

LITURGY IN THE CZECH VERNACULAR FROM EARLY TO LATE MIDDLE AGES

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ABSTRACT

From the time of the 9th-century Moravian missions of Cyril and Methodius until the 16th century, there is a tradition of liturgical works written in the Slavic vernacular in Bohemia (the Czech lands). Among these traditional works are popular sacred songs, including a 12th-century adaptation of a Kyrie "Hospodine pomiluj ny," considered to be the oldest sacred song in the Czech vernacular; translations of portions of the Gospel from the 13th century on; complete translations of the Bible in the 14th century; early 15th-century translations of the Mass and Liturgical offices; and significant sacred vernacular efforts, both original and translated from Latin in the late 14th and 15th century by Jan Hus and Hussite reformers.

This paper focuses on the Czechs' efforts to establish a sacred vernacular liturgy during the Middle Ages beginning with the early Slavic Christianization missions in the 9th century and culminating in the efforts of clerical reformists to produce a purely Slavic liturgy during the 14th and 15th centuries. The underlying motivation for these efforts was threefold: 1) from their early history the Bohemian Slavs (modern Czechs) developed a spiritual awareness that was associated with the early Slavic Christianization missions of Cyril and Methodius and that became embodied in a genre of sacred songs that was very popular among the medieval laity and clergy; 2) notions of "understandability" and "participation" of the laity in the Christian rite interested Czech royalty and nobility throughout the Middle Ages (as well as reformist clerics in the late Middle Ages); 3) both before and during the reformist era, use of the vernacular in the liturgy reflected Bohemian desires for autonomy from the Roman church. Upon review of the critical sources, I conclude that the desire of the late 14th and early 15th-century Czech reformers to produce a vernacular Czech liturgy was expressed in the creation of the Jistebnický Kancionál, an early 15th-century cantionale intended for use in the Mass and Liturgical Offices.

THE JISTEBNICKÝ KANCIONÁL

The appearance of the Jistebnický Kancionál (JK), a collection of Czech chants, sacred hymns, and popular military songs dated to the early 15th century, represents what may be the first attempt in European history to translate the complete Mass and Liturgical Offices into a vernacular language. Since its discovery in the 19th century, JK has aroused much interest in late Medieval efforts to produce a Czech liturgy. Its creation occurred at a critical stage in the history of Czech vernacular liturgy as it coincided with the growth of early church reform movements in the Czech lands.

The publication of the first volume of the five-volume critical edition of the Jistebnický Kancionál (JKCE 2005) is a milestone in the effort to unravel the sources and motivations for this unique historical document. Based on codicological and paleographic analyses, the editors of JKCE have assigned JK a date of origin ca. 1420, which is some 30 years earlier than previously estimated and would make JK the first significant European attempt to translate the Mass and Liturgical Offices into a vernacular language. This date also places the creation of JK at a critical stage in the history of Czech efforts to create a vernacular liturgy just after the martyrdom of Jan Hus (d. 1415), a time of great religious and political unrest long before the formation of the Czech Protestant (Ultraquist) church. JKCE also raises a number

of questions. Was the effort to produce the Jistebnický Kancionál part of a well-established pattern of selective vernacular translations identified with the Catholic church in Bohemia, orchestrated to avoid critical populist reaction or, conversely, was it motivated by a rising clerical movement to reform the church in the 14th and 15th centuries?

EARLY BOHEMIAN CHRISTIANIZATION

From their first appearance in the historical record during the 9th century until the middle of the 19th century, the history of the Bohemian Slavs is marked by continuous debate over the use of the vernacular in secular and religious matters. This is particularly apparent during Bohemian efforts to worship in the vernacular between the 9th and 15th centuries.

The history of sanctioned and unsanctioned liturgical works in the Bohemian vernacular begins with the 9th-century Moravian missions of Cyril and Methodius. The Moravian Prince Rostislav, who already had been baptized by the Bavarian clergy, wanted greater religious and political independence from the Franks and Bavarian ecclesiastical hierarchy. According to Alexander Schenker, "Moravia's political and religious dependence on the Franks prompted Duke Rostislav to seek the establishment of an autonomous Moravian church under the direct jurisdiction of Rome rather than as part of the Bavarian ecclesiastic hierarchy."¹ "Though our people have rejected paganism and observe Christian law," wrote Rostislav, "we do not have a teacher who would explain to us in our language the true Christian faith so that other countries which look to us might emulate us."² As we shall see, the idea of an "understandable" liturgy underlying Rostislav's appeal reappears in subsequent appeals over the centuries for a Czech vernacular liturgy. As a result of Rostislav's call, Constantine (later known as Cyril) and Methodius, two Greek brothers and clergymen fluent in Slavic, traveled to Moravia in 863 C.E. to translate the Christian gospels from Greek into the Slavic vernacular.

