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**The Music of the Bohemian Literary Brotherhoods as preserved in Prague,
Národní knihovna Manuscript *PragU XVII B 19***

by/ par

© Christine Suzanne Covert Barrows

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ABSTRACT

First copied during the second half of the sixteenth century (and later renewed in 1650), for use by the literary brotherhood of the church of St. Havla in Old Town Prague, the manuscript *PragU XVII B 19* belongs to an era of a culture of which many Western musicological scholars have little awareness. The manuscript forms the main subject of this thesis including its physical construction, provenance and musical contents, particularly the polyphonic Czech Credos. In addition this source is placed in the immediate social, cultural and theological context with special emphasis on its place within the larger context of the city of Prague, the kingdom of Bohemia, the monarchical structure of the Habsburg family and the greater conglomerate of the Holy Roman Empire.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION¹

Among the holdings of the National Library in Prague (Praha), capital city of the Czech Republic, is a music manuscript belonging to the Prague University collection identified as **Seventeen B Nineteen** (*PragU XVII B 19*). It is a *graduale* with five polyphonic Czech-language Credos,² first copied in the second half of the sixteenth century and revised during the middle of the seventeenth. This manuscript, for use by the *literati confraternitatum* (literary brotherhood) at the Church of St. Havla (St. Gallus) in Prague, played an integral role in the rituals of a particular community, first of Utraquist,³ then Catholic believers, rituals which found a place within the larger context of the city of Prague, the Kingdom of Bohemia, the monarchical structure of the Habsburg family, and the greater

¹ In order to provide ease in reading, the western translations of the Czech place names will be used, with the original Czech form presented in parenthesis on the initial use of a name. Out of personal preference, the Czech *St. Havla* will be used rather than English *St. Gallus* when referring to the church in which this manuscript was used.

² One credo is incomplete.

³ *Utraquist* was the name applied to the members of the eventual successors to the religious movement begun by Jan Hus. See Chapter Two for a more detailed explanation.

conglomerate of the Holy Roman Empire.⁴

Many musicological studies of Bohemian history have been based on Latin-language manuscripts⁵ which often belonged to the aristocracy; but the manuscripts in the vernacular seem to come much closer to an accurate reflection of the changes which occurred with the religious revolution, the upsurge in Czech nationalism and the new patronage and musical activities of the rising class of town merchants and burghers. It would be appropriate here to use the term *middle-class* for this group of people since they are situated both economically and socially between the aristocracy and the peasants.

The primary criterion for the selection of this particular manuscript was that it was written in the Czech language and first used by members of the amateur singers of the *literati* associated with the official Utraquist

⁴ For general background reading regarding the history of the Habsburg family and its territories, see Jean Bérenger, *A History of the Habsburg Empire: 1273-1700* trans. C. A. Simpson (New York: Longman, 1994) and R.J.W. Evans *The Making of the Habsburg Monarchy: 1550-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979) hereafter referred to as Evans, *MHM*. A good source of information on the Holy Roman Empire and Bohemia's place in it is Hajo Holborn's three-volume work *A History of Modern Germany* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969).

⁵ For example, the Latin manuscripts in Prague's National Museum (Národní Muzeum) numbers *XIII E* and *XIV C 7* (fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) and *VII G 16* (fourteenth century). And in the National Library, Prague University collection *VH 11* and *VH 31* (fourteenth century) and the Utraquist Latin graduale *VI B 24* (sixteenth century).

Church of the late sixteenth century. Initially the sixteenth century was chosen because it represented an era of general religious tolerance in Bohemia during which the Utraquists were still strong despite the waning of the furor and controversy, the passing of the Hussite Wars, and the ascendancy of the Emperor. Once the study was underway, however, it became clear that the manuscript had been revised in 1650. This later period extends beyond the sixteenth century, through the years leading up to the Battle of the White Mountain in 1620, to those following the Peace of Westphalia and the end of the Thirty Years War in 1648.

Some authors⁶ indicate that it was during the time from 1620 to after the end of the Thirty Years War that a mass destruction of Czech cultural artifacts occurred. Others⁷ either deny or make no reference to a systematic purge. Nevertheless, regardless of the reason, Czech cultural materials from this period are indeed scarce. The dearth of such materials and an apparent

⁶ Most notably J.V. Polišenský, *History of Czechoslovakia in Outline* (Prague: Bohemia International, 1991), J. Bužga, and A. Simpson "Prague: I to 1620," *The New Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* 5 (1980): pages 192-193, and Rosa Newmarch, *The Music of Czechoslovakia* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969).

⁷ Evans, *MHM*, page 214 and Jaroslav Paněk "The Religious Question and the Political System of Bohemia before and after the Battle of the White Mountain" *Crown, Church and Estates: Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, R.J.W. Evans and T.V. Thomas, eds. (London: MacMillan Academic and Professional Ltd., 1991) pages 129 - 175.

lack of interest by historical musicologists in anything but the aristocracy, are the primary reasons for the general neglect of study regarding this time period and this aspect of the Bohemian Church - be it Utraquist or Catholic. As a result many western musical scholars are unaware of, and therefore unfamiliar with, this segment of the history of East-Central Europe.

Because of the emphasis placed on the aristocracy in modern musical scholarship, the impression has been given that other segments of the population were either of no importance or aspired to that model. In his book *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* Gary Tomlinson has written on the subject of the tendency of modern scholars to ignore aspects of Renaissance music that are not well-known, or to regard them as mere variants of better known styles or movements.⁸ Perhaps a preferable way to say this would have been to encourage scholars to recognize the local, community, and regional voices as they reflect as well as sometimes even represent the impact of the larger louder voices on their activities.

Tomlinson further states that "individual composers constructed specific musical gestures to convey their words in particular ways."⁹ Here

⁸ Gary Tomlinson, *Music in Renaissance Magic: Toward a Historiography of Others* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), page 15.

⁹ Tomlinson, page 235.

he has stated the obvious, that the composers' works consist of many layers of influences, reflect their personal ideologies, as well as express their personalities. He seems to be attempting to reconcile ethnomusicological methodology with traditional historical musicology. Although I have found it beneficial to read and consider recent literature on theories of social, cultural and religious history,¹⁰ I have not deemed it necessary or desirable to invoke that specific terminology or scholarly apparatus. There are no individuals to interview, no contemporary subjects to observe. Instead we are dealing with a written artifact and are only able to glean from it the social and cultural components of this source and music within the terms of

¹⁰ Such as the following works by John Shepherd, "Music as Cultural Text," *People and Music* (1992:128-155); *Music as Social Text* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991); "Value and Power in Music," *Relocating Cultural Studies: Developments in Theory and Research* (London and New York: Routledge Press, 171-206). Shepherd's work comes closest to being applicable to this manuscript study. In *Music as Social Text* he tells us that "music is both structured and structuring" and that it is important "to those processes within any society whereby individuals are collectively moved to think and organize themselves" (page 112). Whereas such remarks may be difficult to describe in concrete terms, what this seems to say is that music, like any other cultural activity, plays a significant role in the development and continuation of a cultural group. For our purposes in this study we will see in Chapter 5 how the production and use of this manuscript enabled and enhanced the social and religious situation of this *literati*.

Examples of other works looked at are Stephen Davies, *Musical Meaning and Expression* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); and Lydia Goehr, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works: An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

our historical discipline. Therefore an ethnomusicological treatment of this manuscript is inappropriate.

In the study by Tomislav Volek and Stanislav Jareš which traces the history of Czech music through iconography¹¹ the authors are faced with two major problems. The first is to find some sort of definition of what it means to be Czech. This dilemma creeps into much literature written by Czechs about their history.¹² They are faced with the ambivalent problems of trying to illustrate on the one hand the specific Czech characteristics which have survived through time, which are free from contamination by foreign elements, and on the other hand those aspects of Czech-ness which welcomed and incorporated new ideas and progress.

Perhaps fearing that what they regard as a flourishing, indigenous historical musical practice, (liturgical observance and vernacular-texted manuscripts that bear witness to it) might be seen by some as merely a local variant or slight adaptation of a broader continual genre and style, or that

¹¹ Tomislav Volek and Stanislav Jareš, *Dějiny České Hudby* [The History of Czech Music in Pictures] (Praha: editio supraphon, 1977). Their emphasis is music and musical iconography, but they also allude to architecture and paintings as being influenced by the Hussites and therefore their non-parallel movement with the rest of Europe. This work is suspect in that it was written at the high point of Communism in Czechoslovakia and appears to follow an official party-line of history.

¹² A good example of this is Polišenský's history.

the presence and activity of German musical elements, including singers, in Prague, might be construed as evidence of a lack of Czech cultural or artistic independence from its powerful neighbour, Volek and Jareš have relied on a generalized anthropological justification for this phenomenon that might be perceived as artistic contamination. We, however, with our modern understanding of the importance of musical patronage in the sixteenth century¹³ and the flourishing of regional and what might be termed "national" liturgies, particularly those in the vernacular, see no contradiction in the presence of extrinsic elements in Czech music at this time.

Volek and Jareš's second problem grows out of the first. The centuries-long struggle for a national identity, what they see as the long periods of suppression of things Czech, have made the desire for a true and binding definition of Czech music almost a national pastime. They seem to be trying to discover and identify the Czech "flavour" in music by imbuing it with the characteristics which they believe have developed from a thousand years of geographical confinement, "common language, history and

¹³ R.W. Evans, *Rudolf II and his World: A Study in Intellectual History 1576-1612* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), hereafter referred to as Evans *Rudolf*, Claude Palisca, *Humanism in Italian Renaissance Thought* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); and Christopher A. Reynolds, *The Music Chapel at St. Pietro in Vaticano* (Diss. Princeton, 1982).

...joint economic, ideological and cultural development."¹⁴ Their task is the same faced by nations and groups throughout history as they attempt to define who they are as a people, which necessarily comes down to identification not on political grounds but on cultural ones. As we are painfully aware, identities are not static, especially cultural and political ones. Trying to trace the tender thread of Czech-ness throughout history becomes an almost futile task, and in their search for the inexplicable and intangible, they are unable to expose it clearly. All they seem able to do is make references to Czech musical "spontaneity" and the use of folk tunes, characteristics which could be ascribed to almost any national music.

So, in the case of the music of *PragU XVII B 19*, the Credos in particular, I do not think that it would be appropriate to look for such elusive characteristics which even native Czech scholars have not been able to describe. I think it is better to place the Credos in their immediate context, a task that can be carried out critically because of the information that has been found, than to speculate about stylistic elements that cannot readily be defined because of the social, cultural and musical diversity of the history. Therefore, further work on the description of a vague, general flavour of music is not undertaken here. This is an investigation of a source

¹⁴ Volek and Jareš, page 68.

with unusual repertory that arose from a distinctive religious and cultural setting. We are concerned here with the establishment of the codicological layers and structure of *PragU XVII B 19* and the relationship of that structure and the scribal, musical, and artistic (decorative) activity in the manuscript to the repertoire and to its performers and patrons. In this study it is argued that Prague's burghers performed a repertoire of simple polyphonic settings of vernacular texts that emblemized their beliefs, practices, and social aspirations.

Additionally, Volek and Jareš's characterization in their preoccupation with the Latin aristocratic history is not always relevant in the history of the more vernacular elements. In a way the distinction between Latin and Czech sources is a social one. These patrons were of the Czech middle class. This, at first, is a religious distinction. Their patronage was different from that of the aristocracy and resulted in different outcomes. This Czech manuscript reveals something about that particular part of society, not the whole society. Additionally, the layers of revisions in this manuscript indicate further that changes in the political, social and economic climate in Prague need to be addressed.

The manuscript therefore forms the main subject of this thesis, including its physical construction, provenance, and musical contents,

particularly the polyphonic Czech Credos and monophonic *Laudem dicite*. In addition, the source is placed in the immediate social, cultural, and theological context, and the articulation of meanings from that context through the medium of the music is considered. The identification of secular Czech elements in this repertoire is beyond the scope of this study.

Chapter Two contains an historical background of Prague and a delineation of the religious, political, cultural and music-historical context in which this manuscript was made and revised. In Chapter Three there is a physical examination of the document and its contents, and a general discussion of the music. The size of the manuscript makes a complete examination of all of its music prohibitive for this study. Since simple polyphony of the type found here was acceptable within the framework of Hussitism, the music referred to in Chapter Four is limited to the antiphon *Laudem dicite* and those polyphonic Credos found in the manuscript.

Chapter Five has further study of the manuscript, including a discussion of the environment surrounding it, those who used it, how it was used, and its social significance. It includes a discussion of the influence of the last in both the definition and holding together of cultural, political, social, and economic aspects of the community. The conclusions are in Chapter Six.

This particular manuscript has as yet not been examined in detail and

context. Because of the scarcity of similar sources it is important that it be brought to light, examined and exhibited in order to more clearly understand its place and role in Czech society. Each additional work uncovered adds a piece to the larger puzzle and is helpful in filling in the gaps in certain aspects of the broader span of Czech history and its religious musical life in particular. With the many layers of apparent editing in *PragU XVII B 19* it seems to imply that throughout the years since its inception its basic value was recognized by those who came into contact with it making it worth preserving and using. Despite this, other than the references in the *RISM* lists and Herbert Kellman's *Census Catalog*¹⁵ there is little scholarship surrounding it made available to westerners.

Charles Brewer has included its fourth Credo in a list of 34 variants of one 2-voiced Credo (#376) from Prague found in the archives of the State Central Committee (Státní Ústřední Archív).¹⁶ In her work on the Czech Ordinary of the Mass during the second half of the sixteenth century Jana

¹⁵ Kurt von Fischer, "Handschriften mit mehrstimmiger Musik des 14., 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts", *RISM* (B IV 3/1, 1972) page 273, and Herbert Kellman, *Census Catalogue of Manuscript Sources of Polyphonic Music 1400-1554* (Vol 3. Compiled by the University of Illinois Musicological Archives. Hanssler: Neuhauser-Stuttgart: American Institute of Musicology, Hanssler, 1980), pages 56 - 57.

¹⁶ Charles Brewer, *The Introduction of the Ars Nova into East-Central Europe: A Study of Late Medieval Polish Sources* (Diss. City University of New York, 1984), page 217.

Fojtíková acknowledged it as one of "nine prominent manuscripts from the State Library"¹⁷ yet made no other reference to it throughout her study. Neither does Karel Konrád in his exhaustive work on the history of the Czech song, and, when he does discuss the church of St. Havla, only mentions its companion volume (*PragU XVII A 41*) which was compiled in 1576.¹⁸ Our source is also included in the work of Volek and Jareš but although they have a photograph of the beautifully illuminated first folio of music (A1r), the description quoted there is from *PragU XVII A 41*. Noticeable by its absence in these studies, it would seem that the time has come for a start on an exploration of *PragU XVII B 19*.

In this exploration there are difficulties and limits. There is the minimal amount of literature written in English and the lack of study of the evolution of the Utraquists, who, it seems, once they became the national church were not significant enough to explore. Some native Czech scholars see the written history of their country as being coloured first by German interpretations and later by Communist ideology. It has been felt by the

¹⁷ Jana Fojtíková, "České mešní ordinarium 2. poloviny 16. století [The Czech ordinary of the Mass in the second half of the sixteenth century]," *Miscellanea Musicologica* XXXI (1984), page 229.

¹⁸ Karel Konrád, *Dějiny Posvátného Zpěvu Staročeského od 15. Věku do Zrušení Literátských Bratrstev* [History of early Czech sacred song from the 15th century to the abolition of the literary brotherhood] (Praha: Tiskem Cyrillo-Methodějské Kněhtiskárny, 1893), pages 125 and 192.

Czechs that German research on Hussitism is predominantly anti-Hussite, and Marxist studies of it sought out erroneous socialist implications including positive effects on the peasants.¹⁹ Because of the current state of the Czech Republic and its emphasis on removing memories of the past fifty years of communist rule and its rapid application of mainstream western economic systems, the country is placing more energy into its future than its past. Once it has found its equilibrium it will probably rectify this focus; in the meantime however, it makes access to relevant secondary and some primary Czech sources difficult.

The final obstacle is with the manuscript itself. *PragU VII B 19* is a four-hundred-year-old, 322-folio parchment document. The handwritten Old Czech is at times difficult to read. With the absence of the order of their liturgy and a definitive description of their theological perspectives, reading the written words at times seems impossible. It is in part for this reason that the discussion of the music has been limited to the pages of polyphony, leaving the majority of the sources, the monophonic chants for a later study.

¹⁹ The revolution was mainly an urban middle-class movement which changed the peasant's lot in life for the worse. For a further elaboration on the individual scholars and the effect of these two groups from this Czech perspective see R.R. Betts, *Essays in Czech History* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1969), pages 111-113 (Marxist) and pages 141-150 (German).

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL SETTING

In his dissertation *The Introduction of the Ars Nova into East Central Europe: A Study of Late Medieval Polish Sources* (1984), Charles Brewer included a more detailed description of the history of Poland than is typical in a musicological work. His first reason for its inclusion was that most western musical historians are usually unfamiliar with Poland's "complicated" history. His second was that

without an understanding of that history and Poland's relations with the West, it would not be possible to place the ...[music]... in an appropriate context.²⁰

These reasons apply as well to Bohemia, whose history is just as complex as that of Poland. Whereas the broad cultural history provided here need not be as lengthy as Brewer's, it will nevertheless provide a basic understanding of the particular struggles the Czechs experienced leading up to the time during which this manuscript was compiled and later revised. Several forces, such as religious upheaval and major political, social and economic changes, created the intertwining of many threads of events and

²⁰ Brewer, page 5.

ideologies out of which the production and use of *PragU XVII B 19* grew.

With this in mind there follows an exposition of two perspectives and influences that affected the local area of use of the manuscript. The discussion begins with a description of the religious and social upheaval which had its zenith in the preaching of Jan Hus. The role of music in the Hussite movement will be introduced here and expanded upon in later chapters. Next is the description of the cultural and political operation of the city of Prague; it contains a discussion of historical elements with particular emphasis on East-Central Europe and the place of Prague within it.

In 1415 the Council of Constance declared Jan Hus a heretic and burned him at the stake. This action turned him into a martyr for the Bohemian cause resulting in the complete separation and isolation of Bohemia from the Catholic Church and Rome.²¹ Hus cannot be considered the sole instigator of Czech social and religious reform however. Instead, his activities and

²¹ For a general historical background on the movement see Howard Kaminsky, *A History of the Hussite Revolution* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1967). As for a look at the theological implications see Chapter 2 "One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic?" in Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine*, Volume 4: Reformation of Church and Dogma (1300-1700) (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984), pages 62 - 126.

ideas were the culmination of the years of work and writings of many others. For a long time reform had been germinating in Bohemia; it was lead by such men as Jan Milíč of Kroměříž, who believed in clerical poverty and established a refuge for reformed prostitutes, Matěj of Janov, who in his writings in the Czech language on morality and religious education commented on the outward expression of moral degeneration, Tomas Stítný who, using Apocalyptic terms, preached of the breakdown of the old traditions in face of a new emerging society, and Štěpán of Kólin who wrote of the evils of indulgences. Hus and his contemporary Jerome of Prague consolidated these ideas and found their validation in the writings of the Englishman John Wycliffe on the need for a return to the primitive church.²²

Hus and his predecessors looked on the problems as primarily moral not political ones; their concerns were frequently expressed however, in terms of the political and economic power of the church. They believed that the church had become too powerful, both materially and politically; to them it had left behind the people it served. They saw the need for a revision of its structures and a cleansing of its corrupted human resources (the clergy). Reestablishing its primitive simplicity, both organizational and spiritual,

²² For more on the influence of Czech reformers and John Wycliffe on Hus see Chapter VIII in Betts, and Kaminsky pages 5 - 55, 75 - 89 and 104 - 180.

focusing on the internal personal religion, expressing chiliastic beliefs, offering communion in both kinds to the laity, centring worship on preaching, and replacing the Latin liturgy with one in Czech would be steps in restoring it in its pure form to the people.

The sale of indulgences was seen as a method of extorting funds from the people to finance an alien Pope's foreign wars, and the allure of pilgrimages and the cult of the saints as continual "exploitation of popular superstition to extract money in return for the benefits conferred by relics and thaumaturgic statues and pictures."²³ But the most pressing problem for the reformers was the primacy of the communion cup. It was to be available to everyone, frequently accessible and in any location.

Hus followed the teachings of Matěj²⁴ when he indicated that the sacraments retained their holiness despite being administered by a bad priest. This concept was in direct conflict with the church. Although he adhered to a belief in the authority of the church this did not necessarily mean the church of his day, towards which his ambivalence was evident when he made such statements as "all men even clerics ought to be subject to Caesar

²³ Betts, page 93.

²⁴ Betts, page 157.

and the princes of this world."²⁵ To further complicate his conflicting regard for the church he insisted on the need for the central place of the individual in spiritual matters. As he believed that it was better to obey God than man he displaced the individual's allegiances from the contemporary church authority to something higher. This then became the basis for calling the church the "invisible community of the saints."²⁶

For Hus there was no distinction between the worlds of religion and of everyday life, between business and ministry. This was reflected in the sacramental elements of the social reform. The service of worship was not restricted to the priesthood alone; instead he encouraged the membership to take a more active part in the services through the prayers and singing.²⁷ Besides providing for communion to the membership (with both bread and wine *sub utraque specie*), and using the vernacular, he discarded the musical emphasis of complicated lines of polyphony in favour of the more easily understandable monophony; polyphony was permitted only on special occasions, such as during Advent and at Christmas, and was to consist of

²⁵ Hus quoted by Kybal, *M. Jan Hus*, ii, 361 in Betts, page 77.

²⁶ Kaminsky, page 84.

²⁷ Hus preached at Bethlehem chapel, built in 1391 by the new urban class of merchants and property owners, specifically for the preaching of reform in the Czech language.

simple, two-, or at the most, three-part familiar melodies. The use and composition of Latin chants, intricate forms of polyphony, and secular songs were discouraged and withdrawn. Western musicologists²⁸ regard this as almost the dark ages of Bohemian music, blaming Hus for the absence of the Renaissance era in music.

