

Liturgy and Ecclesiastical Law

Medieval Liturgical Law in Czech Dioceses in the Middle Ages



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Abstract

The subject-matter of this study is liturgical law in the Czech lands in the Middle Ages, i.e. in Great Moravia, in the Duchy of Bohemia, and in the Kingdom of Bohemia. Liturgical law was shaped by the decrees of popes, ecumenical councils, *Decretum Gratiani*, and collections of decrees. The ordinances of the metropolitan and diocesan bishop or the statutes of a monastic order played a role at the particular church level. The customs of the metropolitan church and the cathedral church are summarised in the agenda in force within the territory of the ecclesiastical province or diocese. A new Slavonic liturgy arrived in Great Moravia in the final third of the 9th century and at the beginning of the 10th century. Popes issued several decrees regulating its use. The form of the liturgy used was determined by surviving liturgical manuscripts: pontificals, missals, breviaries, lectionaries, psalters, antiphonaries, and graduals. These codices are often richly-illuminated, the most elaborate ones being used by the owner, often the bishop, for prestige promotion. A large number of these liturgical books survive in Czech libraries and manuscript collections from the Middle Ages, most of them from the 14th and in particular the 15th centuries.

Keywords: liturgy, ecclesiastical law, Great Moravia, Duchy of Bohemia, Kingdom of Bohemia.

Liturgia y derecho eclesiástico. La ley litúrgica medieval de las diócesis checas

Resumen

El objeto de este estudio es el derecho litúrgico en los territorios checos en la Edad Media, es decir, en el Principado de la Gran Moravia, el Principado Checo y el Reino Checo (de Bohemia). La ley litúrgica fue formada por decretos de papas, concilios ecuménicos, el Decreto de Graciano y colecciones de decretales. A nivel de iglesias particulares, juegan un papel los reglamentos del obispo metropolitano y diocesano

o de los estatutos de la orden religiosa. Las costumbres de la iglesia metropolitana y de la iglesia catedral se resumen en la agenda que se aplicaba en el territorio de la provincia o diócesis eclesiástica. La excepción fueron las iglesias monásticas de las órdenes exentas, que aplicaban una forma específica de liturgia. En el último tercio del siglo IX y principios del siglo X, apareció una nueva liturgia eslava en la Gran Moravia. Los papas emitieron varios decretos que regulaban su uso. Inicialmente fue aprobado por Adriano II, pero luego prohibido por Esteban V. El obispado de Praga recién fundado y posteriormente el obispado restaurado de Olomouc ya utilizaban solamente la liturgia latina. La forma de liturgia utilizada está determinada por los manuscritos litúrgicos conservados. Estos son pontificales, misales, breviarios, leccionarios, salterios, antifonarios o graduales. Estos códigos suelen estar a menudo ricamente iluminados, los más elaborados servían para representar al propietario, a menudo al obispo. Un gran número de estos libros litúrgicos se han conservado en bibliotecas checas y colecciones de manuscritos de la Edad Media, la mayoría del siglo XIV y especialmente del siglo XV.

Palabras claves: liturgia, derecho eclesiástico, Gran Moravia, Principado Checo, Reino Checo.

Introduction

The Roman Catholic Church developed a complex system of law known as canon law during the Middle Ages (Plöchl, 1962; Brundage, 1995; Hartmann and Pennington, 2008). One aspect of the religious rites of the Roman Catholic Church is liturgy. This study focuses more closely on the legal rules that governed the form of liturgy in the Czech lands in the Middle Ages, and on the medieval liturgical books that provide evidence of the execution of liturgy in practice. Canon law also made its way to the Czech lands (Krafl, 2022). One specific topic presents the religious relics of Great Moravia (Bartoňková and Večerka, 2011, 2013). Legislation in the field of liturgy consisted of papal decrees, the provisions of ecumenical councils (Tanner, 1990; Alberigo et al., 1962; Baron and Pietras, 2004a, 2004b), and papal codes (Friedberg, 1959b). *Decretum Gratiani* was also important (Friedberg, 1959a). The ordinances of the metropolitan and diocesan bishop were fundamental at the ecclesiastical province and diocese level (Polc and Hledíková, 2002; Krafl, 2014), while the monastic rules took precedence at exempt monastic orders. As for liturgical books, a large number of codes of various nature and purpose, pontificals, missals, breviaries, lectionaries, psalters, antiphonaries, and graduals, often richly illuminated, have been preserved in Czech libraries and manuscript collections (cf. Tošnerová, 1995-2004; Dragoun et al., 2020; Čermák, 2020). This is a subject that has yet to be mapped out in relation to Czech dioceses from the perspective of ecclesiastical law. First, we will outline the development of the diocesan system in the Czech lands within the context of the development of the Czech state in the territory.

Great Moravia became established in the second half of the 9th century and at the beginning of the 10th century. Its core was the territory of the southern part of Moravia and western Slovakia, gradually going on to dominate the territory of the whole of Moravia and Slovakia, the territory of Slavonic Pannonia, the territory of Bohemia, and finally part of Lesser Poland. A Latin bishopric existed in Nitra in the early days of Great Moravia. Subsequently, sometime around 869, Pope Hadrian II established the Moravian-Pannonian archbishopric with Old Slavonic liturgy, and the Moravian ecclesiastical province was established. The country stood on the border of the Latin and Orthodox worlds and there was a latent struggle between the German Latin bishoprics from the Frankish Empire and proponents of the Old Slavonic liturgy that had come from Byzantium and proponents of the Slavonic archbishopric. The empire disappeared under the onslaught of the Hungarians, who arrived in Pannonia

and settled there at the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries (Měřínský, 2006, pp. 360-367; Bláhová, Frolík and Profantová, 1999, pp. 217-218, 221-224).