The Slavic mission to Moravia, though initially successful, was eventually destroyed by a Magyar and Frankish coalition. Before the mission collapsed, the Bohemian Prince Bořivoj was baptized by Methodius under the patronage of the Moravian church and Slavic monasteries were subsequently founded on Bohemian soil.³ The founding of Bohemian monasteries, such as the Benedictine Sazava house in the 11th century, fostered the growth of early Slavic liturgy, chronicles, saints' lives, and a genre of Czech spiritual songs that remained popular throughout the Middle Ages and played a significant role in the Hussite reformist movement of the 15th century.⁴ The oldest notated example of a Czech spiritual or sacred hymn, "Hospodine, pomiluj ny" (Lord, have mercy on us), was transcribed in the 12th century and is part of JK. According to Miloš Weingart, "Hospodine," based on its morphological, phonological, and prosodic features, is a distinctively early Czech composition written sometime between the 10th and 12th centuries.⁵ The song (see figure below), a paraphrase of the Greek *Kyrie eleison*, ends with the thrice-repeated plea, "Kyrie eleison." The Old Czech form "krleš" shows a characteristically Czech phonological change that suggests the region where the song was active.⁶ The melody of this song has the expected characteristics of monophonic chant from the 9th to 10th centuries in its pitch range and final note, yet without the melisma one expects to find in a Kyrie. It would be valuable to compare this with earlier renditions of this song to see whether the melody was simplified over time or whether the song is a setting of new text to an existing chant, that is, a contrafactum.⁷

Above, the 1st 2 lines from "Hospodine, pomiluj ny!" as preserved in the Jistebnický Kancionál.⁸

To the right is the transcription of "Hospodine" in modern musical notation.⁹

Table 1 *Hospodine, pomiluj ny!* Reproduced from *Zpěvník - Českobratrské Církve Evangelické*.

Lord, have mercy on us!

Jesus, have mercy on us!

You are our savior, save us,

Listen to our plea, give us all, Lord.

Life and peace on earth!

Kyrie eleison; Kyrie eleison; Kyrie eleison!¹⁰

THE LATINIZATION OF BOHEMIA IN THE 11TH-12TH CENTURIES

According to Frances Dvornik, after a period of political struggles with neighboring principalities, Bohemia achieved political stability under Přemysl Otakar I in the 11th century and became tied to the Western Christian church.¹¹ Given the dominance of the Roman Catholic church in the Central European states surrounding Bohemia from the time of the missions, it comes as no surprise that the Latin rite gained supremacy over a Slavic liturgy, the remnants of which came to be viewed hostilely by the Roman clergy. As a result of the suppression of the vernacular during this period, no large body of native Czech writing was produced, and certainly nothing similar to the Slavic manuscripts of the southern and eastern Slavic regions which continued the work of the early missions. Dvornik notes,

[when] the Czechs abandoned the common Slavic literary language [Old Church Slavic]
... by the wholesale liturgical replacement of Slavic by Latin, the [Bohemian] church lost
a very effective means of educating its faithful through a liturgy which could be
generally followed because it was performed in a language easily understood by
everybody.¹²

Despite the latinization of the Bohemian church and failure of the Slavic monastic system in Bohemia (with the exception of the Benedictine Sazava Monastery, which restored the Old Church Slavic rite under Charles IV), sacred hymns in the vernacular from this period remained so popular for centuries in Bohemia that the Roman clergy sometimes was compelled to allow some of them to be sung congregationally (and, as we shall see, they were sometimes prohibited from being sung!).