As the reforms taught by Hus began to align the old religion of the Catholic church with outsiders, especially the Germans, and the newer church principles of Hussitism with Czechs, ecclesiastic reform became increasingly linked with Bohemian independence; church reformation and national independence became closely connected, aligning the popular with the democratic rather than the aristocratic with the autocratic. Within these social reforms and opposition to the church and its powers grew an apparent animosity for things Germanic; the Hussite revolution revealed this national sentiment and as Kenneth Dillon describes,

...during the Hussite Wars the Czechs had hurled their defiance at the German armies of the Empire, and they had made that

²⁸ Writing for the North American text by Gustave Reese, *Music in the Renaissance* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1959) Rita Kafka in her article "Music in Bohemia" indicates that "the Renaissance itself is hardly perceptible...and the flowering of the arts found elsewhere was here nipped in the bud" (page 728). She also refers to Hus as a "historical catastrophe" (page 732). In spite of their party line focus, Volek and Jareš, were not quite so vehement on this topic. They imply that it was merely an opportunity for other forms to develop, especially the proliferation of vernacular religious songs.

defiance stick in a series of bloody victories...the religion of the Hussites, heresy in the eyes of the Germans, clearly divided the Bohemians from the Catholic Empire until the beginning of the Protestant Reformation.²⁹

In an attempt to create a national university a decade earlier Charles IV, King of Bohemia and Emperor of the Romans established the first university in Eastern Europe in 1438 so that, he said

the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Bohemia should not be forced to beg for alms in foreign lands, but should find in the realm a table set for their needs.³⁰

In the beginning its international faculty was top-heavy with Germans and their nominalist philosophy. To offset this imbalance Charles invited the Austrian realist philosopher Konrad Waldhauser to the university. Under his influence and through a series of voting changes, the Czech representation at the university eventually increased and dominated. Hus himself attended Charles University in which he was amongst this national

²⁹ Kenneth Dillon, *King and Estates in the Bohemian Lands 1526-1564* (Brussels: Les Editions de la Librairie Encyclopédique, 1976), page 45. Evans on the other hand does not see the lines between the two as being drawn along language boundaries. He sees the disagreement over the years more as one in which the Bohemians were dissatisfied with their landlords. Evans *MHM*, page 231.

³⁰ Charles IV quoted by Marie Vitochová et al, trans. Mark Prescott, *Prague: An Historic Town* (Praha: V Ráji Publishing House, 1994), page 75.

realist contingent.³¹ It was here during this time that he wrote a dissertation which significantly influenced the Czech language by suggesting a standardization of its spelling and, with the use of diacritical signs, a recasting of the Old Slavonic language in Roman characters. This change was an important element in establishing the new language of Bohemia which drew on both its eastern and western neighbours.³²

Charles' son Vaclav IV continued his father's reforms. With the king's death in 1419, his brother Sigismund, who already was the Hungarian King and Roman Emperor became next in line. Because of his apparent lack of commitment to the Bohemian lands this man was suspect as a potential ruler of the kingdom. The ensuing Hussite wars then (1419-1434) became not only a struggle for religious reform, but also for the continuation of a Czech state ruled by a native, the last of which was George of Poděbradý (1458 - 1471). These wars brought sweeping religious, economic, political and social changes to Bohemia that lasted until 1620. During this time foreigners were eliminated, and monasticism wiped

³¹ Kaminsky, pages 56 - 57.

³² Bohemia's language roots were with the Slavonic nations of Eastern Europe instead of the Latin ones of France and Italy or the Germanic of Western Europe; its geography situates it between that East and West, enabling it to create a culture influenced by both but at the same time uniquely distinguishable from each. This manuscript is but one example of that.

out. The lost power of the Catholic Church disrupted the old feudal order; economic changes occurred that shifted the perception of land use from a means of self-sufficiency to one of agricultural production as marketable commodities. This caused a further rise in mercantilism and brought economic prosperity to the towns.³³ The Hussite reform was primarily urban in nature garnering support from townsmen and gentry. While the throne was empty the rising magnates were able to increase their power and wealth from both ecclesiastic³⁴ as well as crown lands. As the municipalities such as Prague and Hradec Kralové managed to retain lands seized by the Hussites from the church and thus increase their acquisition of monastic lands, it placed the towns in direct competition with the lords "both as primary producers and in the diminishing labour market."³⁵

The Compact of Basle in 1436, originally intended to recognize Hussitism as merely a "liturgical variant", became instead a "lasting legacy

³³ The results of the German Reformation a century later had similar effects in the rest of Europe. In 1519, Martin Luther had displayed his "95 theses" at Wittenberg spawning the Reformation in the Germanic lands of the Empire, and creating tremendous upheaval in both the political and ecclesiastical spheres.

³⁴ During the period 1431-1561 there was no Catholic in the Archbishopric of Prague in part because of the absence of property attached to the position lessened its attraction.

³⁵ Betts, page 273.

of the revolution which the estates defended as a component of their political autonomy and their acquired rights."³⁶ But the Hussites eventually split into two camps. During the winter of 1457-8 Gregory (Rehoř) of Prague formed the radical Unity of Bohemian Brethren in northeastern Bohemia. The Brethren established its own priesthood in 1467, something looked upon by the Bohemian state authorities at that time not just as heresy but also as a crime. This act completely separated them from the Catholic church. After the Reformation in Germany, the Brethren became connected with the Calvinist Reformed churches.

The Utraquists on the other hand, were much more closely aligned with Catholicism, managing to remain an independent national church which, although not officially recognized by Rome, still relied on Roman bishops for the ordination of its priests. It was a unique situation in which two consistories, one Catholic and one Utraquist, co-existed in Bohemia, producing an uneasy harmony between them. This conservative Utraquist church was the official heir of the original Hussite movement focusing on a few particular aspects of change, among them the importance of the

³⁶ Winfried Eberhard, "The Political System and the Intellectual Traditions of the Bohemian *Ständestaat* from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century," *Crown, Church and Estates: Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, R.J.W. Evans and T.V. Thomas, eds. (London: MacMillan Academic and Professional Ltd., 1991), page 35.

scriptures and the pulpit, family worship, the cult of the sacrament of the altar and the central place of the chalice -- the primary factor distinguishing them from other Protestant groups. As Lutherism entered Bohemia in the early part of the sixteenth century, many Utraquists (neo-Utraquists) took on some of their characteristics while the old-Utraquists crept closer to Catholicism.

At times it was beneficial for all descendents of Hussitism to cooperate. In 1575 during Maximilian II's reign the Utraquists and Bohemian Brethren endorsed the *Confessio bohémica*, which was in essence a "summary of faith of all his subjects taking the communion in both kinds."³⁷ By this time the See of Prague was filled by the Catholic Antonín Brus who had chaired the censorship committee of the Council of Trent. Brus had "refused to attempt any severe prohibitions"³⁸ on the non-Catholics and had even supported the concession of the communion in both species to the laity.

After the last native Bohemian head-of-state, George of Poděbrady, died in 1471, the Polish Jagiellon dynasty acquired the Bohemian crown. Shortly thereafter however, it too expired, opening the way for the entry of the Habsburg family in 1526 under Ferdinand I, brother to Charles V, head

³⁷ Otakar Odložilík, "A Church in a Hostile State: The Unity of Czech Brethren," *Central European History* 6 (1973), page 119.

³⁸ Evans, *MHM*, page 18.

of the Holy Roman Empire. The Habsburg dynasty's acquisition of the Bohemian throne stamped "an indelible mark on the history of these lands in the succeeding centuries",³⁹ by drawing them into their world empire. A small nation in population, Bohemia lay at the juncture of trade and commerce making Prague probably one of the most cosmopolitan cities in Europe of the day. This position brought with it both advantages, providing Bohemians access to international cultural changes, as well as disadvantages, becoming the object of interest and source of taxes and human resources for its stronger neighbours -- in other words, supplying the dynasty with means and men to support its policies. The Bohemian estates consisted of the nobles, townsmen and peasants, but unlike the rest of the Holy Roman Empire, there was no clergy in any position of power in the Diets from the Hussite times to 1620. The land-holding nobles were the strongest and wealthiest segment with their main counterweight being "the estate of royal towns which held charters from past kings guaranteeing their [privileges]."⁴⁰

From the twelfth through the sixteenth centuries Prague was the main population centre of what was called the Kingdom of Bohemia (the area of the current province of Bohemia in the Czech Republic), and part of the

³⁹ Dillon, pages vii-viii.

⁴⁰ Dillon, page 11.

larger region of Bohemian lands (Bohemia, Silesia, Moravia and Upper and Lower Lusatia). Its geographical location at the cross-roads of both east-west and north-south trade routes placed it at the centre of economic activity.

Rather than one large metropolis, Prague was a gathering of several towns -- two royal fortresses, *Prague Castle*, (Pražský hrad), begun during the late ninth century and *higher castle*, (Vyšehrad), late tenth century; *castle district*, (Hradčany), established after 1320; *Lesser Town*, (Malá Strana), twelfth century; *Old Town*, (Staro Město), twelfth century; and *New Town*, (Nové Město). In Old Town is found St. Gall's Market, (Havelksé Město)⁴¹ established in 1230. At that time Wenceslas I had invited the German merchants to Prague and set aside the market particularly for their use, both pleasure and commerce. This enclave of German settlers in St. Havla's Town retained its own administrative independence for some time, but later Charles IV imported Czech artisans and merchants to out-number the German-speaking townspeople.

The political ambitions of the burghers were realized during the reign of John of Luxemburg who in 1338 allowed the Old Town Hall to be

⁴¹ The market still exists today as Havelská ulička *St. Gall's lane*. The Church of St. Havla (Saint Gall or Gallus) in which this manuscript was used, is as old as the Market itself.

established as the seat of self-government and granted its own legal code in 1341. With their responsibility for the care and defense of the new Charles Bridge built in 1357 the affluence of the Old Town burghers became reflected in their houses and the revamping of the Churches of St. James, St. Havla and St. Giles.

The rise in the Old Towns burghers' political power was confirmed by the fact that in 1458 the Old Town Hall was the place in which a new ruler for Bohemia, George of Poděbrady, was elected from amongst the ranks of the Utraquist nobles... The important political rôle played by the burghers in the post Hussite Estates-General and their wealth corresponded also to the high cultural level of their environment.⁴²

Throughout the metropolitan area were countless churches which had literary brotherhoods (*literati*) associated with them. These organizations reflected the economic and educational status of the members, who were the leading citizens of the towns. Qualification for membership included high musical abilities and training. During the sixteenth century along with St. Havla, some of the other prominent churches with *literati* were St. Haštalov also in Old Town, St. Henry (St. Jindřicha) and St. Stephen (St. Štěpána) in

⁴² Vitochová et al., *Prague: An Historic Town*, trans. Mark A. Prescott, (Praha: V Ráji Publishing House, 1994), page 79.

New Town, and St. Michael (St. Mikuláše) of Lesser Town.⁴³

In 1517 the disputes of the Federation of Towns (mainly Prague) with the nobles and knights were settled by the Treaty of St. Wenceslas which "served in part to guarantee the political and economic status that Prague and other royal towns had previously acquired."⁴⁴ The Prague town councils were given the right, in the absence of the king, to appoint their own new members. When policies required additional support, the councils called a meeting of the commune of the town elders; these were primarily the economically-privileged masters of the guilds, which meant they were ensured a powerful political voice. The commune also included all those with burgher (citizen or free man) status. The growing strength of the Bohemian guilds provided them with a strong united force enabling them to act in opposition to any royal decrees that might be seen as "contrary to the economic interest of the towns."⁴⁵

In 1526 Ferdinand, of the house of Habsburg, was elected the King of Bohemia and Hungary, making the country a part of the eastern territories of the Habsburg dynasty, which also included Austria. In theory the

⁴³ Konrád, pages 123-124.

⁴⁴ Vitochová et al., page 16.

⁴⁵ Dillon, page 12.

Bohemian king possessed a position of strength, but the century-long strife had stripped that from him making this power, in effect, non-existent.⁴⁶ As perpetual conflict continued to exist between the nobles and towns, it led to pitched battles between feuding knights while competing factions in the nobility rivalled for "dominance over the kings."⁴⁷ When Ferdinand became king in 1526, he saw his primary functions as trying to re-establish that lost power of the monarchy over the nobility and the towns and to establish religious peace between the Utraquist and Catholic churches, all the while fending off the Turkish invasion of his lands.

It was during a brief ceasefire with the Turks (1546-1551), that Ferdinand was first given the opportunity to confront the Bohemian towns as he turned his attention to the disruptive and rebellious nature of the Schmalkaldic league of Protestant German princes. The powerful towns of Prague blatantly refused to support the king against these fellow non-Catholics and open rebellion ensued, culminating in the Uprising of July 1547. The results were defeat of the towns and severe punishments inflicted on them. The privileges of the Prague towns were taken away, resulting in the loss of their political power which they had been slowly accumulating

⁴⁶ John Martin Klassen, *The Nobility and the Making of the Hussite Revolution* (New York: East European Quarterly, 1978), pages 138 - 140.

⁴⁷ Dillon, page 21.

over the centuries. The towns were once again defenceless against the aristocracy. However, realizing the need for revenue from them, Ferdinand later restored some of the lost privileges, but he retained the right to appoint the town council. This relegated the guilds to "purely economic organizations."⁴⁸ For their part in the uprising, the burghers had paid a much higher price than the aristocracy which continued to maintain its place in the royal courts.

The monarchy also began to apply controls on other areas of Bohemian culture. In 1547 Ferdinand further penalized the small country by outlawing any Bohemian independent book publishing. This along with forbidding the importation of foreign books was done in retaliation for the anti-monarchical pamphleteering he had encountered during the rebellion. Meanwhile, the persecution of the Unity of Bohemian Brethren took on new impetus following the edicts of the Council of Trent (1545-1563). Many leaders were imprisoned and extreme measures applied to compel them to join the Utraquists. At one point the pressure was so intense that the Brethren responded by offering to agree "to do whatever the king requested."⁴⁹

⁴⁸ Dillon, pages 137-138.

⁴⁹ Dillon, page 159.

By the 1550's the town estates had regained their confidence in resisting the king, but focused their defiance on constitutional grounds, instead. In 1556 Ferdinand brought the first Jesuit group to Prague setting them up in the Clementinum, a former Benedictine monastery in the centre of the city. Here they organized a school that rivalled the Utraquist-run Charles University. Despite their lack of Czech-speaking ability and the animosity towards them from both native Catholics and anti-Catholics, they managed to attract the offspring of the nobility and rich burghers through the innovative use of dramas and festivities. The arrival and gradual infiltration of the Jesuits into Bohemian society provided the setting for these men to play important roles in the preservation of Czech manuscripts. It was probably their recognition of the economic and artistic values inherent in *PragU XVII B 19* which ensured its preservation.

After the abdication of his brother Charles V in 1556, Ferdinand became Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. In order to carry out some major concessions to the Utraquists he attempted to work out a compromise between them and the Catholics.

Specifically, the emperor wanted the council to grant the Utraquists, as well as the Protestants in his Austrian and Hungarian lands, the right to receive communion under both species, thus satisfying the old demands of the Utraquists for

the lay chalice.⁵⁰

As the role of the chalice was central to their theology this request was vital for the continuation of the Utraquist movement. Nevertheless, the final acceptance of this concession by the pope in 1563 came with the condition that the emperor would have the power to appoint the head of the Utraquist council. In doing so he effectively diluted the force of any future religious opposition, and by 1621 that concession of the chalice had been unequivocally withdrawn.

Ferdinand's son Maximilian was more sympathetic to the ideas of religious reform. His brief reign (1564-1576) is noted for the success against the Turks, the end of tension between the nobility and the dynasty, and the re-establishment of cultural relations with the rest of Europe. A result of this peace was even further economic growth. The Bohemian Confession of 1575, an agreement upon a common faith between the Utraquists and the Brethren, was drawn up which Maximilian promised to keep. With his death the following year, Ferdinand's other son Rudolf II was crowned king and emperor.

R.J.W. Evans tells us that with Bohemia geographically situated on the edge of both orthodox Protestantism and orthodox Catholicism, Rudolf

⁵⁰ Dillon, page 174.

persistently found himself "trying to maintain a position which was free of both sides, but, in doing so he necessarily offended both."⁵¹ He had an uncertain attitude towards the church and frequently referred to himself as *Christian* rather than *Lutheran* or *Catholic*. Nevertheless he did not enforce the promulgations against Protestants and his Letter of Majesty of 1608, in essence, granted religious freedom to all non-Catholics.

Rudolf was a great patron of the arts, especially music. In his courts he employed composers and additional musicians such as Regnart, Kryšvice, Hans Leo Hassler, and his senior musician, Phillippe de Monte.⁵² He made Prague the Imperial residence from 1583 - 1612 and, for a while, had among his closest advisors members of prominent Czech aristocratic, but usually Catholic, families -- men like Vilèm Rožmberk the most powerful Czech magnate, Viratislav Pernstein and the Lords of Hradec (Dietrichsteins and some Labkovices). But wealthy Utraquist nobles held no positions of power.⁵³

⁵¹ Evans, *Rudolf*, page 88.

⁵² Evans, pages 190-191.

⁵³ Jaroslav Pánek, "The Religious Question and the Political System of Bohemia before and after the Battle of the White Mountain," *Crown, Church and Estates: Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, R.J.W. Evans and T.V. Thomas, eds. (London: MacMillan Academic and Professional Ltd., 1991), page 138.

The conflicts between the estates in Bohemia were proclaimed to be on religious grounds but in effect were economic and political.⁵⁴ On May 23, 1618 Protestant Bohemian nobles acting as *defenders of the faith*, entered the royal castle and threw two council members (who also happened to be Czech Catholic lords) from its windows. This was known as the Defenestration of Prague and although the men were unhurt, it marked the beginning of a split of the orders of Bohemia from the Habsburgs. Unlike elsewhere in the Habsburg lands the estates, particularly the aristocracy, retained control of the country with the aristocracy making its gains through the gradual erosion of the power of the towns. A new constitution *Confederatio Bohemia* in 1619 "restricted the power of the king even further and perfected the corporate system."⁵⁵

Friction between the sovereign and the orders ensued leading to the defeat at the White Mountain in November 1620, a battle which Bérenger calls "one of the bloodiest and most decisive...in modern history."⁵⁶ The

⁵⁴ This is the basis of Pánek's article.

⁵⁵ Gottfried Schram "Armed Conflict in East-Central Europe: Protestant Noble Opposition and Catholic Royalist Factions, 1604-20," *Crown, Church and Estates: Central European Politics in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* R.J.W. Evans and T.V. Thomas, eds. (London: MacMillan Academic and Professional Ltd., 1991), page 178.

⁵⁶ Bérenger, page 264.

result was the king's (Ferdinand II's) right to re-organized Bohemia as he saw fit, feeling "authorized to punish the rebels, banish heretics and impose a new constitution."⁵⁷ The Renewed Constitution of 1627 (obnovené zřízení zemské) equated Protestantism with treason. Executions occurred, Catholicism was restored, families sent into exile, the clergy re-established in the Diet of Bohemia, and the Bohemian crown "declared hereditary in the House of Austria."⁵⁸ In spite of this, members of the Czech aristocracy continued to hold a disproportionately large number of major political positions. And, with that aristocratic management, as Evans describes, went aristocratic culture, full of opulence and display and distinctly native in hue. By 1650 ... there was no longer substantially a Czech culture. The Czech language fell into decline, though it proved a casualty of a cosmopolitan atmosphere, not of official policy.⁵⁹

With the onset of the Thirty Years War, Bohemia was caught in the middle of the fray and for almost ten years was never without the presence of enemy forces.

⁵⁷ ibid, page 265.

⁵⁸ ibid, page 266. Ferdinand did allow the Czechs one concession however, they were free to debate and even refuse taxes.

⁵⁹ Evans, *MHM*, page 214.

By the second half of the sixteenth century major changes in the sociopolitical environment caused the establishment of clearer lines of demarcation between the townsmen and the aristocracy, the townsmen and the monarchy, and the Utraquists and the Catholics. Control of the native Bohemian religion moved into the hands of the rulers, and political power was stripped from the native townsmen. It was, on the other hand, an era of flourishing cultural activity in the towns which, first begun centuries earlier by Charles IV, was enhanced from 1526 by the continuous flowing of international connections brought about by the Habsburg dynasty. With their ongoing struggle against the aristocracy and the political power of the towns slowly eroding, the burghers and guildsmen became increasingly involved in these cultural activities, in particular the cultivation of music through membership in the literary brotherhoods -- the amateur organizations of church choirs.

CHAPTER THREE

THE MANUSCRIPT - PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Today the manuscript rests in the archives of the National Library of Prague (Národní knihovna v Praze) housed in the old Clementinum monastery.

The library's round stamp with the words **REGIÆ: BIBLIOT'H:A CAP;** **PRAGEN:** encircling it, can be seen on the top right corner of the third folio, but the only information about the circumstances surrounding its placement is gleaned from the call number itself *PragU XVII.B.19*. From this the librarians deduce that the university library in Prague acquired it during the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1784 Emperor Joseph II gave a general announcement of his intentions to dissolve the literary brotherhoods. The specific edict was issued 29 April 1785, and the materials were removed into various public collections.⁶⁰

Of the 46 gatherings there is one consisting of 10 folios (#29), two of six (#30 and #46) and one of four (#38); the balance originally contained eight folios each. There is a total of 28 folios which have been excised, including one entire gathering. With the uniformity in size, and the absence

⁶⁰ Dr. Zdeněk Uhlíř, the Library's current Director of the Department of Manuscripts writes that this was done "of course without any filing". Correspondence from Dr. Uhlíř, 13 March 1995.

of any unusually faded folios or sections, it is reasonable to conclude that this manuscript was always bound and not used without its cover.

