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***Agnus* Pairing and Disappearing:
A contribution to the late chant tradition in Bohemia**

Hana Vlhová-Wörner

I.

Prolonged continuation of the chant tradition attracted recently a new interest in the medieval scholarship, with publications addressing a number of important topics, such as liturgical modifications, rhythmical interpretation of 'plainchant' melodies, or a different compositional approach during the time that has been primarily devoted to the polyphonic music.ⁱ Late chant repertory has been particularly associated with the fifteenth- and sixteenth century music tradition in Bohemia, where the religious motivated Hussite wars (1419–1434) ended in the constitution of the first religious fraction widely independent from Rome. Bohemia transformed already in the second half of the fifteenth century to a unique music-liturgical landscape, marked by various interests in the repertory (chant – archaic polyphony – fifteenth-century polyphony – strophic spiritual song) and the language used in the liturgy (Latin – vernacular – Latin and vernacular). Despite the distinctive fragmented developments, monophonic chant remained in Bohemia present in the liturgy of both main religious fractions – the church *sub una* (which remained subordinated to Rome) and the genuine Bohemian church of Utraquists (practicing the communion of both Body and Blood – *sub utraque specie*), not only as a music idiom truthfully preserved and occasionally adjusted to new esthetic criteria and liturgical environment, but as a subject of prudent modifications and numerous additions.ⁱⁱ

Writings on Utraquist chant in Bohemia, first of them dating to as early as to 1920s,ⁱⁱⁱ have already recognized a number of characteristic repertory changes introduced to the chant (and partly also polyphonic repertory) by the end of the fifteenth century, such as the performance of abbreviated *Creed* chants, resulting from the distance of the Utraquist church from its final clause (*et unam sanctam*), or the introduction of short, three-fold tropes to the *Kyrie eleison*.^{iv} From all characteristic features, the sudden disappearance of *Agnus Dei* from collections of the Mass Ordinary chants around 1500 has always belonged to the most puzzling ones and became in the last years a subject of a renewed discussion that involved music historians, liturgists and art historians.^v

The circumstances of this peculiar development are far from clear. Many representative Utraquist chant books, such as the already mentioned *Franus Kancionál* from 1505 or its closely related *Graduál-Kancionál* of Martin Baccalarius of Vyskytná from 1512^{vi} and the beautifully decorated late-fifteenth century *Graduál-Kancionál* from Kutná Hora [Kuttenberg]^{vii} do, indeed, finish their ordinary chants collections with the *Sanctus* section. All three manuscripts have been traditionally in the main focus in the study on the late Utraquist repertory, be it monophonic or polyphonic,^{viii} which explains why generations of scholars accepted the 'missing *Agnus Dei*' phenomenon as a general characteristic of all (Latin) Utraquist chant books. Only the recent systematic research of the fifteenth- and sixteenth- century Latin and vernacular chant books, which for the first time included in its focus also smaller (local) manuscript libraries in Bohemia, brought a serious crack into this smooth picture, identifying dozens of late chant books that, on the contrary, include at least a modest collection of *Agnus Dei* melodies.^{ix}

Such a contradictory finding has certainly rather liturgical than musical implication, suggesting that there was no revised or even 'reformed'^x liturgical practice in Bohemia that would be respected by all Utraquist churches. Trying to explain the differing profile of the Utraquist chant books, scholars involved into the recent discussion looked for specific liturgical practice and influences from outside Utraquist context. Currently the most popular explanation is that the frequent *Agnus Dei* disappearance from music manuscripts must be put into a broader sixteenth-century development, which was generally marked by the abbreviation of the second half of the Mass liturgy. Not only *Agnus Dei* chants, but also other liturgical chants – such as *Sanctus*, offertory and communion – gradually disappear, making possibly space for other repertory genera: spiritual songs and polyphonic pieces.^{xi} The simplification of the music repertory can be even understood as the influence of the establishing Lutheran church. But, on the other hand, other liturgical sources indicate that *Sanctus* and *Agnus* should both still remain part of the Mass liturgy, but only in the form of the silent recitation that was reserved to the priest.^{xii} It is not excluded that the 'reduced' repertory reflected the ceremony of the morning Mass, for which the Literary Brotherhoods – the owners of many Utraquist chant books – were responsible.^{xiii}