Early Moravian statehood thus came to an end and the power vacuum was filled by the Duchy of Bohemia, which took over the historical territory of Moravia in the second half of the 10th century. The territory of Bohemia and Moravia constituted the territorial structure of the Czech state from then on until the Modern Age. The Prague bishopric was established in Bohemia (963) and took charge of the entire duchy from the very outset. The bishopric was founded as Latin, and Latin liturgy was used exclusively throughout the land. The bishopric in Moravia, seated in Olomouc, was restored in 1063. The Prague and Olomouc dioceses thereafter existed side-by-side as part of the ecclesiastical province seated in Mainz, Germany (Bláhová, Frolík and Profantová, 1999, pp. 295-301, 418-419). The permanent promotion of the Duke of Bohemia to King as of the end of the 12th century transformed the Duchy of Bohemia into the Kingdom of Bohemia (Vaníček, 2000, pp. 82-88, 98-109). In 1344, Pope Clement VI decided to create an independent ecclesiastical province, headed by the archbishopric of Prague, on account of the differences in the language of the Slavonic inhabitants of both dioceses and its great distance from Mainz. The Olomouc bishopric and the newly established Litomyšl bishopric were subordinated to the Prague archbishopric. The Prague ecclesiastical province therefore consisted of the Prague archdiocese, the Litomyšl diocese, and the Olomouc diocese. The bishopric of Litomyšl ceased to exist at the time of the Hussite Revolution (1420-1434), while the bishopric of Olomouc in Moravia continued in its existence and the Prague archbishopric functioned in post-Hussite Bohemia under specific conditions (Bobková, 2003, pp. 189-192; Krafl, 2022, pp. 82-83).

Old Slavonic liturgy and liturgical books

The first provisions to concern the liturgy appear at the time of Great Moravia. The Old Slavonic service was defended by St. Cyril. Sometime after 14 February 869, Pope Hadrian II approved the use of the Old Slavonic language at worship after Cyril and Methodius acknowledged that the Moravian church would be subordinate to the Holy See. Approval of the Old Slavonic language was formulated in a letter addressed to Dukes Rostislav, Svatopluk, and Kocel, and this has been preserved in Old Church Slavonic translation. The condition was that the Apostles' Creed and the Gospel should first be read in Latin at Mass. Subsequently, Hadrian II, after appointing Methodius as the archbishop of Pannonia, wrote to the three aforementioned dukes that he was sending him to their lands to teach them and to translate books into their language. Originally, the Old Slavonic liturgy, thanks to the translation of St. Cyril, drew on the Greek rite of St. John Chrysostom, and, after that, from the liturgy of St. Peter, the ceremonial core of which is Roman and around which Byzantine prayer developed; this liturgy also emerged from a translation from Greek. The liturgy in Moravia and Pannonia was mixed (Latin and Slavonic). Pope John VIII banned the Old Slavonic liturgy in a letter addressed to Archbishop Methodius. The letter was issued in Rome before 14 May 873 and was sent to Methodius through Bishop Paul, the papal legate. He referred Methodius to Rome to test his orthodoxy. The same Pope, in *Industriae tuae*, a letter addressed to Duke Svatopluk in 880, stated that the Gospel was to be read in Latin and then in Slavonic translation in all churches. He decreed that the Duke and his officials should endorse the Latin rite if he liked it better. The Slavonic liturgy was then forbidden by Pope Stephen V in a letter addressed to Duke Svatopluk.¹

¹ For letter from Adrian II, see Friedrich (1904, pp. 7-9, no. 12); Bartoňková and Večerka (2011, pp. 121-123, no. 39-40). For letter from John VIII to Archbishop Methodius, see Friedrich (1904, p. 18, no. 23); Bartoňková and Večerka

In Bohemia the Old Slavonic liturgy lived on in the Benedictine monastery in Sázava. The split between the western and eastern churches in 1054 led to the Holy See taking a very dim view of the Old Slavonic liturgy. The Duke of Bohemia Svytihněv II expelled the Slavonic monks (1055-1056). The Chronicler Monk from Sázava recounts how they had previously been cast down as being involved in a sect of heretics supporting the Old Church Slavonic script. They returned in 1061, after the accession of Svytihněv's brother Vratislav II to the throne. However, the request made by Vratislav II to reinstate the Old Slavonic liturgy was met with clear rejection by Pope Gregory VII, who, on the contrary, strictly prohibited it (1080). The Slavonic monks were finally expelled by Břetislav II in 1096, and the Sázava monastery library holding Slavonic books ceased to exist.²

The liturgical Old Slavonic language came to life again under Charles IV, within the framework of the Roman liturgy. At the initiative of the monarch, Pope Clement VI granted the archbishop of Prague his permission on 9 May 1346 to allow the Benedictines of the Old Slavonic rite to interpret the word of God, to preach and, above all, to celebrate Mass in the Old Slavonic language, although only in one place in Bohemia. This place was the Prague Monastery of Our Lady and St. Jerome known as Na Slovanech. Monks were invited from Croatia, where services in the Old Church Slavonic language had been permitted since the middle of the 13th century, while preserving the Roman liturgy (Klicman 1903, pp. 389-390, no. 653; Čermák, 2020, p. 56; Bláhová, 2007, pp. 21-22). In 1356, Charles IV financially secured an annual income of ten *marcas* for a scribe of Slavonic books to copy books for the monastery written in Slavonic script intended for reading and singing, including liturgical books (Čermák, 2020, p. 61; Bláhová, 2007, p. 23). The monks here joined the Hussites during the Hussite revolution and acted as the only monastery within the Utraquist ecclesiastical organisation (Kůrka, 2007, pp. 107-108).

