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THE EVOLUTION OF THE UTRAQUIST MASS, 142(H620

BY

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The description of the evolution of the Mass is based on liturgical documents of the period whose authenticity as witnesses of the Utraquist Mass is guaranteed by their former use in worshiping communities. The Utraquists retained the (Latin) Prague use of the Roman Catholic Church, but with Czech readings, until 1538. Thereafter; the use of Czech and the diversity of liturgical practice from church to church increased. There is no sign of Lutheran influence on the Utraquist Mass, unless one argues that Luther influenced the increased use of the vernacular after 1538. Language apart, later Utraquist books are direct descendants of the original fourteenth-century Prague Use. The promulgation of the new Roman Missal in 1570 had no discernible effect on later Utraquist books.

Utraquists and Their Relationship with the Catholic Church

Utraquism was the culmination of a reform movement in Bohemia which had its beginning in the mid-fourteenth century. This movement, over the period from the mid-fourteenth century through the revolution of 1419, acquired an agenda of four items which became

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1"Utraquism" is from the Latin "sub utraque specie," meaning that communion was taken under both kinds (bread and wine). Synonyms include "Calixtine," from calix (a cup) and "Hussite," from Jan Hus (16 July 1415) who was executed at Constance and became a symbol of the Bohemian reform.

codified in 1420 as the Four Articles of Prague.² The reformers, one of whom was the emperor Charles IV, had many of the customary concerns about eliminating abuses within the Church, including absenteeism, pluralism, non-residency, simony, immorality, and sometimes criminality among the clergy. Their concern to curb a level of luxurious living among prelates, parish priests, and monks which their flocks found offensive is reflected in Article 3. "The specific remedy often advocated for this problem was that the clergy return to a life of apostolic poverty, an idea to which the intended targets were not attracted. These two basic ideas have been the stuff of periodic spells of church reform throughout the ages, which flourished for a time and then were forgotten. By the beginning of the fifteenth century, these themes were taken up by a number of aggressive preachers including Jan Hus. For a time, they were supported by the king and even by one of the archbishops of Prague. Being the time of the Great Schism, church discipline was performed somewhat looser than usual, and the preachers were able to make bold attacks on ecclesiastical abuses. Of course they were eventually at least partly muzzled.³ Article 2, which asserts that there should exist "free preaching of the word of God," reflects this problem. In the fall of 1414, Hus left for Constance to answer to the church council for allegedly heretical beliefs, a charge some modern scholars have concluded was mistaken. ⁴

²There were a number of recensions of the articles. Howard Kaminsky's translation of the April 1420 form in *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley, 1967), p. 369, follows:

1. We stand for the ministering of the body and blood of the Lord to the laity in both kinds, for . . . this was Christ's institution and that of the first apostles and of the holy Primitive Church . . . , as the Council of Constance admitted to us.
- 2_ We stand for the proper and free preaching of the worri of God and of his every truth.
- 3_ All priests, from the pope on down, should give up their pomp, avarice, and im-proper lordship in super-fluffy over temporal goods, and they should live as models for us.
4. We stand for the purgation and cessation from all public mortal sins, by each in his own person; and for the cleansing of the Bohemian realm and nation from false and evil slander; and in this connection for the common good of our land.

³Hus was exiled to southern Bohemia in 1413 after Prague had been placed under interdict for his efforts.

*Hirs was undoubtedly a controversialist, but some modern scholars have pronounced his teaching free of heresy assessment of Paul De Vooght is found in De Vooght, *L'hérésie de Jean Huss* (IA)uvaIn, 1960), p. 476:

Il était un homme et, comme tel, un composé mystérieux de défauts et de qualités. Avant tout, Hus n'avait le sens de l'opportunité- Il prêchait, enseignait, agissait non seulement opportune, importune, mais per fas et nefas, n 'acceptant pas, n'acceptant jamais qu'il y ait un temps de parler et un temps de se taire

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Article 1 had its foundation in an earlier movement for frequent, even daily, communion. The radical nature of this development has to be understood against the background of the current practice in fifteenth-century Bohemia of annual communion at Easter as provided in canon 21 of Lateran IV. An early proponent of frequent communion was Milié of Kroměfii (t 1374), who pursued a preaching ministry in Latin and Czech. He founded a community including reformed prostitutes in which apostolic poverty was observed and in which there were daily preaching and reception of the Eucharist. Daily preaching was offered at the Bethlehem Chapel in Prague, founded in 1391, to which was added daily communion in 1402. Jakoubek of Stibor, after Hus's departure to Constance, extended this developing tradition. Together with some colleagues, he began giving the communion cup to the laity in four churches in Prague in the second half of 1414.⁵ The chronicler Laurence of Březová, writing soon after, saw communion by both bread and wine as the defining act of the Bohemian reformation.⁶ As an extension to this liturgical reform, Jakoubek's 1416 suggestion that infants should receive the cup directly after baptism⁷ became universally adopted among Utraquists by 1418.⁸ The muscular implementation of the last three Prague Articles began in late 1415 when the majority of the upper and lower nobility, Utraquist and Catholic,

the custom of receiving communion under the two species was general in the Church until about the twelfth century. See F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. (Oxford, 1997), p. 386. There are even formulas in fifteenth-century Catholic Prague missals for administering the cup to the laity. See, for example, Prague, *Knihovna Národního muzea* (hereinafter: NM) XV A 5, fol. 178vb. It was made in 1487 for use in Plzeň by the scribe Peter of Prague (foL 354v).

OVavinc z Březové, "Historia Hussitica," *Pontes Rerum Bohemicarum*, vol. 5 (Prague, 1893), P. 329:

Anno incarnationis dominice MCCCCXIV venerabilis ac divinissima communio eucaristie sub utraque specie panis scilicet et vini populo communi fidei ministranda per venerandum ac egregium virum Jacobellum de Misa, sacre theologie baccalarium formatum, et aliquos sibi tunc in hac materia assistentes sacerdotes est inchoata in urbe inclita et magnifica Pragensi, primum quidem in ecclesiis sancti Adalberti in Nova civitate, sancti Martini in muro et sancti Michaelis ac upella Bethleem in Civitate antiqua Pragensi.