All these recent speculations put in shadow the once preferred explanation offered by Dobroslav Orel, who understood the Utraquist liturgy as a static protocol closely related to the traditional Roman liturgy and looked for a more practical reason

to explain the missing *Agnus Dei* repertory: according to him, *Agnus Dei* chants were despite their omission in the manuscripts performed during the liturgy, whereby their melodies were simply borrowed from the collection of preceding *Sanctus* chants.^{xiv}

The discussions focused so far primarily on the evaluation of Bohemian sources from the last decades of the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. In this contribution, I would like to follow another path and describe the whole phenomenon as a final stage of a much longer process that started well before the outbreak of the Hussite wars and establishment of the Utraquist church, namely in the late fourteenth century. I will demonstrate that the process included not only new arrangements within the Mass Ordinary collections, but also new compositions, musical elaborations and, perhaps, also silent adoption of a new genre in order to enrich and later to replace the traditional liturgical form.

II.

Late-medieval Bohemian graduals provide enough evidence to support the 'economic' explanation proposed already by Orel. Changes in the organization of the mass ordinary chants in Bohemian manuscripts towards the end of the fourteenth century nourish the idea that *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* chants became in addition to the 'ordinary' (unchangeable) character of their core texts closely connected also by their melodies.^{xv} While ordinary chants were in older collections typically arranged in groups (*Kyrie – Gloria – Sanctus – Agnus*),^{xvi} with occasional insertions of *Gloria* incipits that should be attached to one particular *Kyrie* melody,^{xvii} manuscripts from *ca* 1400 document another arrangement, namely a formation of larger repertory sections with pairs (*Kyrie – Gloria* and *Sanctus – Agnus Dei*) that are musically either thoroughly identical or largely similar. Comparable arrangements of some Mass Ordinary chants can be observed since the twelfth century elsewhere, yet never in such degree as in fifteenth- and sixteenth- century Bohemian manuscripts.^{xviii} The consistency, with which some Bohemian compilers undertook their plan to build pure 'semi-cyclic' series (series with *Kyrie-Gloria* and *Sanctus-Agnus* pairs) through elaborations, adjustments, or even new compositions, is remarkable. Late collections of ordinary chants included in manuscripts often leave only little space for musically divergent pairs. The gradual from the Central-Bohemian city Kouřim from 1470 (PrN XIV A 1), representing the *sub una* liturgical practice, can be here introduced as a typical example.^{xix} Its collection of

ordinary chants, included as usual at the beginning of the manuscript (ff. 2r–24r), contains a fairly large series of twenty *Sanctus–Agnus Dei* pairs, of which only four cannot be safely labeled as 'fully' or at least 'largely' identical; but even these four pairs in question are connected at least by the same (D or F) mode (Music Example 1, No. **1**, **17**, **18** and **19**). Several approaches can be recognized behind the musical unification of *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* chants. Evidently, the favored technique was to borrow an established *Sanctus* melody for a 'new' *Agnus Dei* chant: several pairs in the series, as for example No. **2**, **4**, **5**, **7**, **8** etc., were created through this simple adaptation.^{xx} Possible, though less often applied, was also the opposite approach, when the *Sanctus* melody was borrowed from an established *Agnus Dei* chant. This can be observed in the pair No. **15**, where the *Sanctus* THANNABAUR 101,^{xxi} documented since the fourteenth century almost exclusively in Bohemian manuscripts, quite clearly quotes the widely distributed early *Agnus Dei* melody SCHILDBACH 114 (Vat. IX). The genuine late-medieval technique, however, observed in a number of additions to the older repertory of the Mass Ordinary Chants, was to compose a new, musically 'identical' or 'largely identical', couple: this is, for-example, the case of the pair No. **11**, where both chants *Sanctus* (THANNABAUR 39) and *Agnus Dei* (SCHILDBACH 56) are documented in the 'East' (= Bohemian) manuscripts exclusively.

