottersdorf's coat of arms: a blue field of the shield with open wings and Aesculap's stick, a helmet with white-blue-pink mantlings and a torse; in the crest a black eagle with open wings. See Fiala, *Tři*, 42, no. 89.

³⁸ The coat-of-arms of Pavel Radoňovský of Kosmačov: on a field of the shield a wicker fence with half of a leaping brown fallow deer, a helmet with white-yellow and yellow-red mantlings and with a yellow-white torse; in the crest a wing divided into yellow, white and red parts. See Fiala, *Tři*, 36, no. 83.

³⁹ The coat-of-arms of the Granovskýs of Granov: the field of the shield is halved so that the first half is divided into six parts black-white with yellow blossoms of roses on black stripes, and the second half is yellow; a crowned helmet with yellow-black mantlings; in the crest open wings vertically divided yellow-black with yellow blossoms of roses and a yellow and black blossom. See Fiala, *Tři*, 14–15, no. 28, 29.

that the initials represented the Old Town burgher Jakub Granovský who was ennobled by a letter patent from Ferdinand I in 1542. Jakub Granovský performed the function of an official at the customs house (*Ungelt*) near the Týn Church, where he acquired a Renaissance palace. He had the edifice reconstructed and furnished with a sgraffito and frescoes with biblical and mythological themes.

Folio 164r with the incipit *Aj, jak předivně* [O how most wonderfully] for the feast of the Baptism of Christ is dedicated to the memory of Abraham Hroch of Mezilesice (d. 24. 12. 1596). The border contains a fragmentarily preserved coat-of-arms of the Hrochs of Mezilesice with appended initials A.H. Z M. [i.e. in Czech = Abraham Hroch z Mezilesic].⁴⁰ Abraham Hroch originally came from Čáslav. He obtained the degree of bachelor from the University of Prague in 1558, and in 1570 was adopted by his coat-of-arms bearing uncle Petr Hroch of Mezilesice so that he might use the Hrochs' coat-of-arms and sign himself as Hroch from Mezilesice. The following year he was knighted. Abraham Hroch performed the function of orator at the higher courts of the Kingdom of Bohemia, as well as at the Imperial Council. Laudatory mentions of him can be found in the writings of Prokop Lupáč of Hlavačov, Jan Chorinnus, Jan Černovický, and Samuel Lagarinus. Abraham Hroch procured polyphonic choir books for the Literary Brotherhood in Ústí nad Labem.⁴¹ The alto section of the manuscript is provided with a coloured woodcut with the coat-of-arms of Abraham Hroch and Latin verses with an added motto *VIVE DEO ET PROXIMO* with the initials A.H.Z.M. [i.e. in Czech = Abraham Hroch z Mezilesic], and the date of 1577. The manuscript was finished in Prague on 13 September 1587 at the expense of Abraham Hroch and at the request of the mayor of Ústí nad Labem, Jakub Solinský of Solin. A miscellany was published in the memory of the death of Abraham Hroch on 24 December 1596. Abraham was buried in the Týn Church. His monument – produced during his lifetime – is located under the choir loft. The tower of the Týn Church originally contained a bell adorned by the figure of St. Wenceslaus and the name of Abraham Hroch with the date 1585, which documented his close relation to the Týn parish.⁴²

⁴⁰ The coat of arms of Abraham Hroch: the field of the shield is split in red and white parts and bears a motif vertical white wrapped-up arrow (*odřivous*), a helmet with white and black mantlings, in the crest a vertical white wrapped-up arrow. Concerning Josef Hroch, see "Sbírka písemných památek rodu Hrochů z Mezilesic od r. 1440–1639" [Collection of Written Documents of the family of Hrochs from Mezilesice from 1440–1639] *Sborník historického kroužku. Časopis historický* 15 (1914) 93–104; Truhlář and Hrdina, *Rukověť humanistického básnictví* 2, 358; Jan Loch, *Náhrobníky a epitafy v chrámu Matky Boží před Týnem v Praze 1 – Staré Město* [Tombstones and Epitaphs in the Church of Our Lady before Týn in Prague 1 – Old Town] (Prague, 2012) 64–65 no. 25.

⁴¹ Ústí nad Labem: MS Municipal Museum of Ústí nad Labem DK 184 (descant), sign. DK 185 (alto), sign. STB 1148 (bass).

⁴² Ludmila Kybalová, Radek Lunga, and Petr Vácha, *Pražské zvony* [The Prague Bells] (Prague, 2005) 206–207.