The first Old Church Slavonic liturgical books were brought to the Prague Monastery Na Slovanech from Croatia. Only two fragments have survived. The first is the Emmaus fragment of the Glagolitic Psalter, which somehow made it into the backfill of a vault while construction of the monastery was being completed sometime around 1370 and was discovered in 1952. The small format of the original codex indicates that it was used by a monk for his own needs and was not used in the monastery church. The second fragment – in fact, comprising several parts – from another codex can be found in the Jagiellonian Library in Cracow. These are foils from a former Glagolitic missal, which contain part of a *proprium de sanctis* with the *officium* of the Conversion of St. Paul and St. Peter and Paul and parts of the *officium* for the dead.³

The Glagolitic part of the Reims Gospel, which was completed in 1395 by scribes of the Emmaus monastery of Czech origin, undoubtedly relates to the production of the Na Slovanech monastery. Five parchment double leaves of a breviary psalter, scattered throughout different locations, a fragment of another psalter, fragments of a breviary, and fragments of three missals dated to the second half of the 14th century have all been preserved. Furthermore, we know of two separate parchment foils of a lectionary, a parchment fragment of a ritual, and the Strahov fragment, unique among

(2011, pp. 156-157, no. 81). For letter *Industriae tuae* from John VIII, see Friedrich (1904, pp. 18-21, no. 24, here p. 21); Bartoňková and Večerka (2011, pp. 161-173, no. 90, here p. 173). For letter from Stephen V, see Friedrich (1904, pp. 22-26, no. 26, here p. 26); Bartoňková and Večerka (2011, pp. 179-190, no. 101, here p. 190); Vavřínek (2013, pp. 118-123, 162-167, 306-308).

² Emler (1874, pp. 246-247); Friedrich (1904, pp. 87-89, no. 81); Bretholz (1923, p. 251); *regestum* in Bartoňková and Večerka (2011, pp. 215-216, no. 116); Bláhová, Frolík and Profantová (1999, pp. 412, 448-449, 480-482); Vavřínek (2013, pp. 327-329).

³ Čermák (2020, pp. 68-70), for edition of the fragment of a psalter, see pp. 188-190.

Old Church Slavonic liturgical texts on account of the presence of a notated record. At least two specimens of each liturgical book were likely present in the monastery.⁴

Latin liturgy within the Prague and Olomouc dioceses

The newly-established bishopric of Prague (973) and the renewed bishopric of Olomouc (1063) were understandably already Latin. The chronicler Cosmas mediated a supposed letter from Pope John XIII to Duke Boleslav I in which he gives his permission for the establishment of the bishopric of Prague, on the proviso that the rite of the Bulgarians or Russians or the Slavonic language would not be used there, although clerics knowledgeable in Latin script would be active in it. This is probably a falsification from the 11th century; the mention of Russians is unhistorical, as, by that time, the Russians had not yet accepted baptism.⁵

Following the establishment of the archbishopric in Prague (1344), the liturgical rite of the Prague metropolitan church, i.e. the Prague rite, was binding in the churches of the suffragan bishops, in collegiate churches, and in parish churches.⁶ The missals reflected the local liturgical customs of the diocese or monastic order until the publication of the Roman Missal in 1570, which had to be accepted by all particular churches which were unable to provide evidence of having used a special rite for at least two hundred years (Berger, 2008, p. 272).

In the synodal protocol attributed to the Prague diocesan synod of 18 October 1409, all parish priests and parish administrators were called on to follow the customs of the mother church of Prague –that is, those of the Prague rubric and not any other– during church services, namely matins, masses, and sung vespers. They were to have the wording of this rubric at their disposal (Polc and Hledíková, 2002, p. 290, no. 5). The order to obtain the rubric of the Olomouc church does not appear in the Olomouc diocesan statutes until 1461. It is addressed to all clerics of the diocese, in that possession of the rubric should be declared within a month of the promulgation of the statutes to the local archdeacon in person or through the relevant rural dean. The provision was sanctioned by a fine of two *marcas* of silver, one for the benefit of the episcopal chamber and the other for the benefit of the archdeacon (Krafl, 2014, p. 372, no. A.IX/3). The issue of ownership of the Olomouc church rubric appears in the Moravian Visitation Interrogatory from the first half of the 15th century (Krafl, 2006, p. 503, no. 20).

Papal legate Giovanni Boccamazza recalled at the legate synod in 1287 that it was forbidden by the holy canons to steal books and implements used in church services (Krafl, 2021b, p. 15; 2021a, p. 30). Several brief articles concerning the liturgy or matters relating to performing the liturgy are found in the Prague provincial statutes of Arnošt of Pardubice of 1349. Included are the prohibition on celebrating two masses

4 Čermák (2020, pp. 71, 81-82, 85-86, 88, 95, 98, 100-101), edition of fragments of the Emmaus Breviary Psalter pp. 191-212, edition of a fragment of another psalter pp. 213-215, edition of fragments of a breviary pp. 216-242, edition of fragments of a missal pp. 243-258, edition of a fragment of a ritual pp. 259-261, edition of a fragment of the Strahov Gradual pp. 262-263, edition of a fragment of a lectionary pp. 264-268.