David R. Holeton, *Infant communion—then and Now* (Bramcote, Notts, 1981), p. 11. ⁸Like administration of the cup to the laity, infant communion was hardly an innovation. We find it in such eighth-century sources as *Ordo Romanus XI* and a number of Gelasian-type sacramentaries (Gellonensis, Augustodunensis, etc.). See Michel Andrieu, *Les ordines romani du haut moyen age*, vol. 2 (Iuvain, 1960), p. 441.#75. It persisted until the thirteenth century. See Mark Dalby, *Infant Communion: The New Testament to the Reformation* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 22.

helped to relieve the Church of much of its temporal wealth and assumed the ultimate responsibility for the content of preaching in the country. Despite the execution of Hus, deemed an outrage and insult to the Czech people, most of his followers regarded themselves as faithful Catholics, even if the Roman Catholic Church did not share their opinion. Having this self-understanding, the more conservative among the Utraquists maintained the same liturgy and theology as that of the Roman Catholics, save for the cup and infant communion.

The Catholic Church continued to regard the Hussites as schismatics for the better part of two decades until the crushing effectiveness of the Hussite field armies induced it to reconsider its opinion. On July 5, 1436 at Jihlava, after lengthy negotiations, the delegates of the Council of Basel and the Bohemians signed a treaty (the Compactata) under which the Utraquists were received into the Roman Catholic Church. The treaty authorized in Bohemia and Moravia the administration of communion in two kinds and a somewhat revised version of the last three Prague articles. The Compactata applied only to Utraquists and had the effect of creating two classes of citizens in the Czech lands. Although Eugene IV did not authorize the Compactata, they were treated as being valid until Pius II abrogated them in 1462. After friction between Catholics and Utraquists, the two confessions agreed to a peace in 1485 within the secular and religious terms of the Compactata to last for thirty-two years (to 1516). The two groups agreed to refrain from polemics and from seizing churches occupied by the other. The peace implicitly acknowledged that the faith of the two confessions was the same, whereas that of the Bohemian Brethren, who were excluded, was different. The agreement, remarkable for its time, was extended indefinitely in 1511. While it was terminated by Maximilian II in 1567, it effectively remained in force until the end of the century.

While Bohemia was exposed to Lutheran influences, they never found fertile soil. Havel Cahera, a Lutheran, became the senior of the four administrators of the Utraquist Consistory in 1523. He convened an assembly of the three Utraquist estates in early 1524. The twenty propositions which the assembly accepted did not give great comfort to the Lutheran cause. Solafideism was either ignored or implicitly denied in Article 8 which stressed obedience to the Law of God. Article 13 confirmed the validity of infant communion, a practice rejected by Luther.⁹ The three dated Utraquist manuscript graduals

⁹Zdčnč V David, *Finding the Middle Way* (Washington, 1) C. , 2003), pp. 64-66.

produced in the decade after Cahera's appointment all contain offertories for all days in the calendar, thus affirming the sacrificial character of the Mass which Luther denied.¹⁰ In 1528, Ferdinand I removed Cahera from office and in 1529 expelled him from the country.¹¹ While Lutheranism was popular among the nobility, it did not put down deep roots in the kingdom. Perhaps the most telling way of describing the influence of Lutheranism on Utraquism is to note that, in 1575, Lutherans amounted to less than 1 percent of the Bohemian population; Utraquists to 75-83 percent.¹²

In a decree of April 16, 1564, Pius IV allowed communion in both species throughout the Empire,¹³ and Mass was celebrated sub utraque on several days in the Prague cathedral by Archbishop Antonin Brus of Mohelnice.¹⁴ Brus and his two immediate successors¹⁵ treated the Utraquists in some measure as a part of their own flocks, providing consecrated oils on Maundy Thursday and occasionally ordaining priests for Utraquist churches. During much of the last quarter of the sixteenth century, they acted as intermediaries between the Utraquist consistory and Rudolf II. Brus was one of the sponsors of a five-part Utraquist gradual containing a proper for Hus and the Bohemian martyrs that was assembled over the period 1573-1578 for

¹⁰Chrudim, Okresni muzeum prir, C. 12580; Louny, Státni okresni archiv I G 8a; New York, General Theological Seminary BX 2043 _A3 H8.III)avid, Finding, pp. 72-73,

¹²Zdeněk V. David, "Utraquists, Lutherans, and the Bohemian Confession of 1575," Church History 68 (1999), pp. 297-298

Gustave Constant, *Concession l'Allemagne de la communion sous les deux especes-Étude sur les débats de la réforme catholique en Allemagne (1548 - 1621)*, VOL I (Paris, 1923), p. 461. Ferdinand I, in order to maintain tranquility in the Empire, was keen to have the cup restored to the laity and to reinstitute the married priesthood. Communion was administered in both kinds in 1562 in Bohemia, Austria, Hungary, Moravia, Silesia, Carinthia, Carniola, Styria, Sweden, Bavaria, and in most of the Germanic lands (p. 247). In February 1562, Ferdinand instructed Brus and the other archbishops whose sees were within the Empire to advocate these measures vigorously at Trent (pp. 212-214). Married priesthood was dropped, but Brus did make a forceful representation at a session of the Council of Trent in early August 1562 in favor of the chalice. On September 16, the Council referred the question to the Pope (p. 279), who allowed it in 1564. Permission to use the chalice was then gradually withdrawn, country by country. It was last suppressed in Bohemia in December 1621 by Archbishop Jan Lohel (pp. 757-758).

¹⁰Archbishop Brus served as Roman Catholic archbishop of Prague from 1561 to 1580. His predecessor was Konrâd of Vechta, who was the archbishop from 1413 until his death in 1431. When he became a Utraquist in 1421 the bishop of Olomouc was named administrator of the diocese. There was no consecrated archbishop between 1431 and 1561. ¹¹Martin Medek of Mohelnice (1581-1590) and Zbyněk Berka of Dubá (1592-1606).

use in a church in Prague's New Town. 16 An English visitor in 1592, a keen observer of liturgical customs, noted that in the Church of St. Mary T9n in the Old Town of Prague, "The Hussites [have] changed nothing in religion, save onely the communicating of the Lords Supper in both kinds. . "17 He also observed:

For whereas the Papists giue not the Cupp to the layety, but only the bread, which they say containes the blood in the body, the Hussites giue both kyndes, not only to lay men, but to very Infants, because Christ sayth, suffer little ones to come vnto mee. But still they beleue with the Papists the Corporall eatinge of the body and blood of our lord with the mouth by transubstantiation. _ . They sing the Masse in lattin, but they reade the Epistle, the Gospell, the forme of Baptisme, and buyriall in the Bohemian Tounge.

. They agreed with the Papists for the number of Sacraments, and the doctryne of Predestination.¹⁸

The Utraquists continued to regard themselves as Catholics. Shortly after 1620, the year of the first major battle of the Thirty Years' War, Utraquism was effectively suppressed in Bohemia.

