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# The Evolution of the Celebration of the Daily Office in Utraquism: an overview

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## Introduction

The forms of celebration of the Daily Office as described in the first part of this text will never have been known in the lands of the crown of St. Wenceslaus as the practices described had disappeared long before Christianity was established in Bohemia. Nevertheless, the historical evolution needs to be sketched (albeit quickly) so that readers can both understand the larger context and dispel the widespread popular myths about the origins of the office and who prayed it.

## The Dominance of the Eucharist in the Study of Utraquist Liturgy

Virtually all of the specialised literature that has examined liturgical questions from the period of the Bohemian Reformation has dealt with its eucharistic dimensions. This should not be surprising as it was the Eucharist that was the most visible and engaging liturgical act for the average Bohemian Christian of the time. It was probably Milíč's restoration of frequent communion that gave the most significant impetus to the beginning of the reform movement and the lay chalice, restored in 1414, was to become its most powerful symbol. The renewal of the historical practice of communicating all the baptised (i.e. infants and small children) *sub utraque* in the context of the (by then) well-established practice of frequent reception of the sacrament gave the Sunday celebration of the Eucharist in Bohemia a visual character immediately obvious and distinct from that of any other land in "Catholic" Europe.<sup>1</sup>

It should not be surprising, then, that this heavy emphasis on eucharistic practice should also have led to theological controversy in Bohemia and

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<sup>1</sup> I have tried to deal with the visual character of worship during the Bohemian Reformation in "Liturgický život české reformace" [Liturgical Life during the Bohemian Reformation], in: Kateřina Horníčková and Michal Šroněk eds., *Umnění české reformace 1380–1620* [The Art of the Bohemian Reformation 1380–1620] (Prague, 2010) 219–233.

abroad. Earlier centuries of the middle ages had been heavily dominated by disputes over the mode of Christ's presence in the Eucharist<sup>2</sup> which were compounded by the spread of the doctrine of concomitance to save the consciences of both the laity who no longer received the chalice and who found this a contravention of the explicit command of the Lord<sup>3</sup> as well as the theologians mindful of the unbroken tradition in both West and East that enjoined both clergy *and* laity to receive *both* elements and *separately*.<sup>4</sup> Aside from the disputes over the theology (and not the practice) of the chalice and infant-communion, the so-called "vestments controversy" which engaged Jakoubek of Stríbro around the years 1415–17 was one of the first to surface. While it has been the question of vesture that has most often attracted attention, it was not really a dispute over ecclesiastical vesture but, rather, over the question of which (if any) of the traditional ornaments and ceremonial were absolutely necessary when assuring that all the sick and dying (particularly the poor) were able to receive the Eucharist (in this case, usually the *viaticum*) *sub utraque specie*.<sup>5</sup>

It was theological disagreement over the manner of Christ's presence in the Eucharist that recurs *leitmotif*-like throughout the entire epoch of the Bohemian reform. Hus was accused at Constance of following Wyclif on re-manentism – an accusation impossible to sustain. The principal reason for Jan Žižka's burning of the Adamites at Klokoty in 1421 was the Adamite position on eucharistic presence not their nakedness.<sup>6</sup> The early rejection of scholastic theology by the Unity of Brethren brought with it an accompanying rejection of the word "transubstantiation" as the appropriate term to express their belief in the presence of Christ in the Eucharist and, with it, a rejection of external signs of reverence to the sacrament (kneeling to receive communion, genuflections, processions in which the sacrament was displayed).<sup>7</sup>

<sup>2</sup> See, for example: Gary Macy, *The Theologies of the Eucharist in the Early Scholastic Period* (Oxford; 1984); idem. "The 'Dogma of Transubstantiation' in the Middle Ages," in: *Treasures from the Storeroom: Medieval Religion and the Eucharist* (Collegeville MN, 1999) 81–120; Ian Christopher Levy, *John Wyclif. Scriptural Logic, Real Presence, and the Parameters of Orthodoxy*. (Milwaukee, 2003) particularly c. 5 "Medieval Eucharistic Theology," and c. 6 "The Eucharistic Theology of John Wyclif"

<sup>3</sup> James J. Megivern, *Concomitance and Communion. A study in eucharistic doctrine and practice*. (Fribourg and New York, 1963) [Studia friburgensia. NS 33.] 51ff.; 241ff. At the popular level, the growing number of miracles in which the host bled or corporals were blood-stained drew attention away from the chalice and assured the laity that receiving the host alone was sufficient as it communicated both species. *Ibid.*, 41–45.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Taft, "Communion via Intinction," *SL* 26 (1996) 225–36.

<sup>5</sup> David R. Holton, "The Role of Jakoubek of Stríbro in the Creation of a Czech Liturgy: Some Further Reflections," in: *Jakoubek ze Stríbra: texty a jejich p̄sobení*, ed. Ota Halama and Pavel Soukup (Prague, 2006) 49–86 here: 72ff.

<sup>6</sup> Howard Kaminsky, HHR 427ff.

<sup>7</sup> Amédeo Molnár, "The Brethren's Theology," in: Rudolf Říčan, *The History of the Unity of Brethren* (C. Daniel Crews trans.) (Bethlehem PA and Winston-Salem NC, 1992) 417 f.; also Říčan, *ibid.*, 53 and *passim*.

This, in turn, led to bitter accusations by Utraquists against the Brethren's alleged sacramental heterodoxy. Ultimately, it was the Brethren's unique doctrine of the Eucharist that played an important role in the failure of initiatives to forge closer relations with both Calvinists and Lutherans in the sixteenth century.<sup>8</sup> Finally it was, of course, eucharistic doctrine that was determinant in the suppression of Utraquist eucharistic practice (the lay cup and infant communion – both of which had been condemned by the Council of Trent<sup>9</sup>) after the brief period of accommodation following *Bilá Hora*.

All this considered, there is little wonder that the evolution of eucharistic thought and practice should draw such disproportionate attention in the study of liturgy during the Utraquist period.

## I.

### The Daily Office in History – From Public Office to Private Recitation

There is, however, another dimension to the corporate liturgical life of Christians that is as ancient as the Sunday Eucharist itself and for centuries was regarded as central and binding on the daily life of all Christians regardless of their order in the church. This is the cycle of prayer that has come to be known as the Liturgy of the Hours or the Divine or Daily Office.<sup>10</sup> Daily communal prayer constituted a fundamental part of the life of all the baptised and the emergence of regular times at which it took place (morning, [noon] and evening) emerged out of the patterns of Jewish daily prayer early in the life of the Christian Church.<sup>11</sup> This is contrary to the common belief held until

<sup>8</sup> Rudolf Řičán, *The History of the Unity*, 215 f.

<sup>9</sup> Council of Trent, Session XXI, (16 July, 1562) "Doctrine de communionne sub utraque specie et parvulorum," Cap. I "Laicos et clericos non conficientes non adstringi iure divino ad communionem sub utraque specie," in: *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, Norman P. Tanner ed., (London/Washington, 1990) 2vv. 2:726 / "Teaching on communion under both kinds and of children," Chap. 1. "Laity and non-consecrating clergy are not bound by divine command to communicate under both kinds," (ibid. \*726); Cap. IV. "Parvulos non obligari ad communionem sacramentalem," (ibid, 727); / "Children are not bound to sacramental communion," (ibid. \*727) and "Canones de communionne sub utraque specie et parvulorum," (ibid. 727) / "Canons on communion under both kinds," (ibid. \*727).

<sup>10</sup> Important modern studies include: George Guiver, *Company of Voices* (London, 1988); Pierre Salmon, *L'Office divin au moyen-âge* (Paris, rev. 1967) English translation: *The Breviary through the Ages* (Collegeville MN, 1962); Robert Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours in East and West* (Collegeville MN, 1986); Gregory W. Woolfenden, *Daily Liturgical Prayer: Origins and Theology* (Aldershot, 2004).