A grotesque ornamentation on f. 292^r at the incipit *Duch páně* [The Spirit of the Lord] is enriched with a inscriptional tablet with a motto and name “*SPES MEA CHRIST/VS / THOMASS z PROSECI [...]*” and complemented by a fragmentarily preserved coat-of-arms.⁴³ The use of these mottos had a character of self-representation and became favoured and widespread in the second half of the sixteenth century and during the seventeenth century. The motifs of such devices are also encountered in medals, coins, and memorial books and on epitaphs, which reflect the influence of emblematic books and collections of citations and proverbs. The border at the incipit for the office for the Dedication of the Church on f. 347^r bears the fragmentarily preserved note in the inscriptional tablet “*LAVRENTIVS [C]AN/DIDVS A [...]* ODZ[...]O/TE MANV PROPRIA / PINXIT [15]7[0]” and a coat of arms.⁴⁴ The formula *manu propria pinxit* that is a part of the description stresses the authenticity of the adjacent illumination and the personal participation of the donor himself. Such formulations in connection with the painted decoration of musical manuscripts appear quite rarely. The author of the given illumination was Laurentius Candidus, whose name is also known in other linguistic variants, for instance, Vavřinec Bílý, Laurenc Weisperger (Lorentz Waisperger, Veisperger) with a sobriquet “of White Mountain” [z Bílé Hory].⁴⁵ Vavřinec Bílý is known in connection with the Gradual of Žlutice, in which it is noted by the hand of Jan Táborský that he was his disciple and the scribe of the gradual.⁴⁶ Vavřinec Bílý worked in Prague as the scribe in the office of

⁴³ The coat-of-arms of Tomáš Had of Proseč: the field of the shield is split in two so that the first field is red, the second one white, across both fields lies a halved green dragon rampant with his tongue protruding, a helmet with white, red, and blue mantlings; in the crest wings cut into red and blue halves. See Fiala, *Tři*, 15, no. 30.

⁴⁴ The coat-of-arms: on the yellow field of the shield there are two black heads of a lion and a black peak with a white cone of sugar, a helmet white-black and yellow-black mantlings and in a yellow-white-black torse, in the crest there is yellow, white, and black ostrich feather.

⁴⁵ Josef Jireček, *Dějiny literatury české 1, Rukověť k dějinám literatury české do konce XVIII. věku, ve spůsobě slovníka životopisného a knihoslovního* [History of Czech Literature 1, Manual of the History of Czech Literature to the End of the Eighteenth Century in the Form of a Biographic and Bibliographic Dictionary] (Prague, 1875) 74; Vojtěch Král z Dobré Vody, *Der Adel von Böhmen, Mähren und Schlesien: genealogisch-heraldisches Repertorium sämtlicher Standeserhebungen, Prädicate, Beförderungen, Incolats-Erteilungen, Wappen und Wappenverbesserungen des gesamten Adels der Böhmisches Krone mit Quellen und Wappen-Nachweisen* (Prag, 1904) 292; Karel Chytil, *Malířstvo pražské XV. a XVI. věku a jeho cechovní kniha Staroměstská z let 1490–1582* [Prague Painters of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries and Their Guild Book], *Rozpravy České akademie císaře Františka Josefa pro vědy, slovesnost a umění. Třída I; č. 36* (Prague, 1906); Václav Schulz, *Soupis register soudu nejvyššího purkrabství pražského* [The List of Registers of the Court of the Supreme Count Palatine of Prague], *Historický archiv* 27 (Prague, 1906) 7, 20, 30–33, 69, 70; František Vacek, “Dějiny Bubenče, Dejvic, Šárky a okolí” [The History of Bubenec, Dejvice, Šárka, and the Environs], *Sborník příspěvků k dějinám král. hlav. města Prahy* [Miscellany of Contributions to the History of the Royal Capital City of Prague] 2 (1911) 156.

⁴⁶ The Žlutice Gradual, MS. Prague, Museum of Czech Literature, without sign., f. 1^v: “... rukau učedníka mého Vavřince přijímám Bílého tyto knihy notovány, psány, šťastně dokonány 1558”

the Supreme Count Palatine [*při nejvyšším purkrabství*] in the years 1554 to 1594. While he held the office, the Chamber Registers [*Registra komornická*] for the period 1582 to 1584 were established, as well as the so-called yellow Chamber Registers. The latter of the two manuscripts bears a blind stamped gold lettering "*Lorenz Waysperger*" on the front side of the binding, and on the reverse side of the front cover [*přídeští*] "*Laurentii Candidi manu 1585*". The Registers of Conscience [*Registra svědomí*], so-called white ones from 1579 to 1585 were produced at his expense with a note on the reverse side of the front cover to that effect, "*Nákladem Lorentze Waispergera z Bílé hory tyto registra spůsobeny*". His wife was Johanka, daughter of Pavel Vinkler.

Regrettably, it was not possible to identify the coats-of-arms of further ennobled Old Town burghers.⁴⁷ The individual guilds, which shared the expense of the gradual, were represented by maltsters (f. 22^r, in: *H-ospodine studnice* [O Lord the Fount]),⁴⁸ butchers (f. 262^r, in: *V-stalt' jest z mrtvých*

[“... these books were notated, written, and happily completed by the hand of my disciple Vavřinec, surnamed Bílý 1558] *IT* [i.e. Jan Táborský of Klokotská Hora].”