Ministers of the Utraquist Mass

A Utraquist Mass no less than a Catholic Mass required an ordained priest. Utraquists always insisted that the bishops ordaining their priests should be valid ones in the eyes of the Roman Catholic Church. This of course caused difficulties because there were no Utraquist bishops, so candidates would often have to travel outside the country to be ordained by a [Latin or Greek bishop. On some occasions, the Utraquists were able to have candidates ordained within Bohemia. In 1417, a member of the upper nobility kidnaped an Augustinian friar named Herman, who was titular bishop of Nicopolis, and forced him to ordain a group of Hussite priests. Between 1421 and his death in 1431, Konr d of Vechta, Catholic archbishop of Prague, served as bishop to the Utraquists. Philibert of Coutances, legate to Bohemia of the Council of

¹⁶Prague, N rodm knihovna (hereinafter: NK) XI B 1a, 1b, 1c, 1d and Prague, Knihovna Strahovsk ho kl sten (hereinafter: STRA) DA II 3.

¹⁷Fynes Moryson *Gent. , An Itinerary Containing His Ten Yeeres Travel/ through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmedand Sweitzerland, Netherland, Denmarke, H)land, Italy, •Ihrky, France, England, Scotland & Ireland*, vol. 4 (Glasgow, 1907-8), pp. 332-333. The author is indebted to Zden k V David, who identified the chronicles of Moryson and of Pierre Bergeron, which are cited later.

¹⁸Fynes Moryson, *Shakespeare's Europe: unpublished chapters of Fynes Moryson 's Itinerary, being a survey of the condition of Europe at the end of the 16th century*

(London, 1903), 277.

Basel, ordained Ultraquist priests between 1435 and his death in Prague in 1439.¹⁹ TWO bishops from Italy provided a supply of priests at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. Agostino, bishop of Santorin in the Cyclades, served the Ultraquists from 1482 until his death on September 27, 1493.¹⁰ The next episcopal visitor was Filippo of Villanuova, vicar general to the bishop of Modena and titular bishop of Sidon, who served the Ultraquists from the spring of 1504 until his death on October 20, 1507.²¹ TWO Greek Uniate bishops in Venice provided Ultraquist priests between 1539 and 1555.²² When the see of Prague was again filled in 1561, Archbishop Brus ordained twelve Ultraquist priests in 1565 and a further thirty in 1566.²³ After that, Ultraquist candidates for the priesthood were usually forced to seek ordination farther afield because of curial opposition to their ordination. Despite this difficulty, there was never a serious deficiency of Ultraquist priests. Pierre Bergeron was part of a twelve-man diplomatic delegation under the leadership of Marshal Urbain de Laval de Boissadauphin sent in 1600 by Henri IV of France to Emperor Rudolf in Prague. His comments give interesting insights about the Hussites and their clergy:

The Hussites are found in more than two-thirds of the towns and the rite of their Mass is almost the same as ours. On Corpus Christi, they hold a procession around the town, carrying the host through the streets. The Jesuits and everyone else of our faith think that they should not be prevented from venerating this host because in everyone's opinion, as it is known, it has been touched by the hands of a real priest who was not ordained by a follower of the Hussite religion. Hussite priests can, however, marry without impediment. They serve the sacrament in two kinds which the Catholic priests also do by the authority of a bull which the Pope issued to the Czechs to gain their obedience. The Hussites have not images of the saints in their churches, other than paintings. They control the principal church in the town [St. Mary and also all the rest of the churches, while the Catholics can administer the sacrament only in the monasteries.²⁴

In short, the Hussite clergy were not only canonically ordained by Catholic standards, but were recognized to be so even by the Jesuits.

¹ David, Finding, pp. 161, 164.

²⁴ Eliska Fuciková (ed.), *Trifrancouzgti kavalfi v rudolfinské Praze* (Prague, 1989), pp. 33, 44, 45. Author's translation,

Utraquist priests were expected to be celibate, at least to the end of

191)avid, Finding, p. 30.

20Ferdinand Hreisa, *Dějiny křesťanství v české zemi moravské*, VOL 4 (Prague, 1948), pp. 45-47, 95-97_

² Hrejsa, *Dějiny křesťanství*, pp. 168-170, 172.

22David, Finding, p. 385.

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the sixteenth century, and administered a liturgy which was based on the Prague use of the Roman Mass.

The Utraquist Office and the Office

The daily office was a part of Utraquist worship. In the late fifteenth century, at least four extant Latin antiphonaries in seven volumes were made for use in Utraquist towns. These include those made for the Church of the Holy Spirit in Hradec Králové,²⁵ the Church of St. Bartholomew in Kolin,²⁶ the Church of the Assumption in Čáslav nad Labem,²⁷ and an unidentified church in Kutná Hora.²⁸ There are doubtless others. A Latin antiphonary made for the Church of Saints Peter and Paul in Čáslav was blessed by Bishop Filippo of Villanuova on September 13, 1504.²⁹ None of these books has any contents which distinguish it as Hussite. A sixth Latin antiphonary, perhaps from the 1510's with a feast day for Hus and now preserved in the metropolitan library of the archdiocese of Esztergom, Hungary, was made for a Utraquist choir.³⁰ In other respects, except for its smaller size, it is similar to the other six antiphonaries. How it found its way to Hungary is a mystery. From the relative paucity of extant sources for the office, we can judge that the chief and fundamental component of the Utraquist liturgy was the Mass, while the daily office receded in importance. Utraquist antiphonaries from the sixteenth century are rare.³¹

The Utraquist Low Mass³²

By the end of the fourteenth century, there was an increased interest in having preaching in Czech. In 1391, the Bethlehem Chapel was

²⁵Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních českých zemí (hereinafter: HK) Hr 3 and 4, ca. 1470.

²⁶NM XIA 21 and 22, 1470's.

27Ústí nad Labem, Městské muzeum ST 1490 and 1491. Last quarter of fifteenth century

ZhNK Mill A 2, 1471.

²Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek Mus. Hs. (hereinafter: ÖNB) 15505. See Kliment &rnák, "O (%.äslavskfch kancionálech," Památky archaeologické a mistopisné, 23 (1909), col. 3.

³⁰Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár Ms. 1.313. The feast of Hus is on pp. 501-507.

⁵¹Jana Foitíková, "(teské megni ordinarium 2. poloviny 16. století," *Miscellanea Musicologica*, 31 (1984), p. 228. Even rarer are antiphonaries which include Czech chant, although there are at least two: NK xyl E 1 and NM IV A 17, both made in the 1550's.