<sup>11</sup> C.W. Dugmore argued that there was a direct continuity with the Jewish practice of morning and evening prayer (*The Influence of the Synagogue upon the Divine Office* [London, 1944]) but more recent research asserts that Jewish patterns of prayer in the first century were more fluid and that there is no clear evidence that this morning and evening prayer was communal (Paul Bradshaw, *Daily Prayer in the Early Church* [Alcuin Club Collections no. 63] (London, 1981) cc. 1–3]) but that a line of continuity can be traced from early Jewish

the last century that the origins of the office lay within early monasticism rather than the Christian life in general.<sup>12</sup> To give thanks and praise to God and to pray for the life of the world was considered a fundamental part of the baptismal vocation of all Christians.

Generally, this was done twice, sometimes thrice, daily although those who led the ascetic life – particularly in the Pachomian communities of Egypt – were guided in their rule of prayer by an attempt to fulfil a literal interpretation of the Pauline injunction to “pray constantly” (1 Thessalonians 5:17). While this led to a multiplication in the times of prayer for the monks of the desert, local Christian communities tended to assemble under the leadership of their bishop and other clergy morning and evening for a “cathedral” office which was characterised primarily by praise in the form of a very selective use of Psalmody and hymnody (usually repeated daily), by extensive intercessions and by the absence of any Scripture reading on most occasions.<sup>13</sup> Thus, “secular” clergy and lay Christians were expected to come together morning and evening to praise God in an office that was fundamentally corporate and choral.<sup>14</sup>

Throughout the fifth century, ecclesiastical life in the West was arranged so that the clergy lived in the cities gathered around their bishop. Rural churches were usually staffed by deacons dependent on the local bishop. Thus, liturgical life was concentrated on one place – the local cathedral – and all the clergy could be expected to be present for the offices. During the sixth century, there was a gradual decentralisation – beginning in Rome and the other major cities – when some large urban churches were assigned a permanent clergy. The liturgy in these churches, however, remained highly dependent upon the bishop’s church and the clergy remained obliged to serve in the cathedral as well as in the new *ecclesiae*. This devolution had consequences for the celebration of the offices. Each church could not celebrate all the offices every day so that the offices came to be distributed among the various churches according to hour or day. All those ordained (from porter to bishop) were obliged to participate in all the offices sung in the church to which they

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patterns of prayer and the two-fold pattern of daily communal prayer that was firmly fixed by the fourth century.

<sup>12</sup> See: Louis Duchesne, *Christian Worship* (London, 1931 5<sup>th</sup> ed. reprinted) 448–9; Pierre Battifol, *Histoire du Bréviaire Romain* (Paris, 1893) 14–15; Gregory Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (Westminster, 1945) 319–32.

<sup>13</sup> Bradshaw, *The Search for the Origins*, 173.

<sup>14</sup> Ambrose holds up the ideal of hastening to church each morning “to greet the Sun of Righteousness with psalms and hymns as he visits his people” and the impossibility of ending the day without the celebration of psalmody observing that “even the birds act no differently, for they greet the beginning of the day and night with solemn devotion and sweet song.” (*Exameron* V,12.36) In the *Confessions* (V,9) Augustine relates that Monica “twice a day, at morning and evening, ... went without fail to your church”. Elsewhere he speaks of “running to church” as a euphemism for going to sing the offices every morning and evening which he presents as part of the life of the average Christian (e.g. *Enarr. in ps.* 85:12.).

were attached but, because of the way the offices had come to be distributed, that meant that the clergy participated in only some of the offices.

This pattern began to dissolve in the West for a variety of reasons. In Rome, the major basilicas were entrusted into the care of monastic communities. For these monastics, the attraction of the spirituality of the Egyptian desert tradition was such that the offices of the Roman churches under their care became increasingly elaborated with the more complex imported practices. This monasticisation of the office spread and, with it, an increase in the number of offices sung throughout the day and night. The break-up of Roman society in the West “gave an overriding importance to the great Western abbeys that would hold sway over much of the church life in the West until the end of the Middle Ages.”<sup>15</sup> Farther north, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon lands, the type of office celebrated in the Roman basilicas was extended to all the churches so that each church was no longer responsible for only some of the offices but for the full *cursus* and the clergy of that church were expected to participate in every office.<sup>16</sup> While this legislation was not immediately observed by all the clergy, there was a gradual move to require every cleric to be present for the complete *cursus* of offices which was to be sung in the church where he served.<sup>17</sup>

The centuries immediately following saw an increasing number of local councils and synods legislating the required presence of all clergy at the singing of the entire *cursus* of offices in the church to which they were attached, adding the further requirement that those unable to be present for an office were to say that office privately. To make this possible, a new type of liturgical book was devised: the single volume breviary. The communal singing of the office required a variety of liturgical books: psalter, antiphony, responsorial, collectar, martyrology, homiliary, and evangelary – each to be used by a different person or persons. Private recitation of an office required only enough liturgical material for the person reciting the office alone. The “essentials” from the various liturgical books were accordingly condensed into a single

<sup>15</sup> Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, 163.

<sup>16</sup> The earliest witness to the requirement of the full *cursus* of offices with all the clergy participating is the Second Council of Clovesho (747) presided over by St. Boniface. Pierre Salmon, *L'Office divin au moyen âge. Histoire de la formation du bréviaire du IX<sup>e</sup> au XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle*. [Lex Orandi, 43] (Paris, 1967) 22; English translation: *The Breviary Through the Centuries* (Collegeville, 1962) 8.

<sup>17</sup> Chrodegang, the great reforming bishop of Metz (+766), during his two visits to Rome, was much taken by the life of the monastic communities which served the great Roman basilicas. Back home, he promoted the “canonical” life for the secular clergy in which they would live together and pray in common requiring their presence at the complete *cursus* of offices each day. This, of course, immediately raised the question of those who, because of their duties, could not be present at every office. Chrodegang imposed a requirement common in monastic circles but heretofore unheard of for the secular clergy. Those who, for some legitimate reason, could not be present for the public singing of an office were to recite that office in private (Chrodegang of Metz, *Regula canonicorum*, 4).

volume often small enough so that it could be easily transportable. Not surprisingly, the oldest extant single volume breviaries date from the time when clerics who missed an office began to be required to pray that office privately.

Introduced as a pastoral solution for those who could not fulfil their canonical requirement to be in church for the full cursus of offices and, therefore, an exception to the norm, there is considerable evidence for the exception increasingly becoming the rule. Absence from the offices as well as their sloppy recitation were abuses which constantly fell under synodical and episcopal scrutiny. The rise of the mendicants and the universities came as finishing blows to the required corporate sung office in the church to which the cleric was attached. The mendicants, by their very nature, did not have a particular church to which they were attached as their mobility was fundamental to their vocation. The universities found thousands of clerics, each ordained to a "title" from which they earned their living and in which they were required to sing the office residing in a university town which was far from the church to which they held title and to which they owed the obligation of singing the cursus of offices. These clerics were faced with a moral quandary: how could they sing the office in the parish to which they held title (as required by law) and collect their money when their studies required them to be far away?

As Robert Taft wryly notes: "As usual the moralists and canonists came to the rescue, providing the necessary loopholes in what had become an impossible situation."<sup>18</sup> Just as the pope and curial officials had been able to dispense themselves from the obligation of the choral office because of the pressures of their work so, too, other clerics could dispense themselves from the obligation of the choral office as long as they made up the missed hours in private when and how they could.<sup>19</sup> In effect, daily prayer morning and evening, once the obligation of all the baptised, had become an obligation that fell on the clergy alone and the insistence on the common choral celebration of the office was now counted as but one of two possible modes – the other being the private recitation of the office.

It is important to note that while the moralists and canonists continued to salve the consciences of those who did not fulfil the historic requirements which insisted on the communal choral celebration of the office by providing justifications for its private recitation rather than participating in the worship of the whole community, they, at the same time, continued to promote the corporate singing of the office as preferable to reciting it privately. At the same time, the new insistence that the obligation of praying the complete cursus daily fell on all clerics became increasingly entrenched in canonical legislation. There was no longer any debate as to whether or not all the

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<sup>18</sup> Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, 300

<sup>19</sup> Hostiensis (Henry of Segusio), *Lectura in quinque Libros Decretalium* cited in Salmon, *The Breviary*, 139 n.64.

ordained must pray the full *cursus* but simply at what point in the *cursus honorum* that obligation began: was it when one was ordained as porter or did it only begin with ordination to the sub-diaconate (i.e. with “major orders”)?