The idea of melodic unity between *Agnus Dei* and *Sanctus*, recognizable in a number of Bohemian manuscripts already in the late fourteenth century – that is, well before the break during and after the Hussite wars – logically provided the possibility to apply one melodic formula to both *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* chants. Since they both observe a three-fold form and are built on the same principle of repetition, it was certainly not difficult for singers to create the required sister chant. Orel was even able to find valuable evidence in the graduale from Slavětín (a small city north of Prague) from the beginning of the sixteenth century, where the scribe added the text of the *Agnus Dei* chant above the notated *Sanctus*, certainly as a simple hint for the performers.^{xxii}

It remains the exclusive domain of the late Bohemian chant repertory that the process of pairing affected not only melodies themselves, but also tropes to the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*. The recent commented edition of the mass ordinary tropes from Bohemian manuscripts identified several instances of elaborations, which aimed to unify musically the *Agnus Dei* trope with the trope to the *Sanctus* prescribed for the

same liturgical occasion in the manuscript. Again, there is no indication that these elaborations were connected with some repertory 'revision' representing a monastic / secular community in the pre-Hussite period, or *sub una* / Utraquist church in the fifteenth century and beyond. As they can be found across a wide spectrum of manuscripts and in collections of different profile, they must be interpreted differently, namely as an expression of the idea that both chants can or even perhaps should appear as members of one larger complex – a concept that is otherwise associated primarily with the fifteenth-century polyphonic tradition. ^{xxiii}

Among several manuscripts from the pre-Hussite period, the Bohemian gradual of unknown origins (possibly Augustinian?) from *ca* 1400 displays the highest degree of such reorganization, connected with several elaborations of *Agnus Dei* tropes melodies (see **Tab. 1** below):

Tab. 1:
Tropes to the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* in Gradual PrM XIII E 8, Bohemia (ca 1400)

| No. | Folio | | Trope Incipit | Rubric |
|-----|-----------|----|---|--|
| 1. | 119v-120r | Sa | Deus pater iudex | <i>In summis festivitibus</i> |
| 2. | 120r-120v | Ag | Danielis propheta | |
| 3. | 120v | Sa | Deus rerum principium | <i>Item summum</i> |
| 4. | 120v-121r | Ag | Reparator vite | |
| 5. | 121r-121v | Sa | Genitor summi filii | |
| 6. | 121v | Ag | Qui de celis descendisti | |
| 7. | 122r | Sa | O quam dulciter voces | <i>Sequens Sanctus canitur in festo Omnium sanctorum</i> |
| 8. | 122r-122v | Ag | Rex eterne glorie | |
| 9. | 122v-123v | Sa | Divinum misterium | <i>De Corpore Christi</i> |
| 10. | 123v | Ag | Fons indeficiens pietatis | |
| 11. | 123v-124r | Sa | Constat in altari | <i>Item aliud de Corpore Christi (...)</i> |
| 12. | 124r | Ag | (without tropes) | |
| 13. | 124r | Sa | Flos candens oritur | <i>Hoc Sanctus canitur in Nativitate beate virginis</i> |
| 14. | 124r-124v | Ag | O flos regalis | |
| 15. | 124v-125r | Sa | Genitor ingenitus | <i>In summis festis sive in maioribus</i> |
| 16. | 125r | Sa | Deus rerum principium (bis) ^{xxiv} | <i>De martiribus in festis maioribus, quando celebrantur</i> |
| 17. | 129r-129v | Sa | Angeli et archangeli | <i>Item hoc canitur, quando placet</i> |
| 18. | 129v-130r | Sa | Salve, mater pia | <i>Istud Sanctus canitur in fetivitibus beate virginis</i> |

For its most part, the Mass Ordinary chants are in the collection systematically arranged in pairs, with a section containing a series of *Kyrie–Gloria* pairs (not shown in the table) and another section with *Agnus Dei – Sanctus* pairs.^{xxv} Chants with tropes are here in accordance with the common practice prescribed for the most important feast of the liturgical year (*In summis festivitatis, De Corpore Christi* etc.) and placed mostly in the first half of the series. The set of ordinary chants still continues in the manuscript after *Sanctus Salve, mater pia* (**Tab. 1, No. 30**) with non-troped *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* chants, the last of them in a simple polyphonic setting.^{xxvi} With a single exception of tropes for the feast of All Saints (*Sanctus O quam dulciter voces – Agnus Rex eternum glorie*, **Tab. 1, No. 7 and 8**), all trope pairs are linked either by the same mode, the same music incipits, or they share the same or widely similar melody, even if the correspondence required some modifications or a completely new (musical) setting.