³²The comments which follow relate to the Mass of the mainline Hussites. There were a number of groups of Hussite radicals which sprang up in the late 1410's and whose theology and liturgical practices were beyond the pale. One such group was the •laborites, who were suppressed by King George of poděbrady in 1452.

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founded as a center for this purpose. Jan Hus, who became its preacher in 1402, coupled its homiletic program with the celebration of the Eucharist, thereby providing a daily ministry of word and sacrament. The new foundation was not only well endowed, but also well **pro** tected. Its privileges were secured in legal form and its relationship to the parish in which it was located fixed by permanent agreement. Its pulpit was used by many of the leaders of the Bohemian reformation. St. Catherine of Vraba in 1402 provided a living for a preacher at St. Vitus's Cathedral who was to preach in Czech each holy day and three times weekly during Advent and Lent.³³ It would seem that Czech hymns were being used increasingly in the liturgy. At a synod held on June 15, 1406, it was ordered that only four such hymns, whose incipits were cited, could be sung in worship services. The use of any others would be punished under church law." While it is possible that readings were in Czech at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the only bits of evidence in primary documents are lectionary incipits and explicits found in some Czech Bibles. In 1434, it would appear that the readings and the creed were being said in Latin only or else in both Latin and Czech, since canon 17 of the St. James's Synod of that year urged that they be said in Czech.³⁵ There is only one relevant manuscript to shed light on the question, a quasi-missal made ca. 1450.³⁶ It has Latin chants and variable prayers for each day in its calendar. The readings are in Czech. It does not, however, contain the elements of the ordinary or the canon. There is also no identification of the church for which the book was made, although the users were probably Utraquist. The difficulty in determining the exact contents of the Utraquist Mass arises because there seem to be only two extant Utraquist missals? They are substantially similar to each another,

were both written by the scribe Jan of Humpolec, are entirely in Latin, and in no significant way

"John M. Klassen. *The Nobility and the Making of the Hussite Revolution* (Boulder, Colorado, 1978), p. 87.

⁴⁴ _ Cantilenarum prohibicio

Item mandat dominus Archiepiscopus quod plebani et ecclesiarum rectores in predicationibus nuncient pmhibitas esse novas cantilenas omnes preter:

buoh wsscmohucy etc.; hospodinc pomiluj ny;Jcsu Chryste styedry kniezie; Swaty nass Waczlawe. Alias contra cantantes et cantare permittentes per remedia juris punientur.

see C, Höfler, *Concilia pragensia 1353-1413* (Vienna, 1972), p. 52.

"Blanka Zilynská, *Husitské synody v dechâcb 1418-1440* (Prague, 1985), pp. 17-18.

³⁶NM IV B 6

⁷Kutná Hora, Okresni archiv d'. I O (1486) and Ledec , Dékanství ZP 826/1 (1493). The latter is kept in a kitchen cupboard of the deanery of the Church of SS. Peter and Paul in Ledec.

different from a Catholic Prague missal from Plzeň of the same period.³⁸ All three (the two by Humpolec and the one from Plzeň) have a formula to be used in administering the cup to the laity. Prague missals were first printed in Plzeň in 1479. Many other editions followed, all in Latin. The printed Prague missals had no Utraquist characteristics and no words to be used for administering the cup. The only extant books with prayers in Czech for the Mass are a 1588 manuscript which has three Eucharistic prayers, one in Latin and two in Czech, called the Altar Book of Adam Táborský³⁹ and a manuscript supplement to a printed Prague missal which has in Czech two of the three proper prayers for the days of the temporal and sanctoral cycles. The former does not have the complete set of proper prayers, chants, and readings that would be found in a missal. So while Latin and Czech anaphoras were both used in at least one church at the end of the sixteenth century, there is no extant documentary evidence of which language was dominant in Utraquist worship in the Bohemian lands.

Czech may have been used in some churches for other parts of the Mass, but there is no evidence for this before 1539 in primary sources. We are told of a group of Prague Utraquists who, on March 3, 1502, drew up and presented to the priests and masters of the Charles University a list of five conditions which, in their view, were necessary as a basis for any reconciliation with Rome. The fourth was, "that the giving of the sacrament to infants and the singing in Czech of the gospel and epistle should remain and the abrogation of the Compactata should in no way affect them."⁴¹ By the third decade of the sixteenth century, there had developed a movement toward using Czech in the music of the liturgy which was to become more widespread beginning in 1539, but which was never complete. A synod held in Prague on January 29, 1524 described the accepted form of the liturgy at that time which was identical to that found in the traditional Latin Mass. The synod added that the Mass should be celebrated,

"NM XV B 5 (1487)_

"NM III F 17_ scc David R. Holeton, "The Evolution of Utraquist Eucharistic Liturgy: a textual study," in *The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice*, VOL 2 (Prague, 1998), pp. 99-100, 108-109. The book also has prefaces and eight noted gospel readings.

*The printed gradual STRA DR v 12 does have in a handwritten supplement collects and postcommunion prayers (but not secrets) for the temporal and the

sanctoral translated into Czech. David R. Holeton, "Fynes Moryson's Itinerary The Bohemian Reformation and Religious Practice, Vol. 5, Part 2 (Prague, 2005), p. 406_

⁴ IHrejsa, Dějiny k*esiansvi, p. 113. "Aby podáváni Svátosti ditkám a České zpiváni evangellii a epis tol zu stalo a nebylo na zävadu takovému dokonáni compactät_'

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as it has been from antiquity, introit, separately for Sundays and annual saints' days either for Mary or apostles or others mentioned in scripture, Kyrie eleison, Gloria, epistle, gradual and alleluia, sequence which reflects the word of God, gospel, Nicene Creed, preface, Sanctus, Agnus Dei, communion, and other songs and collects, which are in accordance with God's law-And everything, as much as possible, should be in the vernacular ⁴²

Nonetheless, in 1543 Jan Augusta (1500-1572), bishop of the Bohemian Brethren, remarked in reproof that the music in a Hussite Mass was more Latin than Czech. ⁴³ Before this, Master Piseckj wrote in his memoirs that it is true that the Czech office of the Mass takes place in many churches, especially in all churches where there are no literati, but that otherwise, the Hussite office is in Latin." As our Englishman Fynes Moryson reported, the readings at the end of the sixteenth century in St. Mary Tyn were in Czech and the rest of the Mass was in Latin. So, leaving aside for now the question of the music of the Mass, it seems to be a well supported conjecture that readings in Hussite Masses, to which one can probably add sermons, were more often in Czech than in Latin from the first half of the fifteenth century, the time of the Czech quasi-missal made ca. 1450 (NM IV B 6), until the seventeenth century. There were manuscript and printed Czech Bibles from which the lessons and gospels could have been taken.