### Lay participation in daily prayer

Over these centuries, the possibility of lay participation in the office came to be greatly reduced largely because of the increasing complexity of the offices and the maintenance of Latin as the language of the liturgy when it had been replaced by the vernacular in daily life. While once used highly selectively, the Psalter came to be used virtually in its entirety and became the single longest element in the office. When used selectively along with hymnody and when the portions used were repeated daily, memorisation of the texts was easy. However, the use of the entire Psalter demanded the availability of manuscript Psalters – an expensive undertaking even if only those who could read needed them. The emergence of the vernacular exacerbated the problem. While it might have been possible to memorise the Latin texts of a few psalms and hymns, it was beyond the capacity of most lay people to memorise the entire Psalter.<sup>20</sup>

Out of this clericalisation of the office emerged other forms of daily prayer for the laity; *compendia* which contained selections from the psalms, sometimes with just one verse from each psalm enabling the laity to attain the (Egyptian, and later, Celtic) monastic ideal of reciting the entire Psalter daily; *libelli precum* which contained an assortment of prayers, some drawn from the liturgy, others expressly written for the collection along with assorted litanies. Eventually, these were to be superseded by the “book of hours” which came to dominate the daily prayer of literate lay people during the late middle ages.

From these books of hours, devout laity prayed a simplified form of the daily office but without the confusion of the highly variable rites as they had developed for the clergy and the complicated rubrics that governed them. For

<sup>20</sup> In the sermons and *vita* of Caesarius of Arles (+ 542), one can get a glimpse of these emerging problems. Caesarius is most keen that the laity continue to participate in the daily prayer of the church but twice a day is not sufficient for him; he exhorts the laity also to observe the monastic hours of prayer. “And so I implore you, dear brothers and sisters: get up earlier for the morning vigil, and before all else gather for the third hour, the sixth and the ninth.” (*Sermo* 196,2.) Here, Caesarius reflects the merger of two traditions of marking the time of daily prayer: the Jewish i.e. morning, [noon], evening and the Roman i.e. at the third, sixth and ninth hours. While he solved the bilingual problem in his diocese by allowing the Greek speaking faithful to respond in Greek while others responded in Latin, he did not have a solution to the problems created by an emerging vernacular: the liturgy remained in an increasingly inaccessible Latin. Interestingly, Caesarius’s biographer unwittingly highlighted the other problem with the office when he noted that one of the successes of his episcopal ministry was getting the laity to join in the office and making them “sound just like the clergy” (*Vita* 1,19). The clergy have become the norm by which the ‘sound’ of the office is to be judged. It has ceased to be the common praise of all the baptised but, rather, the work of the clergy in which the laity *may* take part.

some, these books of hours were written in the vernacular – a practice that had attracted the attention of the future Charles IV during his time at court in France.<sup>21</sup> With the invention of print, these books of hours became so mass produced that it would have been possible for the entirety of educated Europe to pray a form of the daily office.<sup>22</sup> While there is evidence of the office being shared (e.g. a lady with her maid), books of hours did little or nothing to promote the corporate singing of daily prayer but, rather, re-enforced the “private recitation of the breviary” model that was becoming increasingly normative throughout the western church.

## II.

### **The Office in Bohemia**

Christianity came to Bohemia too late for it ever to have known the days of the popular “cathedral” office that drew all Christians together for morning praise and even-song. In fact, the Lands of the Crown of St. Wenceslaus likely knew only those forms which had emerged under monasticism and which were understood as a legal obligation that required the participation of all clerics at the complete cursus daily.

By the time we get to the beginnings of the Bohemian reform movement, the office would have been in a very mixed state. Monastic communities would have sung the entire cursus of offices at the appointed hours throughout the day and night (they had the advantage of a stable, resident, community). Secular clergy resident in their benefices should also have come together to sing the cursus of offices legally required of them and devout lay people likely would have attended – probably in small numbers on weekdays and more numerous for first vespers, matins and second vespers on Sundays and festivals. The many students in Prague who were in holy order and legally bound to sing the office in the church where they were beneficed may well have joined with the other clerics in the parish where they lived; many probably took advantage of the provisions that allowed them to recite the office privately because of the obligations of their studies. Isolated priests would have recited the office from the breviary on their own.

### **The Office and the Bohemian Reform Movement**

The office, as such, seems to have received little, if any, attention from the fourteenth-century members of the Bohemian reform movement; it never appears to have been an issue. While the Czech lands were certainly subject to the same trends towards the “privatisation” of the office as elsewhere in

<sup>21</sup> See: František Kavka, *Život na dvoře Karla IV* [Life in the Court of Charles IV]. (Prague, 1993) 39–40.

<sup>22</sup> Guiver, *Company of Voices*, 109.



Europe, there is every reason to believe that monasteries continued to sing the full cursus and that some offices were sung regularly in parish churches throughout the land. For example, in 1374, it is reported that in the town of Jaroměř the schoolmaster priest was required to sing mass and vespers daily and matins on holy days. On Fridays vespers was to be sung with the schoolboys in the monastery church.<sup>23</sup> Such requirements in the contractual obligations of schoolmasters do not appear to be uncommon and would indicate that town councils as well as ecclesiastical authorities were interested in seeing that the regular singing of the offices was assured.

All energy for liturgical reform, however, was at first entirely concentrated on the Eucharist. For example, we know a great deal about Milíč's eucharistic innovations but nothing of his use of the office at "Jerusalem". As a secular priest, he would have been formally required to sing it in the parish church of St. Giles in the Old Town only a stone's throw from "Jerusalem" and where he was beneficed. If such was the case, the office may not have been sung at "Jerusalem" – all liturgical energy being devoted to preaching in the context of the Eucharist. On the other hand, Milíč may have considered the office as a part of the community life of at least the clerics who had attached themselves to his "Jerusalem" community and they would have sung the office there together. It is also possible that Milíč considered himself so taken by his other duties that, like so many of the priests in Prague, he prayed the office privately using a breviary. All this remains speculation.

The first decades of the fifteenth century, however, bring us an important impulse for the renewal of the Divine Office known to us through its most important witness: the Jistebnice Kancionál (JK).<sup>24</sup> Until recently, we could say very little about what this codex actually represented in the life of the Bohemian church as a whole as it was thought to have left virtually no trace of its use and only one other witness to its influence.<sup>25</sup> That opinion must be seriously reviewed.

Internal evidence makes it clear that the JK was not created *ex nihilo* but contains liturgical texts drawn from various sources which were themselves copied by different scribes.<sup>26</sup> Approximately one third of the liturgical

<sup>23</sup> Zikmund Winter, *Život a učení na partikulárních Ókolách v Čechách v XV. A XVI. Století* [Life and learning in particular schools in Bohemia in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries], 2vv. (Prague, 1901) 1:145.

<sup>24</sup> Jaroslav Kolár, Anežka Vidmanová, and Hana Vlhová-Wörner edd., *Jistebnice Kancionál MS. Prague, National Museum Library II C 7. Critical Edition. Volume 1: Graduale* [Monumenta Liturgica Bohemica II] (Prague, 2005).

<sup>25</sup> A collection of liturgical texts (Czech translations of prose, hymns, canticles, psalms, and five noted prefaces) bound with a large collection of other Utraquist texts bears witness to the wider use of the liturgical translations found in the Jistebnice Kancionál. MS Vienna ÖNB 4557. Karel Hruza, "Der Kodex 4557 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek: Herausagendes Beispiel einer hussitischen Sammelhandschrift," *Codices Manuscripti* 26 (1999) 3–31.

<sup>26</sup> Stanislav Petr, "A Codicological and Palaeographical Analysis of the Jistebnice Kancionál," in: Kolár et al. *Jistebnice Kancionál* 1:62ff.

material contained in the JK is intended for use at the office.<sup>27</sup> While it does not provide material for the entire liturgical year it does provide copious material for the great feasts: Christmas, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost, Corpus Christi and Trinity.<sup>28</sup> Interestingly, extensive material is also provided for the three offices of *Tenebrae* sung during Holy Week.<sup>29</sup> It would be dangerous to guess what may have existed elsewhere but, here, we have a witness that assumes popular participation in the offices on at least the greatest feasts and at *Tenebrae*.