⁴⁷ The hitherto unidentified crests of Old Town burghers with coats-of-arms include on f. 113^r a shield with a mark and initials PK and an adjoining coat-of-arms with initials PK (the field of shield is divided so that the first field is red with two lion heads, the other field is crossed three times in blue-yellow, the helmet with yellow-red mantlings, in the crest brown-blue and brown-red horns); on f. 119^r a coat-of-arms with initials PWZW (on the field of the shield: half of a brown unicorn in a leap on a white mountain, helmet with yellow-blue mantlings, in the crest blue horns with half of a brown unicorn in a leap); on f. 144^r a coat-of-arms with initials IK (a brown field of the shield with two-tailed crowned mermaid, the crown-shaped helmet with blue-yellow mantlings and torse, in the crest blue-brown open wings and a two-tailed crowned mermaid); on f. 170^r a fragment of a coat-of-arms with initials A.R.Z.R. (the field of the shield is divided in such a way that the first field is black with half of a white lion leaping with tongue protruding, and the second field of the shield is white with a crowned helmet with white-blue mantlings, in the crest there are horns with half of a white lion with tongue its tongue protruding); on f. 286^r a medal with the date 1570 and initials MS, a medal with a fragment of a coat-of-arms and an inscription *MARTIN* [...] *SS*[...]O (the blue field of the shield with half a leopard with its tongue protruding, with raised sword, a small crown growing out of a white ashlar wall with four battlements, a helmet with white-red mantlings and a torse, in the crest half of a leopard as in the field of the shield); on f. 300^r a coat-of-arms with initials [-] C.Z.P. (the blue field of the shield with stripe of brown ashlar wall with a tripartite battlement and the head of an eagle with a golden heart, a helmet with blue-white mantlings, in the crest the head of a white eagle with a golden heart in his beak on a blue and white folded wing); on f. 305^r medal with the year 1570 and a shield with the initials MAK; on f. 317^r fragment of a coat-of-arms with initials T.R.Z.O. (?) (the field of the shield is halved so that the first field is of light blue with a leopard rampant, and the other is divided into six parts in light and dark blue, a helmet with light blue and dark blue mantlings and a torse, in the crest wings folded and halved light blue and dark blue), a couple of empty inscriptional ribbons; on f. 333^r fragment of a coat-of-arms with the initials PH (the field of the shield is twice divided party per bend sinister in a white-black-red manner, helmet with a white and red mantlings, in the crest a wing twice divided party per bend sinister in black-white-red).

⁴⁸ The inscriptional ribbon identifying the bearer of the crest was later blackened out. Heraldic description of the guild crest of the maltsters: the blue field of the shield bears yellow crossed malt shovels.

[He has risen from the dead]]⁴⁹ and a semi-anonymous butcher (f. 306^v: in. *P-ožehnaný Bohem zasvěcený* [Blessed Consecrated by God]).⁵⁰ The office for the Assumption of the Virgin Mary on f. 338^r bears the guild crest of the butchers with an inscription within a laurel medal: “*DVCHEK DWORSKEY 1570*.”⁵¹ The wife of Duchek Dvorský, Anna, later as a widow in 1581 established a foundation to pay for Czech requiems for her late husband, “*kteřž v graduálu českém Pánův literátův kostela tejsnskýho pořádně a cele jest...*” [which is orderly and entirely in the Czech gradual of the gentlemen choristers of the Týn Church].⁵² She bequeathed the butcher shops to the church fabric of the Týn Church under the condition that regular divine services would be conducted at the Brotherhood’s altar, where her husband was also buried.⁵³ Members of the butchers’ guild included Martin Šolc who, in the early seventeenth century, is documented in the function of verger in charge of the church fabric at the filial church of St. Benedict in the Prague Old Town.⁵⁴ The name of Martin Šolc is added to the butchers’ guild crest on f. 369^r at the incipit *Mněť jsau jistě přiliš* [lat. Mihi autem nimis].⁵⁵ Bakers are represented by a crest with the monogram LH on f. 355^v at the incipit *Radujme se wssickni* [Let us all rejoice] for the feast of All Saints, and the barbers by a crest with an inscriptional ribbon bearing the name and date “*Yan Špik z exhorny(?) laznie 1570*” [Jan Špik from (illegible) Baths] on f. 359^r at the incipit *Zdráva Maria* [Hail Mary].⁵⁶

The illuminated manuscripts of the early modern era represented – compared with the printed texts – an entirely individualistic artistic treatment of

⁴⁹ Two butchers’ crests are painted in the border. Heraldic description of the first one: two crossed axes on a red field. The crest is accompanied by an inscriptional tablet with the text „*NATOTO SLOWO S(tarši) / CECHV SAV NAKLA/DALI RZEZNICKE(H)O* [The elders of the butchers’ guild paid for this text]. Heraldic description of the second crest of the butchers’ guild: the red field of the shield bears a white two-tailed lion rampant with its tongue protruding and with a crown.

⁵⁰ Heraldic description of the butchers’ crest: the red field of the shield bears a white two-tailed lion rampant with a golden crown on its head and a butcher’s axe in his paws.

⁵¹ Heraldic description of the butchers’ guild crest: the red field of the shield bears a white two-tailed lion rampant with a small golden crown and its tongue protruding.

⁵² Ladislav Žilka, “*Příjmy a výdaje týnské farnosti koncem 16. a začátkem 17. století*,” [Incomes and Expenses of the Týn Parish at the Turn of Sixteenth Century], *Pražský sborník historický* 25 (1992) 51.

⁵³ Žilka, “*Příjmy*,” 51–52.