But what of the language of the variable prayers, prefaces, and the Eucharistic prayer itself? Although we are told that, in the period 1415-1417, Jakoubek encouraged the priest Jan Åpek to translate the Mass into Czech, there is no extant record of his efforts 'F' There are no extant complete sets of Czech Mass prayers and, save for the two in the altar book cited by David Holeton, no Czech anaphoras. Judging by the

•JosefV ěimák (ed. praiskã Bart(ße pisaie," Pontes Rerum Bohemicarum, vol. 6 (Prague, 1907), pp. 23-24. The Mass is to be celebrated'

... iakoi bejval od starodãvna, introitové, zvlãSt Pak nedělni a svãtkiiv roenich bud také i panny Marie neb apogtofti i jini, kteii by z pisem boiskYch vzati byli; kyrie eleison. pisiñeka anjelskã, Slava na Osostcch bohu a na zemi pokoj , epftola, graduãlové, alleluja;

Casem svym i prosy některé, kteří by se s zákonem boiim srovnávaly, Cteni svaté, vira obecna kiesianska podle snému nicenského, praefaci, sanctus, agnus dei, communi i iinā pti tom zpiváni a kolleoty kteří by se s zákonem boiim srovnávaly_ A to v'ecko. coi nejvic byti Inui. aby v jazyku rozumném bylo.

"Zikmund Winter. iivot cirkerni v decbäch. vol. 2 (Prague, 1896), p. 854. The Jednota is known in English as the Unity of the Birthren or as the Bohemian Brethren.

•4Winter, Zivot cirkevni, p. 854. Literati were members of literary guilds who, among other functions, acted as choristers.

sky, AHistoo, 198.

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number of surviving graduals, there were scores" of Utraquist churches celebrating Mass in the sixteenth century. Each had to have the chants, readings, and fixed and variable prayers found in a missal. But there is not one extant Czech missal. Could it be that scores existed, but each one was subsequently destroyed? During the Counter-Reformation it is true that parts of Czech -graduals were excised, but only a few leaves usually relating to Hus or containing polemic. Whole books seem not to have been destroyed and the censors showed no animosity toward the use of the Czech language per se. Total destruction seems virtually impossible and at least highly improbable. This leads us ineluctably to the conclusion that most Utraquist priests were commonly using the same printed Latin Prague missals used by the Roman Catholics for the anaphora, prefaces, and proper prayers.

Music of the Utraquist Mass to 1538

There is an extant Czech choral book made ca. 1420.⁴⁷ How it was used is not evident from the contents. Somewhat more than fifty Latin graduals made between 1420 and 1539 have survived. Slightly over a score were Utraquist, another over a score Catholic, and the remainder of unknown provenance. In most cases, it is impossible to distinguish between the confessions of the users of graduals using evidence internal to the books. Instead, one has to try to identify whether the church for which the book was made was Utraquist or Catholic. For example, it is impossible to identify any difference between the gradual made for use in the Catholic Church of St. Bartholomew in Plzeri in 1490⁴⁸ and the one made sixteen years later for use in the Utraquist Church of the Assumption in Havliéküv Brod.⁴⁹

Most of these books consist of a Kyriale (without creeds), the propers for the liturgical year with the temporal cycle preceding the

sanctoral cycle, a sequentiary, and a single creed. The temporal cycle makes provision for each Sunday in the year, weekdays in Lent, and following Easter and Pentecost, and four sets of Ember days. The calendar is typically crowded, with sanctoral cycles often having more than 200 days. A sextet of saints traditionally dear to Bohemian hearts—Adalbert,

⁴⁶Barry F. H. Graham, *Bohemian and Moravian Graduals 1420-1620* (Turnhout, 2006), p. 34 (Table 4).

⁴⁷NM II C 7, usually called the *Jistebnick• Kancionál*.

⁴⁸NM MI A 20.

O Havlíčkův Brod, Okresní vlastivědné muzeum SK 2/1.

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Sigismund, Vitus, Procop, Ludmilla, and Wenceslas—are usually present. While the days of the sanctoral included in the calendar may vary from book to book, the music and text of those present are almost always identical, save for spelling differences. Starting in 1491, there was some minor evolution in Utraquist books. TWO Utraquist books made between 1490 and 1510 contain one sequence for the feast of Jan Hus.⁵⁰ All Utraquist books made between 1510 and 1537 also had proper chants for Hus, some of which were drawn from the common of martyrs.⁵¹ The alleluia and verse were always specially written for Hus.⁵² A second evolutionary trend began about 1500 and can be seen in some Utraquist and Roman Catholic graduals. The configuration of Kyrie, proper chants, and sequentiary remained, but the content of the proper had the temporal and sanctoral cycles intercalated. The number of days in the sanctoral cycle was reduced drastically (thirty would be a typical figure). The temporal cycle was pared to the seven major feasts from Christmas to Corpus Christi and a series of Masses in Advent for the Incarnation and/or for the Virgin in Advent.⁵³ Utraquist books of this general configuration usually have a section of hymns, a handful of which are in Czech.⁵⁴ Most of the books are in a *textualis formata* hand.

Music of the Utraquist Mass after 1538

With three exceptions,⁵⁵ Utraquist graduals made after 1538 were in Czech.⁵⁶ At least fifty-eight Czech Utraquist volumes were made between 1539 and 1620. This compares with eight Catholic graduals and eight Latin Utraquist volumes made in the same period. The configurations of the Czech Utraquist books are highly variable. The temporal cycle usually has the major feasts from Christmas to Corpus

Christi, Sundays between Septuagesima and Palm Sunday, Good Friday,

⁵⁰ÖNB 15492; Mladá Boleslav, Okresní muzeum (hereinafter. MB) II A 1.

⁵¹ The first of these books, ONB 15501, was completed in 1510. The Hus leaves have been excised but rubric references to them remain on other leaves.

⁵² Barry F. H. Graham, *The Litoměřice Gradual of 1517* (Prague, 1999), p. 186, *1382.

⁵³ Examples include NK XIV A 2 and Zittau, Christian-Weise-Bibliothek Ms. A, III. In NM, XII A 23, the sequentiary is intercalated with the Eucharistic propers. All three are Roman Catholic books.

"Examples include HK Hr 6 (214 hymns and motets of which 14 are in Czech); NM XIII A 2 (187, 7 in Czech); NKVI B 24 (79, Czech).