When this article was first written, received opinion had it that the JK had left no trace on the liturgical life of the Czech lands and that the only other witness to some of its texts was the Vienna codex cited in n.25 above. Since then, Jiří Žůrek has published the groundbreaking article “The Analogies between the Chants of the Jistebnický Kancionál and the Repertory of the Oldest Czech Graduals in the 16<sup>th</sup> Century”<sup>30</sup> There, he demonstrates the incontestable continuity between a number of chant melodies in the JK and those found in a number of Czech manuscripts from the early sixteenth century. This continuity, he asserts, can only be explained by the ongoing use and musical development of the Czech chants to which JK is a witness. Even though we no longer have the manuscripts which bore the tradition through the fifteenth century, Žůrek claims (I believe rightly) that we can no longer use the absence of these manuscripts as reason to claim a radical discontinuity between the JK and the liturgical texts of the sixteenth century.

Almost at the same time as the promoters of the vernacular office were doing their work, the state of the office in Bohemia would have lost one important dimension. After the outbreak of the “revolutionary” period of the reform movement in 1419, the destruction of the monasteries and the exile of the religious orders would have seen the disappearance of the largest single constituency who had sung the office corporately on a daily basis.

It is clear, however, that the main-line reform movement in no way saw the sung office as a “monkish” affair and had no intention of abandoning the traditional patterns of daily prayer. The Prague Synod of 7 July 1421<sup>31</sup> as well as the St. James’s Day Synod (25 July) of 1434<sup>32</sup> enjoin that the Divine Office

<sup>27</sup> Hana Vlhová-Wörner, “Contents of Manuscript,” Nos.143–306 in: *Jistebnice Kancional I*: 265–75.

<sup>28</sup> The latter two, curiously, in that order.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.* Nos. 194–230.

<sup>30</sup> *Hudební věda* 48,1 [2011] 41–78.

<sup>31</sup> UB 1:134. De modo orandi et legendi clericorum. Item quod quilibet Christi sacerdos, cui locus et tempus facultatem dant, ad horas canonicas sit obligatus ....

<sup>32</sup> Blanka Zilynská, *Husitské synody v českých* [Hussite synods in Bohemia] (Prague, 1985) 114. Article 8: Item tenemus et observare intendimus, quod ritus et ordo sacrificandi in missa et vespere ac circa alia officia divina in habitu aliisque ab ecclesia consueta est legitimus .... Qui ritus absque notabili necessitate et circumstantia debita et magna, missa et aliis divinis officiis a sanctis in honorem et laudem dei dispositis et ordinatis, a sacerdotibus Christi non debent omitti, sed in facto teneri et observari.

continue as it had in times past. *How* that was to continue seems to have involved the same variety of modes that we found earlier. We know that some communities continued to sing the office corporately; how many is difficult to estimate. The decimation of the clergy (both Roman Catholic and Utraquist) during this era would have had negative consequences on the number of parishes (let alone monasteries) with sufficient human resources to sing the daily office.<sup>33</sup>

Here, it is interesting to note that the Council of Basel, at its twenty-first session (9 June 1435 – by which time the Bohemian delegation had returned home), issued a number of decrees concerning the office, to wit: the canonical offices are to be sung in all cathedral and collegiate churches;<sup>34</sup> all those obliged to sing these offices must be present for the entire office and there are to be controls to assure the presence of clerics at the offices and the distribution of stipends take place only after the conclusion of each office and only to those who have been present throughout.<sup>35</sup> Stiff punishments (loss of a day's stipend on the first instance, that of the entire month on the second) are provided for those clerics who wander about, stroll or chat with others during the office.<sup>36</sup> Allowance is made for those who cannot be present at the choral office to recite it reverently elsewhere in an undisturbed place.<sup>37</sup>

Thus, Basel decreed that the choral office, sung by all resident clerics, remained the normative mode for the celebration of the liturgy. Financial punishments were imposed on those who missed the office as well as on those who did not behave in a decorous fashion. Yet the council simply accepted its private recitation without question and attempted only to see that it was recited devoutly. In reality, the private recitation of the office, once allowed as a dispensation only for those who were legitimately prevented from joining

<sup>33</sup> František Šmahel, estimates that during the period between 1400 and 1500 the number of prebendary priests in Prague (i.e. holding titles and, therefore, obliged to sing the office in the parish where they held title) dropped from about 1,200 to 200. Parishes that had a number of priests at the beginning of the fifteenth century had one (at most) at its end. *La révolution Hussite, une anomalie historique* (Paris, 1985) 110.

<sup>34</sup> Council of Basel *Sessio XXI* (9 June 1435) "Quomodo divinum officium in ecclesia celebrandum sit / How the divine office is to be celebrated in Church," in: *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, Tanner ed., 1:489, \*489.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.* *Quo tempore quisque debet esse in choro / The times at which each one should be in choir.* 1:490, \*490.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.* *De his qui tempore divinatorum vagantur per ecclesiam / About those who wander about the church during services.* 1:491, \*491. The punishments get successively heavier until the errant cleric mends his ways. It is an interesting comment on the state of the office that such legislation should have been necessary.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.* *Qualiter horae cononicae extra chorum dicendae sint / How the canonical hours should be recited outside choir.* 1:490, \*490. This decree, rather than making particular provision for the recitation of the office outside choir, assumes it. It addresses itself to the question of how the office should be recited seemingly (i.e. "not in a mumble or between their teeth, nor swallowing nor abbreviating their words nor [engaging in] conversation or laughter ... but reverently and distinctly"). 1:490–1, \*490–1.

the other clerks in the church where they were licensed to serve, seems to have lost its gravity as an exception only permissible under extraordinary circumstances.

None of this would have gone unnoticed in Bohemia either by the Council's legates or by those Utraquists keen of reconciliation with the Roman Church. But in the Bohemian lands, as elsewhere in Europe, it is virtually impossible to draw an accurate picture of the number of churches where the whole cursus of offices was sung daily. Certainly there were a number including the Týn Church in Prague and St. James's in Kutná Hora where at least matins and vespers were sung daily.

We have various witnesses extending from the early days of the Bohemian reform movement to its very end of school boys being required to sing the offices – sometimes daily, sometimes only on Sundays and great feasts, sometimes on some additional weekday. Mention has been made above of Jaroměř in the early years of the reform movement but the witnesses continue throughout the entire period of the Bohemian reformation. Kutná Hora is an interesting example. In 1598 there was a new school order that acknowledges that schoolboys are singing services when they should be in class, but insists that the schoolmaster (a cleric) assures that students do not miss singing.<sup>38</sup> In the same city, twelve years later (1610), a Master Melichar Kolidius wrote to the city council that the boys were so tired from the length of the daily services that they fell asleep [in school] because they were required to sing for one or two hours when they ought to have been in class.<sup>39</sup> The boys continued to sing.

Ongoing differences over boys' responsibilities in the liturgy and in school give us further evidence of the place given to singing the offices. In 1612, university masters wrote to the church authorities in Prague suggesting that students be allowed to leave church immediately after the sermon and that students who paid their own fees be required to attend church only on Sunday.<sup>40</sup> The request appears to have been refused. There also seem to have been places where there was conflict between Utraquists and Lutherans. According to the Lutheran complainants, pupils were required to sing services in church (including vespers, vigils and tenebrae) when they ought to have been in school.<sup>41</sup> There was also grumbling about boys being required to sing in more than one church in Prague and, as late as 1621 the choristers from St. Giles [Sv. Jiljí] in the Old Town were also required to sing on the third Sunday in the month at St. Stephen's-in-the Wall but only after having fulfilled their duties at St. Giles's.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Winter, *Život a učení*, 1:449.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, 450.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 449.

<sup>41</sup> *Loc. cit.*

<sup>42</sup> *Loc. cit.*

In Moravia, we know that there were at least five churches where the office was sung daily in the fifteenth century<sup>43</sup> – a practice which appears to have continued unchanged at least until the time when some of those churches became Lutheran<sup>44</sup> and, perhaps, longer as it appears that the singing of the office by school boys also continued in some parishes that had become Lutheran.<sup>45</sup>

These witnesses to the ongoing sung office throughout the Czech lands need to be set alongside other forms of praying the office. It would certainly have been very common in Prague, with its large number of university students – most of whom were clerks in holy orders holding a benefice in places other than Prague and, thus, not able to fulfil their legal obligations to sing the office in the church to which they were beneficed – to take advantage of the provision to recite the office privately because they were otherwise occupied with their studies.