The latter is clearly the case of the trope *Agnus Fons indeficiens pietatis* (see **Music Example 2**). Within the trope's tradition that started *ca* in 1100 in the West and continued since the thirteenth century also in the East of the Rhine, it was transmitted in two versions, both of them, however, sharing the same mode (F or, in most cases, its transposition in G) and the overall melodic contour: characteristic is the open cadence on a/h at the end of each strophe, which prepares a continuous transition to the final supplication *miserere nobis*.^{xxvii} Distinctive feature of the Eastern tradition is ornamental embellishment on the opening phrase (*Fons*) and the supplementary repetition of the closing supplication *miserere (nobis)* that can be understood as the extended final line of each stanza.^{xxviii} The 'Western' version is on the contrary characterized by a more narrative melody proceeding in a syllabic movement with occasional insertions of short embellishments; this is also the version, provided with additional melismas, that reached Bohemia latest in the mid-thirteenth century. It is included, together with other Western ordinary tropes, in the famous collection of the Mass Ordinary tropes from the end of the twelfth century, in the so-called St Vitus' troper purchased in 1234 for the Prague Cathedral chapter, and was in the 1360s again copied into the representative manuscript of the Mass Ordinary chants procured by the Prague Archbishop Arnestus of Pardubice for the St Vitus' canons.^{xxix} The gradual PrM XIII E 8 constitutes the only witness that this trope found its way from the St Vitus's

Cathedral to the neighboring churches: the text form avoids the supplementary repetition *miserere nobis*, matching thus the trope's Western design: this detail alone excludes the possibility that the trope was received from the neighboring South-German territory that otherwise supplied the Prague Diocesan churches with new repertory. The trope melody in the gradual PrM XIII E 8 is, however, clearly different from both – East and West – tradition, presenting an isolated departure from otherwise relatively constant transmission. It was not newly composed, but borrowed together with its ordinary chant melody from the *Sanctus Divinum mysterium*, which is here together with the *Agnus Dei Fons indeficiens* prescribed for the Corpus Christi feast.

Without knowledge of the parallel development in the repertory of the (non-trope) Mass Ordinary chants described above, it would be very difficult to explain the decision to exchange a well-established melody for a new one. In the broader context, however, the reason behind this sudden departure from the tradition is quite clear: the intention was to unify both tropes – *Sanctus Divinum mysterium* and *Agnus Dei Fons indeficiens* – by their melodies, in order to create a pair of two chants prescribed for the same important feast of the church year that have otherwise nothing in common: while the trope *Divinum mysterium* narrates about the Consecration of Bread and Wine and was typically intended with the Corpus Christi feast and the Maundy Thursday in Bohemian manuscripts, the text of the trope *Fons indeficiens*, as many representatives of this genre, is largely neutral.^{xxx}

Another pair of tropes, prescribed in the collection for the feast of the Nativity of the Holy Virgin – *Sanctus Flos candens oritur* and *Agnus O flos regalis virgule* (**Tab. 1, Nos. 13 and 14**) – displays a different approach. *Flos candens oritur* belonged in the fourteenth century to the established Marian trope repertory on the Central-European territory, as it can be found in a number of the fourteenth-century South-German and Bohemian manuscripts.^{xxxii} The trope *O flos regalis virgule*, on the contrary, survived in two manuscripts only. Apart from the Bohemian gradual PrM XIII E 8, it is included also in the Codex Engelberg from the late fourteenth century, where it immediately follows, similarly to the Bohemian gradual, the trope *Sanctus Flos candens oritur* (f. 108v–109r).^{xxxiii} There are several reasons to believe that these two chants were considered also in the Codex Engelberg a pair: they are connected by the characteristic word *flos* in their opening text lines; both are composed in the F mode and, most importantly, their

melodies display a similar use of ornamentation, introducing a long melisma at the beginning and end of each stanza (see **Music Example 3**).^{xxxiii} All these elements are fully sufficient to create a link between both chants and it is less important that the opening ornamental melisma of *O flos regalis virgule* is here clearly shorter in comparison with the large melodic arc covering the full *ambitus* of the authentic and plagal F-Mode at the beginning of the trope *Flos candens oritur*. Yet, the relationship between both chants is expressed much stronger in the Bohemian gradual, where both tropes appear literally as musical twins: not only the opening melisma, but the melodies of their stanzas are fully identical. The unification of both chants went as far as to modify also the selection of mass ordinary melody in the Bohemian gradual. The trope *Flos candens oritur* is here uniquely attached to the melody No. 106 in the THANNABAUR catalogue^{xxxiv} (also the same melody that is found attached to the *Sanctus Divinum mysterium*) and its musical equivalent, the melody No. 124 in the SCHILDBACH catalogue^{xxxv} appears with the trope *O flos regalis virgule*.