13TH-14TH CENTURY BOHEMIA UNDER CHARLES IV, HOLY ROMAN EMPEROR

The discovery of large silver deposits in Bohemia during the 13th century brought wealth and prestige that fostered broad alliances between Czech and other European royalty. By the start of the 14th century, a significant body of sacred and secular vernacular poetry and prose had been written. These works, intended for the literate aristocracy, were most likely influenced by German, French, and Italian nobility and artisans invited to various Bohemian courts. In addition to legends of native saints written in Czech (or those translated from Latin), a number of sacred songs were produced, including "Bouh Všemohucy" (God the almighty) and "Jezu Kriste, Štědrý Kněže" (Jesus Christ, the generous Prince – later to be revised by Jan Hus.)¹³

By the time Charles IV was crowned Holy Roman Emperor in the mid 14th century, the Czechs had built a solid Latin literary foundation. During Charles's reign, the production of sacred and secular literary works in Czech increased significantly. S. Harrison Thomson explains that: "Charles was anxious to further the use of the vernacular. He was responsible for a life of Christ in Czech, for Czech translation of the Legends of St. Václav, which he probably wrote himself, and he set on foot a translation of the Bible into Czech by the monks of the Slavic-speaking cloister he had founded in 1348 (Emmaus)."¹⁴ Keenly aware of the cultural importance of the earlier tradition of Slavic Christianity, he asked Pope Clement VI for permission to reestablish the Slavic vernacular liturgy in Bohemia. The Pope granted Charles the right to build a single abbey in Prague, the Emmaus monastery (Cz. *Na Slovanech*), one of Roman rite but using the Old Church Slavic liturgy. In order to establish the new monastery, Charles imported a number of monks (Glagolici) from Croatia where the Latin rite had long been established in the Slavic tongue. No simple political gesture by Charles, this act reflected the desire of the Czech nobility to worship in their native language and to provide a liturgy "understandable" to the common people.

Early Czech Humanism under Charles IV

It is clear from the Latin chronicles produced during Charles' reign that the Bohemian nobility and educated clergy were influenced by 14th-century Italian Humanist thinking. According to Dvornik,

Early humanistic thought influenced the Czech clergy under Charles and led the way to a period of great cultural and spiritual activity in Bohemia: Under Charles, the Bishop of Prague, John IV of Drazice, spent 11 years in Avignon (where Petrarch had reached spiritual maturity) defending his positions on the church during which time he was exposed to new ideas current there in the 14th century. As a result of this exposure, John was inspired to promote humanist and religious studies at home and he established a foundation for the Augustinians in Bohemia, which was intended to become the focal point in Bohemia for humanistic studies.¹⁵

When the Czech church fell into corruption in the late Middle Ages, Charles supported reform-minded clergymen whose ideas and practices influenced Hus and his followers. These reformists established the Czech branch of *Devotio Moderna* and founded the Bethlehem Chapel in Prague. *Devotio Moderna*, a movement established by the Dutch mystic and clergyman Gerhard Groote in the mid 14th century, encouraged Christians to emulate the humility and self-effacement of the life of Christ in the New Testament. The Czech *Devotio Moderna*, founded by the reformer Milič of Kromežíž, was popular with late-14th century reformers who created new devotional centers in Bohemia and Moravia.¹⁶ Adherents of the Czech *Devotio Moderna* venerated the Eucharist, setting the stage for Jan Hus and subsequent early 15th-century reformers. Moreover, *Devotio Moderna* inspired original vernacular literary works as well as translations into Czech of devotional works of St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and other pious figures. The Bohemian Archbishop Ernest of Pardubice also was inspired by the *Devotio Moderna* movement. Among his many accomplishments, Ernest promoted reform of the liturgy and use of the vernacular in sacred works, and oversaw the development of Emmaus, the Slavic monastery the Pope gave Charles permission to build.¹⁷

The last 30 years of the 14th century witnessed an increase in the production and use of Czech liturgical works, most notably the translation of the *Dresden Bible* [Bible Draždanska] in 1370.¹⁸ The

Dresden translations, which include the Gospels and Epistles, were used particularly in female cloisters where Latin would not have been understood. However, they differ from early 15th-century attempts to translate the liturgy into Czech in two ways: 1) unlike the 15th-century translations, they did not bring the Mass and Liturgical Offices into the vernacular, and 2) they were still aimed at clerics whereas later liturgical translations were intended to reach lay worshipers. František Bartoš also mentions the reading of the Gospels and Epistles in Czech in the late 14th century and describes the case of an anonymous late 14th-century Prague priest who was summoned and punished for reading the Passion in Czech during church service.¹⁹ Whatever the threat perceived by conservative Czech clergy concerning the introduction of the vernacular into the service, this practice was not uncommon. Bartoš notes,