### Liturgical Books for the Office

Books for the office in the Czech lands during the period of the Bohemian reformation come in all types, shapes and sizes. Some of these are in the form of large antiphonaries similar in size and richness of appearance to the large Utraquist graduals which were written during this same period but there are also much less impressive codices just as there are much less impressive graduals.<sup>46</sup> Among the codices of the larger variety there are at least four extant Latin antiphonaries – some multi-volumed – which were made for use in Utraquist towns at this time. The identity of these codices as Utraquist can be determined only by knowing the churches for which they were made as there is otherwise nothing about their contents that would distinguish them as

<sup>43</sup> The Cathedral of St. Wenceslaus and the Collegiate Church of St. Maurice in Olomouc, the collegiate churches of St. Maurice in Kroměříž and Sts. Peter and Paul in Brno and, possibly the church of St. James in Brno.

<sup>44</sup> I am grateful to my colleague Dr. Vladimír Mañas of the Department of Musicology of the Faculty of Arts in the Masaryk University in Brno for this information.

<sup>45</sup> Winter, *Život a učenR*, 145.

<sup>46</sup> Barry Graham, who is in the process of preparing a catalogue of Bohemian and Moravian antiphonaries from 1420–1620, divides the seventy-one antiphonaries which he is using as follows:

Date	Larger than 25 × 15 cm.	Small: 25 × 15 cm. or less
Fifteenth Century	42	5
1500–1549	3	7
1550–1599	4	2
Seventeenth Century	6	2

Another listing of antiphonaries can be found on the web pages of project LIMUP under the direction of Dr. Jiří Žůrek <http://www.clavmon.cz/limup/> [Last seen on 23 December 2010.]

Utraquist.<sup>47</sup> On the other hand, the National Library in Prague holds a small, roughly made and most unassuming vesperale [**Fig. 1**] from which the folios containing the feast of St. Jan Hus have been removed.<sup>48</sup> Among other antiphonaries of the smaller variety from this period there is a Latin antiphonary containing the quite rare propers for the feast of St. Jan Hus which is now found in the collection of the archiepiscopal library in Esztergom.<sup>49</sup> A late fifteenth century *libellus* containing the mass and office propers for the feast of St. Jan Hus gives important evidence that Utraquists still expected that First Vespers, Matins, Mass and Second Vespers be sung on major feast days.<sup>50</sup>

But, as we have seen in the overview of the general evolution of the office presented at the beginning of this article, there were many ways in which the “obligation” of praying the office had come to be fulfilled. Alongside the public singing of the office, to which these antiphonaries attest, must be added the not insignificant number of breviaries from this period as witnesses to the privatisation of the office.<sup>51</sup> A copy of the Prague breviary printed in Nuremburg in 1492 to which has been added a manuscript supplement containing the feasts of the Transfiguration and St. Jan Hus<sup>52</sup> witnesses to the Utraquist use of the office in its privatised form – i.e. prayed by a single priest while alone.

One wonders, though, whether counting books (particularly antiphonaries) is a very accurate gage of the state of the office during the period of the Bohemian Reformation and if it can give more than a glimpse of what was going on. It is clear from the chart produced from Dr. Barry Graham’s data that the production of antiphonaries (both large and small) plummeted drastically

<sup>47</sup> These include the Church of the Holy Spirit in Hradec Kralové (MSS. Hradec Králové, Muzeum východních Čech, Hr 3 and 4, c. 1470), the Church of St. Bartholomew in Kolin (MSS Prague KNM, XII A 21 and 22 from the 1470s.), the Church of the Assumption in Ústí nad Labem (MSS. Ústí nad Labem, Městské muzeum, ST 1490 and 1491 – last quarter of fifteenth century), likely the Church of St. James in Kutná Hora (MS NK, XXIII A 2, 1471) and the Church of Saints Peter and Paul in Časlav, the latter being dedicated by Bishop Philip of Villa Nova on 13 September 1504. See Barry F.H. Graham, “The Evolution of the Utraquist Mass, 1420–1620,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 92,4 (October, 2006) 560.

<sup>48</sup> Prague, MS NK IV H 12. Part way through the office hymn for the feast of St. Procopius (4 July) (f. 149v) a number of folios have been removed. A single folio has been substituted with the office hymn for the feast of St. Margaret (13 July) (f. 149r) and the original text resumes on the next folio part way through the office of St. Margaret.

<sup>49</sup> MS Esztergom, Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár 1.313. See: David R. Holton, “The Office of Jan Hus: An Unrecorded Antiphonary in the Metropolitan Library of Estergom,” in J. Neil Alexander ed., *Time and Community* (Washington DC, 1990) 137–152.

<sup>50</sup> David R. Holton and Hana Vlhová-Wörner, “A Remarkable Witness to the Feast of St. Jan Hus,” *BRRP VII* (2009) 156–184.

<sup>51</sup> See, for example, the listing in project LIMUP: <http://www.clavmon.cz/limup/dbLimup-Druh.asp>. [Last seen on 23 December 2010.] Each of these codices as well as the large number of extant printed Prague breviaries needs to be examined to determine how many may have been in Utraquist use.

<sup>52</sup> Prague NK adlig. 42 G 28

after end of the fifteenth century. But that does not necessarily tell us that the use of the office diminished reciprocally. According to Dr. Vladislav Mañas, after the ordinary of the mass, the most popular text set to Renaissance polyphony was the Magnificat – presumably to be sung at vespers.

We do not have the liturgical books from many of the churches where we know that this polyphony was being sung but we ought no more to doubt that vespers were being regularly sung then we can doubt that mass was being sung in hundreds of churches throughout the Bohemian lands even though we have preserved textual witnesses (primarily in the form of missals) from only a small fraction of these churches. Similarly, while we have accounts of schools where the boys were required to sing both the Eucharist and the office on either a daily or regular basis, we also lack the liturgical texts that were used (probably by the officiating priest alone) but must trust the accounts that the office was being sung. From the clear decline in the production of noted antiphonaries, it would be fair to conclude not that the office diminished in importance but that the way in which it was prayed had changed.

The significant number of Utraquist graduals which contain noted vespers [and matins] for major festivals give reason to believe that the regular use of the office was not uncommon even though its form (sung, read in common, read privately) may have varied significantly from day to day. At this time it would also not have been uncommon for communities to sing the office with each person using their own breviary just as it was not unknown for some communities to forbid the use of books by any of its members save those who needed them for particular roles of liturgical leadership.<sup>53</sup>

### The Office in Later Utraquism

The more I work with sixteenth and early seventeenth century Utraquist liturgical texts the more I become convinced that it is impossible to speak of a single Utraquist liturgical “use”. Pavel Kolář’s study of the protocols of the Utraquist Consistory between 1562 and 1570<sup>54</sup> has produced a long list of charges brought against members of the Utraquist clergy for alleged liturgical offences. The vast majority of these allegations concern eucharistic practice either during the celebration of the Eucharist itself or else during the exposition of the sacrament on the altar or in processions (usually *Corpus Christi*) for veneration. Of these charges, some might be said to be genuine abuses but many amount to little more than deviations from what was understood by the Consistory to be the liturgical norm.

<sup>53</sup> Guiver, *Company of Voices*, 96–98.

<sup>54</sup> Pavel Kolář, “Utraquist Liturgical Practice in the Later Sixteenth Century,” BRRP 8 (2011) 223–234.

In its dealing with liturgical matters, the standard by which the Consistory judged the cases presented to it was the Prague Use of the Roman Rite which, until the invention of print, would have varied slightly from manuscript to manuscript but retained distinct texts and practices identifiable as the “Prague Use”. This was as true of the office as it was of the Eucharist and all other rites.<sup>55</sup> It was to this Use that the Utraquists repeatedly appealed in their theological debates as the historic justification for their practices. After the invention of print, Utraquists appear to have had no difficulty using the “Roman-printed” versions of the Prague Use supplementing them where their Roman editors had changed the texts so that the printed version no longer reflected historic Utraquist practice<sup>56</sup> or even altering them where contemporary Utraquist practice had come to vary from both the traditional Prague and Roman Uses.<sup>57</sup>

In addition to the long list of charges concerning eucharistic practice, there are a much smaller number of allegations about baptismal practice as well as the storage and use of the holy oils. Among the list of grievances compiled by Dr. Kolář, alleged abuses in the observance of the office rarely seem to have been subject to direct complaint.