It is possible to explain only in this context, why a small melodic modification affected also the widely known trope *Danielis propheta* (**Musical Example 4**), documented since the thirteenth in numerous manuscripts in the South-German tradition and later in the Central Europe.^{xxxvi} Together with the prime Bohemian trope to *Sanctus Deus pater, iudex iusticie*, it opens the series of the mass ordinary tropes in the gradual PrM XIII E 8, where it is prescribed for the main feasts of the church year (**Tab. 1, Nos. 1 and 2**). While the melody of the trope *Danielis propheta* starts with a fifth-up jump (d–a) in German manuscripts, it is filled in the Bohemian gradual with an additional third (f). Even if the modification is rather small in this case, the resulting melody gesture is very similar and it can be surely interpreted as an attempt to adjust the beginning of the trope to the preceding *Sanctus Deus pater, iudex iusticie* in order to create a musical affinity between both chants.

All these examples demonstrating a growing notion of close melodic similarity between *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* only feed Orel's proposed *ad hoc* performance of unwritten *Agnus Dei* chants. They brought, however, an important correction as for the definition of the period, in which this important rearrangement within the Mass Ordinary repertory started: not in the last decades of the fifteenth century, but already before the outbreak of the Hussite wars. Advanced organization of the fifteenth century Mass ordinary chant collections may present in this context a progressed stage of a

much longer process, with a group of manuscripts containing truthfully the records of all matching pairs and another group of manuscripts, where scribes opted to leave the *Agnus Dei* repertory completely out. Because Utraquist churches did not observe a unified repertory in the late fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries, there still remained the possibility to preserve in the chant books a reasonable repertory of *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei*, melodically similar or different.

III.

The most recent study of the mass ordinary chants and its tropes in Bohemia has revealed, however, that there is another important movement within the late medieval Mass Ordinary repertory so far not recognized: the sudden drastic reduction followed by a later disappearance of tropes to the *Agnus Dei* observed already at the turn of the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries. This development is quite surprising, not least because the tropes to *Sanctus* remained, on the contrary, until the late Middle Ages an important part of the liturgical repertory and, perhaps more than any other genre of the liturgical poetry, a subject of many transformations and compositional experiments.

Generally, tropes to the *Agnus Dei* are smaller in number in Bohemian manuscripts, compared with tropes to *Sanctus*; this could be observed also in the gradual PrM XIII E 8 mentioned above that includes, in addition to six *Sanctus – Agnus Dei* pairs, four more tropes to the *Sanctus* at the end of the series (**Tab. 1, No. 15–18**) and the trope *Sanctus Constat in altari* is linked to an untrope *Agnus Dei* (**No. 11–12**). As can be seen in the **Tab. 2** below, also the most representative fourteenth-century Bohemian manuscript with ordinary chants, the so-called *Ordinarium*^{xxxvii} from the famous collection of the Prague archbishop Arnestus of Pardubice, written in 1360s displays a similar ratio: the manuscript includes no less than eighteen tropes to the *Sanctus* (one of the highest number in the European context), but only eleven tropes to the *Agnus Dei*.

Tab. 2:**Tropes to the *Sanctus* and the *Agnus Dei* in Bohemian collection: a statistics**

| Manuscript | Tropes to <i>Sanctus</i> | Tropes to <i>Agnus Dei</i> |
|--|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Ordinarium Arnesti de Pardubice, PrA P IX (ca 1360s) | 18 | 11 |
| Prague University (?) Collection, V H 11, (ca 1380s) | 8 | 0 |
| Gradual from Bohemia (OSA?), PrM XIII E 8 (ca 1400) | 11 | 7 |
| Gradual from the All Saints Church, Mü 23286 (ca 1400) | 7 | 1 |
| Collection from Vyšší Brod [Hohenfurth], VB 24 (1410) | 9 | 1 |
| Vyšehrad Collection, PrSa 376 (s. 15 ²) | 7 | 1 (+1) |
| Gradual from Kouřim, PrN XIV A 1 (ca 1470) | 4 | 1 |