⁵⁴ Ladislav Žilka, “*Úředníci, kostelníci, zakristiáni a páni starší kostela Matky Boží před Týnem a kostela sv. Benedikta v letech 1586 – 1620*” [Officials, Vergers, Sacristans, and Gentlemen Elders at the Church of Our Lady before Týn and the Church of St. Benedict in 1586–1620], *Documenta pragensia* 8 (1988), append. IV.

⁵⁵ Heraldic description of the butchers’ guild crest: the red field of the shield bears a white two-tailed lion rampant with its tongue protruding.

⁵⁶ Heraldic description of the bakers’ guild crest: the blue field of the shield bears a pretzel with a crown. Heraldic description of the barbers’ guild crest: the blue field of the shield bears a golden whisk and a green parrot.

the book. It is precisely this peculiarity that we perceive as a distinct virtue of these manuscripts. Each of the manuscripts reflects the requirements of specific patrons and their ideas and interests, and thus we do not encounter any two coincident illuminated manuscripts, whether from the viewpoint of contents, or formal arrangement, or from the viewpoint of iconography and structure of painted decoration. In addition, these illuminated manuscripts represent items of cultural and historical significance in relation to a specific location. Such an example is very graphically represented by the Gradual of Sixt of Otterdorf of 1570 that was commissioned for the use of the Týn Literary Brotherhood in the Old Town of Prague – one of the most important parishes in the city, and in which a whole series of highly situated burghers dwelt.

The Gradual of Sixt of Ottersdorf is of special interest particularly because of certain biblical variants that appear newly in the manuscripts of Utraquist provenance after the mid-sixteenth century. A singular theme is the depiction of an elephant, which was a part of the tournament festivities in the immediate proximity of the Týn Church. The representational character of the manuscript is underscored by coats-of-arms and guild crests, whose owners were successfully identified for the first time in this article.

Supplement

This article is supplemented by an incipit list of chants from the Gradual of Sixt of Ottersdorf, which are identified by his monogram (SZO) usually at the initials or in the running heads, and by those of Jan Táborský of Klokotská Hora (IT) in the inner borders. The monograms appear at the incipits of the individual chants and identify – hitherto unidentified – authorship of chants' textual or musical components. A more exact discernment of authorship would be possible only through more detailed linguistic and other analyses of the corresponding melodies in the individual musical documents. In the case of the list of Táborský's incipits we refer to their concordance in the Gradual of Žlutice, published by Jaromír Linda.⁵⁷ From the quantitative point of view the incipits of Táborský's chants are represented in much greater numbers. In two cases the incipits are designated in two different places by both monograms SZO and IT (f. 243^v).

⁵⁷ Jaromír Linda, "Jasnost slunečná všechno osvětluje? (Několik poznámek k písním Jana Táborského ve Žlutickém graduálu)" [Does the Sunlight Shine on All? (Several Notes to the Songs of Jan Táborský in the Gradual of Žlutice)], in Petr Brodský, ed., *Žlutický kancionál 1558 – 2008, 450 let Žlutického kancionálu* (Sokolov, 2008) 45 – 47.

Incipits List of chants Identified by Monogram SZO:

1. *A na zemi daj nám pokoj* (f. 35^v) [And on the earth give us peace]
2. *A na zemi z narození Božího syna pokoj bud'* (f. 29^v) [And on the earth from the birth of the Divine Son let there be peace]
3. *A na zemi, jakož jest na nebi, budiž pokoj... všickni chválíme tebe* (f. 45^r) [And on earth, as it is in heaven, let there be peace... we all praise you]
4. *A na zemi, jakož jest na nebi, budiž pokoj... vychvalujeme tebe také* (f. 43^r) [And on earth, as it is in heaven, let there be peace... We all praise you highly]
5. *Aleluja, chvalme a ctěme všickni pána Boha* (f. 353^r) [Alleluia, let us all praise and adore the Lord God]
6. *Aleluja, chvalmež všickni pána Boha a k němu samému důvěrně ve všem* (f. 189^r) [Alleluia, let us all praise the Lord God and let us trust him in everything]
7. *Aleluja, pochvalmež všickni pána Boha, jej vychvalujme* (f. 352^r) [Alleluia, let us all praise the Lord God, we praise him most highly]
8. *Anděl Gabriel Boha všemohúcího* (f. 360^r) [Gabriel, angel of God Almighty]
9. *Anděl Gabriel slavný boží posel všed ku panně* (f. 114^r) [Angel Gabriel, the glorious messenger of God having come to the Virgin]
10. *Apoštolé syna božího přátelé věrní a stálí* (f. 369^v) [The Apostles, faithful and steady friends of the Son of God]
11. *Dítě krásné a rozkošné narodilo se jest nám a syn pravý* (f. 149^r) [A beautiful and delightful child was born to us, a true Son]
12. *Dítě milé a předivné narodilo se nám a syn Boží z veliké lásky* (f. 150^v) [A beautiful and most wonderful, a Son of God, was born to us from a great love]
13. *Duch svatý shůry staupí v tebe* (f. 113^v) [The Holy Spirit will enter you from above]
14. *Duchem tvým svatým, pane Bože, rač nás všechny zpravovati* (f. 192^r) [O Lord God deign to rule us always with your Holy Spirit]
15. *Hospodine, studnice dobroty, votče nerozený* (f. 22^r) [O Lord, the Fount of goodness, Father unborn]