The dimensions of the cover of the manuscript are 62 cm x 40 cm with each of the folios measuring 56 cm x 38 cm. The cover consists of brown tooled leather over wooden boards with two indentations each 5.5 cms wide running across the width of the cover. These were probably the locations for two belts, now missing, which were used to secure the book. There are also faded sections of the leather which provide evidence of other ornamental layers of material. In addition, a set of six small capital letters of unknown meaning [FIDEB_] run in measured intervals along one of the raised tooled borders. The entire manuscript is held together by 6 rope bindings.

At the top centre of the raised leather of the front cover is the date of 1650 clearly stamped. Both Kellman and RISM⁶¹ report the date on the cover as 1750. It is possible that their error resulted from a mis-reading of the numeral "1" which is written in the European style of λ. Since the second number is clearly a "6" however, it is more likely that this was a typographical error, first by RISM then later copied by Kellman. The inside cover contains several versions of the call number beginning with a stamped

⁶¹ Kellman, pages 56 - 57; RISM, page 273.

XVII over B.19 located in the middle of the page. Written above the stamped number appears to be *Urim g 14* and below it *17.B.1.9*. In the lower left hand corner is *XVII B.19* written in ink.

In the upper right hand corners, at every tenth folio, is a modern pencil foliation. There are in fact two sets of these numbers. It would appear that the individual who wrote them erred in his initial calculations. The first set, all of which have been crossed out, begins the count with the dedication folio, the second set with the first Register folio. (Hidden in the top right corner of folio **A1** is the number "3", which fits with the second counting system.) In the bottom right corner of the recto side of each music folio is a different type of foliation (**A1-M27**), written in brown ink. Because this fits with the Register, it is probably from an earlier period than the pencilled system. RISM and Kellman have listed the total number of folios at 320 since that is the last numbered folio but with the addition of the first two which were not included in the pencilled foliation count it brings the actual total to 322. These are

Folio Count	Pencilled Numbers	Bottom Corner Numbers
4	1-2	4 unnumbered folios
38	3-40	A1 - A33 (A12, A17 missing; 7 duplicate numberings of A18-A24)
5	41-45	5 unnumbered paper folios
21	46-66	B1 - B21
11	67-77	C1 - C11
28	78-105	D1 - D28
23	106-128	E1 - E28 (E12, 13, 17, 20, 21 missing)
20	129-148	F1 - F27 (F8 - F14 missing)
26	149-174	G1 - G28 (G3, G4 missing)
25	175-199	H1 - H25
24	200-223	I1 - 124
50	224-273	K1 - K52 (K1, K48 missing)
30	274-303	L1 - L32 (L31, L32 missing)
<u>17</u>	304-320	M1 - M30 (M1 - M10, M28 - M30 missing)
322		


The manuscript contains the work of a number of obviously different scribes. They are the writers of the dedication page, gathering #4, gathering #7 and the two scribes of the bulk of the music folios -- one for the text and one for the music. Of these five, the latter two could also have produced most of the Registry with one writing the rubrics and folio numbers in red and the other the song titles in black. In addition, there are two more distinct styles of handwriting within the Registry itself (which will be discussed later in this chapter). This brings the total count of apparent

scribes to seven. The bulk of the music appears to have been written by the two who wrote the main parts of the Registry, but at times it seems that the scribe changes. This is primarily a result of the way in which commas and dots have been made, some having extra long curls to them. But the differences are so slight that it could indicate merely a tired hand or a bad day. For this reason the comment of "possibly a new scribe" occurs in the inventory.

In order to decipher and translate the sixteenth-century style of the Czech language in which this has been written, it was first necessary to recognize the major differences between the writing of this and modern day Czech. The first is the convention of letters. Phonetically, the modern letters č and ř are equivalent to the sounds cz and rz. In the manuscript they are written in at least three different forms - c'z, cz' or cž and r'z, rz' or rž. The ě is frequently 'e, the modern letter 'v' is always a 'w' but on very rare occasions the actual letter 'v' occurs. This is usually in the page headers. The letter 'g' always represents the modern 'j'.

The most problematic letter is actually a pair, 'ij'. This sometimes can be interpreted as ij, ú, y or ý, even though the letter 'y' is in frequent use in this manuscript. Depending on which seems closest to current Czech, it has often been translated as u or ú and sometimes as íj. Occasionally the

accents in í and ý are written so faintly that they are missed.

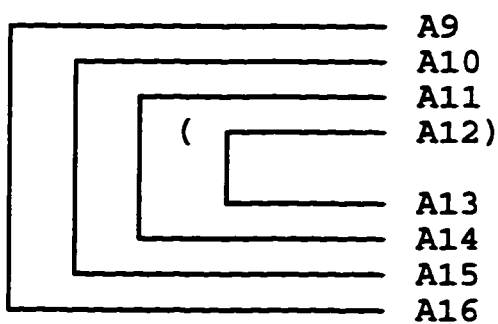
Throughout the manuscript, and to a lesser degree within the Registry itself, the scribes have made use of abbreviations and a shorthand system of writing when space is limited. They have used superscripts of the letters ^v, ^o and ^s, plus characters such as ‘ ~ ’ and ‘ : ’ to indicate abbreviated words. There is also  which sometimes is an abbreviated version of *gest* and at other times it is the ending of certain words. When a word is at the end of a line and needs hyphenation, the scribe has used the ‘ = ’ in place of the more familiar hyphen. The word for God is variations of *Bùh* such as *Buoh*, *Boha*, *Bohem*, whereas the word for Lord is *Pan*, *Pane*. The latter is usually used in connection with Christ or the saints.

The following pages of the inventory includes a listing of the gatherings, folio numbers, individual song titles, and a general description of the music, text, as well as comments on the contents and conditions of the folios. The term *header* refers to that printing process of headers and footers where the most recent title of song or division is indicated at the top of the page.

The method of folio arrangement is used where the description

#3 **A 9 - A16**
(A12) - A13
A11 - A14
A10 - A15
A9 - A16
7 folios

represents gathering #3 of folios **A9** to **A16** in which A12 has been excised and the total remaining number of folios is 7. The folios are connected in the pattern below



INVENTORY

GATH # FOLIOS

#1 (pm1)-(pm6)

pm3 - pm4
(pm2) - pm5
pm1 - (pm6)
4 folios

CZECH SONG TITLES

pm3 Dedication Page: *Tento*
Gradual gest obnomen
pm4 Registry Pages: *Registrum*
Proza Patryanu Sanctus,

COMMENTS

These are possibly 2 paper and 2 parchment folios but with no numberings. The first is blank, the third (pm4 of the registry) has a section cut out. The top of the 4th folio (pm5) has the same section on each side pasted over with paper.

All the staves are red throughout the manuscript. There are page headers at the top of each side of each folio. Those on the verso side usually indicate the larger title, such as *Sanctus* or *Patrem*. Those on the recto side relate to the title of the latest song. With the exception of A1r all notes are black. The lower case letters and all headers are also black.

#2 A1 - A8

A4 - A5
A3 - A6
A2 - A7
A1 - A8
8 folios

A1r *Sanctus Sumum*
A2r *Agnus*
A3v [Tab] *Sanctus a Pannie Marygi*
A4v *Trof o pann'e Marygi*
A5r *Giny Troff o Tiese a Krwi*
Pana Krysta

Beginning with the C clef, there is alternation between C and F clefs.
A1r The first 5 staves contain gold notes and blue letters, the last 3 have red letters and blue notes. At the bottom of the page is a portrait of the singers and congregation.

A5v *Agnus Dei*
A6r [Tab] *Sanctus Anglicum*
A8r *Sanctus Velikononce* (Easter)

A2r There are **C** *tempus imperfectum cum prolatione perfecta* with a note pattern of 1 semi breve followed by 1 minim.
A3r contains barlines.
A3v contains a key signature (1 ♯) and more numerous minims. Whenever a key signature is used in the manuscript, it is this one.
A5r The entire side is text which continues half way down A5v.
A5v has paper pasted over lines 3-8. Another key signature occurs as do more minims.
A7r contains 7½ lines of text with an 8-note chant at the bottom of the page.

#3 A9 - A16

(A12)- A13
A11 - A14
A10 - A15
A9 - A16
7 folios
A9r *Agnus Dei*
A10r *Gine Sanctus*
A13v *Gine K libosti*
A14 [Tab]
A15r *Patrem Postni* (Lent)
A16r *Gine Sanctus w Dmuczgenij*
Panna Krysta

A11r contains the header *K libosti* even though it does not appear as a new song before this point.
A12 has been cut out.
A13v contains bar lines.
The word "Gine" means "another".
A14v has a new header of *Sanctus w Postni*

#4 (A¹⁰₁₇) - A¹⁷₂₄

A¹³₂₀ - A¹⁴₂₁

A¹²₁₉ - A¹⁵₂₂

A¹¹₁₈ - A¹⁶₂₃

(A¹⁰₁₇) - A¹⁷₂₄
7 folios

A¹¹_{18v} *Gi^a Proza*

A¹⁶₂₃ *O Bozin Wteinj*

This gathering is the work of a different scribe. The numbering here is doubled. The compiler is apparently trying to account for some missing folios and/or gatherings. A¹²₁₉ has been cut out. There are key signatures and more 2 & 3 note melisma; some 4-note.

A¹¹_{18v} The header is *O Wtieleni pane*-(The Lord's Incarnation) which indicates that it is connected to the song beginning on A8r.

A¹²_{19r} contains many clef changes.

A¹³_{20r} has a new header of *W Advent*

A¹⁴_{21r} also begins a new header of *O Przychodu Boziho Syna*. (The Arrival of the Son of God)

A¹⁵_{22v} has the word *Amen* at the bottom of the page indicating a song ending.

A¹⁶_{23r} returns to the Incarnation heading with *O Bozin Wtelni* ~ . A new piece also begins here as indicated by the enlarged coloured first letter. The key signature ends but at the beginnings of lines 2 and 4 there is a ♭, otherwise accidentals are used throughout this piece.

#5 A18 - A25

A21 - A22

A20 - A23

A19 - A24

A18 - A25

8 folios

A19r *Gi^a Proza O Bozim Wteleni ~*

A24r *Gina Proza O Wt'e:lebu pane*

A24r (8th staff) *Swietlo naytayn*

'egssi

A18r begins with the ending of a word -né (from *gedné*) and the note B indicated by the custos from the previous page. The chant copies a pattern already seen on A¹⁷_{24v}. The header continues from the previous gathering. A19r has a header of *W Advent* as on A¹³_{20r}.

#6 A26 - A33

A29 - A30

A28 - A31

A27 - A32

A26 - A33

8 folios

A26v (5th staff) *Proza, O bozstwi*

Pa:Kry:y Wanot'ni y O Nowem leite

múze se zpewati

A26v (6th staff) *Przupomin*

The song *Przupomin* begun on the sixth staff of A26v ends on A33v.

#7 (pp1) - pp8

(pp4 - pp5)

pp3 - pp6

pp2 - pp7

(pp1) - pp8

5 folios

These are paper folios with no page numberings in the bottom right corner. It appears that there were 4 fascicles all together with the one in the middle [pp4 - pp5] being parchment, but since cut out. There is one folio missing (pp1).

This gathering is the one which most obviously was written by a different scribe. The handwriting is more rounded and fluid, the spacing wider and the letters much easier to

#8 B1 - B8

B4 - B5

B3 - B6

B2 - B7

B1 - B8

8 folios

B1r *Prozy O Bozim Narozeni*

B1v *Giné Grates*

B2r *Pan Bih w otec*

B3v *Gtz wssichni chrylme*

B5r *Pane Gezu Kryste syna pany*

B7r *Gi^a Proza, O Naroze:p:*

(Wzdaymez chwalu)

B8v *O Swatem Sstepanu (Tyto g*

sauce)

decipher. This suggests that it was probably written at a later date. It appears that the same scribe wrote both the music and the text.

The staves are black, not red, the colouring is not so elaborate; there are metric signs (which change frequently) and key signatures at the beginning of the lines. There are no headers but the entire section is written on the C clef.

The subject matter is still Easter signified by the references to *Pilate*. The music ends with *Amen*. Both sides of pp7 plus pp8r are completely text which also ends with an *Amen*. Pp8v is blank.

A new song begins with elaborate floral border. This one is titled *God's Birth* which seems unusual theologically.

B2r begins a new header *O Bozim Narozeni*

B2v also begins a new header *O Narozeni*

Krystu Pana (About the birth of the Lord Christ).

B2r - B3r have an increased use of minims.

B5r-B6v contain a key signature.

#9 B9 - B16

B12 - B13

B11 - B14

B10 - B15

B9 - B16

8 folios

B11r *Proza O Z, hubeni Mladatek*

Zidowskych y Beth:

B14v *O bozi Krite:ij ~*

B16v *O Obratni Swateho Pawla na wiru*

B10r begins another new header *O S: Janu Evangelisti*.

B11r-B13r use a key signature.

B11r-B12r have frequent use of 3- & 4-note melisma.

B13r begins a new header *Na Nowe Letho ~* (For the New Year).

B15r has a different header *O Trzeth Kratych ~*.

B16v renews the use of the key signature.

#10 B17 - C3

B20 - B21

B19 - C1

B18 - C2

B17 - C3

8 folios

B18v [Tab] *O hromnycych ~*

B21 [Tab] *Proza, Massopustnij*

C3r *Prosa O Swatem Pokani*

B17v has a header of *O S: Pawlu na wiru obraceni ~*.

B18v uses a key signature for this song.

B19r has a header of *O Obetowani Pany Marye ~*.

B21r has a header of *O Hromnycych*.

C1r has the header of *O Massopuste ~*.

C3v-C4r contain more 2-note melismas.

#11 C4 - C11

C7 - C8

C6 - C9

C5 - C10

C4 - C11

C5 [Tab] *Proza O Swatnu ✚*

C9r *Proza stabat mater dolorosa*

C5r It is possible that a new scribe writes here because of a slightly different style.

C6r A new header begins here *O Swatem Krzizi ~*.

8 folios

#12 D4 - D8

D4 - D5
D3 - D6
D2 - D7
D1 - D8
8 folios

D1r *Prozy W Slawne Zmrrf^{ch}*
Wst'atp:K:
D1v *Alleluya*
D2r *Ay chwaly wzdawayme*
D4r *Alleluya* (same as D1v) -
4th system: *Suigit Christe tu*
tropheo ~; 5th system: Nstalt' pan
nass Gezisz Krysto.
D7 *Proza yako mǔdrtre nouatio-*
(Naze wsstckni spolu wesele)

#13 D9 - D16

D12 - D13
D11 - D14
D10 - D15
D9 - D16
8 folios

D9 *Gina Proza O Slawně*
Wzkrzisseneni p: Krysta
D11v *Giná Mare prma Sabbati*
Kdyz Syn Bozi
D13v *Gina Proza O Bozum*
Wzkrzisseneni
D15r *Gina Proza O teniz*

C9r The new song uses a key signature. This song ends on C11r.
C10r takes the header *O Dmuczeni Pana Krysta ~.*

A new section begins at D1r. This page has a more elaborate floral border and large picture within the first letter.

D2r has a new header of *O Wzkrzisseneni pa: Kry:* Here there are frequent barlines after which Perfect 4th leaps occur.

D2r-D2v contain the same music with much imitation evident.

D3v has minims.

D4r has even more minims appearing in the top staff. There are also 2-note melismas, unusual notes, and possibly a different scribe.
D6r uses melisma on *O Marya neplati.*

D12v adds a 3-note melisma.

D13v contains frequent use of a 4th upward leap (D→G) and a repeated line with same beginning.

D16v There are many 4th & 5th upward leaps at the beginning of phrases.

D15v *Bohu w otcy y synu*

#14 D17 - D24

D20 - D21

D19 - D22

D18 - D23

D17 - D24

8 folios

D17r [Tab] *Proza O Bosim*

Wstawpe: Dnessniho dne

D19r *Gina Proza o teniz -*

Swrchowaneho Krale

D21v *O Duchu Siv_ teem swateho*

Ducha mulost

D23r *Gina Prozo O Duchu Swatem*

Slawnost pa matugime

D18v Even though this is not the beginning of a new song the general appearance of the writing suggests a different scribe here. A double barline (red & black) occurs for the first time and it is located in the middle of the page.

D20v New words have been added beginning in the 6th staff. The original are: *Dan Geziss yakoz gest odsud na Nebesa wstauwil takt' zase przy g de na Swiet aby wssecky saudil A pro toz giz....* The words written beneath these are: *A litaiskec prziro ze nu wzal gest zsebau do zsce be y daicsta ginez zett nas sire audy kam przy wede ...*

D21r has much imitation.

D23r contains a heading of *O Duchu*

Swaten ~.

D24r is again possibly a different scribe.

#15 D25- E4

D28 - E1

D27 - E2

D26 - E3

D25 - E4

8 folios

D25r *Gina Nawsstew nas*

Krzuss:ne

D26v *Gina Laude celeber:runa*

6th staff *Nuz Swatek nay*

sweteysy

D26v The Latin words seem to be added later. They are written in black and not in red as all the other titles.

E2r has a new header *O Trogicy Swate*

E1r *O Swatec Trogicy : I*
Pozehnana pos'ehnaynas
E3r *Gina Proza podranz Notu o*
Trogiey swaty

#16 E5 - E12

E8 - E9

E7 - E10

E6 - E11

E5 - (E12)

7 folios

E5v 3rd staff *Gina Proza*
Profitentes Trinitatem z ce;
4th staff *Wyznawagice Trajyho*
E8v *O przeblaho slawena*
E10r [Tab] 4th staff *Prozy O*
Trele a Brwi' Pana Krysta:
Lauda Syon saluatore;
5th staff *Chwalmez' wssickni*

#17 [E 13 - E20]

E16 - (E17)

E15 - E18

E14 - E19

(E13) - (E20)

5 folios

E15r 8th staff *Gina Proza yako*
Lauda Syō Saluatore;
9th staff *Pochwal dusse*
Apasytele
E19r *Gina A bychom hodn'e*
pamatowali Weczerze
E17 and E20, which are conjugate, and E13,
have been cut out.
There are blacked out words are on E14v,
E15r, and E16v.
E22r has a new header *O Tiele a Krwi Krysta*
Pana.
E23r also has a new header *O Wezerzi Pana*
K.

E11r has a new header *O Metzerci Pani*
E11v contains blacked out words.
E12 has been cut out.

#18 (E21) - E28

E24 - E25
E23 - E26
E22 - E27
(E21) - E28
7 folios

E23r *Gina Proza O Kryste Wierzny
ziwy chylebe O panis dulcissime*
E24v [Tab] *Pomnina den' Nedelny
genz gt nam*
E27v *O Przikazanu Bozuch ~*

The entire folio E21 has been cut out.
E22r contains blacked out words.
The top of E24 has been cut out.
E25r contains a new header *O Ned'ele Pan'e*
(Easter Sunday) The bottom right corner of
the folio is very well-worn from frequent use.
E26v contains a handwritten word *Přednie*
over the word *przedkeni*. This is probably a
correction.

#19 F1 - (F8)

F4 - F5
F3 - F6
F2 - F7
F1 - (F8)
7 folios

F3r [Tab] 3rd staff *O Swatem Janu
Krzitiele; 4th staff Swateho
Jana Krzitele Krysto*
F4v 2nd system *Proza o Swatych
Petru a Pawlu Apostolych Pane;*
3rd system *Swateho Petra a
Pawla dnes dlawne*
F5v [Tab] *O Nawsstuwenu p. parye
Alzbetu*

There is a possibility of a different scribe in
this section.
F4r contains a new header *O S Janu Krzitielei*
F5r also has a new header from the last song
on F4v *Swateho Petra a Pawla dnes slawne.*
F6r has a new header *O Nawsstuwenu p. ma;*
Alz;
F8 has been cut out.

#20 (F9) - F16

(F12 - F13)
(F11 - F14)
(F10) - F15
(F9) - F16
2 folios

F15r [Tab] *O Swat e Pannie
Markece (Swatau Pannu Marketu
dnes obe)*

F9 through F14 have been cut out. In
addition, the top three staves and the header of
F15 have been cut out. Probably the entire
previous song was to be obliterated. But if the
top staves had also been cut, then the staves on

the reverse side would have also been lost. It would appear that the "editor" wanted to keep the subsequent song intact after compilation. F16r has a new header *O Swie Markece*

#21 F17 - F24

F20 - F21

F19 - F22

F18 - F23

F17 - F24

8 folios

F21r *O Swatee Marzi Magdalene*
F23v *O Swatem Jakubu Aposstolu*
Panie

F17v also has a new header *Proza O Kozellanu Aposstolinu*

F22r takes its new header from the last song *O Swatee Marzi Magdalene*

F24r has a new header *Swate Jakubu*

#22 F25- G5

G1 - G2

F27 - (G3)

F26 - (G4)

F25 - G5

6 folios

F25v *G. Ste Anne*
F27v *O Promenenu Pana Krysta na*
Su otze Thabor
G4v *O Swatem Wawizincy*
G5r 5th system *Gina Nebwzeti*
Panny Marye; 9th system
den Gest yako dnes
czas skrze smrt

F25v - F27v contain a key signature.

F26r has a new header *O Swate Ann'e*

G1r also has a new header *Promenenu Pana K.*

G3 and G4 have been cut out.

G5r has a new header *O.S. Wawizincy.*

#23 G6 - G13

G9 - G10

G8 - G11

G7 - G12

G6 - G13

8 folios

G6v *Ale yako* ^{*dnes ml dei -*} *wienio izas z byla*
zalosit
G8v *Proza o Swatem Bartholom'egi*
G9 [Tab]
G10v *O Stetu S' Jana Krztitele*

G6r has a new header *Nebe wzeta pa ~*

G8r contains 7 staves and 8 lines of text.