During the time of the Priest Waldhauser (1369) at the end of sermons there would be a prayer and singing in Czech in a variety of Prague churches. At Easter "Buoh všemohucí" [God the Almighty] and "Hospodine pomiluj ny" would be sung by the congregation. Also "Svatý Vaclave" [St. Wenceslas] would be sung on special occasions by the congregation...and Prague bishops even encouraged vernacular singing by granting indulgences to the laity in return for singing.²⁰

At this time, pressures for reform were more likely to arise from direct criticisms levied by the more radical of the reformers rather than as a result of congregational singing.²¹ Until the Hussite movement there seems to have been considerable tolerance of the casual introduction of congregational singing of popular hymns.

JAN HUS AND LITURGY IN THE VERNACULAR

At the time Jan Hus began preaching at the reformist Bethlehem Chapel in 1402, the reform movement in Bohemia enjoyed broad support from the Czech middle class (*burghers*) and ecclesiastical authorities. Within a year, Archbishop Zbyněk encouraged Hus to report to him on church abuses.²² Zbyněk also supported Hus's efforts to foster congregational singing in the vernacular. According to Molnar, while earlier reformers "emphasized preaching at the expense of liturgy," Hus viewed congregational hymn singing as an essential part of the Mass and as something that would "strengthen popular participation."²³ "If the Church has always emphasized common prayer," Molnar paraphrases Hus, "she must also encourage common singing.... Putting this liturgical logic into practice, Hus converted popular spiritual songs into real congregational church hymns."²⁴ Hus backed up his position on congregational singing by writing new hymns and revising existing ones. However, conservative reaction by the church hierarchy led to the Prague Synod limiting vernacular singing during church services and, ultimately, to a series of prohibitions. In 1408, the Pope sent a note to Archbishop Zbyněk forbidding vernacular songs in the service except for the four most popular spirituals ("Hospodine pomiluj ny," "Svatý Vaclave," "Buoh všemohucí" and "Jeu Krste štědrý kněže"). Despite these exceptions, which likely arose from fear of populist backlash, the general prohibitions against singing popular Czech hymns were renewed in 1410 and 1413. Though Hus generally seems to have obeyed them, he vigorously criticized the prohibitions against reading from the Czech translation of the Bible during worship services.²⁵

The Hussite Movement and Communion Sub Utraque Specie

In 1415, more than 100 years before Martin Luther posted his 95 theses attacking abuses of the Roman Catholic church, Jan Hus was condemned for heresy by the Council of Constance and burned at the stake. Whatever the allegations against Hus might have been, his populist views concerning worship in the vernacular, his criticisms of the clergy, and his defiance of the Prague Synod lie behind the trumped up charges that led to his martyrdom. Hus's death was followed by a populist revolt against the Catholic clergy that lasted more than 15 years.

After the martyrdom of Hus and his friend and fellow reformer Jerome of Prague, the Prague churches were dominated by Hussite priests, who ignored subsequent summonses to the Council of Constance. This new order of clergy, led by Jakoubek of Stříbro, encouraged frequent communion of the laity "in both kinds" (*communion sub utraque specie*).²⁶ According to Bartoš, when the Chalice became the

symbol of the Hussite reformers (the chalice representing communion of the laity *sub utraque specie* – something that was vigorously opposed by the Roman Catholic church), the old banned Czech hymns were reintroduced in the service when singing was needed. Charles Brewer proposes that the appearance of the Chalice in an illumination of the Corpus Christi chant (No. 17 in JK the alleluia "Nakrmil jest je") manifestly signifies Hussite involvement in the creation of the Czech liturgy embodied in JK:

The importance of receiving both the bread and wine in the Eucharist is emphasized in the Jistebnický Cantional by the prominence given to the feast of Corpus Christi, which ... is marked by the only illuminated initial in the entire manuscript... The Chalice copied to the left of the introit for the Corpus Christi Mass in the Jistebnický Cantional was also of iconic significance to the Hussites (see left side of illustration below). Since it was the chalice that was denied to the laity in communion, its administration by the early Hussites became an important element in their polemics.²⁷



Table 2 Introit for the Corpus Christi Mass. Reproduced from the Manuscriptorium Open Catalogue of Historical Resources.