5 Bretholz (1923, pp. 43-44); Friedrich (1904, pp. 342-343, no. 371); Bartoňková and Večerka (2011, pp. 235-236, no. 130 [here, an overview of existing literature]). The letter is accepted by D. Kalhous, save for the mention of the Russians (2010, p. 29). D. Třeščík deems the letter to have been altered. In the supposed original, the document does not envisage a ban on Slavonic church services (2004, pp. 182-183, additional literature on p. 183, footnote 12 and 13).

6 Hledíková (2008, p. 163). *Officium divinum*, a series of services and prayers performed daily by clerics at fixed hours, presented in Eben (1994, pp. 59-60). Ibidem (pp. 60-63) on the role of canons and other clerics during the liturgy. On liturgical customs in the Prague church also Hledíková (2008, pp. 155-158). A picture of the liturgy in the Prague cathedral church on Christmas Eve in the middle of the 14th century is painted by Eben (1994, pp. 63-66).

in one day, a provision on the First Mass of a newly ordained priest, and, for example, provisions regarding portable altars, the new consecration of a violated church or altar, or the handling of sacraments and liturgical vestments, etc. (Polc and Hledíková, 2002, pp. 141-143, no. 48, 49, 51, 52, 54). An article on First Masses is also found in the diocesan statutes of Patriarch of Antiochia and the commendator of the Olomouc bishopric Václav Králík of Buřenice from 1413 (Krafl, 2014, p. 343, no. A.VI/29).

A fundamental set of feasts to be celebrated throughout the church is included in the third part of *Decretum Gratiani* (c 1 D 3 de consecr; Friedberg, 1959a, col. 1353). The lists of feasts to be celebrated in the churches of Czech dioceses appear in the provincial and diocesan statutes. Archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice lists the feasts binding on the Prague ecclesiastical province in the article *De festivitatibus celebrandis* of his provincial statutes, promulgated in 1349 (Polc and Hledíková, 2002, pp. 143-144, no. XIII/55). The first list of feasts valid in the Prague diocese is preserved in an undated list that we believe comes from the years 1312-1318 (Polc and Hledíková, 2002, pp. 102, no. V/2). In the diocese of Olomouc, a list of observed feasts was included in the diocesan statutes by Bishop Jan Volek in 1349.⁷ New feasts were also introduced in individual statutes.⁸ Individual feasts, which were to be celebrated in the cathedral or collegiate church, in the monastery, or in the parish church, were then marked in the calendar used there for liturgical purposes.⁹

Liturgical manuscripts in the cathedral church and in the diocese

Opatovice Homiliary, which dates to around the middle of the 12th century, states that every priest is to have a “missale plenarium, lectionarium et antiphonarium”. There is a broader list elsewhere in this manuscript, while there was also the need for a sacramentary, a lectionary, an antiphony, and a baptistery, meaning texts for the conferral of the sacrament of Baptism, computational tables for the calculation of Easter, a penitential, a psalter, and a homiliary for the whole year, Sundays, and feast days.¹⁰ Until the 13th century, neither the diocese of Prague nor the diocese of Olomouc had to convert the wording of mass texts into a single codex (Červenka, 1990, p. 96).

Common imports included, for example, sacramentaries. These include the Prague Sacramentary from the turn of the 9th century. From northern France came the illuminated Gospel of St. Wenceslas from the third quarter of the 9th century, which was used by the collegiate chapter in Stará Boleslav in the 11th century (Dragoun et al., 2020, p. 225). An evangeliary known as the Vyšehrad Codex and the St. Vitus Evangeliary were created in connection with the coronation of Vratislav II in 1086; pericopes of the mass were read from them (Dragoun et al., 2020, pp. 21-22, 229-231).

The Olomouc Horologion was written in the Olomouc scriptorium and is now stored in the Royal Library in Stockholm. This is the horologion of Olomouc Bishop Henricus Zdík (1126-1150). It contains computational tables, a calendar, extracts from the book

7 Krafl (2014, pp. 286-289, no. A.IV/4). List of individual feasts in the article *De festis celebrandis* of the Olomouc diocesan statutes from 1349, according to preserved manuscripts; see table in Krafl (2000, pp. 121-122).

8 See Polc and Hledíková (2002) and Krafl (2014) according to the index. Cf. for the Prague diocese, Polc (1994, pp. 32-34).

9 Michal Dragoun examined fifty manuscripts with calendars in his study of the feasts celebrated in the Prague archdiocese (1998, pp. 149-163, list of manuscripts on p. 163).

10 “sacramentarium, lectionarium, antiphonarius, baptisterium, computus, canon poenitentialis, psalterium, homiliae per circulum anni, dominicis diebus et singulis festivitatibus” (Hecht, 1863, p. 21). Cf. Sommer (2007, p. 46); Dragoun et al. (2020, p. 14).

of Psalms for the daily *officium*, *commune sanctorum*, *proprium de tempore*, *proprium de sanctis*, verses for intercessory prayer, collects for *completorium*, and collects for the *officium* for the dead. The codex is important for an understanding of the liturgical and musical aspects of the home tradition of diocesan *officium divinum* (Bistřícký and Červenka, 2011, pp. 67-73; Červenka, 1990, p. 97).