There are words inserted above and below the first line - *Adwent pan'e*

Prot oz's welkau radostu slawnost tuto

swatky tyto.

There are also two metric signs C and C . In addition there are more minims here. Also it almost seems as if this belongs to a different scribe.

G9r starts a new header *O. S. Bartholome'egi*

G10v This song uses a key signature.

G11r starts another header *O Stetu S' Jana Krztiele*

G12r The song with its key signature ends on the 8th system.

#24 G14 - G21

G17 - G18

G16 - G19

G15 - G20

G14 - G21

8 folios

G14v *Slawnie tento* ^{dm} _{c'zas} *narozenu*

Mary Pa

G15 [Tab]

G17r *O Swate Lidmule*

G18r [Tab] *O Poswiecenu Chramu*

Pan'e Psallat C. ctieha ze: ~

G19r *O S'r Waczlawu: ~*

G20v [Tab] *Wo Andeluch*

Bozuch ~ Bozie genzracziss

#25 G22 - H1

G25 - G26

G24 - G27

G23 - G28

G22 - H1

G24v *Gina Proza Kryste Krati*

naywyzssu And'elsky y tez

Archandelsky

G26v *Gina oteniz: Wtecznemu a*

G14v starts a new header *Proza o Narozenu Pary M.*

G19r The song begins with a key signature.

G20r starts a new header *O S'r Waczlawu: ~*

G21r starts a new header *Wo Andeluch.*

G25r has a new header *Wo Andeluch*

G28v has all minims on systems 4 to 8. There is also a 3 which could be a metric sign.

8 folios

#26 H2 - H9

H5 - H6
H4 - H7
H3 - H8
H2 - H9
8 folios

prze dobrotiwemu

H1 [Tab] *O Wssech Switych wssichni Swatu Cherubin*

H2v *Gine Proza o temz wssickni swatu seraffin Cherubin y truonowe*
H4r *Gina wssickni Swatu sau Boha cilit*
H5v *O Swatem Martinu*
H6 [Tab]
H9r *O Swate Panne Katerzin'e*

H2r starts a new header *O Wssech Switych*.
H5r has text on the 6th and 7th systems partially blacked out.
H6r begins a new header *O. S. Martinu*.
H9r The song uses a key signature.

#27 H10 - H17

H13 - H14
H12 - H15
H11 - H16
H10 - H17
8 folios

H11 [Tab]

H14v *Gina Proza Yako Verbu bonu*

et suaue

H16 [Tab] *Poczinagu se ~ Prozy wo Aposstoluch wu obec*

H10r begins a new header *O Swate Panne katerzin'e*.
H12r also begins a new header *O Panne Marygi*.
H17r has a header of *Wo Aposstoluch*.

#28 H18 - H25

H21 - H22
H20 - H23
H19 - H24
H18 - H25
8 folios

H19v *Gina Proza*

H20v *Gina Proza*

H23 [Tab] *Wo Ewigelistuch*

H25v 8th system *W Murzedhnucych*
9th system *Prze blaho slawene blahosla*

H24r starts a new header *Wo Ewigelistuch*.

#29 I1 - I10

I5 - I6

I4 - I7

I3 - I8

I2 - I9

I1 - I10

10 folios

I1r W *Muczedlnycych*

I3r W *Wyznawczuch*

I5 [Tab] *O Pannach* ~

I8v *Proza k libosti*

I9 [Tab]

This is an unusual gathering from the previous.

This seems to contain 5 bifolios - quinternion, 10 leaves.

I4r has a new header *W Wyznawczuch*.

I6r also has a new header *W Pannach*.

I9r has a header of *K libosti*.

#30 I11 - I16

I13 - I14

I12 - I15

I11 - I16

6 folios

I11r [Tab] *Pokoge manie wssickni*

I11r has a header of *Proza za Pokoy*.

#31 I17 - I24

I20 - I21

I19 - I22

I18 - I23

I17 - I24

8 folios

I17 [Tab] *Khzestiane mame se
posititi'*

I19v 7th system *Hymna wo Dmurze*

nu Pana Krysta, czasu postnuho

Dejczilazc; 8th system Pan buh otec

z wysosti

I22r *Pusen'iw Dnuiczeny Pana*

Kryst O Dobroto welika Otce

Nebeske

I24r *Spasyteli Kryste gediny*

I24v *Antyphona*

I17r starts a new header *Proza o Postu*.

I19v The text on the 2nd and 3rd systems have been blacked out.

I20r begins a new header *Wo Dmuczemi P.K.*

It consists of 3 lines of music followed by 18 lines of text.

I21v contains text followed by 4 lines of music.

I22r is all text.

I22v has 4 lines of music then the balance of the page is text which continues through

I23v. The page has 4 lines of music in the middle of the page with text above and below.

#32 (K1) - K8

K4 - K5

K3 - K6

K2 - K7

(K1) - K8

7 folios

K3r K libosti

I24r has a new header *Anty: w pan ~*.

K1 has been cut out.

K2r contains a key signature, barlines, minims, semi-breves and breves. The handwriting seem curvier than the previous section which could mean a different scribe again. There is a new header *Sumum*.

K2v also has a new header *Patrem*.

K3r has barlines, different looking red letters, the inclusion of more Bohemian chant notation. The majority of notes in this piece consists of minims.

#33 K9 - K16

K12 - K13

K11 - K14

K10 - K15

K9 - K16

8 folios

K10 [Tab]

K10v has a new header *Gine Patrem*.

#34 K17 - K24

K20 - K21

K19 - K22

K18 - K23

K17 - K24

8 folios

K19r [Tab] *Patrem na druhy strane*

nuoz'se zpuwaji przy wssech

Slawnostech Panny marye: Jako:

Laudens ebur rasitatis'

K21v *Gine*

K20v begins a new header *Przi Slanewstech Pány Marye*. Bar lines appear here as well.

K24r contains 2 lines of music with the balance being text through to the verso side.

#35 K25- K32

K28 - K29
K27 - K30
K26 - K31
K25 - K32
8 folios

K25 [Tab]
K30r *Gine dwauhlasnij*
K31r *Gine Patrem natrzi hlasy*
K32r *Gine Patrem dwauhlasnij*

K25r contains a new header *Patrem wobenu*.
Minims are again plentiful.
K25v is completely text.
K26r begins a new header *K libosti*. There are 6 lines of red text. The text continues (black) through until the polyphony occurs (**K30v**).
K30r begins 2-part polyphony.
K30v is all text.
K31r contains one piece of 3-part polyphony.
K32v begins 2-part polyphony.

#36 K33 - K40

K36 - K37
K35 - K38
K34 - K39
K33 - K40
8 folios

K35 [Tab]
K37r *Gine Patre Nedelnu*
K39r *Patrem Poswijcenske*
dwauhlasnij

K33v is all text.
K34r contains 4 lines of music and the balance in text and music.
K36r begins a new header *Postnu*.
K38r begins a different header *Nedelnu*.
K39r 2-part polyphony begins. This piece continues through to **K43v**.

#37 K41 - (K48)

K44 - K45
K43 - K46
K42 - K47
K41 -(K48)

K43v *Gine Patrem dwauhlasnij*

K43v 2-part polyphony begins. All of the music on **K32v-K33r** is included here. **K48** has been cut out.

7 folios

#38 K49 - K52

K50 - K51

K49 - K52

4 folios

K49 [Tab] red

K50r *Gine Patrem t zasw
wanocznuho.*

K51v *Gine Patrem Wanocznu, yako
Trzi Krali znamenali w Otce
wssemohucyho.*

K50v is text which continues through to K52.
K52r begins a new header *wanocznu*.

#39 L1 - L8

L4 - L5

L3 - L6

L2 - L7

L1 - L8

8 folios

L1r *Antyphona laudem dicite*

L2r [Tab] *Antyphona O troguy*

Swatee Haec est dies

L3v *Hymna w Dewitruk Dies
absolutui*

L4v *Antyffona Media vita O opolu
ziwotenu*

L8v *Hymna w Prwnu Nedelt
Postnu.*

L1r-L2r contains the antiphon with 19 stanzas.
These alternate in colours with the even
numbered ones being in red and the odd in
black.

L3v starts another header *An haec es dies*.

L4r also begins another header *hymna w
Dewitruk*.

L4v contains text followed by 4 lines of music.

L5r takes *media vita* as its header.

L5v takes the same header. It consists of text
through to L6v.

L6v has *Pusen o Postu OkreStane giz pozorug*
as its header. There are 4 lines of music all of
which is minims. The balance of the page is
text.

L7r continues the text until ½-way down L8v,
which ends the page with 4 lines of music.

#40 L9 - L16

L12 - L13

L11 - L14

L10 - L15

L9 - L16

8 folios

L9v [Tab] *W Y Nedeli Postnu*

hymna

L11r *Hymna v Czřivitau Nedich*

Postnu Krystus postycyni se

L12 [Tab]

L13r *Gina o teniz*

L9r has a new header *W Prwnu Nedeli Postnu*.

The entire page is text, which continues ½-way down the verso.

L9v contains 2½ lines of music.

L10r consists of 2 lines of music with the balance text.

L11r contains 4 lines of music. The balance being text which continues to the middle of L13r.

L13r contains 3½ lines of music, followed by text then 1 line of music at the bottom.

L13v-L16v consists of all text.

#41 L17 - L24

L20 - L21

L19 - L22

L18 - L23

L17 - L24

8 folios

L19v *Gina w Pokanu*

L20r *O Swaten Wawrzncy*

L23r *W Swate Waw ~*

L24r *Pisen o Wyznanwczich*

L19r header of *W Sr Marzu Magdalene* There are 1½ lines of music. The balance is text.

L19v has 3½ lines of music.

L20r has a header of *Wo Pokanu*. With 1 line of music the balance of text continues through to L22v.

L22v contains 3 lines of music and has some of the text blacked out. The header is *hymne*.

L24r contains 6 lines of music and has a header of *O Wyznanwczich*.

#42 L25- (L32)

L28 - L29
L27 - L30
L26 -(L31)
L25 -(L32)
6 folios

L25v *Wo Aposstolich zpuivay*
L26r *chcess w bernunotau. Yako,*
L26v *Surrexit Christus a neb ~*
L27r *Pusen w Andieluch na Zalm*
L27v *91 Qui habitat in adiutorto*
L28r *altissimi*
L28v *Pusen yak pan buoh sive*
L29r *werne raczu dnune*

L31 and L32 have been cut out.
L26r has 3 lines of music and a header of *Wo Aposstoluch*.
L26v contains mainly text with 2½ lines of music beginning *Kdo bude Kepetycyo*
L27r is primarily text with ½ line of music.
The text continues through L28r.
L28r contains 4 lines of music with metric signs C.
L28v is similar to L27r.
L30v has the text blacked out at the bottom.

#43 [M1 - M8]

The entire gathering has been cut out. There were 8 folios and the numbers were probably M1 - M8.

#44 (M9) - M16

M12 - M13
M11 - M14
(M10) - M15
(M9) - M16
6 folios

M11v *Gina Pod tauz Notu*
M15r *Dwobratenu Swateho Pawla*
na wiru hym^a. Panatugmezna
M16v *Na Nowe letho yako Drbs*
beata.

The first two folios have been cut out. They were probably M9 and M10.
M11r has a header of *O Meczerzi Pane*. The text continues through to M15r with 2 lines of music on M11v and M15r.
M13v has 2 blacked out words.
M15v contains 6 lines of music and has a header of *hymna*.
M16r has a header of *O Wobracenu S^o Pawla*.

#45 M17 - M24

M20 - M21

M19 - M22

M18 - M23

M17 - M24

8 folios

M17r *Dnes gest slawnost*

M18v *hymna o Narodzeni Panny*

Marye yako: O Sancta mui domina

Tezo na Nebe wzety a no

Obetominu.

O Marya panno przeblahosla.

M19v *hyna wo Aposstoluch Jako:*

Exultet coelum laudibus'

M21r *Pusen v Muczedl mucych*

Ay Kdo do Nebe

M16v is all text except for 1 line of music.

M17r has 5 lines of music, a key signature and a header of *hyma o na Nebe wzetu Pany M.*

M19r with ½ a line of music has a header of *O Panne Maryga.*

M19v contains 4 lines of music.

M20r contains 2 lines of music with a header of *Wo Aposstoluch.*

M21r has a chant (*Pusen.*) and then after text 4 more lines of the song beginning *Ay Kdo.* with a key signature.

M21v-M25v is all text.

M24v has 4 whole lines blacked out.

#46 M25 - (M30)

M27 - (M28)

M26 - (M29)

M25 - (M30)

3 folios

M27 [Tab]

The amount of text increases near the end.

This gathering seems to have been only 3 folios of the manuscript, but one could have been removed rather than cut, or else only 3 were needed to end the book.

M26r has 4 lines of music and a header of *Pusen o Chuwle Bozen.*

M27r contains music which continues through to the verso. The header is *Proza a Swaten hawla.* The balance of the folios have been cut out.

There are at least two, probably three, and possibly even four layers of time associated with changes and editing in this manuscript. Addressing them is best done by working from the present backwards, and from the physical outer layers inwards to try to establish the initial contents of the book used by the literary brotherhood at the church of St. Havla.

There are no other records surrounding this manuscript. Possible reasons for this situation relate to the continuous foreign rule of Bohemia from the most recent Communist and Fascist regimes which controlled the Czech Republic from 1939 until 1991, extending back to the Habsburg Catholics (1620 until the end of World War I). In their effort to eradicate as much reference to religion as possible, the Communists had historical documents belonging to the Catholic Archbishopric moved into State-run archives. Even Czech-language dictionaries from this period lack many ecclesiastical words.

Throughout *PragU XVII B 19* is evidence of much editing. This is through the inking over of lines of text and music, the insertion of words into the text, the pasting of paper over sections, and the excision of sections of, or entire folios. But by using the document itself the various layers become fairly clear.

The first indication that changes had been made appears in the

dedication page, the second folio in the book. It says

**Tento Gradual gest obnowen a pře-
 wāzan te Lzti Blahoslawené a Nerozdilné
 Swaté Trogicze Téz ku Pocziwosti Panny Mary-
 gie, Jako y wssem Bozjim Swatym. Nacladem Dro-
 zotych a Statecznych Mladyk, Spoluraddnych ic.
 Miesstianúw a Miesstick y ginssjch Dobrodin-
 cziew; Niczmenie téhoz [L or T]ziasu kuru lite-
 ratskeho Lzieskeho v Swateho Hawla
 w kem; Starem Miestie Prazskem
 Literatum: A to obzwasstnie
 Obstaranym Girziho hora-
 ka a Girzjho Pasowsky-
 ko, y ginsslich Spolu-
 Literatum.**

**[D or I]wat'czateh'o T'rzetjho Dne Micsncze Unora Let'ha Panu
 Tisn'eznho Ssestisteho Padesateho**

As best as can be determined, the translation reads as follows -

**This Gradual is renewed and rebound for the
 honour of the blessed and inseparable Holy Trinity
 and also to the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary,
 as well as all of God's Saints. It is an expensive
 gift to the brave young people of the same origin
 [or same guild-hall] etc, from the citizens - both
 male and female and other patrons, [those who**

perform good deeds]; Notwithstanding this is the distinguished choir of the Literatum of St. Havla located in the Old Town region of Prague. Plus, this was especially commissioned [secured, bought] in the name of Mount George and George of Pasov by the artistic association of Literati.

The [Twenty-] Third Day of the Month of February in the Lord's Year One Thousand Six Hundred and Fifty.

The date of the renewed and rebound book written out on this page is consistent with the date of 1650 on the cover. There is little information surrounding the George of Pasov mentioned in this dedication other than that he was Archbishop of Prague in 1493. Knowing his theological stance would be helpful in gaining a clearer understanding of the meaning of this dedication.

A Swedish invasion of Bohemia began in 1639 and by 1648 Old Town Prague was being defended against this enemy "with grim determination by a motley collection of Jesuit priests, students, monks and burgers organized into Marian sodalities and guilds of Corpus Christi."⁶² It is likely that the "brave young people" refers to those from St. Havla who

⁶² Evans, *MHM*, page 77.

were among these defenders.

The reference to the renewing and rebinding is further supported by the alterations made in the numbering of the folios and the sections which appear to have been edited and changed. An example of this is in the *Laudem dicite* which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four. The editing there takes two forms - the addition of liturgical words and the covering up of sections with black ink.

In the entire L section, and up to M16, changes to the bottom numbers occur. It looks as if that entire section originally belonged to the I division where L1 was once I11. This is indicated from L1 - L8 (gathering #39) with the appearance of the labels I11 - I18 below the L numbers but with a line drawn through them, e.g.

L²
~~7¹²~~

This occurs again on L26, and L14 - L15. The latter have no lines drawn through the I labels.

From L9 - L25, the L labels are written on top of the I labels, with the addition of the numerals written above the larger label as follows -

L¹²
~~22~~

L²³
~~23~~

M11 - M16 are written thus

M13 has an X beside it

Once M17 begins, there is no trace of any re-numberings and the labels return to the same neat handwriting. This could explain the reason for the unusual 10-folio gathering (#29) containing I1 - I10. If the entire L1 through M16 was originally I, this section could then have been re-numbered and moved to a later part of the book. That M17 begins a new gathering (#45) as well as a new song, suggest this was the case. This leads one to infer that this would be one of the reasons for the re-binding of 1650. The renewal would be the addition of a new I11 - I24 as I11r also begins a new song. Helpful to this procedure would be the appearance of an obvious change in scribes, but this is not so.

RISM, Fojtíková and Brewer⁶³ place the book's initial production in the second half of the sixteenth century. Their reason is its presumed link to *PragU XVII A 41* which was part one of a two-volume Easter gradual, containing the date of 1576 and an inscription indicating its use at St. Havla. As that manuscript retains two dedicatory pages and two dates (1576 and

⁶³ *RISM*, page 273; Fojtíková, page 229; Brewer, page 317.

1646) it makes it easier to situate. *PragU XVII B 19* on the other hand is missing the original dedication page (if indeed it had one). Despite this Kellman is rather specific in dating it and indicates it as being copied between 1550 and 1575. He gives neither reason nor reference for this. What is interesting, however, is that *XVII A 41* was also renewed, but four years earlier in 1646.

In 1627 St. Havla Church was given to the Carmelites by Ferdinand, which means that the congregation officially became Catholic. Up until then, even with the changes introduced by the Council of Trent - most particularly the Mass sung in the vernacular and the communion in both kinds - the Utraquists maintained at most a sentimental difference, one that appears to be in name only. Nevertheless they were still labelled as Utraquists, part of the Protestant majority. L. Nemeč⁶⁴ indicates that the old-Utraquists merged with the Catholics in 1561 when Brus became Archbishop of Prague. Other historians do not make such a clear distinction regarding the date of their conversion. Utraquists still maintained their consistory in 1575⁶⁵ and it was not until after 1620 that orthodox Utraquism was grouped with the other non-Catholic faiths being abolished, losing its

⁶⁴ L. Nemeč, "Utraquists," *The New Catholic Encyclopedia* 14 (1967): page 505.

⁶⁵ Evans, *MHM*, page 54.

official status as the second state religion.⁶⁶ It is possible that some of the textual changes seen throughout this manuscript could have been made at this time.

At the beginning of the volume, following the title page is part of a Registry of the music. Primarily because of the repetition of the *Laudem dicite* and its corresponding page number it appears to be listed in calendrical order. These pages are written in a combination of Czech and Latin. The numbering system here is letters plus Roman numerals. In addition to missing one folio, this Registry has some sections cut out and others pasted over with paper. The different style used for numbering the folios, i.e. letters combined with Roman numerals rather than Arabic numbers, leads to confusion as to whether this was written at the same time as the book was compiled or added later. Since the handwriting is similar to the blocked style of letters found in the music it seems likely that the basic list was written at the same time.

There are at least two scribes here, one writing the rubrics and folio numbers in red, and the second the song titles in black. The primary divisions are indicated in larger-sized letters and/or red ink. Next to the last three entries which represent the text near the end of the book, there are

⁶⁶ Pánek, page 143.

page numbers obviously written in by a different scribe using a different writing utensil, but applying the same style of numbering system as those at the bottom of the folios.

On the edges of many of the folios are also several leather tabs of approximately .5" square. Many of these are located at the folios containing music for the feasts of several Czech saints. As best as possible the following is the Czech transcription and corresponding English translation, with the location of the tabs indicated by [T] and the relative folio number underlined if more than one number has been listed.

**Registrum Prozā Patryanū
Sanctus, a n'ekterych pusnu a
Hymen.**

**Registry of Prosa, Credos,
Sanctus as well as several
songs and hymns**

Sanctus Sūmū	A1
O Pān'e Marygi	[T] <u>aiii</u> ,vi
O Weczerzt panie s Troffem	av,xii
Angelske	[T] avi
Welikonocžnu	a viii,x,xi
K libosti	[T] a, xi, xiii, <u>xiiii</u>
W Dewitnuk a Postni,	a, xvi, xvii
Agnus Sūmū	[T] a, iii
O Pān'e Marygi	a, vi

Sanctus Sumum
About the Virgin Mary
The Lord's Supper with [fragments]
Angelic
Easter
About loveliness
In the ninth part and fasting
Agnus Sumum
About the Virgin Mary

Angelske	[T] a, vii	Angelic
Prozy o Wt'elenu Panna Krysta		Prosa for the Incarnated Lord
w advent		Christ at Advent
Laudem dicite,	l, i.	Laudem dicite
Pā Buh wssemohucy,	a, x.	Lord God Almighty
Otec wssemohucy	a, xii	Almighty Father
Bud'mež wd'etžni	a, xiii	Let us be thankful to God
<u>Zawitay a sstup</u> Mesyassy	a, xvi	[Appear?] and _____
		Messiah
Witaymež w <u>sstczkni</u> Mesyassy		Bid Welcome to _____
	a, xvii	Messiah
Weselese oterko Syonska,	a, xxiii	Be Joyful Children of Zion
Yzayss Prorok puse,	a, xxii	The Prophet Isaiah writes
Sw'etlo naytaynéyssu,	a, xxiii	Most Secret Light
Przupominaynie sobé,	a, xxvii	Remind yourself
Zwysokosti Nebeske wysšlo Slunce,		From the highest heaven
	a, xxxi	came the Son
Boslal Buhz Nebe,	a, xxxiii	That God sent from heaven

This is the bottom of the first column of the first side of the folio. At this point the balance of the column has been cut out.