Building on Bartoš's work, Brewer constructs a plausible motivation and provenance for JK in his article:

Perhaps the most significant result of Bartoš' research into Jakoubek's circle of influence relates to the priest, Jan Čapek. Čapek is known from his later Czech polemical works

and from two songs which were copied into the Jistebnický Cantional: 'Nusz Krzestane viery prve' and 've gmeno boszie posznieme'. In the year 1416, Jakoubek had requested that Čapek translate the entire Roman liturgy into Czech, and this set the standard for the non-Taborite Hussites.²⁸

One should note that Brewer's argument that Jakoubek "requested" Čapek to translate the Roman liturgy into Czech is not substantiated by Bartoš, who simply observes that he does not know who wrote JK, but that it could not have been created before 1420 though not much later (this coincides with the dating by the authors of JKCE). He hypothesizes that the writing was done in Prague in the Bethlehem chapel writing shop (*pisařská dílna*), and that the Taborites, an early Czech Protestant community active during the Hussite Wars, might have written it and carried it from Prague to Jistebnice where it remained until the 19th century.²⁹

Regardless of who actually produced the Czech translations in JK, it is clear to Brewer (and Bartoš) that the creation of JK was directly associated with the work of Hus's replacement as preacher at the Bethlehem chapel, Jakoubek of Stříbro:

Bartoš demonstrated that the reformer, Jakoubek held much more radical views than earlier historians had suspected. In many respects, during the earliest period of the Hussite revolution, Jakoubek sided with the more extreme elements in proposing the simplification of the Mass, removal of images, destruction of the superfluous churches and cloisters, confiscation of church property, advocating clerical poverty, and administering the two species of communion. Jakoubek's views on the liturgy included the use of the vernacular for both text of the Mass and the liturgical music. Many of these views were elaborated in his treatise *De cermoniis*, which was written perhaps as early as 1415.³⁰

Bartoš also asserts that as early as 1415, Jakoubek expressed the need for a Czech Mass and that sometime between 1417 and 1419 the Mass was conducted in Czech in Bethlehem chapel.³¹

THE JISTEBNICKÝ KANCIONÁL CRITICAL EDITION

According to the editors of JKCE, JK represents the earliest witness to a concentrated effort to translate the Liturgy of the medieval Western Church into the vernacular.³² Only the first part (Volume I, the Graduale) has been published (2005). This volume contains two Ordinary chants: a Czech Gloria and Kyrie with the trope "Hospodine pro tve svate vskrešenie" (Lord, for your sacred resurrection) and a larger collection of approximately 60 chants from the Proper of the Mass. These include Introits, Alleluias, Sequences, Communions and Offertoria. Much of the critical apparatus in JKCE responds to the assumptions about JK in Zdeněk Nejedly's early 20th-century five-volume work *Hussite Chant during the Hussite Wars*. Vlhová-Wörner raises a number of questions in response to these assumptions:³³

- Did the contents follow some preconceived schema or was its shape accidental?
- Was it a copy of an earlier manuscript or was it without precedent?
- Was it intended to be used in a church or for a private collection?
- Who were the intended users: choristers, lectors, or priests?
- Why was the collection essentially unsuccessful? That is, another 50 years elapsed before a tradition of kancionals of liturgical chants and Czech spirituals was established by Roman Catholics and Ultraquist reformers.

In order to illustrate how JKCE might be used to help answer these questions, Vlhová-Wörner compares three of the Gradual chants from JK: No. 12, the alleluia "Požehnany jsi, Pane Bože," No. 15, the offertory "chvalen bud' Buoh," and No. 6, the sequence "Všmohuci Kral moc svitežilu." My summary of Vlhová-Wörner's analysis of each of these appears below with the first page of each chant:³⁴

12

Benedictus es, Domine patrum nostrorum

The musical score consists of four staves of music in common time, treble clef, and B-flat key signature. The lyrics are written below each staff, corresponding to the musical notes. The score includes the following lyrics:

- Al - le - lu - ia.
- Al - le - lu - ia.
- Po - žeh - na - ný jsi, Pa - ne Bo - že ot - ców na - šich,
- Be - ne - dic - tus es, Do - mi - ne De - us pa - trum nos - tro - rum
- a máš bý - ti chvá - len na vě - ky.
- et lau - da - bi - lis in se - cu - la.

A measure repeat sign (8) is placed above the third staff.