Chapter dean Balduin, who was originally from Rome and worked in the Olomouc church in the final quarter of the 12th century, ordained singing in the Olomouc church according to music books, graduals, and nocturnals (Červenka, 2003, pp. 48-49). The 13th century saw the appearance of a diastematic breviary at the Olomouc chapter, CO 3, representing the first collection of liturgical substance in the diocese of Olomouc (Červenka, 1990, p. 96).

We learn from the Second continuation of the Cosmas chronicle that Prague chapter Dean Vitus (†1271) had the many music books required for church services copied for the Prague cathedral church. He is credited with the reform of the liturgy in the Prague church, having compiled a lectionary himself (Emler, 1874, p. 321). This was important because the liturgical codices of the cathedral church served as a model for further copies. Four of the manuscripts which Dean Vitus initiated have been preserved to this day. The oldest preserved inventory of manuscripts, perhaps created in the years 1276-1277 in the collegiate chapter in Mělník, shows the presence of twenty liturgical books in the local church (Dragoun et al., 2020, pp. 42-45).

According to the chronicler Jarloch, several liturgical codices were donated to the cathedral church in Prague by Bishop Tobiáš of Benešov (1278-1296).¹¹ There was a sheet-music missal, a breviary, an antiphonary, an agenda, and other manuscripts, whereby the agenda and gospel book have survived to this day (Dragoun et al., 2020, pp. 41-42; Kadlec, 1972, p. 165). Tobiáš' agenda, or pontifical, preserved in the library of the Prague Metropolitan Chapter, is the oldest preserved Czech codex of its kind.

As evidenced by the preserved inventories of property of the Prague Cathedral Chapter from the second half of the 14th century, the number of liturgical manuscripts in the Prague church gradually increased from thirty-five codices in 1354 to sixty-six in 1397. The inventory of the Olomouc chapter library from 1413 shows that almost half of the one hundred and sixty-seven codices were liturgical manuscripts (Dragoun et al., 2020, pp. 59, 60). The significant liturgical codices of the Olomouc chapter library in the 14th century include the oldest local missal in the smaller codex, CO 506 (Červenka, 2003, pp. 50-51), as well as manuscript CO 141, with the oldest consistently notated *missale plenarium*; a gradual for the Olomouc cathedral of St. Wenceslas, CO 195; and a fully-notated *missale plenarium*, CO 315 (Červenka, 2004, pp. 128-137; 2003, pp. 52-53).

Liturgical reform in the cathedral church in Olomouc was carried out in 1376 by Bishop Johannes Noviforensis (1364-1380). The text of his rubric has been preserved in a codex of the Olomouc chapter library, CO 15, which also includes a document by Johannes Noviforensis in which he explains the reasons for introducing the reform and the method of execution. Church administrators were to obtain a copy of the text of this new rubric within six months (Červenka, 2003, pp. 46-47; Mañas, 2022, p. 12).

Prague bishop Jan IV of Dražice (1301-1343) was the owner of the so-called Dražice Missale (Dragoun et al., 2020, pp. 87, 254). Of the collection of liturgical manuscripts of Prague Archbishop Arnošt of Pardubice (1343-1364) we should mention an

¹¹ "Contulit etiam missale magnum cum omnibus epistolis et evangeliis tam ferialibus quam festivis, cum cantu per musicam scriptis, cum graduali et sequentiis. Item nocturnale magnum cum rubricis et cantu in ipso per musicam annotato per totum antifonarium" (Emler, 1874, pp. 367-368).

antiphonary, a gradual, and a sequentiar. The antiphonary was created in the years 1365-1370, probably for the chapter at Vyšehrad, and this later found its way to the monastery in Vorau. The Bílina antiphonary is dated to the early 1370s (Dragoun et al., 2020, pp. 255, 260).

A breviary of Bishop of Litomyšl, and later Bishop of Olomouc, Johannes Noviforensis (1353-1364, 1364-1380), was created before 1365 –the so-called *Liber viaticus*–. This is a breviary intended for personal use, a manuscript intended for the promotion of prestige (Dragoun, 2016, pp. 71-106). Johannes Noviforensis had a missal created at the same time. The Missal of Provost Nicholas was created after 1355. Illuminated liturgical manuscripts were also commissioned by Bishop of Olomouc and later Archbishop of Prague Jan Očko of Vlašim (1364-1378). His two-part lectionary has not survived (Dragoun et al., 2020, p. 266). A pontifical was created in 1376 for Bishop of Litomyšl and Archbishop of Magdeburg Albert of Šternberk (in Litomyšl 1364-1368 and 1371-1380, in Magdeburg 1368-1371), richly illuminated by the so-called Master of Šternberk Manuscripts. Today it is stored in the library of the Premonstratensians in Prague's Strahov district (Schmugge, 1970, pp. 49-50; Dragoun et al., 2020, pp. 266-269).

A missal from the 1360s survives in Cracow, this having been owned at the end of the century by the Altar of St. Cecilia in the parish church of St. James in Brno, as does a pontifical of unknown provenance from the period around 1400 (Brodský, 2004, p. 84, no. 21; p. 86, no. 23). The manuscript of a small-format psalter was created around 1390, the illuminator, the so-called Master of Samson's History (Stejskal and Voit, 1991, p. 40, no. 5).