Top of column two, side one, folio one of registry.

Pan Buoh otec,	b, ii	The Lord Father
Narozenemu,	b, iii	Birth
Gtz'wssickni chřylme,	b, iii	Living praise
Pane Gezu Kryste,	b v,	Lord Jesus Christ
Wzdaymež chwalu,	b vii	Gift of praise

O Swatem Sstiepanu, Prosa, Tyto sauce,	b ix	About Saint Stephen Prosa, This _____
O Swetem Janu Kwā: Proza,	b x,	About Saint John the Evangelist Prosa
O Mladiatkach. Prosa,	b, xi	About Holy Innocents' Day Prosa
Na Nowe Lecho, haec est dies, Laudem dicite, Prosa, Zawurka,	a, xxvii l i, b, xiii. m xvii	For the New Year haec est dies Laudem dicite Prosa conclusion
O Bożum K'rz't'enu a O Trzech Kraluch. Laudem dicite Prosa,	l i. b. xv,	For The Lord's baptism & The Three Kings Laudem dicite Prosa
W Wobracenu Sv Pawla. Laudem dicite Prosa, Hymna,	l i. b xvii m, xv	The conversion of Saint Paul Laudem dicite Prosa a Hymn
O Hromnicych. Laudem dicite, Prosa,	l i [T] b xix	For Candle-mass Laudem dicite Prosa

Massopustnu.

Laudem dicite
 Prosa, l i.
 Hymna, l iii.

Shrove-tide

Laudem dicite
 Prosa,
 A Hymn

W Pokany.

Proza, c iii.
 Kralowlstwu Bożu, l xx,
 Odpolu ziwoteni, lv,
 O Magdalen'e, l xix

About penance

Prosa
 God's kingdom
 Life after life
 About Magdalene

O Bożum Dmiuczenu.

Prosa, Chwalu Krystu my
 wzdawayine, [T] cv.
 Dmuczenu Geżusse c ix
 O dobroto welika, g xxi

About the Lord's Torment

Prosa, We are praising
 Christ
 Jesus' torment
 About great goodness

Top of side two of folio one of the registry. Column one.

Pan Buh Otec zwy: j xx.
 Buoh otecz moha dobre bez
 nas byti, j xxiii.
 Swehka milost j xxiii.
 Okrzyżowany Kryste j xxiiii.
 Antyffona. g xxiiii.

The living God the father
 God the great good father
 be not without us
 Holy grace
 Crucified Christ
 Antiphon

O Wzkrzussenu Pan'e.

Laudem dicite l i

About the Resurrected Lord

Laudem dicite

Prozy.

Nuże Welikonocźni	d i.
Ay chwalu vzdaway:	d ii.
Nstalt'gl pā nass.	d iii.
Nuże wsstckni spolu	d vii.
Otce wssemohucy, o	d xii
Kdyz' Syn Bożu,	d xii
Nuz' krzestáne wérnu	d xiiii.
Bohu Otcy y Synu,	d xvi,

O Wstapenu Pan'e

laudem dicite	l i
Dnessneho dne.	[T] d xvii,
Swrchowaneho Kra:	d xix.

O Swatem Duchu.

Laudem dicite	l.i.
So Ducha nulost.	d xxi.
Slawnost pamatug:	d xxiii.
Nawsstéw nas krzu:	d xxv.
Nuż Swatek naysw'e:	d xxvii.

O Swate Trogny.

Laudem dicite	l i.
haec est dies,	[T] l ii.
Požehnana požehnaynas.	l i.
Pan Buh nass gedin:	e iiiii.
Wyznawagice Trogio,	e vi.
W przeblahoslawena	e ix.

O Wetc'zerzi Pan'e**Prosa**

Because of Easter
We praise you
Risen for us
Because of all together
Almighty father
When the Son of God
___ loyal Christians
To God the Father and Son

About the Resurrected Lord

Laudem dicite
Today is the day
Highest Lord Christ

To the Holy Ghost

Laudem dicite
Ask for the Spirit's mercy
Remember the festival
Come and visit us soon
_____ witness the greatest holiday

About the Holy Trinity

Laudem dicite
haec est dies
Blessed on blessing us
Our Lord God the only one
Recognizing the Trinity
More than celebrated

The Lord's Supper

Laudem dicite	l i.	Laudem dicite
Prozy, Lauda Syon.		Prosa, Zion's Praises
Chwalmež wssichni	[T]e x.	We should all celebrate
Pochwal dusse,	e xv,	Praise the souls
Abychō hodnie pamatowalt		That we would well
Werzerze.	e xix,	remember the Supper
Zdraw bud' Gezu	e xxii.	Hail to the Lord Jesus

Top of column two, side two of registry folio one.

O Kryste wieczny ziwychlebe		O Christ who is eternally
	e xxiii,	alive
Pysne.		Songs
Gezu Kryste chlebe	mx.	Jesus Christ the Bread
Nass mify Bože	m, x.	Our dear God
Swatost tu hodney	m xii,	You are worthy of holiness
O Ned'eli pan'e,		About The Lord's Sunday
Proza	[T] e xxv.	Prosa
O Przikazany božuch		About the Lord's
		Commandment
Proza	e xxviii.	Prosa
Zálm,	[T] l xii.	Psalm
Wizyak b'uh wssemo:	L xiii,	Now, God of everything
O Swatem Panu Krziteli narozenu		About the Holy Lord of
		Baptism's Birth
Proza	ff, iii.	Prosa

Laudem dicite	l i.	Laudem Dicite
Pysne: Sweteho Jana Krztitele, l xvii,		Song: Saint John the Baptist
O <u>Stetu</u> Sw Jana.		About the [<u>armour</u>] of Saint John
Proza,	G xi,	Prosa
O Swatych Petru a Pawlu,		About Saints Peter and Paul
Laudē dicite	L i,	Laudem dicite
Proza,	ff v,	Prosa
Pysen, Chwalmež wssichni pana		Songs, We all praise the Lord
Boha,	l xviii	
Hymna o Swatem Pawlu	M xv,	Hymn to Saint Paul
Dwobrucenu So pawla,		The Good Saint Paul
Laudem dicite	L i,	Laudem dicite
Prosa	B xvii,	Prosa
O Nawsstuwenu Swate Alzbety,		About the Visitation to Saint Elizabeth
Laudem dicite	l i,	Laudem dicite
Proza,	[T] ff vi.	Prosa

Here the rest of the column has been cut out. It matches the missing section at the bottom of column one, side one of folio one.

Folio two, side one, column one.

At the top of this column paper has been pasted over the first five or six lines of text.

O Swate Marketie		About Saint Margaret
Proza,	[T] ff xv,	Prosa
O Kozeslanu Aposstol:		About the Blessed Apostles
<i>Here is a spelling error. The "K" should be a "P".</i>		
Laudem dicite	L 1.	Laudem dicite
Proza [T] ff xviii, <u>h. xvi</u> , xx, xxi.		Prosa
Pusen kdyz' Panna Nebe wstupowal,		Song, Then appeared the Lord
	L xxvi,	in Heaven
Hymna	m xx,	Hymn
O Ste. Jakubu.		About Saint Jacob
Proza,	ff xxvi	Prosa
O Swate Ann'e		About Saint Anne
Prosa	ff xxvi	Prosa
O Swate Marzi Magdalene		About Saint Mary Magdalene
Laudem dicite	l i	Laudem dicite
Proza,	ff xxi,	Prosa
Pysn'e	l, xix, xx,	Songs

O Wobe'towanu, P, ai.		To the Sacrificing Lord
Hymna,	m. xix	Hymn
O Pann'e Marygi lecz kdys.		About the Virgin Mary's
Proza,	h xii, xv.	Constant Care
Hymna,	M xix.	Prosa
Zawyrka	g viii.	Hymn
		Conclusion
O Poswucenu.		About the Consecration
Laudem dicite	l i.	Laudem dicite
Proza,	[T] g xviii.	Prosa
Żalm,	l xii,	Psalm
O Swate Lidmule,		About Saint Ludmilla
Proza,	[T] g xvii,	Prosa
O Swatem Waclavu,		About Saint Wenceslas
Laude dicite	l i.	Laudem dicite
Prosa	g xix	Prosa
Pysen,	M, xxi. lxxiiii	Song
Wo And'eluch.		Angels
Laudem dicite	l i.	Laudem dicite
Prozy.		Prosa
Boże genz' racziss.	[T] g xxi,	The Lord whom you believe in
Kryste Krali itay:	g xxv.	Christ King and son
Wtecznieniu a prze:	g, xxvii,	Because of the Incarnation and _____
Żalm, kdo bude w skrytosti	l xxvii,	Psalm, who will be hidden
Pysen, pozorug kazoy,	l. xxviii,	Song, observe everyone

Chwalte pana And'ele,	m xxvii,	Angels praise the Lord
Pysen' o Swatē Petru	l, xvii.	Song, about Saint Peter

Column one of side two of second registry folio

O Swatem Hawlu.		About Saint Gallus
Proza,	m xxviii,	Prosa
O Wssech Swatych.		About All the Saints
Laudem dicite	l.i.	Laudem dicite
Prozy,		Prosa
Wssickni Swatu Cherubin,	h i,iii,	All the holy cherubins
Wssickni Swatu sau Boha ctilt,h	iiii,	All you saints whom God
		adores
Z'alm Pane kdo wstanky	l, xii	Psalm Lord who was
		resurrected
Setrze pan Buoh wsselike slzu		The Lord wipes away all tears
W Stem Martinu,		Saint Martin
Proza,	[T] h vii,	Prosa
Krzestáne prawdy Božu,	l xxiiii,	Christians of the
		Lord's truth
O Ste Katerzin'e		About Saint Catherine
Proza	[T] h ii	Prosa
	h ix.	
O Muc'zedlnijcych,		About all the Martyrs
Proza,	li.	Prosa
Laudem dicite,	l i,	Laudem dicite

Pysen' dlahu	m xxi,	Song, a long song
O Wyznawaczuch,		About those who are Confessors/followers
Proza,	I iii.	Prosa
Krzestane Prawdy b'ozu	l xxiii.	Christians of the Lord's truth
O Pannach.		About the Virgins
Proza,	I v.	Prosa
Laudem dicite,	l i.	Laudem dicite
Czasu Postnuho,		The time of Lent
Snowe wzpustilosti	l iii.	Again resurrected
O Krzestianegiz'	l vii	About Christians
Od <u>poluziwote</u> ,	l, v.	For [<u>half life</u>]
Kralowstwu Bozu	lxx,	The Kingdom of God
Hymny,	[T] Lix.x,xi.	Hymns
Prosa,	I, xvii	Prosa
Na Nowe Leto,		For the new year
Zawurka, O Bozie ratz dati,		Conclusion, God please give us
M xvii, d iii.		

Top of column two, side two of registry folio two.

Here white paper has been pasted over the top five or six lines of text. This matches the same area on the reverse of this folio. The first line of text is half missing because of the paper

covering it. It is difficult to distinguish what this section says. The text on this column is smaller, and more crowded between the lines. It looks as if it has been added later. It is apparent that here the scribes are different.

Panny Marye,	Kxx, xxii, xix,	Virgin Mary
	xxiiii.	
Wssickni ze wseho,	K vii,	We are from all flesh
Stworzitele Nebe,	K xi	Creators of Heaven
Otce wssemohucy,	K xiii	Almighty Father
Otce Nebeske pana	K xv	Heaveny Holy Father
Otce wssemohucy,	K xvii	Almighty Father
Oprostny	k xxiiii	We beg you
Mywssickni wierztnie	[T] K xxv	We all believe
Pod rozluczne noty,	K xxxi	to be sung to different
		tunes
Yako o Pautnitych,	K xxxiii	Just like Memories
O Murzedhiucy,	K xxvii	About all the martyrs
Duarū kratky,	K xxx	Two small gifts
Trium,	k xxxi,	Triple
Duarū,	k xxxiii, xliiii	Duple
Hrzmotny,	K xxxiiii,	Thunder
Postnu,	K zz xxxvii	Lent
Poswjcenske,	K xxxix	Blessing
K libosti poskotzny	k iii	For the benevolence of
		the humble followers
Otce pana,	K v.	Holy father
Wo Aposstoluch		To the Apostles
Slyszmez' o Wttrze	k 49	Let us listen to
		(someone coming)

Wanotznij.

My wsstckni w gednoho [T] k 50
 Otce wssemohucyho.

Christmas

We all believe in one
 Almighty Father

Compressing this information down to just the rubrics and applying known dates to the Saints and other feasts listed, a basic outline of the religious year can be seen. It begins with a general section on Easter in the **Sanctus Sūmū**, followed by a **Prosa for Advent**. Since the bottom of the first column has been cut out, apparently in order to remove the duplicate numbered **A** pages, as well as the section on the verso side, the rubric for **B1 Prozy O Bozim Narozeni** ~ (Prosa on God's Birth etc.) has also been removed. Although this title for **B1** sounds theologically unsound as written, it must be remembered that the scribe's own shorthand has been used here. In the first folio it does refer to Christ as God's Son thus indicating the season of Christmas. So, returning to the dates in the Registry, it would seem that it in essence, begins with Advent and continues on through the Easter Season.

ADVENT

December 25	Christmas
December 26	St. Stephen
December 27	St. John the Evangelist
December 28	Holy Innocent's Day
January 1	New Year's Day

January 6	Christ's Baptism/ Three Kings' arrival
January 25	Conversion of St. Paul
February 2	Candlemas

EASTER SEASON

Shrovetide

About Penance (Lent)

The Lord's Torment (Good Friday)

The Resurrected Lord (Easter Sunday)

Prosa

The Holy Ghost

The Holy Trinity

The Lord's Supper

Prosa, Zion's Praises

Songs

The Lord's Sunday (possibly Easter Sunday again)

The Lord's Commandments

June 24 **Birth of St. John the Baptist**

June 29 **Saints Peter & Paul**

June 30 **Saint Paul**

July 2 **(Virgin Mary's) Visitation to St. Elizabeth**

The Blessed Apostles

St Jacob

July 26 **St. Anne**

July 22 **St. Mary Magdalene**

August 6 **The Lord's Transfiguration**

August 10 **St. Lawrence**

August 15 **Assumption**

August 24	St. Bartholomew
September 8	Virgin Mary's Birth
September 14	The Sacrificing Lord
September 15	The Virgin's Constant Care
	The Consecration
September 16	St. Ludmilla
September 28	St. Wenceslas
October 2	Angels
October 16	St. Gallus (Havla)
November 1	All Saints' Day
	The Lord Wipes Away All Tears
November 12	St. Martin
November 25	St. Catherine
December 24	All the Martyrs
	Those Who are Confessors
	The Virgins
	The Time of Lent
	The New Year
	To the Apostles
December 25	Christmas

On the verso side of the last folio, the ordered year seems to break down with the inclusion of Lent, the New Year and then Christmas again.

Within the structure of this listing are several repeated generic titles. The *Laudem dicite* is used twenty-seven times. *Hymna* is listed eight times

but uses six different locations (M19 three times and once each for M15, L4, M20, L22, and L9-11). *Psalms* are listed five times but only two locations (four times for L12 and once for L27). There are four different *Pysne* or Songs listed (L19,20; L24; L17 and M21) with one of them (M21) referred to twice. The label *Zawurka*, ending or conclusion, has two locations (M17 and G8) and is listed five times. *Haec est dies* is used twice and refers to two different locations (A27, L2).

The second column of folio 2v seems to be added by a different scribe altogether. This appears to be so because of the smaller, closer, almost cramped style of handwriting. It seems that this entire column was added possibly in an attempt to copy only the needed items from the third excised folio onto the remaining space of this folio. It also is probable that the last three lines written in black (*Slyssmez' o wiz'e* k49; *My wssickni w gednoho* k50; and *Otce wssemohucyho* k51) were written by yet another scribe.

Another clue to the editing relates to what has been deleted from this Registry. On its first folio the inner bottom corner has been excised as well as the entire last folio. This first would have been the where the paper gatherings, pp1 - pp8 (recto) and the folios F8 - F14 (verso) would have been listed. Pp1, pp4, pp5 and the entire section F8 - F14 have all been

sliced out from the manuscript. Further, the last folio in the Registry would have listed the missing folios **M1 - M10**.⁶⁷

From a general consideration of the provenance and codicological examination of fascicles, hands, foliation and layers, a clearer delineation of the manuscript structure has emerged. It would appear that *PragU XVII B 39* appears to have gone through a series of changes. Because the dedication page refers to rebinding, it is safe to assume that it was originally bound and the bottom folio numberings were the first counting system. It is possible also that the leather cover was the original, but re-used when re-bound, with 1650 stamped on it at this time.

During 1650, possibly because of the end of the long war and the constant state of seige, the *literati* saw the need to overhaul the book and rededicate it in such a way as to verify the changes in their faith. At this time the gathering of paper folios (#7) was probably added as well as the extra **A** gathering (#4). It is possible also that some editorial changes to the text were needed to correct words and spellings.

The only indication of revisions to the now Catholic manuscripts of

⁶⁷ The editor has missed the reference to **M10** in the first folio, verso side, top of second column of the Registry.

the *literati* is that mentioned by Jaroslav Mikan. According to him, during 1727 music manuscripts from St. Ghost's Church in Hradec Králové were submitted to "strict revisions in the religious respect" and that "many sheets in almost all [books] fell a victim to this revision."⁶⁸ The details of this revision are not explained. It is only speculation based on one source, but it is conceivable that this 1727 order for revision in Hradec Králové also applied to Old Town Prague, thus explaining the excised folios and the relative parts of the Registry. The removal of single folios would have been appropriate during the 1650 revisions, but it would not satisfactorily explain the excision of an entire gathering (#43). Since the book was also rebound in 1650, entire gatherings could have been removed at that time, so that there would have been no need of cutting them out. It follows that the removal of gathering #43 was done at a later time, possibly in 1727.

When the Emperor disbanded the literary brotherhoods in 1785 and removed their properties to various public libraries, the manuscript would have been placed in the libraries of Charles University (which had been entrusted to the Jesuits in 1627). Since pieces of older manuscripts were

⁶⁸ Jaroslav Mikan, "Literary Groups in Hradec Králové," *Pearls of Old Parchments: Musical Manuscripts of East Bohemia* (Hradec Králové: Regional Museum, 1967), page 21. This work, written in conjunction with Dobroslav Orel, was first introduced in the late 1930s.

often reused as parts of the bindings of new one, it is unlikely that by the late eighteenth century there would have been much interest in further editing and revisions of such a manuscript.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE MANUSCRIPT - ICONOGRAPHY AND MUSIC

Because the Prague scriptor Jan Kantor, Sen. (?-1582), did the work on the companion volume *PragU XVII A 41*, Volek & Jareš have suggested that he also did this one. However there are no such indications and without access to the other volume we are unable to make an adequate comparison. It was during the sixteenth century that a rise in the production of illuminated manuscripts copied for literary brotherhoods occurred. If we assume that this manuscript was produced in the second half of the sixteenth century, and possibly even during the third quarter (1550-1575) as Kellman believes, then the position of the Utraquist members of this literary brotherhood were politically powerless, but economically stable, if not increasing in their wealth. They had the opportunity and resources to afford the production of this manuscript which would display their faces as well as their devotion and dedication to the cause.

There are three folios⁶² of chant containing illuminations, each indicating major sections in both the manuscript and the liturgical year. The first on *AI Sanctus Sumum* is the most detailed. Since it is the first full

⁶² These appear in Appendix I, pages ii-iv.

page this would be a natural place to present the most elaborations. The second *B1 - Concerning the Lord's Birth* is the least detailed and begins the section on Christmas. *D1* marking the beginning of the section on Easter lies between the first two in quantity of detail.

It is apparent from the elaborate, colourful, detailed nature of the first page of the music *A1 (Sanctus Sumum)* that this was for public display. It contains a miniature within the first letter at the top left corner, an elaborate border along the page's right side, a group portrait of the *literati* across the bottom quarter of the page, and music filled with a richness of colours.

Within the enlarged first letter "O" is a miniature of the popular Apocalyptic theme *The Worshipping of the Twenty-Four Elders* which was first seen in the frescos of Karlštejn (Charles's Castle) painted during the reign of Charles IV. The central focus of the miniature is that of a bearded figure seated on a throne. He has his right arm around a small child who is standing at his side. The throne is under an arch along which appear four winged creatures. On the left side of the frame are 11 men with outstretched arms holding crowns; on the right are 7 men, one playing a small harp.

Across the bottom of the frame and half-way up the left side are six men, five of which are dressed in light coloured robes and wearing crowns.

Four of them are clearly seated in chairs. Two of these are playing small harps. The sixth man is dark-haired, clean-shaven, and dressed in darker clothes; he is kneeling, hands together as in prayer but apparently in conversation with one of the crowned men. The three seated men to his right seem to be conversing with each other. Circling this scene is the outline of the letter created by an elaborate frame of flowers.

Along the right side of the page is a wide border containing figures of three personages. The top two appear to be winged, possibly female, angels dressed in thin semi-sheer gowns. The first is playing a harp, the second a lute. Connecting them is a delicate vine of flowers. Below them, enclosed within an arch is a figure of a rather sombre looking middle-aged man, with short dark hair and a close-cropped beard. He is wearing dark robes in the contemporary style, is kneeling and praying, while the faint heavenly figure of man looks down from above. It is possible that this represents St. Gallus the sixth century Irish namesake of the church.