Table 3 #12 Alleluia "Požehnany jsi, Pane Bože." Reproduced from Jistebnický Kancionál Kritická edice.

- No. 12 Alleluia "Požehnany jsi, Pane Bože." This is a close translation direct from Latin.
 - Maintains one-to-one syntactic word order with the Latin.
 - Shows syllable-for-syllable correspondence between Czech and Latin.
 - Retains chant melody except where needed to accommodate unavoidable differences in number of syllables.

15

Offertorium

Chvá - len bud' Buoh O - tec
Be - ne - di - ctus sit De - us Pa - ter

i jed - no - ro - ze - ný Syn
u - ni - ge - ni - tus - que De - i Fi -

bo - ži i sva - - - - ty Duch,
li - us San - ctus quo - - - que Spi - ri - tus,

neb jest s ná - mi u - či - nil své mi - lo -
qui - a fe - cit no - bis - cum mi - se - ri - cor -

sr - - - den - stvie.
di - am su - am.

Table 4 - #15 Offertory "chvalen bud' Buoh." Reproduced from Jistebnický Kancionál Kritická edice.

- No. 15 Offertory "chvalen bud' Buoh."

- Czech words are inverted from original Latin.
- Czech text is shorter than Latin source.
- Considerable changes to the chant melody: Longer melismas in the Latin version shortened into simple (syllabic) pitches.
- The changes above apply only to the body of phrases but not the cadences.

6

I Vše - mo - hú - cí král mo - cí sví - tě - zi - lú
I Rex om - ni - po - tens di - e ho - di - er - na

vy - kú - piv svět dneš - ní den ví - tě - zi - tel
IIa Mun - do tri - um - pha - li re - demp - to po - ten - ci - a

vstu - pu - je na ne - be - sa, od - kud jest při - šel.
IIb Vic - tor as - cen - dens ce - los, un - de de - scen - de - rat.

Neb za čty - ří - dce - ti dnov po svém skře - še - ní
IIIa Nam qua - dra - gin - ta, post - quam sur - re - xe - rat,

po - tvr - zo - val jest sva - té ro - zu - my.
IIIb Di - e - bus sac - ris con-fir-mans pec - to - ra.

Table 5 - #6 Sequence "Všemohuci Kral moc svitežilu." Reproduced from Jistebnický Kancionál Kritická edice.

- No. 6 Sequence "Všemohuci Kral moc svitežilu."

- Shows violations of basic rules of sequences governing the interrelation of text and melody.
- Shows strophic differences from the bi-strophic rule.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

JKCE freshly examines the dating and provenance of the Jistebnický Kancionál. Based on their analysis of the Kancionál's watermarks, the authors are confident it was written no later than the late 1420s or early 1430s.³⁵ This date does not eliminate the possibility that JK was created in the early 1420s, closer to Bartoš's suggested date. In either case, this puts JK's origin at a most active period of anti-Catholic reaction during the Hussite wars.

The question of who authored JK remains unresolved. Given the conflicting opinions of scholars about JK's origins and authorship, it is understandable that the authors of JKCE would raise questions about its purpose. In her summary of these works, Vlhová-Wörner concludes that these chants represent a variety of translation techniques used by a group that was not bound by a tradition of liturgical translation from Latin to Czech. She further asks what the reason was for creating a Czech equivalent of the Roman liturgy, who was supporting it, and why it never enjoyed widespread acceptance.³⁶

Vlhová-Wörner concludes that neither extremists nor conservatives would have produced such a work. She further asserts: "Bartoš, for example, believed that it was Jakoubek of Stříbro, or somebody close to him, who between 1416-1417 translated the liturgical chants into Czech.... He even went so far as to posit a scenario of the origin of the Jistebnice Kancional: the manuscript was written, after a model which was available in the scriptorium of the Bethlehem Chapel, by a young country priest."³⁷ In 1951, Bartoš speculated: "[the author] was, therefore, most likely a Taborite clergyman who came to Prague sometime in May 1420 and remained there for some time. This opens up a path for us in seeking a solution to the mystery (otherwise completely hopeless) of who was the writer of this work; it is however, entirely out of the question to entertain the idea that this gives us the right to name a particular individual."³⁸ In reconciling Bartoš's two contradictory views of JK's authorship, we need to consider that the earlier opinion was expressed in an article Bartoš wrote in 1915 while the latter was written by him some 36 years later. I think Vlhová-Wörner errs in citing Bartoš's earlier position on authorship rather than the more recent one and consequently undermines the value of Bartoš's later work (which is also cited in JKCE) when it comes to the issues of motivation and authorship, and the likelihood of Jakoubek's involvement. It is therefore interesting that in Pavel Brodsky's JKCE article "The Decoration of the Jistebnice Kancional" no mention is made of Brewer's argument for the motivation and provenance of JK based on the illumination of the Corpus Christi chant and the issue of *communion sub utraque specie*, although the Brewer article is cited in the JKCE bibliography. This suggests that the authors of JKCE are presenting an incomplete picture of the research to date when it comes to the issue of provenance.