The pontifical of auxiliary Bishop Vilém of Kolín from sometime around 1442 remains in the library of the Augustinians in Brno, no. A 56 (Chamonikola and Martyčáková, 1999, p. 498; Stejskal and Voit, 1991, p. 57, no. 39). In the Olomouc Scientific Library (M III 4) we find an illuminated pontifical from the beginning of the 15th century, which also contains texts intended for the visitation of Prague archbishops in the Olomouc diocese (Hlobil, Perůtka and Soukup, 1999, pp. 462-463). The illuminated sacramentary CO 584 from the Olomouc chapter library is disparate in nature. The main part consists of a temporal and a *proprium de sanctis*, preceded by a calendar (Černý, 2012, p. 66; Červenka, 1990, pp. 93-94).

The Házmburk Missal from 1409 is an example of the beautiful style in miniature. The Missal of Václav of Radeč from around 1400 also relates to this style (Dragoun et al., 2020, p. 288). A number of illuminated missals from the period 1400-1435 and from the second half of the 15th century can be found in the Archives of the City of Brno (No. 15, 8/10, 21/11, 7, 6, 9/5, 12/6, 17, 20/3). These come from the library of the parish of St. James (Chamonikola and Martyčáková, 1999, pp. 482-485, 487-490, 492-496, 503-504, 508-509, 514-519).¹²

Several illuminated missals from the early 15th century can be found in Olomouc. They are held in the Scientific Library in Olomouc, M III 6 and M III 8, and the Olomouc chapter library, CO 81, CO 261, CO 132, CO 73 and CO 137 (Hlobil, Perůtka and Soukup, 1999, pp. 457-462, 464-465, 471-472, 474). Missals from the second half of the 15th century can also be found in the Olomouc chapter library (CO 636, CO 45, CO 50, CO 278), and a missal from the 1470s (M III 7) in the Scientific Library in Olomouc (Hlobil, Perůtka and Soukup, 1999, pp. 472, 479, 481, 484, 486-488). The missal-ritual from the Olomouc chapter library from the 15th century was designated for pontifical services, CO 1 (Hlobil, Perůtka and Soukup, 1999, pp. 463-464; Stejskal

¹² For missal no. 7 see Stejskal and Voit (1991, p. 56, no. 37).

and Voit, 1991, p. 48, no. 22). In the second half of the 15th century, rural churches had handwritten missals that were not decorated and were copied using the *bastarda* of a larger module (Boldan, 2018, p. 101).

A breviary was created in Bohemia sometime around 1440 with a calendar corresponding to the Prague diocese, today stored in the library in Kórník (Brodský, 2004, pp. 24, 51, no. 10). A breviary from the first half of the 15th century, meanwhile, is stored in the Olomouc chapter library, CO 182 (Hlobil, Perůtka and Soukup, 1999, pp. 472-474). A small breviary with canonical hours, compiled by Lawrence of Březová, dates back to the 1440s (Stejskal and Voit, 1991, pp. 62-63, no. 50). The Breviary of Hanuš of Kolovraty was created in the illuminating workshop of Prague burgher Valentin Noh from Jindřichův Hradec (Dragoun et al., 2020, p. 313). A richly-illuminated psalter from 1438, now stored in the National Library in Prague, was also owned by an administrator under one kind Hanuš of Kolovraty (Stejskal and Voit, 1991, pp. 60-61, no. 45).

The Kouřim gradual from 1470 is the work of illuminator Jan Mikus. The workshop of illuminator Matheus produced the so-called Smíšek's gradual from 1492-1495 and the Kutná Hora gradual from around 1490. The Lobkowitz gradual, meanwhile, dates back to 1500-1510. The Mladá Boleslav gradual was illuminated by Janíček Zmílelý of Písek. The so-called Franus' gradual for the Church of the Holy Spirit in Hradec Králové was ordered by a burgher of the same name (Dragoun et al., 2020, pp. 313, 317, 322). An illuminated gradual from the years 1493-1494 is kept in the Archives of the City of Brno (Chamonikola and Martyčáková, 1999, pp. 516-517).

Liturgical books were also found in aristocratic libraries, as evidenced, for example, by the inventory of the Rožmberk Library from 1418. It contained thirty-six liturgical books, among them seventeen missals, five psalters, three graduals, and two antiphonaries (Kubíková, 2004, pp. 33-34). A number of liturgical books have been preserved from the town environment.¹³

Clerics became the first recipients of printed books following the advent of letterpress printing. Liturgical books appeared among the first prints, and in this way printed books contributed toward the renewal, reform, and unification of the liturgy. The printing house in Plzeň, which was established in 1476, soon published two aids: the undated *Agenda Pragensis* and *Missale Pragense*, dated 1479. The Prague chapter thereafter had the necessary liturgical books printed abroad, particularly in Germany. The Prague missal was published a total of nine times during the Jagiellonian era (Dragoun et alii, 2020, pp. 167, 181; Boldan, 2018, pp. 98-117).