Yet, some manuscripts from the same period typically include a series of tropes to the *Sanctus*, still with occasional new additions or elaborations, but, strangely, a very limited number of tropes to the *Agnus Dei*. Firstly, two representative sources with the Prague repertory from the beginning of the fifteenth century, the gradual from the All Saints Church at the Prague Castle (Mü 23286) and the so-called Vyšebrod collection from 1410 (VB 42), include both a middle-size collection of tropes to the *Sanctus* (seven and nine, respectively), but only one single trope to the *Agnus Dei*. Moreover, the trope in question, *Agnus Miserere deus vere*, appears only in the late fourteenth century Central-European region^{xxxviii} as a rare representative of an *Agnus Dei* prosula having stylistically only little in common with the fourteenth-century repertory of the *Agnus Dei* tropes. Moreover, the university collection PrN V H 11, famous for its focus on the late medieval liturgical poetry, contains eight tropes to the *Sanctus* but omits tropes to the *Agnus Dei* completely.^{xxxix} Several manuscripts from the second half of the fifteenth century have a similar profile, whereby all of them represent either the liturgy of the *sub una* church or come from monastic communities. The Kouřim gradual from 1470, which was introduced at the beginning of this paper as a manuscript with an elaborated series of musical *Sanctus-Agnus* pairs, displays the same tendency, with four tropes to the *Sanctus* and, again, only one single prosula to the *Agnus Dei* (*Miserere deus vere*).

It does not mean, however, that tropes to the *Agnus Dei* transmitted in the fourteenth century in Bohemia disappeared without any trace from the repertory.

Some of them were preserved in the ordinary tropes collections, transformed – usually without any significant changes in their texts or melodies – into the tropes to the *Sanctus* chants (see **Tab. 3** below).^{xi} It is evident that the repertory of the *Sanctus* tropes attracted new additions borrowed from its sister chants transmitted in Bohemia or adjacent regions already in the late fourteenth century: the gradual from the All Saint Church at the Prague Castle (Mü 23286), for example, includes in its repertory the trope *Eructavit cor meum* (not known from other Bohemian manuscripts), documented otherwise as a trope to the *Agnus Dei* in manuscripts from Spain, North France and South Germany (from where it was most probably received).^{xli} It was perhaps the character of its text consisting of quotations borrowed from other liturgical chants, which allowed this haphazard exchange within the liturgical repertory. A different case presents, however, the transfer of the trope *O Maria, tu cum agno* from the family of *Agnus Dei* tropes to the repertory of *Sanctus*. The text of the opening stanza clearly correlates with the text of its original Mass Ordinary chant (*cum agno – Agnus Dei*), but this link is broken after the same text was adapted for the *Sanctus* addition.

Tab. 3
***Agnus Dei* tropes with the 'dual function' in late medieval Bohemian tradition**

| Incipit | Liturgical function | |
|---|---------------------|----------------------|
| | Outside Bohemia | In Bohemia |
| Ave, dulce tu frumentum (RTB, SaTr 3) | none | AgTr → SaTr |
| Constat in altari (RTB, SaTr 7) | AgTr | AgTr → SaTr |
| Eructavit cor meum (RTB, SaTr 18) | AgTr → | SaTr |
| O Maria, tu cum agno (RTB, SaTr 30) | AgTr → | SaTr |
| Qui de celis descendisti (RTB, AgTr 11) | AgTr | AgTr → SaTr |
| Rector celi immortalis (RTB, SaTr 41) | SaTr | AgTr and SaTr |

As already explained elsewhere, the smooth functional exchange between *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* tropes, exceptionally applied for the enrichment of the *Agnus Dei* tropes repertory (that is, absorbing chants from the *Sanctus* tropes family), was possible only after the standard three-fold strophic form of *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* tropes was established in the fourteenth century Central-European territory and the tropes became independent strophic chants, closely related to the late medieval Latin

cantio.^{xlii} The bond between the trope and its ordinary chant was often free in the late tradition. This demonstrates also the rubric introducing *Rector celi immortalis* in the so-called Vyšehrad collection from the second half of the fifteenth century, which informs us that the piece can be used both as the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* trope (f. 125v: *Trophus super Sanctus and Agnus*). Only two opening *Sanctus* invocations are attached to the inscription (THANNABAUR 158, see No. 2 in the series of *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* chants in the Kouřim gradual PrN XIV A 1 from 1470) and it is left to the performers to apply the corresponding melody of *Agnus Dei*: a situation strikingly similar to the popular scenario explaining the missing *Agnus Dei* chants in some late Bohemian manuscripts!