16. *Chvalmež všickni pána Boha neb nás ráčil stvořiti* (f. 359^r) [Let us all praise the Lord God since he deigned to create us]

17. *Izaiáš prorokoval, co se jest mělo státi i stalo se* (f. 149^v) [Isaiah prophesied what was to happen and did happen]

18. *Jak pán Bůh zamiloval jest svět, že syna svého* (f. 399^r) [How the Lord God came to love the world that his Son]

19. *Ježíši nevinný, židům zrazený* (f. 243^v) [Innocent Jesus, betrayed to the Jews]

20. *Kristus pán náš chce to míti a nás ráčí* (f. 399^v) [Our Lord Christ wishes to have it and deigns us]

21. *My zajisté, jenž sme vykaupeni a z muk vysvobozeni* (f. 229^r) [We certainly, who are redeemed and liberated from torments]

22. *Nedaj nám toho milý Bůh* (f. 230^r) [Do not give us that, dear God]

23. *Ó, milosrdný a dobrotivý pane Bože náš, kterýž sám všechny nepravosti naše* (f. 188^r) [O merciful and good our Lord God, who himself all our improprieties]

24. *Obratť se ke mně, praví pán Bůh a již číňte* (f. 187^r) [Turn toward me, says the Lord God, and do so now]

25. *Pan Ježíš Kristus dokonav svú práci, bral* (f. 287^v) [Lord Jesus Christ, having finished his labour, took]

26. *Pane Bože náš, smilujž se nad námi, votče nebeský* (f. 398^r) [O Lord our God, have mercy on us, heavenly Father]

27. *Pane Bože, tys předivný ve všech skutcích tvých svatých* (f. 400^v) [O Lord God, you are most wonderful in all your holy deeds]

28. *Pane Jezu Kriste, vtělený v život Marie panny* (f. 114^v) [O Lord Jesus Christ, incarnated in the womb of the Virgin Mary]

29. *Pane králi všemohúcí, ó, Bože neobsáhlý* (f. 278^r) [O Lord King Almighty. O God, boundless]

30. *Prolom pane nebesa a stup na zemi v život Marie* (f. 119^r) [O Lord, break through the heavens and descend to the earth into the womb of Mary]

31. *Prozpěvujme radostně a vesele slavíce vtělení Krista* (f. 113^r) [We sing joyfully and gaily celebrate the incarnation of Christ]

32. *Předivný pane Bože v své velebnosti díky tobě* (f. 107^v) [Most wonderful, Lord God, thanks to you in your grandeur]

33. *Rosu dajte nebesa a tau svaž srdce lidská* (f. 119^v) [O heavens, release dew and with it moisten human hearts]

34. *Rosu dali nebesa a oblakové dštili na zemi* (f. 120^r) [The heavens rendered dew and the clouds rained onto the earth]

35. *Řekl archanděl, neboj se Maria, počneš duchem* (f. 115^r) [The archangel said "Do not be afraid, Mary, you shall conceive by the Spirit"]

36. *Svatý Bože, náš votče* (f. 243^v) [O Holy God, our Father]

37. *Ve jméno pána Ježíše klekaj a shýbaj se každé koleno* (f. 235^v) [In the Name of the Lord Jesus let every knee kneel and bend]

38. *Vstalt' jest zmrtvých král náš přeslavný* (f. 262^r) [Our most glorious King has risen from the dead]

39. *Všech věcí pane stvořiteli, mocný ochraniteli* (f. 106^r) [O Lord, Creator and Mighty Protector of all things]

40. *Všemohúcí, věčný Bože, rač se smilovati nad námi* (f. 105^r) [O Almighty Eternal God, deign to have mercy on us]

41. *Všickni svatí andělé a přecistí duchové* (f. 350^v) [All holy angels and purest spirits]

42. *Všickni vesele prozpěvujme aleluja, buď od nás vždycky pánu Bohu* (f. 151^r) [We all gaily sing alleluia, let it be always from us to the Lord God]

43. *Zdráva buď panno Maria ty rodičko Boží neb jsi* (f. 359^v) [Hail be to you, Virgin Mary, Mother of God because you are]

44. *Zdráva Maria, panno svatá, Boží rodičko, tys porodila* (f. 359^v) [Hail Mary, Holy Virgin, Mother of God, you have given birth]

45. *Zdráva Panno Maria, milosti plná, Hospodin s tebau* (f. 113^v) [Hail Virgin Mary, full of grace, the Lord is with you]

Incipits List of chants Identified by Monogram IT:

1. *Aj, andělům svým Bůh otec přikázal jest* (f. 214^v) [Hey, God the Father commanded his angels]
2. *Aleluja, buď Bohu chvála, slavnost vzkříšení* (f. 272^r) [Alleluia, let God be praised, the Feast of Resurrection]
3. *Aleluja, buď Bohu chvála, kteréhož chválí andělé* (f. 129^v) [Alleluia, let God be praised, whom angels praise]
4. *Aleluja, buď pánu Bohu věčná chvála, votcy i jeho synu* (f. 156^r): Linda nr. 1 [Alleluia, let there be eternal praise of the Lord God, the Father and his Son]
5. *Aleluja, budiž pánu Bohu chvála, který jest poslal anděla* (130^r): Linda nr. 3 [Alleluia, let God the Lord be praised, who sent the angel]
6. *Aleluja, budiž pánu Bohu věčnému věčná chvála* (f. 346^r) [Alleluia, let there be eternal praise of the Lord God eternal]
7. *Aleluja, hodně jest tebe chváliti pane Kriste* (f. 139^v) [Alleluia, it is proper to praise you, O Lord Christ]
8. *Aleluja, chvála, čest i sláva buď vždy pánu Bohu* (f. 274^v): Linda nr. 6 [Alleluia, let praise, honour, and glory be always given to the Lord God]
9. *Aleluja, chvalmež všickni Boha, krále nebeského* (f. 167^r) [Alleluia, let us all praise God, the heavenly King]
10. *Aleluja, chvalmež všickni pána Boha mocného, chvalmež* (f. 365^r) [Alleluia, let us all praise the Lord God the mighty, let us praise]
11. *Aleluja, chvalmež všickni pána Boha, votce nebeského* (f. 132^r): Linda nr. 8 [Alleluia, let us all praise the Lord God, the heavenly Father]
12. *Aleluja, chvalmež všickni pána Boha, votce přemocného* (f. 366^v) [Alleluia, let us all praise the Lord God, the Father most mighty]
13. *Aleluja, chvalmež všickni pána Boha ze všech dobrodiní jeho* (f. 298^r) [Alleluia, let us all praise the Lord God for all his benefactions]
14. *Aleluja, chvalmež všickni pána Boha žádající, ať nás od hříchův odvrátí* (f. 169^r): Linda nr. 9 [Alleluia, let us all praise the Lord God, asking him to turn us away from sin]

15. *Aleluja, chvalmež vždy pána svého vším srdcem* (f. 140^v) [Alleluia, let us always praise our Lord with all our heart]

16. *Aleluja, králi věčnému sladkú píseň a veselú prozpěvujmež* (f. 133^r): Linda nr. 17 [Alleluia, let us sing a sweet and gay song to our eternal King]

17. *Aleluja, máme slavně zpěvati pánu Bohu ve dne* (f. 275^v) [Alleluia, we are to sing solemnly to the Lord God during the day]

18. *Aleluja, píseň nebeská slavná jest, kteréžto v nebi andělé* (f. 137^r) [Alleluia. The heavenly song is solemn, which the angels in the heavens]

19. *Aleluja, prozpěvujíce, pozdvihnem svého hlasu z srdce upřímného* (f. 131^r) [Alleluia, singing we raise our voices from a sincere heart]

20. *Aleluja, velebmež všickni pána svého krále věčného* (f. 160^v) [Alleluia, let us all glorify our Lord, the eternal King]

21. *Aleluja, vzdajmež Bohu chválení, votci i jeho synu* (f. 162^v) [Alleluia, let us give praise to God, the Father and to his Son]

22. *Aleluja, zpívajíce, chvalmež pána svého* (f. 280^r) [Alleluia, singing let us praise our Lord]

23. *Aleluja, zpívajme králi slavnému, pánu mocnému, maudrému* (f. 334^r) [Alleluia, let us sing to the glorious King, the mighty and wise Lord]

24. *Aleluja, zpívajmež píseň veselú chválu* (f. 273^r) [Alleluia, let us sing the gay song of praise]

25. *Aniž máme na lidské vymyšlení mimo božské* (f. 396^v) [Let us not entertain human thought, unless pleasing to God]

26. *Ať vědí a znají všickni národové, kteříž* (f. 204^v) [Let all nations know and recognise, who]

27. *Beránku boží, jenž sám snímáš hříchy světa, odpočiň* (f. 394^v) [Lamb of God, who takes away the sins of the world]

28. *Budiž obránce náš mocný Bože v těchto nebezpečných časých* (f. 208^v) [O mighty God, be our defender in these perilous times]

29. *Dobréť hodné a spravedlivé jest vyznávat* (f. 203^r) [It is worthy and just to profess]

30. *Dokonaj a utvrď všechny kroky mé na stezkách* (f. 207^v) [Complete and confirm all my steps on the paths]
31. *Chvála i čest buď Bohu votcy nerozenému i synu jeho* (f. 158^v) [Praise and honour be to the unborn God the Father and to his Son]
32. *Chvalte a vyznávajíte pána, vzdávajte jemu chválu i čest* (f. 228^v) [Praise and confess the Lord, render praise and honour to him]
33. *Jakožto voči služebníkův věrných a poslušných* (f. 280^v) [As toward the faithful and obedient servants]
34. *Ježiši nevinný, židům zrazený* (f. 243^v) [Innocent Jesus, betrayed to the Jews]
35. *K tobě pane Bože milosrdný a laskavý votče* (f. 135^v) [To you, merciful Lord God and kind Father]
36. *K tobě samému a žádnému jinému pozdvihl sem duše mé* (f. 134^r) [To you and none other, I have raised my soul]
37. *Když upokojení své držel a měl veškeren svět* (f. 159^v) [When the entire world held and had its satisfaction]
38. *Klanějte se pánu Bohu věčnému všickni andělé a chvalte* (f. 166^v) [Let all angels bow before the Lord God Eternal and praise]
39. *Krista spasitele lid věrný, raduj se vesele* (f. 276^r) [Let the faithful people of Christ the Saviour rejoice joyfully]
40. *Kteréhožto archanděl Gabriel od Boha ku panně* (f. 333^r) [Whom the Archangel Gabriel from God to the Virgin]
41. *Kteříž rozsívají totiž v tomto světě vůli boží* (f. 370^v) [Those who sow, namely in this world, the will of God]
42. *Lidé Sionský, což jest zaslíbil Bůh tvůj nebeský* (f. 136^r) [The people of Sion, whom your heavenly God promised]
43. *Na nejvyšším trůnu království nebeského viděl jest Izaiáš* (f. 162^r) [Isaiah saw on the highest throne of the heavenly kingdom]
44. *Na všecken široký okršlek zemský* (f. 375^r) [On all the wide precinct of the earth]; Linda nr. 30 (Textual Variation: *Na všecken okršlek zemský* [On all the precinct of the earth])