The first Moravian print was *Agenda for the Clergy of the Diocese of Olomouc*, printed in 1486. *Psalterium Olomucense* –the Olomouc Psalter– followed in 1499, one of the best *incunabula* from the Czech lands. The Olomouc missal was first published in 1488 by Bamberg printer Johann Sensenschmidt. It was published three times during the Jagiellonian era. Breviaries were printed abroad for both the Prague and Olomouc dioceses from the 1480s. *Breviarium Olomucense* was published in this way in 1484. Part of a breviary with daily prayers, *Diurnale Pragense*, was printed for the needs of the Prague diocese. In Jagiellonian times, literary fraternities for singing in churches began to order printed graduals with ensembles of Latin chants for mass, often of enormous dimensions (Dragoun et al., 2020, pp. 168, 181-183; Boldan, 2018, pp. 226-228, 230).

¹³ A number of liturgical books, particularly from town archives (missals, graduals, antiphonaries, breviaries, psalteries, hours, *officia*), are found at Brodský and Šumová (2017, pp. 44-172 [catalogue]).

Latin Liturgy in monasteries

The form of the liturgy was determined in individual exempt monastic orders by the order statutes. In the Cistercian order, for example, a description of the liturgy used was included in the collection *Ecclesiastica officia*, or *Liber usum*, as part of a set of order rules (*Consuetudines*). The *De divino officio* chapter also contained a codification of the valid law of the Cistercian order called *Libellus deffinitionum*, which was repeatedly updated.¹⁴

The Council of Vienne of 1311 to 1312 only attributes acts of a liturgical nature to the archbishop and the bishop in exempt places (Baron and Pietras, 2004a, pp. 602-604). The liturgical acts of the diocesan bishop in relation to an exempt monastery were often regulated by papal protection privileges. By contrast, the protection privileges for non-exempt monasteries say nothing to restrict the rights of the diocesan bishop. These privileges made it possible, *inter alia*, to freely hold funerals in the monastery and, in the case of a proclaimed interdict, to celebrate mass in the monastery behind closed doors, without the sound of bells (Hruboň 2017, pp. 129-130, 132-133).

It was in the newly-founded Benedictine monastery of St. Ambrose in the Prague New Town that Charles IV introduced the use of the Milanese liturgy with Ambrosian chant. He received the consent of Pope Innocent VI on 26 February 1353 (Novák, 1907, pp. 9-10, no. 19, 21; cf. Bláhová, 2007, pp. 25-26; Spěváček, 1979, p. 397). Then, on 28 December 1359, Charles IV asked Pope Innocent VI for his consent for the abbot of the monastery of St. Ambrose and the Slavonic monastery of St. Jerome to celebrate outside their monastery according to their own liturgical customs in the presence of the emperor (Novák, 1907, pp. 406-407, no. 1018, 1019; cf. Čermák, 2020, p. 57; Bláhová, 2007, p. 26).

What was known as the Roudnice Statutes were used in the Roudnice monastery of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine. The statutes were extended to other monasteries of this non-exempt canonical order in the Czech lands. Provisions concerning the liturgy in the Roudnice statutes are dispersed throughout several articles, but a separate article on the liturgy is absent (cf. Ebersonová, 2021, pp. 79-171). In the second half of the 14th century and in the 15th century, the monasteries of this order of the Roudnice circle issued each other with confraternity documents, thus creating a legal obligation among them to perform liturgical acts (requiem mass, singing of psalms, prayers) for the deceased regular canons of the other monastery. The publisher is always the superior (provost or abbot) and the convent of the monastery.¹⁵

Liturgical manuscripts of monasteries

The liturgical practice in monasteries is also evidenced by a number of codices. Among the most valuable manuscripts from the oldest period of the existence of the Benedictine monastery in Ostrov are a local psalter from the end of the 12th century and a lectionary. In addition to one hundred and fifty psalms divided according to Benedictine customs, it contains other texts customary in psalters for the liturgy of the hours in the choir, namely canticles, litanies, hymns, Hours of the Virgin, etc.

¹⁴ Charvátová (2008, pp. 299-301). For feasts in the Cistercian liturgy see Charvátová (2006, pp. 201-209).

¹⁵ Confraternities (including issued and received confraternity documents) are documented among the monasteries of the Canons of St. Augustine in the New Town of Prague, Lanškroun, and in Klodzko, as well as the monastery in Kazimierz near Cracow, which was involved in confraternity with the Bohemian and Moravian monasteries of the order (Krafl, Mutlová and Stehlíková, 2010, pp. 55-64; Krafl, 2017, pp. 7-13; Krafl, 2018, pp. 61-68; Krafl, 2022, pp. 79-89; Krafl, 2003, pp. 9-29).

The St. George's Psalter, of Bavarian origin, was created before 1200 (Dragoun et al., 2020, pp. 21, 233-237). The Gospel Book of the Zábřdovice monastery (Evangelium Zábřdovicense) emanated from one of the southern German scriptoria in the first half of the 1080s (Červenka, 1990, p. 95; Dragoun et al., 2020, p. 21). A Benedictine breviary and gradual from the mid-12th century have been preserved in the library of the monastery in Rajhrad (Dokoupil, 1966, pp. 187-189, 238-239). The Sedlec Antiphony was created in the 13th century, probably intended for the Cistercian nunnery in Předklášteří u Tišnova. It is from sometime around the 1270s that we have the so-called Franciscan Breviary (Dragoun et al., 2020, pp. 37, 242).