When complaints do occur, it is significant that the Consistory repeatedly upholds the use of the Týn Church as normative. There, only two offices were sung daily: one in the morning (lauds) and the second in the late afternoon/evening (vespers). It is never stated by the Consistory in the last quarter of the sixteenth century that the rest of the *cursus* was expected to be prayed by the clergy either in choir, but without music, or alone. Whatever the case, this appears to be a tacit acknowledgement by the Consistory that the mediæval expectation that the entire *cursus* of offices be sung daily and that the legal obligation to do so fell on all the ordained – or, at least on all beneficed clergy – could no longer be maintained. There appears to have been no pressure from what was otherwise a generally conservative Consistory to revive the practice of the obligation of the full *cursus* of offices. Perhaps, given the wide-spread practice of “private” recitation of the office, the Consistory was happy to settle for the ancient two-office day becoming the public norm for Utraquism.

<sup>55</sup> Zsuzsa Czagány, *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae. III/B Praha (Sanctorale, Commune Sanctorum)* (Budapest, 2002) presents tables of the “typical” use of the Prague Use which can be compared to the uses published in other volumes of the CAO-ECE.

<sup>56</sup> Such as the continued used of the antiphon *Gregorius presul* on the First Sunday in Advent. See: David R. Holeton, Hana Vlhová-Wörner and Milena Bilková, “The Trope *Gregorius presul meritis* in Bohemian Tradition: Its Origins, Development, Liturgical Function and Illustration,” *BRRP* 6 (2007) 215–246.

<sup>57</sup> This would include such additions as the necessary rubrics and liturgical texts for communion *sub utraque* at the Eucharist or the communion of the sick or provision for communion being given to neonates at their baptism



## The General Vernacularisation of the Office

New Czech translations of the office began to appear about a century after the first generation of liturgical translations to which the Jestebnice Kancionál and the Vienna Codex ÖNB 4557 bear witness.<sup>58</sup> Notable evidence for this development are two large Czech-language breviaries both held in Brno and both dating from the first half of the sixteenth century. The first, held in the Moravská zemská knihovna,<sup>59</sup> is a single volume and provides all the material that would be needed to pray I Vespers, Lauds, II Vespers and Compline on at least Sundays and on all holy days throughout the liturgical year. The second witness, a breviary in the Moravský zemský archiv [Fig. 2] is in three large volumes which provide similar texts.<sup>60</sup>

It is very difficult to draw a conclusion about the use of the vernacular in the office in the first half of the sixteenth century from these two manuscript witnesses and speculation about some sort of transmission of texts and music “creatively adapted” from the antiphony material found in the JK similar to that which Dr. Žurek has discovered for the Eucharist. I believe that all we can presently say for certain is that there were at least two places and quite possibly more where communities sang or prayed the office together in Czech (In the two Brno texts, the rubrics along with the size of the codices make it clear that the books were intended for use by more than one person).

We await the results of codicological and musicological research on the manuscripts containing texts and music for the office on the lines of Dr. Žurek’s work on eucharistic texts and Eliška Baťová’s important study of the Kolínský Kancionál<sup>61</sup> both of which contest the usual dating of various manuscripts and challenge accepted opinions on the (dis)continuity of liturgical use and the creativity of the Bohemian liturgical tradition.

The second half of the sixteenth century gives us further witnesses to the use of the Czech office. One of these is the two-part volume which I first encountered during preparations for the exhibition on Art and the Bohemian Reformation.<sup>62</sup> Published in 1572, the first volume is a Psalter distributed for

<sup>58</sup> The article by Jiří Žurek cited above calls this into question. While Žurek concerns himself only with texts and music for the Eucharist, it would be surprising if texts for the office did not go through a similar process of what he calls “creative continuity”.

<sup>59</sup> MS Brno, Moravská zemská knihovna 57.

<sup>60</sup> MS Brno, Moravský zemský archiv G 10 sign. 114/1–3. Part I: Advent I–Good Friday; Part II: Easter–Pentecost; followed by seven major festivals (Trinity, Corpus Christi, Nativity SJB, the Assumption, Nativity BVM, Michaelmas, and All Saints) along with four sets of commons for use on other saints’ days when needed; and Part III: the Psalter, thirty canticles and some supplementary texts (litanies, prayers, and several sermons including one by Hus).

<sup>61</sup> Eliška Baťová, *Kolínský Kancionál z roku 1517 a bratrský zpěv na počátku 16. století* (Prague, 2011).

<sup>62</sup> *Žaltář svatého Davida krále, proroka lidu Božího* [The Psalter of St. David the King, Prophet of the People of God]. *Hymny, to jest Písně chval božských* [Hymns, that is Songs for divine praise] (Prague, 1576) in: Kateřina Horníčková and Michal Šroněk eds., *Umění české reformace 1380–1620* [The Art of the Bohemian Reformation 1380–1620] (Prague, 2010) 236.

liturgical use over the week followed by twelve canticles drawn from both the Old and New Testaments also distributed for use over the week. An index which follows appoints proper psalms and canticles for major feasts and holy days as well as for the little hours.<sup>63</sup> The second volume is a hymnal in which hymns are provided for every Sunday and major feast found in the *temporale* and *sanctorale* – including the feast of SS. Jan Hus and Jerome – and a series of *Benedicamus Domino* for feasts throughout the liturgical year including one for the Czech Martyrs [Fig. 3].<sup>64</sup> The hymns, which are generally Czech translations of patristic and mediaeval texts, are each given in two forms the second of which is always in hendecasyllables (Alexandrines). Neither book provides the ordo for the office itself so that one is left to assume that the users of these books had at their disposal another liturgical text which provided the ordo of the rite or, perhaps, either sang the fixed parts of the rite from memory or else used polyphonic settings. Both these books are clearly of Utraquist provenance as witnessed, in part, by the inclusion of the feast of Mistr Jan Hus and Jerome in their *sanctorale*.

Although the question might be raised as to the possible Lutheran provenance of these books<sup>65</sup> this is most unlikely. The offices anticipated in the Psalter and Hymnal would fit into the Lutheran model only with the greatest of difficulty and the extensive hymnody to go with the rich *sanctorale* would have sat ill with Lutheran theological sensibilities.<sup>66</sup>

Except for their use of the vernacular, the offices contained within these books show few signs of liturgical renewal. Admittedly, putting the Divine Office into a language that would have been accessible to all Czechs and making it widely available through the medium of print was certainly a radical undertaking. Beyond that, little concession is made to the lives of the parish clergy let alone the laity. The distribution of the Psalter, for example, follows the model traditionally used in the Prague Rite in which all the psalms are sung/recited over the space of a week. Matins (Morning Prayer) and Vespers (Evening Prayer) bear most of the weight (Pss. 1–108 and Pss. 109–147 respectively) Pss. 148–150 are used daily at Lauds and Pss. 117 and 118 daily at Prime, Terce, Sext, and None. The distribution of the Psalter had long been considered a burden by many of the secular clergy and one can only wonder if, for example, the average parish sang or recited all twenty-five

<sup>63</sup> *Žaltář svatého Davida krále, proroka lidu Božího* (Prague, 1572).

<sup>64</sup> *Hymny, to jest Písň chval božských* (Prague, 1572).

<sup>65</sup> The undoubtedly Lutheran *Agenda Czeská to gest spis o ceremoniích a pořadých církevních* [Czech Agenda, that is, a treatise on ceremonies and of church order], (Prague, 1571) includes the feast of Mistr Jan Hus in its list of lesser holy days (p.65) which ought to be marked with Matins, Mass and Evensong. The book contains an explanation that this feast day, along with those of the Division of the Apostles and the Transfiguration, are included because they are observed throughout the Czech Lands but are to be considered adiaphora (f. A4v).