45. *Ó, pane Kriste, Ježíši pane náš najmilostivější králi* (f. 237^v): Linda nr. 34 [O Lord Christ, Jesus our most merciful King]

46. *Odejměte brány zlých žádostí vašich knížata* (f. 143^v): [Take away the gates of your evil desires, O princes] Linda nr. 36 (Textual Variation: *Odejměte brány zlých žádostí knížata*) [Take away the gates of evil desires, O princes]

47. *Pamatuj a nezapomínaj na nás pane Bože náš* (f. 140^r) [Remember and do not forget us, our Lord God]

48. *Pan Bůh náš všemohúcý pán slavný král nebeský* (f. 160^r) [Our Lord God Almighty, glorious Lord. heavenly King]

49. *Pane Bože, králi nebeský k tobě lid křestanský volá* (f. 25^v): Linda nr. 38 [Lord God, Heavenly King, Christian people call to you]

50. *Pane Bože náš, kterýžto všechny věci v své moci* (f. 137^v) [Our Lord God, who all things in your power]

51. *Pane Bože, votče, náš věčný tvůj lid nestatečný* (f. 24^v) [Lord God, our eternal Father, your feeble people]

52. *Pane Bože, votče nebeský, uslyš svůj lid zemský* (f. 26^r): Linda nr. 40 [Lord God, heavenly Father, listen to your people on earth]

53. *Pane Bože, králi mocností nebeských i zemských* (f. 126^v): Linda nr. 41 [Lord God, King of heavenly and earthly powers]

54. *Plesajte pánu a veselte se Bohu vašemu mocnému* (f. 163^r) [Rejoice in the Lord and be joyful to your powerful God]

55. *Pohanění a potupy očekávala srdce mé, řekl prorok* (f. 229^r) [My heart expected slander and humiliation, the prophet said]

56. *Pokoj časný, pane Bože, náš mocný, za dnův* (f. 190^r) [Temporal peace, our powerful Lord God, during the days]

57. *Potěšen sem a rozveselil sem se, řekl* (f. 225^v) [I am gratified and I rejoiced and said]

58. *Povstaň, proč se zapomínáš* (f. 203^v) [Rise up, why do you forget]

59. *Povstaniž pane Bože náš, jenž na nebi přebýváš* (f. 222^r) [Rise up, our Lord God, who dwells in heaven]

60. *Poznáváme pane Bože, že sme zhřešili proti tobě* (f. 175^v): Linda nr. 42 [We recognise, Lord God that we have sinned against you]
61. *Pravice Páně, kteráž zdržuje všechny věci mocné* (f. 167^v) [The right hand of the Lord that restrains all powerful things]
62. *Přemýšlovati budeme v příkázáních tvých* (f. 220^v) [We shall think within your commandments]
63. *Přijali sme vděčně Bože votče nebeský* (f. 171^r) [We have received gratefully, O God, our heavenly Father]
64. *Přijměte potěšení vy všickni věrní* (f. 299^r) [Accept pleasure, all you faithful ones]
65. *Radujte se v pánu Bohu všickni křesťané věrní* (f. 138^v) [Rejoice in the Lord God, all you faithful Christians]
66. *Ramenoma svýma silnýma zastíní tobě pán Bůh* (f. 217^r) [The Lord God will shade you with his powerful shoulders]
67. *Rozpomeniž se slitování tvá veliká a mnohá pane Bože* (f. 217^v) [Remember, O Lord God, your mercies are great and many]
68. *Řekli jsau nevěrní a nemilostiví Židé sami mezi sebou* (f. 232^r) [Unfaithful and unmerciful Jews said among themselves]: Linda nr. 47 (Textual Variation: Řekli sou nemilostiví sami mezi sebou) [The unmerciful said among themselves]
69. *Spomocník najmocnější a obránce najsilnější* (f. 200^r) [The most powerful helper and the strongest defender]
70. *Spravedlivý člověk, z kterého národu kolivěk* (f. 381^r) [A just man from any nation]
71. *Spravedlnosti jistě pravé pána Boha našeho jsau* (f. 224^v) [The deeds of justice of our Lord God are certainly righteous]
72. *Svatý Bože, náš votče* (f. 243^v) [Holy God, our Father]
73. *Tvé dobroty všemohúcí pane Bože prosíme* (f. 393^v) [We beg for your goodness, Lord God Almighty]
74. *Ty jsi sám Bůh jediný od věčnosti* (f. 209^v) [You alone are the only God from eternity]