The music and text which these sections surround are able to stand out from the elaborately ornamented page as well as from the subsequent folios because of their brightness of colour. The illuminator has chosen gold, blue and red rather than the basic black used throughout the remainder of the manuscript. Whereas the balance of the text and music is written in

black ink, here the first five staves contain gold notes and blue letters, the last three blue notes and red letters.

The theme of the miniature connects the manuscript to good King Charles and Bohemia's era of glory and the initial rise of illuminated manuscripts. Combined with the angels, the saint in prayer ties the past through to the day and the simple instruments invoke the prominent place music held for the *literati*. Together all of the decorations reflect the sacred nature of the piece and introduces the observer to the primary intent of the book itself -- that is, worship-related activity.

In spite of this detail however, the observer's eyes are drawn to the painting at the bottom of the page. It depicts a group of eighteen men assembled in front of an altar. They appear to be singing from the large opened songbook located in front of them. This painting, typical of songbooks used by literary brotherhoods in Bohemia is helpful in informing us as to the manuscript's use and the status, or social prestige, of its users. It is clear from the way this group has been depicted that these men are probably well-known in the community. From their dress they are men of means; nevertheless within this group there seems to be a hierarchy of status. With the exception of four men partially hidden from view in the back row, the individuals are clearly distinguishable from each other, each

apparently a representation of a particular individual. The four in the back row are difficult to make out except for their eyes. In order to identify them, their names have been written in above their heads.

One's attention is drawn to the four individuals in the front who seem to be larger in proportion to the rest. (This does not necessarily have anything to do with an artist's perspective.) The three immediately to the left of the songbook are almost completely detailed from head to toe. The fourth, who is to the immediate right of the book, appears to be kneeling. It is possible that he could be the page-turner or instrumentalist. Other manuscripts from the sixteenth century depicting scenes of the *literati* place the book on a lectern high enough for all to see, but a keyboard player would not be inconsistent with the setting.⁶³

The conductor, who is the middle character of the other three main ones, holds onto the book with his left hand and wields a baton with his right. He has a fine pale coloured coat draped over his shoulders. The man behind him, (the first of the three) is also wearing a light coloured overcoat. Since the director is standing part-way in front of the third man, the shade of his coat is indistinguishable, yet the high tufted collar he is wearing gives

⁶³ Mikan discusses the use of organs and sometimes even trumpets as ostinato bass in order to make up for a shortage of singers. Pages 19-20.

the impression that his economic station is equivalent to that of his two companions.

The hierarchy then, contains three levels. The first is the four men in front, the second is the group of nine men standing on the right hand side of the songbook plus one man on the far left, and the third level which is the group of the four poor fellows whose foreheads, eyes and noses are all we are able to distinguish. It is ironic that because of the names written above the heads of these four who are obviously the least important, further detail concerning the specific particular nature and make-up of this organization may be possible.

The altar in front of which these men are assembled appears to be near the intersection of the two main centre aisles. This location would reflect the relative economic and social importance of this group to the church. The audience is entirely female. Again the hierarchy seems clear. In the pew closest to the singers are two women. Their dress is sombre, their heads are covered and their hands crossed or folded piously in their laps. Their faces are relaxed and the detail of their features informs us that they too are distinct individuals, probably well-known and influential in the community. Because of their prominent place in the front of the painting, albeit off to one side, they could be wealthy widows, possibly of former

members of the group of singers. They are definitely on par with the second level in the male hierarchy. Although this is doubtful, one could be the burgher of the Old Town, Lady Magdalene of the Golden Star, who commissioned the second manuscript.⁶⁴ Across the aisle behind them is a larger group of about twelve women. Although the relative size of the figures is small, each face is also clearly depicted. Possibly they are spouses of some of the singers.

The dedication page mentions that this expensive book was commissioned by patrons and citizens. It makes a point of using the words indicating female as well as male citizens - *Miesstianów a Miestick* which would help to explain the detailed prominent position of the women in the painting. Of course, more questions arise from connecting the dedication page dated 1650 to this first folio. Since the foliation layers discussed in the previous chapter indicate that **A1** was painted at the time of the original commission, would the dedication page written seventy-five years later be still relevant? Was there an original dedication page? If so, why had it been removed and the first folio retained?

The enlarged letter **O** (9.4 cm square) on **B1r** *Prozy O Bozim*

⁶⁴ If this is correct however, the quality of this manuscript might have been the impetus for her commission of the second.

Narozeni (Prosa Concerning the Birth of God), is much less ornate than that just discussed. It consists of green leaves with yellow highlights and a rose colour on the inside. There are magenta lines within the letter and the entire frame is purple with blue for the dark shading, and peach for the light. The background is in gold. The first three staves contain blue notes with red letters. The remaining are all black with blue and red capital letters.

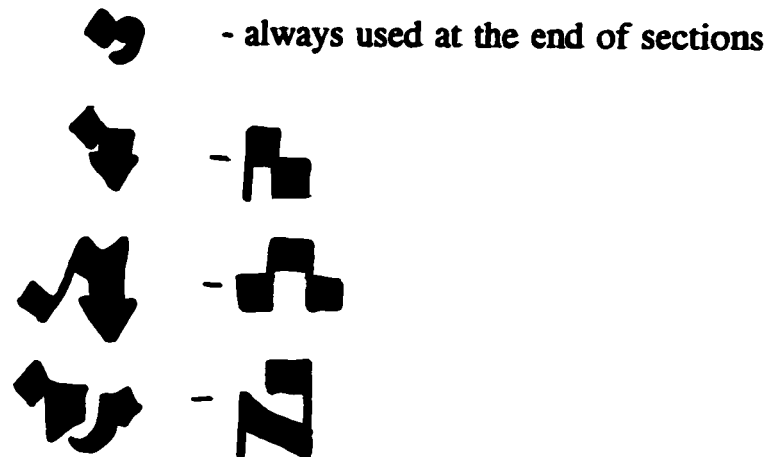
D1r Prozy W Slawne Zmzt^h Wst'atp:K: represents the beginning of the section on Easter. The scribe has used considerable abbreviations in the title making it at first glance difficult to decipher, but by taking a cue from the first line of the song *Nuze Welikonoc'ni* - (Because of Easter), the title follows the theme. It translates *Prosa for the Celebration of Christ's Resurrection*. Although its corresponding place in the Registry has been removed it would make sense that a special illumination would exist for the Easter section if it is indeed part of a larger Easter gradual. It combines characteristics of the previous pages in a blend of a painting within an enlarged letter, and a very elaborate floral border along the right hand side of the page. The enlarged letter **O** contains a scene of the resurrected Christ, draped in a robe, reaching down and touching, perhaps healing, a bearded man from within the group of five men below. Behind Christ are the faces of two men standing in front of a distant cross. Above them is a

flag made up of a white cross on a magenta background, waving in the wind. The flag is in front of an image of a dragon. The symbolism here is connected to the Easter theme of Christ conquering death (the dragon?) and offering the same to his followers. The two men behind him could be apostles - possibly Peter and Paul who are referred to later in the Registry.

Of its 322 folios, only 13 contain polyphony with the balance in chant form. Because the majority of the music has been written using the *F*-clef with occasional *C*-clef insertions where ledger lines would have been too cumbersome, it is apparent that this music was to be sung by male voices, which is consistent with the all-male choir depicted on A1. The chant is written primarily in Bohemian notation. While the three main forms of notation - Rhombic, Gothic and Square - are recorded as it developed from the thirteenth through the sixteenth centuries, František Mužík informs us that work "of historically proved Czech origin are mostly recorded in rhombic, and only rarely in Gothic notation."⁶⁵ This rhombic form is evident throughout this manuscript. For the most part it resembles the notation traditionally used in Gregorian chant with a few unusual formations. The following examples, and their equivalents in square notation, are

⁶⁵ František Mužík, *Úvod do kritiky hudebního zápisu* [Introduction to the critical study of musical notation], *Acta Universitatis Carolinae: Philosophica et Historica* 3 (Praha: Universita Karlova, 1961), page 98.

indicative of what have been found here.



Volek & Jareš explain the emergence of this form of notation occurring from a blend of Byzantine and Gregorian chants.

...the chant of the Great Moravian liturgy would represent the seed of a new and fundamentally important sphere of European monophony. The Old Church Slavonic liturgy, which gradually spread from Great Moravia to the whole of South and East Slavonic world, created in its melodies an independent branch of the Byzantine hymnography, thus counterbalancing the great culture of the West European Gregorian Chant...the notation or the liturgic books of the Přemyslid era demonstrate a number of local elements gradually leading towards a special type of neumatic notation, characteristic for the majority of Bohemian sources since the 14th century.⁶⁶

I would hardly go so far as to call it an "independent branch of the

⁶⁶ Volek & Jareš, pages 74-75.

Byzantine hymnography" resulting in a "special type of neumatic notation". In 1347, with Rome's approval, Charles IV, King of Bohemia and Emperor of the Romans founded the Klášter Na Slovanech, a Benedictine monastery which used the old Slavonic liturgy. The return of this Slavonic monastic order to Prague was for the purpose of bringing the language of the people to the church. The Eastern Church had long ago lost its battle for Bohemia, so it was more than likely that the new order had to fit into the large Roman one, with Gregorian chant already entrenched in the country, the only changes would be the Latin texts translated into Czech.⁶⁷ This will be particularly evident later as we look at the polyphonic Credos #4 and 5.

It was during the Luxemburg dynasty (1310-1437) that more chants emerged from the local Czech environment adding to these Latin Chants in Czech translation. However, since this study does not contain a detailed examination of the chants, and therefore does not include investigation of their sources, we will not know at this time which of them are Gregorian and Latin-based, and which are original Czech in either music or text. That would be another entire study.⁶⁸ As for the neumatic notation, Bohemian

⁶⁷ The Czech language frequently called for adjustments to be made to Gregorian melodies often causing the loss of balance between timings and numbers of notes.

⁶⁸ At that time a closer examination of the handwriting could also be done. Further to this future study would be concerning the rhythmic patterns, since

chant notation is very different from the Byzantine, and more closely connected to the Gregorian, only altering it to fit their own peculiarities.

In general, the chant section contains a predominance of semi-breves and breves, with large portions with just a slight use of minims. There are occasionally those chants with 2- and 3-note melismas as in folios **D4r** and **D12v**. The **D** section also has quite a bit of imitation, more so than in other sections. Key signatures of one-flat are scattered throughout the manuscript; metric markings and bar-lines on the other hand, are infrequent. The notable exception to this is the paper gathering (#7) located between the **A** and **B** sections. It is obvious that this entire gathering was written by another individual. The style of the letters are much more rounded, almost Arabic in nature. Here the notation makes much greater use of minims and semi-breves, regular barlines, key signatures and metric markings. (See Appendix I, page 160 for a sample page from this section.) This gathering is so completely different from the rest of the manuscript in style one questions its source and reason for inclusion. Since its location in the Registry has been removed, it is difficult to determine what its purpose and

those of early Czech music were not so strict as to demand absolute adherence. Muzik has indicated that the majority of music from the beginning of the fifteenth century onwards leaned towards the use of the first and second rhythmic modes. A cursory glance would indicate this to be the case here as well, but more investigation would be necessary.

place was, even though mention of Pontius Pilate indicates that it belonged to the general Easter season. The writing and the appearance of unusual notes, not seen elsewhere in the document, merely add to the confusion.

The Registry makes twenty-seven references to the use of the antiphon *Laudem dicite* (D1r-D2r). Its place therefore is an important one in the Utraquist liturgical setting. It consists of three main lines of chant with the middle to be used for nineteen different lines of text. From this then, the first and third parts would have been sung by the choir as a whole with the middle part split between sections of the choir.

Figure 1: *Laudem dicite*, A section

A

Chwa- lu wssi- ckni wzday- te paa- nu Bo- ha

na- sse- mu wssi- ckni Swa- tij a kte- rzu-

zse bo- gu- te Bo- ha swe- ho

ima- lu y wel- cy chwa- ite ge- ho



A chwalu wssickni wzdayte paa=
 nu Bohu nassemu, wssickni Swatu
 a kterzijze bogijte Boha sweho,
 malij= y welcy chwalce gehu Neb
 {Krystus Buoh a C'lowiek prawy.}
 [Pan Buoh genž gs wssemohucy.]

Give praise to our lord God all the
 Saints and those who fear his God
 small and large his praises to
 Heaven {Christ, God and true
 Man.}
 [God who is almighty]

At the end of this first line of chant there are additional words squeezed beneath the original line. They are indicated in the text by []. The original words used, framed by { }, concern the divinity of Christ and would have been substituted with the newer ones *God who is almighty*. Because of these added words (but without any evidence to substantiate it), either this was originally a Gregorian chant in Latin, translated to Czech or it was taken from the Czech Catholic liturgy. If this was the case and if this was used by Utraquists, why retain the first? Were there possibly parts of the liturgy which required one or the other as is later evident in the middle section? If so, when would each have been used?

The second section of the chant was used for nineteen different lines of text. Of these the even numbered ones were written in red. Since this is

an antiphon, the use of the two colours would help facilitate the readings by the two divisions within the choir. The writing is cramped and crowded, and for lines #1-10, the page must be turned mid-sentence. (The ‘ | ’ sign indicates the page turn.)

Figure 2: *Laudem dicite, B section*

B

1. Wssem Swa- tym rac- zil sli- bi- ti zie po tom-
to mi- ser- ne z'i- wo- te rac- zu ge do ra-
do- stu p'gi- ti

1. {Wssem Swatym} [Swym
w'ernyn] raczil slibiti zie po tomto
| m'isernē z'iwoté rac'zij ge do
radosti p'giti

To {all the Saints} [His loyal
ones] he promises that after this
miserable life you will reach
happiness.

2. Raczilgt swau Bozskau mocy
na od hrozne | za hr'ichy
pokuty y od w'er'zne smzti giz
wymocy

From God's dreadful might, he
already faithfully paid the
penalty of death for sin.

3. Raczil na Nebe w staupiti aby
do Ne= be kn'e'm'el zfeni wēfic
z'e tie k sob'e chce p'giti

He entered into Heaven so that he
would have the belief for himself
that he wants to come Heaven.

4. Raczil slib swug wyplniti a
swe w'ernee | Duchē swty
nawsstēwiti a v wir'e posylniti

He keeps his own promises calls
on the Holy Spirit to visit his
loyal sheep and strengthens their
belief.

5. Dal nāswe Tielo k gedenu -----
----- (*blacked out words*) (*entire
line is all blacked out*)

Further our bodies to the one
(*blacked out words*)

6. Raczil swe Bozstwu zgewiti
aby dauffal | ze nasse tela
smrtdlna raczi take oslawiti

Trust in God revealing himself so
that he would hope that our
bodies we will also celebrate.

7. Raczil do Ch'ramu p'giti a
Chramuswe= | ho swce° skrze
swa u p'tōnost rac'ik posw'etiti

Come into the temple and witness
his holy temple through his ___ of
_____ he sanctified.

8. Raczil gs pānu Marygi Matku
swau k | b'e do Nebe wzuti a gi
zsw'etske bidy ^{dncs} _{giz} wyniti

He took to himself today in
Heaven the holy Mother Mary
from her life of poverty being
blamed for _____

9. Raczi o nas peczowati a swee
Andie= | ly nā kochran'e
wss^{ch}sw^{ch} w'er^{ch} wzdycky ^{posy=} _{laci}

He is happy to attend to us and is
always sending his Angels to
protect all his loyal sheep.

10.i {Rozeslal swe} [Wywolil gt]
Aposstoly aby krztily ~ | a
pokani s odpusst'en'i hr'ichuiv
wssem oznamowati.

ii Raczil to diwn'e zrzijditi {Zie
pan Gezus | Krystus & Marye
pany c'ziste rac'zif se naroditi}
[z'e ctna Panna | Marya & kmene
Davidowa m'ela se gest ^{porziti}_{naroditi}]
(Swatau Alzb'etu pospussila
nawsstuwiti)

11. Rac'zil Ssawla obratiti a geg
za Na do | bu swu woliti y znayz
ze Buh ne'zada twe smrti.

12. Raczil Kni'ze Lz'eske miti
ktereyz potupniv | swr't ssau'zil
bohu? a od bratr cz't (gt) zabit z
zawisti

13. *all this line has been blacked
out.*

14. Rac'zil na nmilost prigiti
Magdale a | by se hruchuw
tacaznal ze buh nezada twe
(hard to read)

15. Rac'zil Chramu posw'etit

i. {He sent his} [He chose]
Apostles that baptised
announcing repentance and
forgiveness of all sin.

ii. The wondrous was created {so
that Jesus Christ was born of the
virgin Mary and God the Father.}
[Mary had been born from the
lineage of David.]
(Saint Elizabeth hastened to visit.)

He exchanged the sword for his
plate because he knew that God
does not wish for his death.

He said to spread love and serve
God as you promised God and
don't turn and kill because of
envy which is disgraceful.

He commands grace to arrive
from Magdalene that she the
saints God doesn't want

He is saying bless the Temple

(blacked out word) vm'el | sob'e
wa'ziti w'erzic z'e rac'zi Buh
slyseti

_____ have belief in your own
worth that the God hears you.

**16. Rac'zil pany swate miti
ktere'zto pro wu= | ru pana
Krysta sm'eli sau hrdel swych
nasaditi.**

**He wanted the holy saints to
have the belief that the lord
Christ risked his life.**

**17. Przedeslal Jana Krztitele k
Krystu k cest'e spa= | senu lid
wedaucyho horliwego vc'z tele.**

**He sent the zealous believer John
the Baptist beforehand on the way
to redeem and lead the people to
Christ.**

**18. Rac'zil slawn'e zmrcwych
wstati a z'e y nasse | t'ela
zmrtwych wstanau ty na gistau
nad'egidan.**

**Celebrate the resurrection It is
our sure belief/hope that our
bodies rose from the dead.**

**19. Kat'zil swy w'erny zgewiti
z'ie gedinky [nass] | nass pan Buh
vetrzech Osobach mc'zt od
w'ec'znosti Byti.**

**My faith became manifest because
our Lord God could be here
eternally in a variety of
individuals.**

As seen in the Registry, the *Laudem dicite* is used many times. The general themes for its use are during the Christmas Season (Advent, The New Year, the Lord's Baptism, Candlemas), the Easter Season (Shrovetide

and Easter Sunday), references to the Trinity, the Lord's Supper, the Transfiguration, for Saints (birth of John the Baptist, Peter & Paul, Paul, the visitation to St. Elizabeth, the Apostles, Mary Magdalene, St Wenceslas, All Saints' Day), the Martyrs and Virgins, and Mary's birth.

This would explain the multiple choices on lines 1 and 10. The first choice on line 1 is between *All the Saints* and *His loyal ones*. The first would be used for any of the saints' days, and the second for the balance. Line #10 has two complete lines each with its own subsections. In order to be able to distinguish them from each other they have been framed with different types of brackets, { } for the first level, [] for the second, and () for the third. The first line has within it {*He sent his*} and [*He chose*] Apostles. The first of these would be used during the specific Apostle's feasts, e.g. Peter & Paul, and the second for all those uses which would not fit into the second line of #10.

The first part of the second line would fall under any references to Christ, Easter, Mary and the Trinity. With further divisions into {*so that Jesus Christ was born of the virgin Mary and God the Father*} seems to fit with the Trinity. [*Mary had been born from the lineage of David*] would work with specific days for Mary and Christmas. The last phrase (*Saint Elizabeth hastened to visit*), probably works best with the celebration

surrounding Mary's visitation.

The third section re-unites the choir and acts as the closing.

Figure 3: *Laudem dicite, C section*

c

Pro- toz giz- se ra- du- gme Bo- ha d'e-

kug- me Cz'est a sla- wu Kry- stu wzday- me

a rce- mez Al- le- lu- ya.

pwtoz giz se radugme Bohu
de'kug=
me Cz'est a slawu Krystu
wzdayme a rcemez' Alleluya.

Therefore let us be happy to say
thanks to God and give Honour
and praise to holy Christ.
Alleluia.

The note ranges for this chant are of a sixth for the first and third sections but extend to a ninth for the middle section. This allows for greater flexibility in the melodic structure of the second part than in the other two. In the *Liber Usualis* there is a Gregorian chant, the antiphon #5 *Angelus Dominus* of "St. Joseph" sung at Vespers which bears a similarity in

the first 11 notes with the middle section of this antiphon.⁶⁹

The authorship of much of Czech polyphony is anonymous. As polyphony from the Netherland school began to influence the repertoire of the literary brotherhoods during the Jagellon era (early sixteenth century), the names of composers such as Pavel Spongopeus Jistebnický, Jiří Rychnovský, Jan Trajan Turnovský and others from among the *literati* were applied to any new compositions. These five polyphonic Credos however are of anonymous Czech origin.

Credo # 1 is in two voices beginning on folio K30r (f252r). The title is [*Patrem*] *Giné dwauhlasi* (Another two-voiced Credo). The notation consists of breves, semi-breves and minims, and although there are no metrical markings the piece fits triple time quite well. The range of the tenor part is one octave, the discant a sixth.

⁶⁹ *Liber Usualis with Introduction and Rubrics in English*, ed. by the Benedictines of Solesmes. (Tournai: The Desclée Company, 1963), page 1401. The third section also contains a similar pattern of beginning notes as the German hymn *Veni redemptor*, found in St. Florian Stiftsbibli, XI 407 Psalter und Hymnar aus dem regulierten Chorherrerstift Dürnsten/Donau (Wachau) cited as #597, in Carolus Ott, *Offertoriale sive Versus Offertorum. Cantus Gregoriani*, (Paris: Desclés, 1935) page 328, but by the time the middle of the second phrase is reached the similarity ceases.