"NK XI B la, 1b, 1c, 1d and STRA DA II 3, a five-part Latin gradual; Prague, Archiv hlavního města Prahy rkp_ 1870, the fifth part of an eight-part Latin gradual; Klatovy, Okresní muzeum MSS 102 and 103, two parts of an eight-part Latin gradual. s&l-he two 1539 codices are HK Hr 16 and NM V B 5.

votives for use between Septuagesima and Palm Sunday and at other times, and one to three Mæsses for Sundays.⁵⁷ In a number of books, the Sundays from Septuagesima through Quinquagesima are lacking⁵⁸ and only a series of votive Masses for the period is given.⁹ For Advent, there may be a series of seven Masses for the Virgin (one for each day of the week)⁶⁰ and/or a number of Masses for the Incarnation.⁶¹ Rarely, one finds the traditional four Sundays of the Latin books.⁶² "The number of Masses in honor of saints which occurred on more than 100 occasions in the earlier Latin graduals is much smaller. Only one or two scores of saints' days are intercalated with the temporal cycle. The Transfiguration, which appears in about one-half of the Latin books, is included in almost all the Czech ones. Proper chants and sequences for Hus are or were in almost all of the Czech graduals. The rubrics in four graduals from the last two decades of the sixteenth century refer to the feast of the Assumption as "on the burial day of the virgin Mary" or some close equivalent.^β Most of the ordinary may be at the front, as in Intin books. The creeds (some of which may be multi-part) are most often at the end. Most books have sequences and about a half have hymns. Sequences and hymns may follow the proper. Alternatively, the ordinary, sequentiary, and hymnary may be intercalated with the proper chants for each day in the calendar. The script in most of the large Czech books, in the terminology of Derolez, is cursivafonnata.⁶⁴

The musical component of the chants in the Czech books differs somewhat from the pattern in Latin graduals of an introit, a gradual, an alleluia or tract (except for ferias), an offertory and a communion. The Czech graduals all have an introit and an alleluia or tract. Indeed, many provide more than one introit and alleluia, giving the users a choice. Gradual chants are usually provided for Sundays from Septuagesima through Easter and occasionally for other days of the calendar, especially during Advent. Offertories are found in some books, usually only on a handful of occasions. Communion chants appear from time to time but not very often. Since the period when the Eucharist is being

⁹For example, NK VII A 3.

^βFor example, HK Hr 8, whose calendar jumps from Candlemas to Easter.

⁶¹For example, Česká Skalice, Muzeum Bojena Némceva 11058 0 13291, pp. 209-

244⁶⁰For example, Rakovník, Muzeum T.D.M., N. 15, fols 12r-143r ⁶¹For

example, NK XMIA 3 ff. 109v-122v; NK VII A 40, 60v-73v. ⁶²For example,

Inndon, British Library Additional ms 16175, fols. 134r-142v "Graham, Bohemian, pp. 4546.

⁶⁴Albert Derolez. *The Palaeography of Gothic Manuscript Books from the Twelfth to the Early Sixteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2003), plate III.

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administered is a natural occasion for music, it would appear likely that, lacking chants, hymns were used instead. Hymns designated to be used in place of offertories or graduals are found in some of the codices of the scribe Jan Kantor Starfi and elsewhere.⁶⁵ In addition, one also finds Advent graduals or mrätņiks (so named because the first word in the introit for the first Advent Ember day is "Rorate") which have a series of seven Masses for the Virgin (one for each day of the week), sequences, and hymns.⁶⁷

If one looks at the lyrical content of the music in a Czech gradual, one usually finds that one of the alternative chants for a particular occasion has wording which is a translation of what is found in the Latin graduals. The other chants for that occasion are either conflations of the Latin wording, are based on a different scriptural source, or are not taken from scripture at all. For example, the first option in most Czech graduals for the introit for Ascension Day⁶⁸ is taken from Acts 1 : II, as is its Latin⁶⁹ counterpart found in Utraquist and Catholic Latin graduals and missals.

Men of Galilee, what are you wondering about, looking up into heaven?
Alleluia. Just as you see him ascending into heaven, so he will come again.

Alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.

The second option, found in many Czech graduals, is conflated:

Men of Galilee, what are you wondering at from afar, do you not know or are you not acquainted with the scripture, that you so diligently look up to heaven? Alleluia. For just as you have seen your Lord ascending in a cloud to heaven, so he will come again from heaven, alleluia, alleluia, alleluia.⁷⁰

² 9ÖNB 15492, fols. 193v, 19•ir: "Viri galilei, quid admiramini aspicientes in celum? aevia: quemadmodum viditis eum ascendentem in celum, ita veniet, aevia, aevia. aevia." 7ÖNB 15503, fols 181% 181 v: Muīī Galileysstīī co se diwite zdalīī newite cīī pīsem neznāte Ze tak pītie patrzite do ncbe Alleluyā ya Nebo yakoi ste ho pana swēho widēlī an wstupuge w oblance do nebe taki przigde zase z nebe Alleluyā a]leluya alleluya.

Bohemian lyricists were fascinated not just by prolixity, but also by polemics. The Latin alleluia verse for the feast of Saints Peter and Paul was taken from Matthew 16: 17:

"MB 11 A 2; WII A 31; NK XVIIIA 53a" For example, NM 11 B 4.

t"An example of a rorâtnik is MB II A 'i.

6*ÖNB 15503, fols. 180v, 81r: "Mužii Galileysstii co se diwite patrzite spolu na nebe alleluyâ neb yakoi gste widéli geho wstupugi\$ho na nebe taki zas przigde Alleluyâ alleluyâ alleluya_"

You are Peter and upon this rock I will build my church. Blessed are you Simon Peter, because flesh and blood did not reveal this to you, but my Father who is in the heavens.⁷¹

The Czech alleluia verse for the feast of Peter and Paul once found in twenty-two graduals strongly expresses the distaste the Utraquists felt for papal claims of plenitude of power:

Glory to God: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. I who alone am the powerful Lord, I tell you, "You are Peter, and on that rock [Christ] you alone confessed, not on yourself but on me, because I am the rock, and on that rock I alone, I the omnipotent and eternal Lord will build my dear and faithful holy church which I redeemed by my blood." I tell you faithfully, "Blessed are you, Simon Peter, for neither flesh nor blood, nor mortal human being nor any living creature has revealed to you this mystery of God, nor do you have that faith of yourself; but my Father by nature and your Father by grace lwhol is the only omnipotent Lord (and who reigns and rules for ever) revealed it to you for others and also for you."⁷²

One of the alternative graduals for the common of confessors in both the Latin and Czech books is based on Ps. 110:4 [Vg 109:41]. The Latin version uses the biblical text unaltered.

The Lord has sworn and shall not change his mind; you are a priest forever according to the order of Melchisedek.