75. *Upokoj a ukrot' se hněv tvůj přísný pane Bože náš* (f. 176^v) [Calm and tame your severe anger, Lord our God]

76. *Uvedl jest vás pán Bůh váš* (f. 270^r) [Your Lord God has introduced you]

77. *Ve jméno pána Ježíše klekaj každé koleno* (f. 235^r): Linda nr. 55 [Let every knee bend at the Name]

78. *Voči naše vždycky jsau pozdvižené do nebe* (f. 221^r) [Our eyes are always lifted up to heaven]

79. *Vodau maudrosti nebeské napájel jest* (f. 271^v) [He gave them to drink the water of heavenly wisdom]

80. *Všecky věci, kteréž jsi nám učinil pane* (f. 279^r) [All the things which you have made for us, O Lord]

81. *Vytrhni mne, pane, neb jsi ty moci nesmírné* (f. 241^r): Linda nr. 59 [Pull me out, O Lord, since your powers are immense]

82. *Z hlubokosti srdce svého a z hlubokosti zármutku mého volal sem* (f. 201^v) [From the depth of my heart and from the depth of my sadness I have called]

83. *Zadost tvého věrného člověka spravedlivého* (f. 378^r) [Satisfaction of your faithful just man]

84. *Zavolali jsau k tobě neb jsau složili* (f. 282^v) [They have called to you since they laid down]

85. *Zdávna od Izaiáše předpovědino duchem svatým* (f. 125^v): Linda nr. 63 [From old it was foretold by the Holy Spirit through Isaiah]

86. *Zdráva Maria, milosti plná, pán Bůh s tebau Gabriel* (f. 362^r): Linda nr. 65 [“Hail Mary, full of grace, the Lord God is with you.” <said> Gabriel]

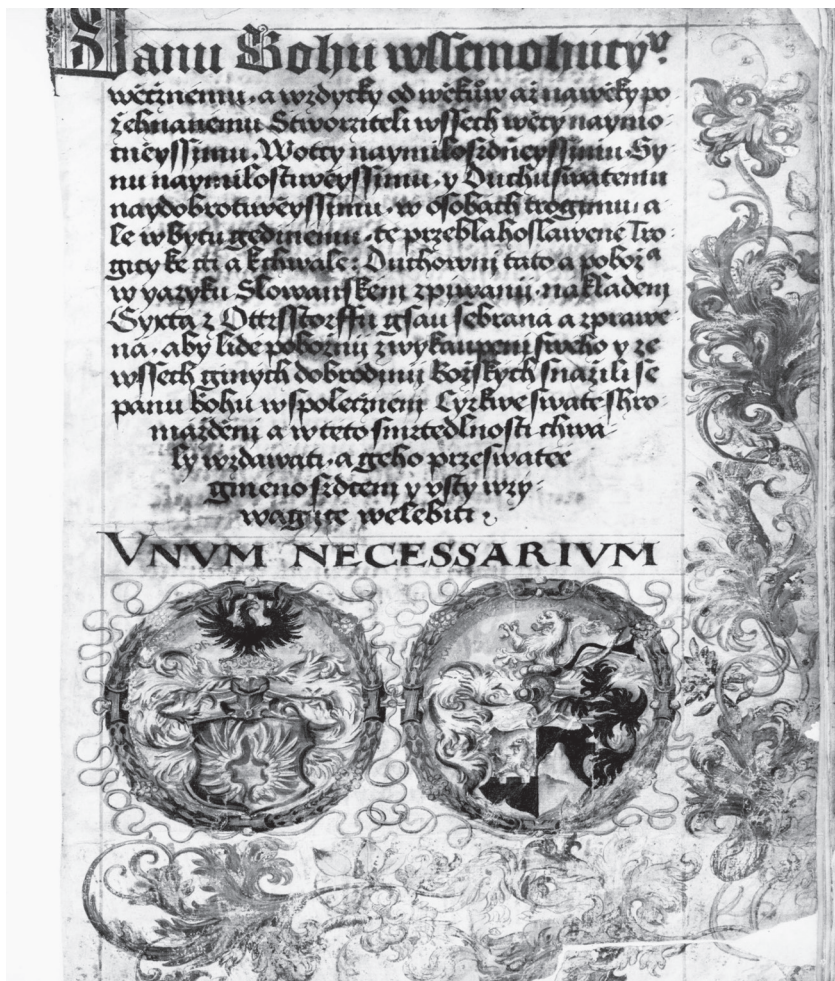


Fig. 1: Gradual of Sixt of Ottersdorf.

London: British Library, Ms. Add. 16175, fol. 3r.

Memorial note with the arms of Sixt of Ottersdorf and Katherine Mrázová of Milešov.

Photo: The British Library Board, London.



Fig. 2: *Gradual of Sixt of Ottersdorf.*

London: British Library, Ms. Add. 16175, fol. 5r.

David before the suffering Christ in the initial W(-ssemohúcý), John the Evangelist and John the Baptist in the right margin.

Photo: The British Library Board, London.