Figure 4: *Credo #1*

[Patrem] Gine dwauiiasnij
(K30r)

discantus
Wierz- mez w Bo- ha ot- ce

tenor
Wierz- mez w Bo- ha ot- ce

wsse- ho stwor- zi- te- le

wsse- hostu- vi- zi- te- le

to- ho do- bre- ho wuod- ce

to- ho do- bre- ho wuod- ce

na sse- ho Spa- sy- te- le.

na sse- ho Spa- sy- te- le.

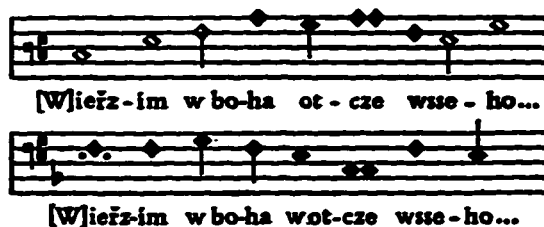
*Let us believe in God the Father creator of
everything this good originator, our Redeemer.*

This Credo is also the ninth in manuscript number Seventeen A Thirty-nine, of the Prague University collection (*PragU XVII A 39, #9*) where it contains the same Czech text, but is written for three voices. The tenor incipit is identical and the discantus the same up to the last note where it drops to a D rather than rising to the F.⁷⁰ As the first Credo in manuscript number

⁷⁰ RISM, pages 266-268.

Seventeen B Eight, Prague University collection (*PragU XVII B 8, #1*), also in two voices, it is written here using a combination of white and black notation. The discantus incipit is similar but the tenor is quite different.

Figure 5: *Incipit from PragU XVII B 8, #1*⁷¹



PragU XVII A 39 is dated 1574 and was used by the brotherhood of singers in the New Town district of Prague, and *PragU XVII B 8* from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century, usage unknown.

The second Credo, *Giné Patrem na třzi hlasy* (Another Credo in three voices), begins on folio K31R (f 253r). The notation is predominantly semi-breves with breves occurring only at the ends of phrases, and also fits triple metre. The simple note-against-note style is reminiscent of the early discant style of polyphony. In this case the harmonies produced contain primarily minor triads. The tenor and bassus both have octave ranges while the discant again is only a sixth. The octave and fifth leaps in the bassus would

⁷¹ RISM, page 273.

indicate the probability of instrumental doubling. As portative organs were used occasionally by the *literati* the man in the group portrait on A1 could be sitting at a keyboard with his hands in the playing position.

Figure 6: *Credo #2*

Gine Patrem na trzi hlasy

(K31r)

The musical score is written in 8/8 time and consists of three systems of three staves each. The top staff of each system is for the discantus (treble clef), the middle for the tenor (bass clef), and the bottom for the bassus (bass clef). The lyrics are written below the staves.

System 1:
 discantus: Ot- ce wsse- mo- hu- cy- ho pa- na nay-
 tenor: Ot- ce wsse- mo- hu- cy- ho pa- na nay-
 bassus: Ot- ce wsse- mo- hu- cy- ho pa- na nay-

System 2:
 discantus: sla- wn'y- ssu- ho ge- ni stwo- rzil Ne- be
 tenor: sla- rwn'y- eyssu- ho ge- ni stwo- rzil Ne- be
 bassus: sla- wn'y- ssu- ho ge- ni stwo- rzil Ne- be

System 3:
 discantus: ze- mi Mor- ze y wsse- cty wie- cy.
 tenor: ze- nu Mor-ze y wsse- cty wie- cy
 bassus: ze- mi Mor-ze y wsse- cty wie- cy

Our almighty lord Father most glorified creator of heaven on earth. The sea and all things.

Credo #2 is also the sixth Credo of manuscript A Thirteen-b, from between 1584 and 1604, found in the Hradec Králové Muzeum (*HK A 13b #6*). This book is the second volume of a two-part gradual, that of Matouš Radouč, a painter from Chrudim. Its text here is the same as our Credo #1 (*Wierime w Boha otce wsseho*). In addition, it is the sixth Latin Credo found in manuscript number Two A-six from the same collection (*HK II A6 #6*). The incipits which contain no breves, are identical with the exception of the last tenor note which descends rather than ascends. This particular manuscript is also known as the *Franusuv kancional* commissioned by Johannes Franusu in 1505 for the Cathedral of the Holy Ghost in Hradec Králové and contains some ostinato instrumental accompaniment.⁷²

As part of the two-part Credo in *Pnm IV B 9 #1*, the *Křolmusív Kancional* located in the Národní Muzeum, it is written in white notation. The text is *Močný Buoh otec* and belongs to an Utraquist Graduale-Cantionale.⁷³ It is also *PM #5* from the Prague Muzeum Hlavního Města Prahy, known as the *Malostranský Graduál* belonging to the brotherhood of singers at the church of St. Nicholas from 1560-73. (Malostranský is an area in the city of Prague.) Its title here is similar *Giné Patrem Trzyhlasnij*

⁷² Mikan, page 20.

⁷³ RISM, page 213; Kellman, pages 56-57.

(Another Credo for Three Voices) but the text is different *Stwożzitele nasseho nam* (Creator of all), and its music is also written in white notation. This popular Credo can also be found in several other manuscripts.⁷⁴

The music of the third piece covering folios K32v to K33r (f254v - f255r), *Giné Patrem dwauhlasnij* (Another Credo in two voices) is contained in the incomplete Credo #5 *Giné Patrem dwauhlasnij* found on folios K43v - K47v (missing K48), which is written out in its entirety in Appendix III. These Credos are also found as #7 in *PragU XVII A 39* in which the incipit's text is the same as our #5. As the third Credo in *HK II A 13a*, the text used is *Otec od wiečnosti Páni* (From the eternal Lady).⁷⁵

Figure 7: Credo #3

Giné Patrem dwauhlasnij

K32v-K33r

5

⁷⁴ Among them for example *CS-S4 #4*, *HK II A 44 #4*, *HK II A 8 #6* and *HK 8553 #2 & #3*.

⁷⁵ RISM, page 267.

9
Nie- be- ze- nie ta- ke Mo- rze

13
wszech wte- cy stwor- zi- te- le pra-

17
we- no- ści wsze- cko stwo- rze-

21
nu o- pa- tru- ge prze- di- wn'e

25
chra- nu a ob- zi- wu- ge

29

Let us believe in the Father who from eternity is omnipotent Heaven, earth, as well as sea all flow from the true creator. Who wondrously cares for all of creation, protecting and sustaining it.

These Credos, numbers 3 and 5, are a change from the first two in the more varied use of minims, the syncopation (mm. 5-7), imitation (mm. 13-14) and the almost canon-like passages between the voices (mm. 19-21). The ranges are higher as well with the discant being that of a tenth and the tenor a ninth. This has been written entirely in the C-clef and fits the higher voice of the contratenor or possibly of female singers, although no known lists have indicated women among the performing membership.⁷⁶

On folios K39r to K44r (f262r-266r) is the final two-part Credo *Patrem Poswijcenské dwauhlasnĭj*, indicating that it was for a Blessing (*Poswijcenské*). This is the second Credo of manuscript number Twelve A-one of the Národní Muzeum collection (*Pnm XII A1, #2*) which bears the date of 1473 but which is actually a "composite of several originally separate manuscripts bound together in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century",⁷⁷ and copied in Pilsen. RISM places this Latin-texted Credo from a Prague Franciscan monastery or the Prague Church Maria Schnee.⁷⁸ As #9 from *HK 13b*, the text begins with *Otce wssemohúcyho* (Almighty Father)

⁷⁶ This might not be too far-fetched an idea as comments by contemporary outsiders indicated that they were notably impressed with the high degree of Scriptural knowledge and understanding of the Czech Utraquist women. If they were encouraged in theology, why not also be permitted to join literati?

⁷⁷ Kellman, page 58.

⁷⁸ RISM, pages 217-218.

and as #7 in *Pnm V B* it is *Narozeného neučiněného* (Unavailing birth).

Brewer has found a total of 34 locations for this particular Credo ranging in dates from the middle of the fifteenth century through to the late sixteenth century.⁷⁹ It is an arrangement of four different sections, with the pattern of the first seven A-B-B¹-C-A-B-D the same in all of the sources. The variants occur after this point.

The use of accidentals in Credo #4 is not always present where one would expect it, for example in measures 15 and 117. However, in all occurrences of section B¹ appropriate accidentals are present, e.g. measures 28 and 130. This Credo has no syncopation as in numbers 3 and 5, but remains primarily syllabic note-against-note, sometimes with the tenor holding longer note values. Both parts contain the range of an octave but a fourth apart. The following is just this first pattern; the entire Credo and text are in Appendix II.

⁷⁹ Brewer, pages 317-322.

Figure 8: *Credo #4, mm. 1-88*

Patrem Poswicenke Dwaubiasni

A K39r - K43v

discantus
8 Prze-sla wie-ho na-sse-ho Ot-ce

tenor
Wiecz-ne-ho w Ot-ce

5
8 Kra-le Ne-be-ske-ho wsse-mo-hu-cy-ho

9
8 stwo-rzi-te-le Ne-be-y-ze-m'e.

B
13
8 Wl-di-te-dnych wssech-w'e-cy

17
8 y ta-ke ne-wl-di-te-dnych

21
8 y w ge-dno-ho-pa-na na-sse-ho mi-le-ho

pa-na na-sse-ho

A
 {discant} *Our most celebrated
 Father, King of Heaven almighty
 creator of Heaven and earth.*
 {tenor} *Eternal omnipotent father
 Creator of heaven and earth.*

B
 {discant/tenor}
*All visible and invisible things, and
 the only lord our beloved Jesus
 Christ.*

25 B1

8 Ge- zu- sse Kry- sta. Sy- na Bo- z'u- ho ge-

29

8 dno- ro- ze- ne- ho a z Ot- ce na-

33

8 ro- ze- ne- ho Prze- de- wsse- ni-

37

8 wie- cni stwo- rze- ni- mi y- prze- de- wsse- mi wce- ky

C

41

8 Bo- ha po- cha- ze- gu- cy- ho Bo- ha

Bo- ha z Bo- ha

45

8 sw'e- tlo z sw'e- tla Bo- ha pra- we- ho

B¹

*Son of God, the firstborn of the
Father, before all things that have
been created yesterday and today.*

C

*God from the originating God,
Light from light, true God from the
true God all praise is
praiseworthy.*

49
8 z Bo- na pra- we- ho wsi- cti chwa- ly

53
8 wzd- cky ho- dno- ho
A1 K40v-1r
Ro- za- nie- ho
Ro- ze-

57
8 pa- na sla- wie- ho a- le wssak hi- kdy ne-
ne- ho ne- u- czy- n'e-

61
8 u- czy- nie- nie- ho spo- lu pod- sta- tne- o
ne- ho

65
8 wie- rzne- mu Ot- cy. Skrze - n'e- hoz' wse- cky wie- cy

69
8 wc- zi- n'e- ny sau kte- ryz' pro- nas-

A

The lord born glorious but yet never disrespectful, important together, but subordinate to the eternal Father.

B

Through _____ all things are eternal which follows sin and for the sake of our salvation and redemption [saviour?] from heaven.

There is however, some variety and rhythmic feel to Credos three and five which would offer some challenge and interest for the educated performers.

The Old Town literary brotherhood met to perform the weekday morning Vespers. As a source of spreading the repertoire evidence is shown in Credos four and five in particular that as they have copied these popular melodies, this group was also participating in the further instruction of believers.

In this chapter we have looked at some physical aspects of the manuscript which present a clearer picture of this *literati* of St. Havla church as it expressed itself musically, theologically and economically. The iconographic detail has revealed their sense of status within the community, their interpretation of their relationship to the Creator and associated saints, and the importance placed on music in their worship lives. As the polyphony has been traced to other earlier sources their connection to the larger Christian community, both Catholic and Utraquist, is revealed. By including this music in their gradual they have continued the tradition and role of the *literati* as educators and witnesses of their faith.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE MANUSCRIPT IN CONTEXT

Stuart Hall has stated that "there is a reciprocal effect between the thing a group uses and the outlook and activities which define their use - objects in which they can see their central value reflected."⁸⁰ As the focal point of our study, this manuscript is all we have of the sonic landscape which existed within this tight little community of *literati*. But more than the mere reflection of a social group, it also represents a purpose for community-gathering and source of instruction.

Literary brotherhoods in sixteenth-century Prague were organizations of prominent wealthy merchants, entrepreneurs, lawyers, crafts people, members of guilds, and burghers. They were situated at the top of the town hierarchy, frequently being members of town councils who retained their urban elite status. The management of the *literati* involved regular meetings at which attendance was taken, dues collected, records of finances kept, minutes of meetings recorded, and new members elected. They also assisted in the musical training of the pupils and kantors in church singing.

⁸⁰ Stuart Hall, *Resistance Through Rituals* (London: Hutchinson & Co. Ltd, 1976), page 56.

Their primary performance obligations were during morning mass, divine services at Advent and at funerals for both members and non-members of their congregation. The books they used were points of common focus and articulation of the social, political, economic, religious (and concurrently, musical) conditions of this community of singers.

At this point we need to be reminded that one of the ideals of the original Hussite movement was that believers should not only observe the faith, but also think for themselves about the theological principles involved. In this, by immersing themselves with the liturgy in their own environment, and by their own individual and group practice, they would create for themselves a new, and indigenous discovery (or understanding) of the scriptures. This manuscript, as an instrument of liturgical observance, gathered the practitioners (the members of the order) together and provided a focal point for the outpouring of their religious (doctrinal, scriptural, theological, and experiential) expression. Prague's Old Town Utraquist community at the church of St. Havla and its literary brotherhood attempted to incorporate this expression through the medium of music. It is in this context that the church then carried out its mandate as a witnessing

community.⁸¹ This illuminated manuscript represents the connection between the brotherhood, their theology, and their culture; at the same time it also serves as a connection between modern readers and those individuals who handled it, who sang from it and whose life was focussed on it.

It was important to Jan Hus that the community of the elect believers would have the capacity to worship in a manner unencumbered by the trappings of an organization that inhibited their personal communication with the Divine. This was accomplished in part through reducing the number of feast days and the overly ceremonial nature of the liturgy, thereby transforming and simplifying the worship process. For Hus and his predecessors it was necessary that the people both experience the communion and understand the activities of worship. He said "every good Christian is a priest but not every priest is a good Christian,"⁸² which implies that salvation lay in the hands of the individual and not through the intercession of the clergy. This could best take place when the believer understood and participated in more meaningful ways. Bérenger writes that "emphasis was placed upon prayers and singing in Czech in order to allow

⁸¹ For a more detailed discussion of this concept see the work by Canadian theologian Douglas John Hall, *Thinking the Faith: Christian Theology in a North American Context* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1991).

⁸² Jan Hus *Sermons on the Saints*, 66.2, quoted by Pelikan, page 94.

the faithful much greater participation."⁸³ Since the vernacular was later acceptable in worship by the Catholics, the manuscript proved to continue to be useful later when the church returned to Catholicism.

During the early days of Hussitism it was generally the case that the Latin liturgy was merely translated into the vernacular. As Brewer states, however "these new liturgical texts were set not to new melodies, but to modified versions of the Catholic liturgical chant."⁸⁴ As we have looked at the Credos and the antiphon *Laudem dicite*, only parts of the latter can be traced to chant. The simple Credos were probably early products of Utraquist lay composers whose individual anonymity was characteristic of their understanding of the importance of the community of believers. In both Hussite and Tridentine Catholic traditions music was not to be a distraction from the intent of worship, instead it was to be used as a means of uniting the congregation in it.

But the theology of the Utraquist had more specific influence on the music. In his criticism of Czech musical texts, Mužík has discovered four major areas in existing documents which illustrate the influence this reform

⁸³ Bérenger, page 72.

⁸⁴ Brewer, page 381.

had on the production of the music.⁸⁵ He sees these areas as a progression moving through four stages, the first being the original compositions (both words and music), primarily of ornamented solo part and simple choral response. The second reveals the influence of the early stages of the Hussite movement as it removed the choral part of stage one and transferred it over to the congregation. The next stage arose directly from the second and was "linked with the sphere of utraquism, brotherhood and protestantism ...characterized by a change in rhythmical interpretation"⁸⁶ -- the writing of new melodies for existing texts. And the fourth stage is merely everything else such as new text being sung to several different existing melodies, as well as polyphonic adaptations "as long as they arise from the same melodic basis as the original model sung in one voice only."⁸⁷

It is his third stage which is most significant to this study. In the Czech Credo, especially numbers four and five, the Utraquist liturgy retained much of the beliefs the original Latin-based texts. It is clearly the language that takes precedence over the music. The narrow ranges, the simple rhythms, the imbalanced phrases are tangible ties to the importance

⁸⁵ Mužík, pages 97 - 98.

⁸⁶ Mužík, page 97.

⁸⁷ Mužík, page 98.

of the role of the word in Utraquist liturgy. Obviously the simplicity and low level of difficulty lack the artistry and complexity of a Josquin or a Palestrina, causing Volek & Jareš to dismiss this music as "unsophisticated".⁸⁸ Western musicologists have also been harsh in their treatment of Bohemian Renaissance music. They have seen Hussitism as a barrier to the high musical developments reached elsewhere in Europe during this period. They have only seen the results of isolation and confinement and not the perpetuation of an ideology important to the survival of a nation, music that was intricately tied to the reforms, the community and the language.

As the group worked out its theological understandings in the fairly tolerant, broader society of the sixteenth century, it found itself faced with trying to stay alive in a relatively apathetic religious setting. Bohemian Protestantism had survived its bloody past. Old-Utraquism received official sanction, but it represented "the weakest and most uncertain element in this religious spectrum."⁸⁹ The new-Utraquists had been won over by the Lutherans. The radical Brethren bubbled underground. Meanwhile the Jesuits had control of the schools for the elites, while also using music as a

⁸⁸ Volek & Jareš, page 94.

⁸⁹ Evans *Rudolf*, page 36.

means of establishing their own social order and in the raising of new young elites. Evans feels that historians "have tended to ignore the twilight period of the old-Utraquists...dismissing them as a benighted, declining sect riven by internal dissent and condemned by utterest mediocrity."⁹⁰ But in spite of this mediocrity they maintained a national status which significantly influenced the policy-makers. They were confronted with the combination of Habsburg power, Prague as the seat of the Catholic Holy Roman Empire, the Jesuits' encroachment into Bohemia, and the Catholic Czech nobility in court. Caught between the new-Utraquists, that is, the Lutherans, and the Catholics, Evans tells us that the

dogmatic divergence of the old-Utraquists from orthodox Catholicism had shrunk to very little, yet the ideological significance of their continued existence was much greater than has been allowed...the Hussite party represented a thread in the domestic tradition which neither of the rival camps adequately embodied.⁹¹

In the historical background we have seen the relationship of the towns in Bohemia, the constant conflict between them and the nobility, and the prominent place Prague held over the other towns and against the monarchy and its affiliated nobility. We need to remember that the

⁹⁰ ibid.

⁹¹ Evans *Rudolf*, page 37.

individuals who participated in the manuscript's commissioning, creation and performance, had officially lost their political power. Their new primary power now lay in their ability to produce profits and defy the monarchy only through constitutional means. It could be said that their political influence had been transferred to their performing guilds, acting as a means of disseminating the Utraquist musical repertoire, religion and culture.

As he writes about music production from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, Richard Leppert admits that music

was an acknowledged means of establishing caste: it was a nonverbal, emotive vehicle for establishing and preserving a level of prestige sufficient to authorize and therefore help stabilize their position.⁹²

Leppert's words ring true in this case where it can be seen that this manuscript presents the observer with clear indications of the elevated economic and social status of the members of the brotherhood. Despite the loss of their political power, the burghers in the late sixteenth century were still powerful economically, making it necessary to the *literati* that their social status be made known. Musical ability had a mark of one's educational level, and so it was important for reasons of social stature, that some form of polyphony be interpolated into the liturgy. While other

⁹² Richard Leppert, *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), page 43.

groups were creating and illuminating paper manuscripts, this one chose in its initial production, to expend their resources on a costly parchment item, one which would reassure them in their own social situations and beliefs as well as instruct and inspire the youth in their midst.

By 1576 musical printing had been prevalent for many years. Many Utraquist, Bohemian Brethren and Lutheran hymnbooks are known to have been widely disseminated up through this time. Nevertheless, *PragU XVII B 19* is a manuscript written on parchment. It would be tempting to regard this phenomenon as anachronistic, the continuation of a tradition that had long ago outlived its usefulness. But many illuminated manuscripts were produced from 1550 to 1610 by literary brotherhoods. As an object indicating wealth it provided a public indicator of the status of the members, and the wealth of this particular *literati* becomes clearly exhibited on the first page of music, a feature shared by other contemporary manuscripts.⁹³ The notes are in gold; the variety of colours is numerous, and at the bottom of the page is a painting of the participants, clearly identifying each individual through specific portrait or written name above those whose image is unclear.

⁹³ For example, *CS-HK II A 13b* from the town of Hradec Králové and dated between 1584 and 1604 contains a similar picture of *literati* gathered around an open choirbook. (See Appendix IV.)

In 1421 Utraquists took possession of St. Havla. In 1543 the Utraquist reformer Jan Mystopol, synod priest of Bohemia and Moravia, was called in to discuss the "muddy" distinctions between this parish and those of the Lutheran persuasion, especially the question of the sacrificial nature of the mass and the concept of justification by faith. This would tend to lead one to think St. Havla was comprised of new-Utraquists. Because he pressed the issue of an anti-Catholic version of the Mass, Mystopol was banned from preaching by Ferdinand. He was later pardoned after vowing to discontinue his anti-Catholic stance. In 1575 there was a dispute between the parish and the consistory. Apparently the priests wanted the church returned to them but the people would not permit it as they retained voice in who should preside over the congregation.