Twelve Czech sources conflate the source to direct a polemical attack on Roman Catholic priests as opposed to Utraquist ones. It is hard to understand the logic, since both varieties of priests were ordained by the same bishops.

?I ÖNB 15492, fols- 261 r, 261 v: Alleluia. Tu es petrus et super hanc petram edificabo ecclesiam meam_ Bcatus es symon petrc quia cam et sanguis non revelavit tibi scd pater meus qui est in celis.

⁷²ÖNB 15503, fols. 209r•210r: Alleluya budii Bohu chwála wécinâ wotcy y synu y Duchu swatému. IY gsy Petr prawimi yâ geni gsem sâm mocny; pan a na té skâle kterüi gsy ty wyznal sârñ ne na tobé ale na sobé nebi gsem ya skila na teyi skâle yi wssemohlicy a wCcing pan mocie %7délâm swu milü a wérñü C.yrkew s-watü kterüi sem krwi swau wykaupiL Blahoslawenf sy Ssimone Petrze yâi wérñie prawim tobie nebi gest tielo a krew iadny smrtedlny cilowék ani przibuzny ani giny ktery koliwék ne zgewil tobé toho tagemstwi boiho anii od sebe mass té wiry prawé alc wotec mig przirozer\$ a twüg milostny; on gest sâm wssemohücy% pân zgewil tobé pro giné také y pro tebe geni gest w nebesgch kraluge y panuge na wéky.

⁷³ÖNB 15492, fols_ 309v, 3 luravit dominus et non penitebit cum: tu es sacerdos in ceternum secundum ordinem melchisedech,

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The Lord has sworn, is completely committed and shall not repent and we must understand that he is a priest forever, for which David gives thanks, according to the order of Melchizedek and not of the pope; the Lord always serves the faithful priests, he avoids false ones and suppresses them.⁷⁴

There is some difficulty in accepting that the existence of new Czech graduals implies a single source for the music of the Utraquist Mass. The books have provision for at most three Sundays apart for those within Advent and preceding Easter and none for weekdays in Lent. The latter and all Sundays were usually present in the Latin graduals. Does this mean that the same three sets of introits and alleluias were used on over forty Sundays? Light is shed on the question by information about the choral societies and later guilds which provided the music for the Mass.

The choral societies went back at least to the beginning of the fifteenth century and were originally simply providers of church music. They were found in both Utraquist and Catholic churches. As time went on, they added literary interests to their agenda, including running choir schools to provide young choristers. The schools taught a balanced curriculum in addition to music and generally enjoyed a good reputation. By the end of the fifteenth century, they started to organize themselves as guilds with written articles of association which provided rules for the members. An early one was the guild of male and female singers which provided the music in the Catholic Church of the Assumption in Jindi•ichüv Hradec. Their sponsors were Jindr- ich IV of Hradec and his wife Magdaléna, both Franciscan tertiaries. The husband was active in national affairs, having been appointed Lord High Chamberlain in 1485 and High Burgrave of Bohemia in The statutes for the guild which he drafted in 1489/75 were approved by Innocent VIII. The guilds over time accumulated

considerable endowments which were used for educational and charitable purposes. The members of the guilds, in addition to the singers, usually included others distinguished for their erudition or social status. The guilds

74ÖNB 15503, fols. 250v, 251r: przisahu pin vcilnil a tuzc sc zâwâzal a nebude ieleti y my to mime wédieti ie gest kniezem ai na wieky z toho Dawid ciini díky wedlé Melchysedechowa rzädu a ne papeiowa wzdy wérny;rn posluhuge ktoi se falessr\$ch waruge a ge potlaciuge.

?SThe original choral societies arc analogous to the societies of craftsmen and merchants which also dated from the fourteenth century. The first charter granted to a Prague guild was given to the furriers of the Old Town in 1473, sixteen years earlier. See Jakub Hrdlička, Praiské heraldika znaky pra2skjcb měst cechü a méiiianü (Prague, 1993), p. 207.

seem to have had an important influence on the musical repertory of the churches in which they sang. Having considerable self-confidence in liturgical matters, they selected the contents of the books they used, which therefore differed from church to church.

A [atin choral guild existed in the town of Louny in 1515. It occupied a choir loft in the Church of St. Nicholas on the west end of the north wall beginning in 1540.⁷⁶ A traditional two-volume Latin gradual was made for its use in 1530 by the scribe Paul of Mělník.⁷⁷ A Czech choral guild was in existence in 1541⁷⁸ and acquired its own Czech gradual in 1563 made by the scribe Jan Táborskýfi of Klokotská Hora.⁷⁹ Both guilds continued until 1626, when the Czech guild wa.s folded into the Latin one.⁸⁰ The Latin guild was regarded as the senior of the two and tended to have among its members the more distinguished of the town 's burghers. The Czech guild shared the loft of the Latin guild until 1561 , when its own loft was constructed on the south wall above the door. Its loft was enlarged in 1619.⁸¹ "The ineluctable implication of the need for two lofts is that both guilds performed at the same services, although how the musical responsibilities were divided is unclear.

A large 14tin gradual⁸² was made ca. 1509 by Janiéek Zmilelf of Pisek for use in the Church of the Mother of God in Mladá Boleslav and a large Czech one⁸³ by Jan Kantor Star' in 1572. A single choral guild was chartered in the town in 1565. Perforce, it must initially have used the Latin gradual. One of the guild's articles specifies that there were to be two choirs, one which sang polyphony on Sundays and the other which sang plainsong on weekdays.⁸⁴ There may have been some overlap in the personnel of the two choirs. However, none of the four graduals extant from the church contains propers for weekdays in Lent and the Ember seasons except the latin one. It would seem a reasonable speculation that the weekday plainsong choir sang in Latin. Even the Sunday

⁷⁶Dagmar VaniSová, "Literati latinského kúru v Lounech, píed rokem 1620," Sborník okresního v Lounech I (1985), p-43.

"Louny, Státní okresní archiv I G 8a and I G 8b.

NBohumir Roedl and Dagmar Vaniäová, "Kruchta a hudebniny bratrstva desk'ch literáti v Lounech," Hudebni véda, 24 (1987), p. 168. uLouny, Státní okresní archiv I G 8c. also known as I G 9. AlaniSová. "Literáti latinského kúru." p. 45, ⁸¹ Roedl and VaniQ»vá, "Kruchta," p. 168.

⁸²MB II A 1.

⁸³MB II A 2.

BIEVä Mikanovä, "Hudebni iivot na Mladoboleslavku v 16. ai 18. stoleti," in Jiii AntoS et al. eds., *Boleslavica 68* (Prague, 1969), p. 205.