The founder of the monastery in Staré Brno, the widow queen Elizabeth Rejčka, provided the Cistercian women there with new liturgical manuscripts. These included a two-volume lectionary (1315, 1316), a two-volume antiphony (1317), a gradual (around 1317-1320), two psalters (around 1323), and a collect (around 1323) (Květ, 1931, pp. 33-143). We can also mention the Breviary of Vítěk, Provost of Rajhrad, from 1342 (Dokoupil, 1966, pp. 195-198). The Breviary of Grandmaster Lev dates back to 1356 (Dragoun et al., 2020, p. 255). Today, there is a breviary in Cracow which was created in the 1370s for the Benedictine monastery in Opatovice nad Labem, and an antiphony of the Carmelite monastery of Our Lady of the Snows in Prague dating back to 1397 (Brodský, 2004, pp. 17-20; pp. 54-58, no. 12; pp. 65-69, no. 15). The Opatovice Missal from around 1355 has decoration similar to that of Johannes Noviforensis' *Liber viaticus* (Dragoun et al., 2020, p. 266; Hrbáčová, 2012).

Missals from the third quarter of the 15th century have been preserved in the library of the Benedictine monastery in Rajhrad near Brno (Chamonikola and Martyčáková, 1999, p. 508). The missal of the Prague diocese, most likely from Kladsko/Kłodzko from 1429, is attributed to the local monastery of Canons Regular of St. Augustine (Brodský, 2004, p. 23, 50, no. 9). The Breviary of the monastery of St. George at Prague Castle was created sometime around 1410. The Breviary of Beneš of Valdštejn, the Bishop of Kamień, dates back to the turn of the 14th and 15th centuries, the bishop donating it to the monastery of Canons of St. Augustine in Třeboň in 1493 (Stejskal and Voit, 1991, p. 42, no. 10; pp. 43-44, no. 13; p. 45, no. 16; Dragoun, Eberssonová and Doležalová, 2021, pp. 516-517, no. T244).

Master of theology Václav Sech commissioned a gradual sometime around 1410. It depicts Dominicans, and therefore the codex is associated with the Dominican monastery in the Old Town of Prague (Stejskal and Voit, 1991, p. 42, no. 9; Dragoun et al., 2020, p. 294). Three graduals from monasteries are stored today in the Scientific Library in Olomouc (M IV 1, M IV 2, M IV 3). The Louka gradual was created in 1499 at the request of the abbot of the Premonstratensian monastery in Louka near Znojmo. Another gradual (1470s) was probably intended for one of the Moravian Minorite convents. A gradual was created in the 1480s and used at one of the Franciscan monasteries (Dragoun et al., 2020, p. 327; Hlobil, Perůtka and Soukup, 1999, pp. 483, 485-486).

Finally, we mention some further antiphonaries. From 1500 comes the Antiphony of Abbot Sigismundus, created by the superior of the same name at the Premonstratensian monastery in Teplá (Dragoun et al., 2020, p. 317). The illuminated antiphony of the Carthusian monastery in Královo Pole was probably created in the years 1360-1364 (Chamonikola and Martyčáková, 1999, pp. 501-502). An antiphony from the 1470s, preserved today in the Scientific Library in Olomouc (M IV 6), was probably owned by the Olomouc convent of Clarisses (Hlobil, Perůtka and Soukup, 1999, pp. 481-482).

Conclusion

A new Slavonic liturgy was promoted in Great Moravia in addition to the Latin liturgy. Popes issued several decrees regulating the use of the Slavonic liturgy, Pope Hadrian II approving it, provided that the Gospel was read in Latin first. Pope John VIII first forbade the Slavonic liturgy, before then allowing it in the spirit of the older order of Hadrian II, giving priority to the Latin liturgy. The final ban was ordered by Pope Stephen V. Following the demise of Great Moravia, the Old Slavonic liturgy only survived within the Duchy of Bohemia at the monastery in Sázava. The division between western and eastern churches in 1054 played a role in future development, resulting in the expulsion of Slavonic monks by Duke Svyatopluk II. Later, the Bohemian king Charles IV pushed for the restoration of the Slavonic liturgy, although only at one selected place in Bohemia.

The bishopric in Prague was already Latin. After the elevation of the Prague bishopric to archbishopric, the liturgical rite of the Prague Metropolitan church was binding on the cathedral church in Olomouc and on the cathedral church in Litomyšl, as well as on all collegiate churches and parish churches. The liturgical customs of a diocese or monastic order found expression in medieval manuscripts with missals. Orders to follow the rubric of the cathedral church also sometimes appear in synodal legislation. The form of the liturgy in individual monastic orders was determined by that order's statutes, which were promulgated at the general chapters of the order convened at the centre of the order. Provincial and diocesan statutes also contain provisions concerning the celebration of feasts in the ecclesiastical province or in the diocese, including lists of feast days that indicate which saints were venerated in that territory. Prague chapter Dean Vitus was responsible for the reform of the liturgy in the Prague cathedral church after the middle of the 13th century. Reform in the Olomouc diocese was instigated by Bishop Johannes Noviforensis in 1376.

The leading manuscripts from the 12th century include the Opatovice Homiliarium and the Olomouc Horologion. Liturgical manuscripts formed a significant part of the libraries of the Prague and Olomouc cathedral chapters, as evidenced by contemporary inventories. The number of illuminated codices of liturgical content rose during the 14th and particularly the 15th centuries. These are preserved in state libraries, collections of state archives, or private libraries or archives. The first printed books included Agenda for the Prague Diocese, the Prague Missal (1479), and Agenda for the Olomouc Diocese (1486), which were commissioned by the bishopric and which clearly determined the form of the liturgy.

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