<sup>66</sup> The Lutheran offices will be discussed below.

psalms assigned to Matins on Sunday morning.<sup>67</sup> The implied model was the cloister not the parish church. By maintaining this distribution of the Psalter, Ultraquist clergy were, in effect, being expected to conform their lives to a monastic ideal and not to one for parochial clergy engaged in normal pastoral duties.<sup>68</sup> Surely, this would not have led to a prayerful use of the Office but either to the psalms being rushed or abbreviated at the whim of the individual priest.<sup>69</sup> In contrast, the contemporary Lutheran office presented a reform of the office which would have made it accessible to the clergy and laity alike.

<sup>67</sup> The “burden” of the psalter may have been somewhat relieved by using the provisions made in a table of psalms (*Zaltář svatého Davida*, n.p. = CLXII b – CLXIV a) to be sung on major holy days and saints’ days. The rubric (*ibid.*, CLXII b) says that these are to be used “according to the Prague rubrics” which, if followed strictly as was common in the late middle ages, would sometimes have reduced the number of psalms sung but, depending on the number of saints’ days or votives observed during a particular week, would have made the ideal of singing through the entire psalter weekly merely a pious fiction. It was this destruction of the weekly cursus of the psalter that was often pointed to as one important reason for a reform of the breviary during the sixteenth century and led Cardinal Quiñones (see next note) to make no provision for any interruption of the weekly cursus by an overgrown *sanctorale* or votive offices.

<sup>68</sup> Other models for the distribution of the Psalter were in use at the time. The breviary commissioned by Clement VII of Cardinal Francesco de Quiñones in 1529 provided each office with three psalms and made no provision for proper psalms thus assuring that the entire Psalter would be recited every week. Critical edition: *The Second Recension of the Quignon Breviary*, J. Wickham Legg ed. 2vv. [Henry Bradshaw Society 35, 42] (London, 1908, 1912) 2:37–43. Wickham Legg argued that the psalms were distributed primarily according to their length (*ibid.* 2:38) although he acknowledged that the psalms sung on Fridays were passion-related; otherwise, he suggested that “the [psalms for] other days of the week do not by their selection show forth any particular Christian mystery or historical event” (*loc. cit.*). Salmon, *L’Office divin*, 179 followed by Taft, *The Liturgy of the Hours*, 311 argue that the psalms were distributed according to their appropriateness to the hour. Thomas Cranmer, who was heavily inspired by Quiñones in his reform of the office for the *Book of Common Prayer*, parted company with him on this point and distributed the Psalter over the space of a month. Psalms were assigned sequentially, ignoring Quiñones’ attention to the appropriateness of the psalm to the hour and day. Cranmer also abandoned the principle of three psalms per office assigning only twenty-six of the sixty portions of the Psalter three psalms. Perhaps the most radical reform of the breviary was that proposed by Cardinal Giuseppe Tomasi di Lampedusa (1649–1713) whose *De Private Ecclesiasticorum Officiorum Breviario extra Chorum* was, perhaps, the logical conclusion of the long evolution from communal to private office. As the title makes clear, the book is for individual recitation; all vestiges of the communal office (antiphons, invitatories, responsories, metrical hymns &c.) were removed. The “Gregorian” distribution of the psalter and canticles was retained and provision was made for proper psalms only on the greatest of feasts so that the weekly cursus of the psalms was assured. No non-biblical readings were admitted and even the collect was replaced by the Lord’s Prayer leaving a daily office of “reformed” simplicity. See: *The Reformed Breviary of Cardinal Tommasi*, J. Wickham Legg ed. [The Church Historical Society LXXX] (London, 1904) 8f.

<sup>69</sup> The decrees from the Council of Basel on the decorous recitation of the office take on clearer meaning in the light of these temptations to rush or abbreviate.

This psalter/hymnal gives us some insight into Utraquist ecclesiastical life during its final decades. If there was a sufficient “market” to warrant a printed text, then regular daily prayer, based on the historic hours of Christian prayer, was assumed to be a part of Utraquist life.<sup>70</sup> This was fundamental to Utraquism’s claim to be in continuity with the historic church of the Czech lands. The use of the vernacular made the office generally available to clergy and laity alike. The availability of a printed text took account of the increased literacy of the age and made possible the inclusion of those who had not memorised the psalter (as had members of religious communities) in a way that the manuscript tradition did not. The hymnal assumes that the offices would be corporate and would include song (unlike the tradition of the private recitation of the breviary). Set alongside how the eucharistic reforms of Utraquism had changed the appearance of the liturgical assembly, the possibility of daily sung offices in which both the clergy and laity alike could participate would have heightened its distinct appearance among the churches of Bohemia and western Europe as a whole. The number of copies of this work still extant would indicate that the combined volumes enjoyed a wide circulation.

There are further witnesses to the office in Utraquism after the publication in 1572 of the Psalter and Hymnal. The scribe of the 1588 Altar Book of Adam of Tábor<sup>71</sup> supplied his users with seven noted Invitatories (*Venite exultemus Domino*) for use according to the liturgical day (ff. 131r–156v), Sunday vespers (ff. 162r–169v; missing folios), and matins (ff. 188r–211v). Interestingly, both vespers and matins are provided with only three psalms, each with an antiphon and each followed by a hymn. No mention is made of the other offices. It would appear that the two-office day of sung morning and evening prayer as practiced at the Týn Church rather than the seven-office day of the printed Psalter/Hymnal was the use of the churches that owned the books to which Adam of Tábor’s copy is but one witness.<sup>72</sup>

A combined gradual-antiphonary dating from the last decade of the sixteenth century gives evidence for sung offices in the small Eastern Bohemian town of Lochenice [Fig. 4].<sup>73</sup> Made for the town’s literary brotherhood (*litterati*), the codex, following its music for the Eucharist (gradual), contains Sunday vespers (ff. 482r–493r), then Sunday matins (ff. 493v–525r) which are in turn followed by Christmas vespers (ff. 526r–532v), Easter matins (ff. 533a–548v), Easter vespers (ff. 549r–553v) then followed by assorted texts

<sup>70</sup> This parallels contemporary Anglicanism in which there was a plethora of office books published for the laity to supplement or as alternatives to the two offices of Matins and Evensong contained in the *Book of Common Prayer*.

<sup>71</sup> MS Prague KNM III F 17.

<sup>72</sup> In his colophon, the scribe Václav Čáslavský, notes that the copy he made for Adam of Tábor is but one of a number of copies he had transcribed. MS Prague, National Museum Library II C 7 f. 1r.

<sup>73</sup> MS Hradec Králove, Muzeum východních Čech [Museum of Eastern Bohemia] HR 42.

for vespers for the Rogation Days, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, and the Feast of Dedication (ff. 554–564r) to which have been added in another hand music for Septuagesima and the Ascension. Thus the parish church of what was a very small town had the possibility of singing vespers and matins in Czech on Sundays as well as on many of the major days of the liturgical year. There is no reason to believe that this did not continue until the parish ceased to be Utraquist in 1623. As the book was made for the singers and not for the clergy, we have no way of telling what other offices the parish priest may have prayed or how he prayed them on weekdays. Whether he observed the two-office day promoted by the Consistory and gathered other members of the town to pray with him or whether he owned a printed Latin breviary which he prayed by himself we will likely never know. What we can say is that one small town, far from Prague, continued to sing the office regularly in addition to the Eucharist which was celebrated at least on Sundays and saints' days (including that of St. Jan Hus) during the last years of Utraquism.

### The Lutheran Office in the Czech Lands

A word should be said about the Lutheran office in the Czech lands because of some of its similarities with Utraquist practice. While we do not usually associate Lutherans with the preservation of the daily office, this reflects more a general lack of knowledge than liturgical reality. Frank Senn outlines no fewer than sixteen orders for daily matins and vespers to be found in various sixteenth century Lutheran *Kirchenordnungen*.<sup>74</sup> While retaining the basic structure of the mediaeval office, fifteen of these *ordines* provide for a general simplification of its contents including a radical reduction of the number of psalms used (usually only two or three at an office).