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choir may have used latin on the Sundays after Epiphany and after Trinity for which the Czech gradual contains only two sets of propers.

A different arrangement is reported to have been in use at the Church of the Holy Spirit in Hradec Krälové.⁸⁵ At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the more prominent Latin choir, which in time developed into a guild, sang a repertory on Sundays and saints' days which included polyphony. A Czech choir sang monophonic material, probably plainsong, on weekdays and especially during lent. Later, the two choirs alternated on Sundays and feast days.

A two-volume Czech gradual was made in 1559-60, possibly for the Church of St. Mary Tfn in the Old Town of Prague." It may have been kept in the church in 1592.⁸⁷ Václav Trubec and Rovine donated an eight-part Latin gradual to the church in 1604 in memory of his father.⁸⁸ Thus, ca. 1600, the music in the church may conceivably have been in both Czech and Latin, notwithstanding Moryson's observation that it was only in Latin.

Summary of the Utraquist Mass

This concluding section summarizes what can be said about the evolution of the Utraquist Mass over the period 1420-1620 using the primary evidence of liturgical documents known to have been used in worship. It also notes directions that the Mass could have taken but apparently did not.

- The (Latin) anaphora and the proper prayers used by Utraquists in the fifteenth century were taken from the Prague use missal promulgated by Archbishop Arnoät of Pardubice in the fourteenth century. There is little evidence that it was ever abandoned by many Utraquist churches in the sixteenth century.

*SJaroslav Mikan, "Literary Groups in Headcc Krälové," in Ales Doubrava and Jaroslav gtila (eds.), *IQarls of Old Parchments* (Hradec Krälové, 1967), p. 13. Mikan cites no sources for his observation. The present writer doubts that the Czech choir was active as early as Mikan implies.

⁸¹NK fond ki•iiovnickf XVIII A 6 and 7,

⁸⁷Notation on f, 1 NK fond kiiiivnicky XVIII A 7: Jan Kotwa Plzensky Corffysst spravcze tohoto küru i u matky Boii pied Unem v Starytn M. p. anno 1592. . _ Authors

translation: JKPC, administrator of this choir at St. Mary 'Yn in the Old Town of Prague in the year IS92. . .

⁸⁸Prague. Archiv hlavniho md•sta Prahy 1870. Inscription fol. XLVII r. This is volume 5. The other seven volumes are missing,

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- There is no evidence in liturgical documents for the language used in homilies, but it was probably chiefly Czech.
- The readings and the Creed in the fifteenth century were those of the Prague missal, usually in Latin, but sometimes in Czcch. There is no evidence that the readings changed in the sixteenth century, but the language used was probably increasingly Czech.
- Specific changes to the calendar included the addition of sequences for Hus starting in 1491 and of proper chants for him in 1510. Almost all Utmquist liturgical books made after 1509 had proper chants and one or more sequences for Hus and the Bohemian martyrs. The Transfiguration, which figured in about one-half of graduals made before 1538, was found in almost all books made after that date.
- The number of days in the sanctoral cycles in deluxe graduals decreased from in IAtin books made before 1538 to 20-30 in (Czech) books made after 1538.
- The temporal cycles in Czech graduals after 1538 no longer had Sundays after Epiphany and Trinity Sunday, the Ember days and weekdays in Lent and in the weeks following Easter and Pentecost. Churches using such books would probably have relied on their old Latin ones for the missing days.
- The troping in the music of the ordinary, Latin until 1538, increased, particularly after 1500. It was concentrated among the Kyries and Sanctuses. Creeds were seldom troped. When many churches adopted the ordinary of the Mass in Czech after 1538, the incidence of troping did not change and indeed the tropes themselves were mostly translations of their Latin predecessors.
- Proper chants for the various days of the calendar up to 1538 were almost always the same, consisting of introit, gradual, alleluia/tract, offertory, and communion and used the same music and words as in any other Prague use gradual. These graduals and Latin graduals made in the last half of the sixteenth century were used after 1538 in churches which sang an exclusively Latin liturgy and in churches which used both languages. The chants in the Czech graduals made after 1538 had one or more introits and alleluias (or tract when appropriate) for every day in their calendar. Graduals and

offertories were present in almost all books, but usually not for every day. Communion antiphons appeared more irregularly.

- Hymns were included in a handful of pre-1539 Latin graduals and a few had Czech words. Hymns were much more plentiful in the Czech graduals made after 1538. They were probably used in place of graduals, offertories and communions on some days. Indeed some

hymns are specifically designated to be used in place of a gradual or offertory chant.

- "The number of sequences in Latin graduals, particularly those made in the sixteenth century, was high. "The Litoměřice gradual, which dates from 1517, has 121 sequences.⁸⁹ The sequentiaries of Czech books were smaller, probably reflecting the smaller sanctoral cycles they had. A book made in 1561 for use in a church in Prague's old town has only seventy-four sequences.⁹⁰

After saying what the Utraquist Mass was, it is also important to say what it was not. The increasing use of the vernacular in the Utraquist Mass can hardly be attributed to Lutheran influence. The Utraquists were using the vernacular at least seventy years before Luther burst on to the scene. Luther would allow no sequences. The Utraquists used many. Utraquists continued to venerate the host. Luther abominated the offertory and especially the sacrificial wording of the traditional anaphora. The Utraquists held to both—before and after Luther.

The Pius V Missal had no apparent effect on the Utraquist Mass. Czech was widely used and the new missal did not nudge the Utraquist liturgy in the direction of a greater use of Latin. A pruning of the calendar, much more vigorous than what occurred in 1570, was apparent in Utraquist graduals after 1538. There is little evidence that the anaphora was revised. The new Roman missal dealt severely with the troping in the ordinary which had grown up over the years. Utraquist graduals made after 1570 showed the same prolixity in the ordinary as was found in earlier ones. A two-volume gradual made in 1594 for use in the town of Rakovník⁹¹ has seventy-two sequences, very close in number to the seventy-four sequences in the 1561 gradual cited earlier and much greater than the four permitted in the Pius V Missal.⁹²

The evolution of the Utraquist Mass in the years 142M62() followed its own inherently Catholic path, little affected by other influences in the sixteenth century.

am, *Litoměřice*,

"Graham, XVII A 40: — pp. 211. 272.

⁹¹ Rakovník, Muzeum T. G. M., N. 13 and 15.

⁹² Joseph Jungmann, *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development* (Missarum Sollemnia), translated by Francis A. Brunner (New York, 1959), pp. 102, 103, 230, and 283-