Little information is available concerning the organization of the *literati* of St. Havla other than that it was one of the main groups in Old Town Prague during the sixteenth century which later received a portion of a bequest from Anna Fuglova in 1611.⁹⁴ *PragU XVII A 41*, commissioned by *Magdalene of the Golden Star*, bearing the date of 1576 on the last folio indicates that it was the "first of a pair of books of a gradual of songs and

⁹⁴ Konrád, page 123.

praises to God...for worship and praising God."⁹⁵ Great care has been taken by Konrád in describing its iconography, portraits of the patroness and its artist.⁹⁶ It is difficult to determine if "the first of a pair", means it was the first to be produced, or the first in order of use. Kellman seems to think that *PragU XVII B 19* was created first. Another point to consider is the relative importance of the *literati* members and the patron. *PragU XVII B 19* contains the *literati* portraits while *PragU XVII A 41* the patron.

Whichever book contained the most important character, the person who provided the funds or the ones who used the books, would probably have been the first produced in order to be immediately displayed. Because it lacks the dedication page created for the original production, we are not certain that the *Magdalene of the Golden Star* was also the patron of our manuscript. It is more than likely, however, that the *literati* itself commissioned the initial manuscript as it re-commissioned it in 1650. It is also possible that a third volume existed as the second part to *PragU XVII A 41*. Perhaps it was destroyed, or perhaps as volume two it lacked the iconography of the others, or perhaps it was never completed in the first place.

⁹⁵ quoted in Konrád, page 125.

⁹⁶ *ibid*, pages 125, 192, 272.

Both manuscripts had been revised within four years of each other (1646 and 1650).⁹⁷ Around that time all of Europe was embroiled in the Thirty-Years War, which finally ended in 1648 with the Peace of Westphalia, in which the Catholic Habsburg empire was strengthened. This was the environment in which the manuscripts belonging to the church of St. Havla were "renewed and rebound". Konrád states that the renewed *PragU XVII A 41* was changed according to Catholicism,⁹⁸ which would imply that St. Havla had not been converted in 1561, and therefore must have been neo-Utraquist in nature. It is reasonable to assume that *PragU XVII B 19* changed for the same reasons as the other volume.

In 1627 St. Havla was given to the Carmelites by Ferdinand, meaning the congregation officially became Catholic. Possibly some of the textual editing was done at this time. In 1650 with the opportunity of completely rebinding the book, the physical restructuring of the manuscript, such as the additions of the paper gathering (# 7) and the duplicate A section (# 4) would have been completed. At this time its rededication and renewal would provide public proof of conformity to Catholicism and erase

⁹⁷ On the last folio of *PragU XVII A 41* are the names of four burghers (Jiř. Horáka, Jana Strnada, Jak Piláta and Vacl. Strejce from both Old Town and New Town who appear to be involved in its renewal either as patrons or as scribes. Konrád, page 273.

⁹⁸ Konrád, page 273.

implications of treasonous heterodoxy. The excised sections of the Registry, the removal of a number of folios and gathering #43 could have been done later in the forementioned 1727 refinement, rendering it impossible to know what sort of music occupied the entire M section which has been excised. Although its reference is limited to only one source, it does offer another explanation of what appears to be a final stage of revision.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

Through the technology of the day, manuscript *PragU XVII B 19* can be seen as an indicator of economic and social status. Its theological content expressed the ideological landscape. The manuscript can also be seen as a learning tool. This is true musically in its connection to religion, and culturally in its use of the written vernacular and old notation, which initially set the Bohemian language and culture outside the language and culture of the Habsburg family and the Holy Roman Empire. Out of the political changes and reassertion of Catholicism in their country, the *literati* of 1650 saw the need to edit, refine and re-dedicate the manuscript in order to conform to their new situation and the new environment of peace after long years of bloody war. Since by this time the use of the vernacular was acceptable in Catholicism, the book retained its usefulness as a tool for worship and training.

Brewer has included *PragU XVII B 19* with other graduals under the label of *popular*.⁹⁹ All this means is that they contained the more familiar, easily learned and remembered and therefore more frequently used songs,

⁹⁹ Brewer, page 562.

thus making them *popular*. As all of the credos can be traced to other earlier versions, we can deduce from this that the music within this manuscript falls in line with that older popular category. In their continued use of these songs the *literati* "were prominent in spreading the influence of this repertoire throughout the Bohemian Kingdom."¹⁰⁰

The majority of the written music in this document is in the form of Bohemian chant notation, a common practice particularly for the use of the old familiar songs. Brewer however, provides convincing evidence from the examination of treatises from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries from East Central Europe that Western European notation was known in Bohemia.

New concepts of musical theory connected with the Renaissance were beginning to enter East Central Europe about 1460...the knowledge of the "new skill" and the music connected with it were assimilated into a long-standing tradition of musical theory in East Central Europe.¹⁰¹

Indeed, contemporary manuscripts, such as the fore-mentioned *HK II A 13b* contains a mixture of both new songs in the white notation and the old ones in the black Bohemian notation.

The Utraquists had returned to the Latin liturgy in the middle of the

¹⁰⁰ Brewer, page 382.

¹⁰¹ Brewer, page 232.

fifteenth century, but by 1524, the Utraquist Synod recognized the need for the vernacular which had been introduced over one hundred years earlier and suggested the return so that "God's word might be sung as far as possible in the Understandable language."¹⁰² As the contemporary language differed from the old, new manuscripts had to be produced and the choirs of the literary brotherhood were often used as a means to introduce the new liturgy. Usually there were two choirs first associated with a church, one which sang in Latin and the other in Czech. The latter would sing primarily on weekdays, particularly at Advent.

The use of the Czech language in important cultural and religious areas reiterates the role of the intelligent laity whose ability to understand the scriptures and the text was reinforced. It enabled the education of the audience in a twofold manner. The first was in making the liturgy accessible to a Czech-speaking audience and the second was by exposing the people to its theological contents. This worked well in both sixteenth-century Utraquism and seventeenth-century Catholicism.

The predominantly monophonic chant style supports the tenets of Hus in which the equality of all is primary. There nevertheless is enough

¹⁰² quoted in Jaromír Černý, "Musical manuscripts of the Museum in Hradec Králové and the history of Czech music in the 15th and 16th century," *Pearls of Old Parchments: Musical Manuscripts of East Bohemia* (Hradec Králové: Regional Museum, 1967), page 3.

polyphony in the book to appease both Hussite tenets and performers' needs to excel. Hus allowed for polyphony particularly during the Easter and Christmas seasons. Their inclusion here meets this allowance as well as illustrating the existence of an educated *literati*. The polyphony appears relatively simple, in sharp contrast to the contemporary aristocratic music such as that produced in Rudolf's court.¹⁰³ But it seems complex enough to require some musical skill of the performers. Artistry as well as simplicity are thus represented.

This polyphony also fits with that required by the Council of Trent. The words were of primary importance in Hussitism; music was to be only a means to an end. As Hus, in essence, had banned the intricate weavings of independent lines of music from worship, so too did the members of the Council of Trent attempt to eliminate that music which obscured and distorted the words, confounding the worshipper. The homophonic style of polyphony found in this particular manuscript was acceptable simultaneously to the post-Council of Trent Catholics as well as the early Hussites and traditional and neo-Utraquists.

¹⁰³ For a detailed study of court music during the reign of Rudolf see Carmello Peter Comberiati, *Late Renaissance Music at the Habsburg Court: Polyphonic Settings of the mass Ordinary at the Court of Rudolf II (1576-1612)* (New York: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1987).

The manuscript functioned as the central focus in the ritual of performance of a specific group operating under the larger arch of the general culture and interacting with it by its very contrast, yet taking advantage of its privileged economic positioning within the Holy Roman Empire, the Habsburg territories, the Bohemian kingdom, and the towns of Prague. It could be argued that it was first produced as an early symbol of the defiance of one culture against another, but it is better to regard it as a continually changing and adapting platform for increased theological understanding and musical learning and skill.

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APPENDIX I

*Folio A1r**
(f3r)

Folio B1r
(f46r)

Folio D1r
(f78r)

Folio pp6r
(f3r)

* Volek & Jareš, plate 68.

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Sanctus Summi



Steno
lucy
stworz
teli Ot

cie Swa ty **B**oże wieczny wud
te y nafs naymileyssi wotcie geni
u ssety wiety widu s pruwé san
du. gnie te prauuie sti y spruue



Wrozy D Bozim Marozem

Hky my wsiicki wydaway

me a panu Bohu defugne

ie gest z milosty z bozke sstedrosta selsalua

syna swego z wysosty **D**ekoj Audielstij

kierowcy nebestij z astupowe wzdychy we

sebycti wychwalugy slawij wzymagij a

slawij **D**obegest pan slawny ref sol

ny a witez smiti wdatny blesk slawy bozke

synie panenske krysus selsan nam z mi

APPENDIX II

Credo #4

**K39r - K44r
(f261r - f266r)**

K39r - K43v

A

discantus
Prze- sta- wie- ho- ni- sse- ho Ot- ce
tenor
Wiecz- ne- ho w Ot- ce

5
Kra- ie Nie- ba i zie- mi, ho- wse- mo- hu- cy- ho
wse- mo- hu- cy- ho
9
stwo- rzi- te- le Nie- ba y zie- m'e.
stwo- rzi- te- le Nie- ba y zie- m'e.

B
13
Wi- di- te- dnych wszech- w'e- cy
17
y te- le ne- wi- dzal- nych
21
y w ge- dno- ho- pa- na na- sse- ho mi- te- ho
pa- na na- sse- ho

25 Ge- zu- sse Kry- sta. B1 Sy- na Bo- z'u ho ge-

29 dno- ro- ze- na- ho a z Ot- ce na-

33 ro- ze- na- ho Prze- de- wsze- mi-

37 wie- cni stwo- rze- ni- mi y- sze- de- wsze- mi- wce- ky

C stwo- rze- ni- mi wfe- ky

41 Bo- ha po- cha- ze- gu- cy- ho Bo- ha

Bo- ha z Bo- ha

45 sw'e- tio z sw'e- tia Bo- ha pra- we- ho

49

z Bo- na pra- we- ho wsr- cti dawa- ly

53

wzdy- cky ho- one- ho

A1 K40v-1r

Ro- za- na- ho

57

pa- na sie- wie- ho a- le wszak hi- ldy ne-

ne- ho ne- u- czi- n'e-

61

u- czi- ne- ne- ho spo- lu pod- sta- nie- o

ne- ho

65

wie- rzne- mu Ot- cy. B

skrze - n'e- hoz' wse- cky wie- cy

69

wc- zi- n'e- ny sau

nie- ryz' pro- nas-

73

8 *trzy- sane* y pro- na- sse-

77

8 spa- se- nu a wy- kau- pa- mij sta- pił go z Ne- be

D

81

8 A prze- ni- ny spou- so- bern Wre- se gest

A

85

8 z mo- cy Boz- ske Du- cha Swa- te- ho.

C

89

8 di- wna mo- cy Du- cha Swa- te- ho.

Na- ro- dził se gest a przy- szał na śwet

Na- ro- dził se gt

93

8 z Ma- ry- e pa- ny a pra- wy c'zio-

97 K41v-2r

w ek wcz- nian gest Bu- oh czo- wczeszst

101 stwij na- se wzał gt O- lusz zo- wan

105 stwij wzał gt ta- ke gest pro nas pod z p/w- cy wia- da- rzem

109 gest pro nas pod Pont- skym Pi- Pont- skym Pi- tam wmrz- el ta- ke

113 ta- tam mwrz- el y poch- y poch- o- wan gest A wstał gest zmrt- wych

117 o- wan gest trze- - tu den' we- die Pro- ro-

121

8 kow swa- tych pu- sam a w stau- pil gest -

125

8 na Ne- be- la se- de- sa pra- wi- cy Ot- ce

B1

129

8 A o- p'et przy- gde v we- le- bno- sti swe

133

8 a- by sa- dil zt- we- cy nrt- wec

137 K42v-3r

8 ge- hoz' kra- low- stwu ni- koy a'z na we- ky wu- kw

ge- hoz' kra- kw- stwu ne- bu- de

141

8 ne- bu- de kon- ce Wierz- u- me wesi- ckn

kon- ce Wierz- u-

145

spo- lu ta- ta y w Du- cha Swa- te- ho
me ta- ta y w Du- cha Swa- te- ho

149

a wase- cko o- sz- tu- gu- ty- ho

153

kie- ryz z Ot- cym Sy- na po- cha- zy.

A

157

Genz' gest s Ot- cym y ge- ho Sy- nem

Genz' s Ot- cym y s Sy- nem

161

ge- dno- staj- ne po- klo- ny wzd- cky ho- den

ge- dne po- klo- ny ho- den

165

genz' mlu- wil gest skrze - Pro- ro- ky.

genz' mlu- wil skrz Pro- ro- ky

D

169
 Y ta-ka-ge- dnu- swa- tu o- be- cnu
 Y ge- dnu swa- tu

173
 y A- po- sto- lsku pra- wu Cyr- kew

C K43v-4r

177
 Wyz- na- wa- me- ta- zy ge- den Krzest na od-
 181
 puss- re- nu hrzu- chuw a cze- ka- me
 185
 wzkzi- sse- nij- mych a zt- wo- ta- bu-
 189
 dau- cy- ho- we- ku A- me- ra- do- stn'e
 A- men

193
spo- lu zpu- wa- gu tu- to wy- tu sta- fe
zpu- wa- guc wu- ru wy- zna-

197
wzdy wy- zna- wa- gucz chwai- mez' Bo- ha
wa- guc

201
w do- bre pro- cu- guc.

The image shows three systems of musical notation for a vocal piece. Each system consists of a vocal line (treble clef) and a bass line (bass clef). The time signature is 8/8. The lyrics are in Polish. The first system (measures 193-196) has lyrics: 'spo- lu zpu- wa- gu tu- to wy- tu sta- fe' on the vocal line and 'zpu- wa- guc wu- ru wy- zna-' on the bass line. The second system (measures 197-200) has lyrics: 'wzdy wy- zna- wa- gucz chwai- mez' Bo- ha' on the vocal line and 'wa- guc' on the bass line. The third system (measures 201-204) has lyrics: 'w do- bre pro- cu- guc.' on the vocal line and 'guc.' on the bass line. The piece ends with a double bar line.

A
 {discant}
 Our most celebrated Father, King of
 Heaven almighty creator of Heaven
 and earth.

{tenor}
 Eternal omnipotent father
 Creator of heaven and earth.

B
 {discant/tenor}
 All visible and invisible things, and the
 only lord our beloved Jesus Christ.

B¹
 Son of God, the firstborn of the
 Father, before all things that have been
 created yesterday and today.

C
 God from the originating God, Light
 from light, true God from the true God
 all praise is praiseworthy.

A¹
 The lord born glorious but yet never
 disrespectful, important together, but
 subordinate to the eternal Father.

B
 Through _____ all things are eternal
 which follows sin and for the sake of
 our salvation and redemption [saviour?]
 from heaven.

D
 And the forseen manner was embodied
 from the power of God's Holy Spirit.

C
 He was born and came to the world a
 true man eternal from the virgin Mary.
 God of humanity our _____.

A
 Under the rule of Pontius Pilate he was
 crucified for us, died and was buried.

B
 And risen from the dead on the third
 day as written by the holy Prophets
 and entered into Heaven to sit on the
 right hand of the Father.

B¹
 And again he will come in his majesty
 to judge the living and the dead in
 order that his kingdom will be never
 ending for ever and ever.

C
 Let us all believe together in the Holy
 Spirit and every living thing which
 came from the Father and the Son.

A
 Who is equal with the Father and his
 Son bows always worthy which was
 spoken through the Prophets.

D
 And also the one holy congregation
 and Apostles of the true Church.

C
 We confess one baptism, on
 forgiveness of sin and we are waiting
 for the ressurection and eternal life in
 the future.

A
 Amen. Let us constantly sing joyfully
 together this belief always the
 Confession [denomination; church]
 parises God for good works.

APPENDIX III

Credo #5

**K43v - K47v
(f265v - f269v)**

Gine Patrem Desuhtianij

(K34v-K47v)

Credo #5

discantus

tenor

5

9

13

17

21

Wsse mo- hu- cy- ho w ot- ce wsse-

Wsse mo- hu- cy- ho w ot- ce wsse-

ho stwo- rzi- te- le

ho stwo- rzi- te- le

Ne- be y ze- m'e y mor- ze w

Ne- be y ze- m'e y Mor- ze

ze- nu y na Ne- be- ske o-

w ze- m'e y w Ne- be- ske

blo- ze

o- blo- ze. Wi- d'e- dnych ta- ke

Wi- d'e- dnych y

ne- wi- di- te- dnych wszech we- cy

ne- wi- di- te- dnych wszech we-

25

wierz-nych y ta-ka cza-snych

cy wcz-nych ta-ka cza-snych

29

w ge-dno ho Ge-zu-ssie

w ge-dno ho

33

Kry-sta Sy-na ge-no

Kry-sta Sy-na ge-no

37

ge-dno ho pa-na na-ssie ho

ge-dno ho pa-na na-ssie ho

41

prze-dwse-mi we-ckty ro-ze

prze-dwse-mi

45

ne-ho sa-na z Bo-ha y ta-

ne-ho sa-na z Bo-ha

49

ke swe' tio z swe' tia Bo- ha pra-
a swe- tio z swe- tia Bo- ha

53

we- ho z pra- we- ho Bo- ha.
pra- we- ho z pra- we- ho Bo- ha.

57

Kle- ryz' ge- sti ro- ze- ny
Kle- ryz' ge- sti

61

wssak ne- vc- zi- n'e- ny
ne- vc- zi- n'e- ny.

65

Wo- tcy w pod- sta- fe gsa
Wo- tcy w pod- sta- fe gsa

69

ro- wny skrzni- egz wssa- cky we- cy
skrzni- egz wssa- cky wie-

73
 seu stwo- rze- ny Kle- ryz
 cy stwo- rze- ny

77
 pro nas li- di hrzu- sse y pro nasse
 hrzu- sse y

81
 sse spa- se- nu wcz- ne
 pro na- sse spa- se- nu wcz- ne

85
 Ssta- pil z Ne- be na- ze- mi
 Ssta- pil z Ne- be

89
 An- d'el- ty prze- sko- cził

93
 a sna- mi i- dmi se
 spo-

97

spo-gil mo-cy Du-cha swa-te-
gil mo-cy Du-cha

101

ho-se w'e-lil
w'e-lil pan-pan-

105

ny Ma-ry-e gest na-ro-zen Buh
ny Ma-ry-e gest na-ro-zen

109

pra-wy sa c'zlo-w'e-ke-ni
Buh pra-wy c'zlo-w'e-ke-ni w'ci-

113

w'ci-n'en. Pod Pi-la-te
n'en. Pod Pi-la-te

117

Pon-sky gt za nas u-ku-zi-ko-
Pon-sky gt za nas u-ku-zi-ko-

121

wan. mr- zel y w hro-
wan.

125

b'e po- cho- wan sstau- pil do pe-
b'e po- cho- wan sstau- pil do

129

kel d'a- bel u- ko- wan.
pe- kel d'a- bel swa- zan.

133

A wsta gt z mr- twych trze- tu den'
A wsta gt z mr- twych trze- tu den'

137

po- die wss'ech Pro- ro- kuw Swa- tych
po- die Pro- ro- kuw Swa- tych

141

pu- ssem wstau- pil gest na Ne-
pu- ssem. Wstau- pil na Ne-

145

be k Ot- cy swe- mu a- se- du
be k Ot- cy swe- mu a- se-

149

po pra- wi- cy ge- mu.
du po pra- wi- cy ge- mu.

153

A od- tu- dma przy- si- ti
A od- tu- dma przy- si- ti

157

swe- li- kau sta- wno- stu
swe- li- kau sta- wno- stu

161

z- we y nrt- we su-
su- di-

165

di- ti do- brym swe- we- cznee kra-
ti do- brym we- cznee kra-

169

low-stwu de-ti. me rzu-me
low-stwu de-ti. w'e

173

ta-ka y w Du-cha Swa-te ho pa-
rzu-me y w Du-cha Swa-te ho

177

na wsse- cko o- b'z- wu- gu-
pa- na wsse o- bzi- wu- gu- cy

181

cy- ho. Genz' od Of- ce
ho. Genz' od w of- ce

185

y Sy- na po- cha- zy od o-
y Sy- na





Our almighty father creator of Heaven and earth and sea in land and on the heavenly sky.

Those visible and invisible all those believers and also all those honourables [ancients].

And in the one Jesus Christ his son our one lord was born before all time to all eternity.

God of God as well as light from light true God of true God.

Who is born but unbelieved.

Father in virtue is equal to through which all believes the creator. [i.e. he is equal to God because of all of his beliefs.]

Who for the sake of our sinful people and for our salvation let us believe.

Risen to Heaven on earth Angels fly over and with us people he allied himself with the power of the Holy Spirit incarnate.

Through the virgin Mary he was born the true God eternally human.

Under Pontius Pilate he was crucified, died and laid to rest in the tomb, entered into hell [hiding behind?] the devil.

An rose from the dead on the third day according to all that written by the holy Prophets.

and entered into Heaven and sat on the right hand of his Father.

Thence came with great celebration the living and dead to be judged bestowed by his good everlasting kingdom.

Let us believe also in the Holy Spirit nurtured by the lord of all.

Who is from the Father and the Son originated from bother father and Son equal in glory he is honourable former likewise and equally the one bowed down to.

Who is spoken of through the Prophet he gave an account of his faithful steps.

The beliefs of the congregation of the Holy Church that she is the only true Church also one Baptism which is our glory and honour.

We are anticipating the resurrection and we wait for eternal life of hope for us.

APPENDIX IV

*Examples of Contemporary Manuscripts with Group Portraits of Literati**

HK II A 13b (1584-1604) used at St. Ghost's Church in Hradec Králové. Painting done by Matouš Radouš from Chrudim.

Painting of Utraquist *literati* by Fabián Pulíř from the **Teplice Gradual OVM-T** (1560).

* Volek & Jareš, plates 67 and 65.