The Lutheran *Agenda Czeská* of 1571 orders that vespers be sung daily in cities and at least on Saturdays and on the vigils of feasts elsewhere. [Fig. 5] The office is sung in a simpler form on weekdays when it begins with the *Veni sancte Spiritus* (in Czech) followed by two or three psalms. A chapter from the New Testament is then read after which the Magnificat is sung followed by a Collect and the *Benedicamus*.<sup>75</sup> The instructions for the Sunday and festal offices provide for the use of antiphons, responsories and hymns as well as the use of Latin motets and versicles before the Collect.<sup>76</sup> The change of a church's allegiance from Utraquist to Lutheran appears not to have affected the obligation of the boys to continue to sing at the Eucharist and vespers as

<sup>74</sup> Frank C. Senn, *Christian Liturgy. Catholic and Evangelical*. (Minneapolis, 1997) 338–341. The edited texts can be found in Emil Sehling *et al.* edd, *Die evangelischen Kirchenordnungen des XVI. Jahrhunderts* 24 vv. (Leipzig, 1902 -).

<sup>75</sup> *Agenda Czeská*, 1.

<sup>76</sup> *Ibid.*, 2

well as at other services.<sup>77</sup> Thus, superficially at least, the change from one confession to another would not have changed the fact that the office continued to be sung in the local (now) Lutheran parish just as it had been when the parish was Utraquist. Beyond the superficial, however, the changes would have been significant as Utraquists continued to use liturgical texts whose “catholic” theology – not least on saints’ days – would have been abhorrent to most Lutherans. The immediate period of transition could have been quite chaotic as pastors ordered choir masters to expunge certain antiphons, versicles, and hymns for theological “correctness” but, that done, liturgical life appears to have gone on little changed.

### Conclusion

Unlike frequent communion, the chalice, and infant communion which drove the sacramental and liturgical reform movement in Bohemia – all of which could be rooted in “the Law of God” and claimed to be matters bearing on salvation – no such touchstone could be claimed in any move to reform the office. There had never been a time when Bohemia had known in its tradition a pattern of common prayer in the morning [at noon] and in the evening. Thus, it should not be surprising that daily prayer did not become a major issue in Utraquism. What Utraquism did produce was an office that was half-reformed. The availability of the office in the vernacular (and in print) made it easily accessible to those communities that chose to use it. The repeated insistence of the Consistory that the morning and evening offices as celebrated in the Týn Church be normative (effectively merging matins with lauds and vespers with compline as in the Anglican *Book of Common Prayer*) did introduce the primitive pattern of prayer twice daily.

What is of interest is that what would have ultimately been the cheapest and most accessible form of the office available during the Utraquist period – the printed Psalter and Hymnal – maintained the full cursus of seven offices. Even if one were to use the Psalter for a morning and evening office alone, it was these two offices that bore almost the entire weight of the Psalter. The late manuscript witnesses we have to the Utraquist office seem to have conformed to the two-office day unlike the witnesses from earlier in the sixteenth century. If parishes used the printed texts but in a two-office form and with a greatly reduced Psalter, we have no evidence of the Consistory receiving any complaints about this as an abuse or deviation for which a parish priest needed correction. Utraquism, for reasons either pastoral or practical, seems to have been willing to relax its insistence on the faithful observance of the Prague Use and, at least tacitly, allowed that the Use could change in some instances.

<sup>77</sup> Such, for example, was the case in Bydžov see: Winter, *Život a učení*, 1:145.

This article styles itself as an overview. Much more research is needed before anything can be said definitively about the office in Utraquism. There is enough evidence to suggest that the office, along with the Eucharist, continued to enjoy an important place in the ongoing liturgical life of Utraquism. I believe that we need to refine the tools we use to assess where and how the office was prayed. Counting antiphonaries gets at only part of the question. Having tried to set the evolution of the office in a much larger context, we must understand the decline in the production of antiphonaries as a symptom of a change in how the office was prayed rather than as an indicator that it ceased to be prayed.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Some years ago, Barry Graham observed that: "From the relative paucity of extant sources for the office, we can judge that the chief and fundamental component of the Utraquist liturgy was the mass, while the daily office receded in importance." (Graham, "The Evolution of the Utraquist Mass ...," 560.) This remark was based on the author's tireless search for antiphonaries and should be re-examined in the larger context of the evolution of the office which I have attempted to trace here.



Fig. 1  
Opening folio of Holy Saturday Vespers.  
Antiphonary (Vesperale), MS Prague,  
NK IV H 12, f. 105r.

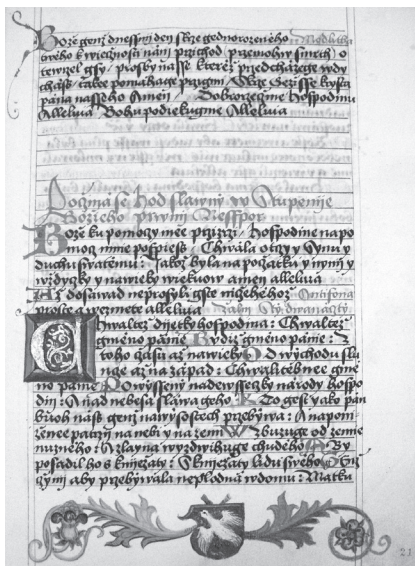


Fig. 2  
Opening folio of First Vespers of Easter.  
MS Brno, Moravský zemský archiv G 10  
sign. 114/2, f. 21r.



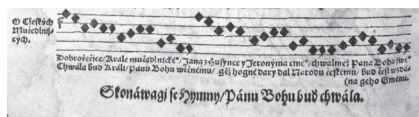


Fig. 3

*Benedicamus Domino* for the feast of the Czech Martyrs [Jan Hus and Jerome] Hymny, to jest Písňě chval božských (Prague, 1572) n.p. [CXLIIIV]

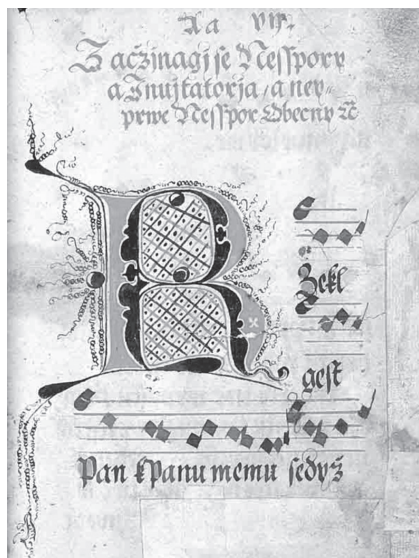


Fig. 4

Lochenice Gradual/Antiphony.  
Opening folio of first Vespers for Sundays.  
MS Hradec Králove, Muzeum východních  
Čech [Museum of Eastern Bohemia]  
HR 42, f.482r.

2

má / vsak se miše při druhém Artykuli o Spovědi a roz-  
břěšování / oznamij.  
Ohledalliv pať velský počet Communitentow  
byti / miše gini mujsio shradu gnenowane Kapitoly  
přičiští coeionem praparatoria: kterať se také w do-  
čeném Artykuli druhby nacházy.

**Vespory Nedělní a Svá-  
teční w Městech.**

Upravě Aněž zapřívá:  
Pane ku pomoci mé pohleď.  
Židocy.

Pane Bože všemohoucí rač přispěti ku po-  
moci / etc.

Poměvadi pak celý Vespory Celký w gityh a do-  
bry poradě vveden gsa w vazyku našem přirozením  
obvlastně se tistne y miše takový Vespory w dočeném  
poadětu zřstaven a zachovan byti / leoby w Bráslav-  
ských Městech: Bocy Židcovstina mnoho gest / pro zachó-  
vání w Církvě vazyka Latinského Správcové dus  
chovní neb školní na prostém Věstěru Církvě ob-  
vřinanci nechtějíce Antiphony Responsoria y Hymny  
y Latinské zpívati cheti / tēm se dodauffi / aby mezi  
Židany Antiphony / a po židalských Responsoria y Hy-  
mny zpívali / vsak o kerygowaný a Křesťiansky. Po-  
tom zpívá se Antiphona: a Magnificat, po Magnificat  
včiniž Aněž kázání / po kázání zpívá se versiculus a Col-  
lecta. Vaposledy Židocy zpívavají Benedicamus.

**Vespory**

Fig. 5

Opening of Vespers for Sundays  
and Holy Days.

Lutheran *Agenda Czeska* of 1571 p.2.