Taking all observations together, we gain a picture of a surprisingly dynamic movement within the Mass Ordinary chants in the late Bohemian tradition: Firstly, the formation of *Agnus Dei* melodies by a simple adaptation of extant *Sanctus* melodies (and, less commonly, vice versa) related to the new organization of the Mass Ordinary chants according to their melodic affinity, conducted primarily in the late chant books of the *sub una* church; secondly, moving the repertory of the *Agnus Dei* tropes to the collection of preceding *Sanctus* chants; and, thirdly, the disappearance of *Agnus Dei* repertory from some Utraquist chant books.^{xliiii} At first sight, all these changes could be understood as independent repertory developments within two main religious fractions after the collapse of the vibrant chant tradition during the Hussite wars. Yet, as explained above, some of these modifications have much deeper roots and can be observed already at the end of the fourteenth century. There are two principal aspects that connect some shifts and rearrangements of the *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* repertory: the continuous emphasis on the liturgical poetry as an important part of the Mass Ordinary, harmonizing with the overall profile of the late medieval plainchant in Bohemia, and, at the same time, the decreasing focus on the *Agnus Dei* repertory, with melodies becoming largely dependent on the *Sanctus* chants and tropes migrating from the concluding section of the Mass ceremony before the communion to the central Mass prayer (preface). Reviewing the liturgical context and considering the crucial importance of the act of communion, which was given in Bohemia during the first reformation movement – and which, later, indeed became one of the main symbols of the Utraquist church –, it is evident that we must look for another explanation that would go beyond a spontaneous repertory development.

It seems that it was rather a practical decision rather than a simple 'interest' or 'disinterest' in the *Agnus Dei* chants as such that stood behind all these decisions: actions performed to make space for another, more attractive genre that would accompany and later replace the traditional liturgical chant, and this much earlier than at the end of the fifteenth century where this situation was already reflected in the repertory of the representative chant books.

It is not difficult to find the likely candidates

strophic Latin songs (*cantiones*), the leading poetic genre in the fifteenth century monophonic tradition, could easily replace the tropes to *Agnus Dei* and later perhaps the *Agnus Dei* chants as such [but I have no evidence to this and we can start to speculate when was the starting point].

It is not little what happens in the Ordinary chant repertory in the 15th century Bohemia. The continuously growing diversity on one hand and the active rethinking of the liturgical repertory on the other - of which the journey of *Agnus* tropes constitute only one sub-chapter – reflect clearly the dynamic liturgical changes in Bohemia that started already before the outbreak of the Hussite movement around 1420. The most interesting point is the importance of the monophonic tradition that still keeps its monopoly in Bohemia, somewhat in shadow of the polyphonic tradition in the surrounding regions (West-South).

In a broader West-European context, Bohemian (Latin) Utraquist repertory constitutes one of the last chapters in the long tradition of the monophonic chant, still actively elaborated, enlarged and exposed to the growing presence of the polyphonic repertory.^{xliv}

Manuscript quoted in the paper

PrN V H 11

PrN XIV A 1

ⁱ See notably KARP, Theodore: An introduction to the post-tridentine Mass proper, Middleton, Wis.: AIM 2005, GOZZI, Marco (ed.): "Cantus fractus" italiano> un'antologia: Hildesheim: Olms, 2012 (Musica Mensurabilis 4)

ⁱⁱ On Utraquists DAVID, Zdenek: Finding the middle way : the Utraquists' liberal challenge to Rome nad Luther, Washington, D.C.: Woodrow Wilson Center Press – Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.

ⁱⁱⁱ The monograph *Kancionál Franusův* by Dobroslav OREL, published in Prague 1922, included not only edition of selected (mostly polyphonic) compositions from this representative Utraquist chantbook from 1505 (preserved in the Museum of Hradec Králové, shelf number II A 6), but also very valuable remarks on music and liturgical tradition of the Utraquist church in the introductory chapter.

^{iv} Hana VLHOVÁ-WÖRNER, "Three; Nine; Nine and Three. Forms of Kyrie Tropes in the late tradition". HORTVS TROPORVM. Florilegium in honorem Gvillae Iversen. A Festschrift in Honour of Professor Gunilla Iversen on the Occasion of her Retirement as Chair of Latin at Stockholm University. Ed. Alexander Andréé and Erica Kihlman. Stockholm: Stockholms Universitet, 2008, 138–151. Edition of abbreviated *Kyrie eleison* chants is included in REPERTORIUM TROPORUM BOHEMIAE MEDII AEVI, vol. II,1: *Tropi ad Kyrie eleison et Gloria in excelsis Deo*, Prague: Editio Bärenreiter 2006.