As regards Hus's interest in liturgical reform, I disagree with Vlhová-Wörner when she claims: "It does not seem that Jan Hus himself gave much thought to the reform of the liturgy."³⁹ While it is clear that Hus did not undertake any direct effort to create a Czech liturgy on the order of what is contained in JK, his preaching and writing right up to his summons by the Council of Constance to defend his views simply indicate that he chose to concentrate on issues related to the clergy and church abuses. That he would have left issues of liturgical reform to others, such as Jakoubek, is understandable in the face of increased conservative reaction in the years before his martyrdom. Further research into the period leading up to the creation of the Jistebnický Kancionál should take into consideration correspondence that might have occurred between Hus and Jakoubek regarding liturgical reform.

Finally, to answer the question posed at the start of this paper: "was the effort to produce JK part of a conservative tradition to appease the Czech middle class or part of a more radical movement to reform the Roman liturgy?" Though it remains unclear precisely who is responsible for the creation of JK, it is obvious that it was not the undertaking of the conservative Roman Catholic clergy. While the groundwork for a vernacular liturgy was established over centuries from the time of the Slavic missions, the creation of JK is related to the early 15th-century work of Jakoubek of Stříbro and Hussite reformers

intent on creating a liturgy in the vernacular, a reformist undertaking which was followed a century later by Martin Luther.

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ENDNOTES

¹ Schenker p 25.

² Ibid. p 31.

³ Dvornik 1956 p 105.

⁴ Ibid. p 171.

⁵ Weingart p 87ff.

⁶ Ibid. p 88.

⁷ Hospodine Pomiluj ny has been attributed by some scholars to the late 10th century work of St. Adelbert.

⁸ Černý p 9.

⁹ Zpěvník p 365.

¹⁰ Translation by Mirjam Fried.

¹¹ Dvornik 1956 p 322ff.

¹² Ibid. p 328.

¹³ Dvornik 1962 p 154.

¹⁴ Learning at the Court of Charles IV p 14.

¹⁵ Dvornik 1962 p 161ff.

¹⁶ Dvornik 1962 p 163.

¹⁷ Thomson p 7.

¹⁸ From the preface to the Drazdenske Bible.

¹⁹ Bartoš 1952 p 42.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Dvornik suggests this when he writes: "There were also some dangerous developments in the evolution of this movement [*devotio moderna*]. The sincere desire for church reform, and the lamentable failure of the papacy to realize this, had the effect of misleading some religious enthusiasts into indulging in radical criticism of a destructive kind." Dvornik 1962 p 164.

²² Ibid. p 189.

²³ Molnar p 300.

²⁴ Ibid. p 301.

²⁵ Bartoš 1952 p 44.

²⁶ Dvornik 1962 p 197. Note that *communion sub utraque specie* refers to the receiving both Eucharistic bread and wine in daily worship.

²⁷ Brewer pp 326ff.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Bartoš 1951 p 3.

³⁰ Brewer p 326ff.

³¹ Bartoš 1951 p 1.

³² JKCE p 11.

³³ JKCE p 107.

³⁴ JKCE p 130ff.

³⁵ JKCE p 55.

³⁶ Ibid. p 133.

³⁷ Ibid. p 127.

³⁸ Bartoš 1951 p 3. "Byl to tedy nejspíše táborský duchovní, jenž přišel do Prahy někdy v květnu 1420 a zdržel se tu nějakou dobu. To nám otvírá cestu, po níž se můžeme pustit za řešením záhady jinak zcela beznadějně, kdo byl původce či písar památného sborníku; **není tu ovšem ani pomyslení na to, abychom se směli odvážit vyslovit určité jméno.**"

³⁹ JKCE p 127.