^v Add references

^{vi} Prague, Library of the National museum, ms XIII A 2.

^{vii} Wien, National library, ms. 15501.

^{viii} RISM

^{ix} See Kolacek. LIMUP, Graham.

^x The designation 'reform': used several times in the Bohemian history.

^{xi} Horyna

^{xii} See Jiri Zurek 2009 and M. Horyna ...

^{xiii} Horyna.

^{xiv} Dobroslav Orel, *Kancionál Franusův z roku 1505* [Franus Kancionál from 1505], Prague 1922, p. 36.

^{xv} I am using 'core text', as many *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* chants were provided with tropes and their use in the liturgy within the church year was often reduced to some feasts / seasons.

^{xvi} occasional insertions of *Gloria* incipits after *Kyrie*, *Credo* typically come separately.

^{xvii} Tropariu, Arnestus.

^{xviii} kde? - Anglie???

^{xix} See the list of manuscripts quoted at the end of the contribution. GRAHAM quotation

^{xx} This approach has been recognized already by Martin Schildbach, who observed that roughly one-third of *Agnus Dei* melodies included in his catalog was borrowed from older *Sanctus* melodies. See Martin Schildbach ...[citace](#)

^{xxi} Melodies of *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* are quoted in the contribution according to the catalogues.

^{xxii} Dobroslav Orel (p. 36), ms. (Louny, Státní okresní archiv, ms. 325/32) from after 1510 (Graham)

^{xxiii} Poznámka: toto zasahlo rovněž Kyrie a Gloria - viz Zavis.

The following text will focus on *Sanctus* and *Agnus Dei* tropes. It should be, however, mentioned that the musical similarity occasionally affected also *Kyrie* and *Gloria* tropes. To mention is the pair of *Kyrie Imense conditor poli* (RTB, **KyTr xxx**) and *Gloria Patri et filio* (RTB **GITr xxx**), both composed in the late-medieval E-mode and using similar melodic formulas (see also??).

^{xxiv} Another melody attached to the trope text (**RTB SaTr xxx**).

^{xxv} See similar arrangements in other contemporary Bohemian manuscripts, as for example the Gradual possibly from the All Saints Church at the Prague Castle from ca 1400, M^u 23286 (ff. xz), or xxx. It should be noted that older representative Bohemian manuscripts, such as the collection of ordinary chants procured by the Prague Archbishop Arnestus of Pardubice in 1360s, displays another chant arrangement, with individual Mass Ordinary chants grouped in closed sections; but also here, as elsewhere, incipits of *Gloria* chants are occasionally included after some *Kyrie eleison* chants.

^{xxvi} See RISM B IV³, pp. 231–235 (ms. CS–Pnm XIII E 8), No. 1 and 2.

^{xxvii} See CT IV - **dve verze**

^{xxviii} Edition, see HOSPENTHAL 2010.

^{xxix} It is, however, not clear if this trope was actually performed in the St Vitus' liturgy, as there is no mention of this trope in the otherwise detailed rubrics included in contemporary Cathedral's chant books. Edition of both chants: RTB!!! Both manuscripts are today preserved in the Archive of the Metropolitan Chapter at St Vitus, ms. Cim 4 (*Troparium – Offertoriale*) from 1180–1200 and ms. PrA P IX (so-called *ThOrdinarium Arnesti de Pardubice*) from 1363. Both manuscripts and their repertory are described in detail in RTB II.

^{xxx} Gabor???

^{xxxi} RTB III, **SaTr 21**, p. xxx and xxx.

^{xxxii} See Facsimile, RTB IV, **AgTr xz**.

^{xxxiii} Similar melismas on the opening strophe?

^{xxxiv} quotation

^{xxxv} quotation

^{xxxvi} See an edition and commentary? HOSPENTAL (1910), p. 131.

^{xxxvii} Correct: Kyriale

^{xxxviii} The oldest inscription can be found in the Codex Engelberg (Engelberg, Stiftsbibliothek, ms. 314) from 1372.

^{xxxix} See description Plocek, for the repertory analysis my article.

^{xl} See also RTB IV, pp., chapter 'dual tropes' and tab. xx including also the only known example of the opposite direction.

^{xli} The trope is today known from ...

^{xlii} See full explanation RTB IV, pp.

^{xliii} There are, of course, exceptions - Eliška Baťová on gradual from Kolín.

^{xliv} Latin manuscripts usually include both: for example Kutnohorsky gradual!!!