

## Introduction

### – The Németújvár/Güssing Collection \*

The Franciscan Monastery at Németújvár (Güssing)<sup>1</sup> has a remarkably well-preserved library, offering unique source materials for analysts of Hungary's cultural history in the medieval and early modern periods, including its liturgical music. The book collection, much of it relating to medieval Hungary, has been kept carefully in one place under one owner from the late Middle Ages to the present day. Its inestimable value is enhanced by the historical damage done elsewhere on all levels of the institutional system of the medieval Hungarian Church. Libraries are clearly the most vulnerable parts of this system and the first to suffer. Only book collections rescued from the Kingdom of Hungary or held abroad had a chance of surviving.<sup>2</sup> One drawback for Hungarian plainchant research today is that most sources must be sought outside the country.

Hungarian researchers of Gregorian chant has known for decades about the specific part of the Németújvár library that concerns them. This includes liturgical codices of which the earliest known is the complete *Missale Notatum Zagradiense*,<sup>3</sup> datable to the first third of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Furthermore there are some 105 notated parchment codex fragments of the 12<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries, many associable with

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<sup>1</sup> Franziskanerkloster, Bibliothek, Güssing (now in the Austrian state of Burgenland). See the *Appendix, Map 1*.

<sup>2</sup> The 13<sup>th</sup>-century Mongol and 16<sup>th</sup>-century Ottoman Turkish invasions were devastating. Most institutional libraries were sacked and stock scattered. Only a few hundred full manuscripts and library catalogues survive to show how medieval Hungarian book culture was notably developed, though they are a fraction of the stock and uneven in geographical and chronological spread. On quantity estimates and surviving proportions, see László Mezey, "Fragmenta Codicum", *Az MTA I. Oszt. Közleményei* 30 (1978), 65–90.

<sup>3</sup> See Polikárp Radó, *Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungariae et limitropharum regionum* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973), 78, and Menyhért Zalán's handwritten notes in "A magyar középkori missalék kutatásának feladatairól" (Tasks for research into Hungarian medieval missals), *Pannonhalmi Szemle* III/1 (1928), 189–198 (194–195); Janka Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*. Műhelytanulmányok a magyar zene-történehez 1 [Notated sources of the Hungarian Middle Ages. Workshop studies on Hungarian music history 1] (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1981), C 47. On the codex origin, see László Dobszay, "Árpád-kori kottás misekönyvünk provenienciája" [Provenance of a notated missal of the Árpád period], in *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok 1984* (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1984), 11. See also Janka Szendrei, "Zágrábi Missale Notatum", in *A „Mos patriae” kialakulása 1341 előtti hangjegyes forrásaink tükrében* [Development of *Mos Patriae* before 1341 in the light of notated sources] (Budapest: Balassi, 2005), 210–246.

Signs <sup>4</sup>	Carriers	Possessor inscriptions
4/4	Brodæus, Iohannes Turonensis: <i>Miscellaneorum libri sex</i> , 1555	<i>Sum scripti Beythe. 1585. 26. jan.</i>
4/30	?	?
4/48	Neander, Michael: <i>Loci communes philosophici Graeci</i> , 1588	<i>Sum Stephani Beythe. 1588.</i>
4/49	Neander, Michael: <i>Loci communes philosophici Graeci</i> , 1588.	<i>Stephani Beythe. 1590.</i>
4/68	Brandolini, Lippo Aurelio: <i>De ratione scribendi</i> , 1573.	<i>Stephani Beythe. 1586.</i>
4/80	Sigonius, Carolus: <i>Fragmenta Ciceronis</i> , 1559.	<i>Beythe. 1586. 26. jan.</i>
4/82	Schellenberg, Christophorus: <i>Carmina nuptialia</i> , 1576.	<i>Sum Stephani Beythe. 1585. 26. jan.</i>
4/116	Siber, Adam: <i>Sionion</i> , 1573.	<i>Sum Stephani Beythe. In festo Nicholai. 1585.</i>
4/119	Reusnerus, Nicolaus: <i>Panegyris</i> , 1593.	<i>Stephani Beythe. 1571.</i>
4/124	Scaligero, Giulio Cesare: <i>De sapientia et beatitudine</i> , 1573.	<i>Sum Stephani Beythe. In festo Nicholai. 1585.</i>
4/137	Iucundus, Iohannes: <i>Commentariorum de statu religionis</i> , 1575.	<i>Stephani Beythe.</i>
4/142	Toxites, Michael: <i>Commentarii</i> , 1564.	<i>Sum Stephani Beythe. In festo Nicholai. 1585.</i>
4/273	Stephanus, Henricus: <i>Conciones sive orationes ex Graecis</i> , 1570.	<i>Sum Stephani Beythe. Anno 1566. Januar. 26.</i> <i>Conventus Nemetújvariensis. 1661.</i>
19/40/b	Neander, Michael: <i>Aphorismi. Breves et sententioni de omnibus</i> , 1581.	<i>Stephanus Beythe.</i>

Table 1.

Hungary.<sup>6</sup> These were excised and cut from full manuscripts and used from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards to cover Protestant theological works in the collection (see *Table 1*).

The history of the books covered is well known, but the codex fragments of various ages, content and origin are harder to identify. The main group covered are theological titles from the library of the Batthyány family,<sup>7</sup> which succeeded the extinct Némétújvár counts – some 400 works.<sup>8</sup> The first part in their history links with Boldizsár Batthyány, a Protestant convert from Catholicism, his foundation of a

<sup>4</sup> These signs are created from the shelf numbers and the serial numbers of the carrier on the given shelf.

<sup>5</sup> There is no title page here, perhaps mice nibbled it.

<sup>6</sup> Szendrei's source catalogue cites 50 codex fragments from Némétújvár: *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, 154–155. A research trip in 2004 found a further 56, with and without notation.

<sup>7</sup> The Battyány family took over Némétújvár from the extinct Némétújvár (Güssing) counts at the start of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. See László Fejérpataky, "A német-újvári sz. ferencrendi zárda könyvtára" [Library of the Némét-Újvár Franciscan Monastery], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 8 (1883), 100–137 (101); Zoltán Falvy, "A magyar középkor zenei emlékei Szlovákiában és Ausztriában" [Music remains of the Hungarian Middle Ages in Slovakia and Austria], *MTA I. Osztályának Közleményei* (1958), 205–214.

<sup>8</sup> See Edit Madas and István Monok, *A könyvkultúra Magyarországon a kezdetektől 1800-ig* [Book culture in Hungary from the beginnings to 1800] (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2003), 131 and 140–141.

school, and the terms of his will. He was a son-in-law of Miklós Zrínyi and a humanist bibliophile. He left his private books to Németújvár's Lutheran school,<sup>9</sup> which gained further works from its court cleric, Protestant Bishop István Beythe and his family (see *Table 1*).<sup>10</sup> However, Boldizsár's grandson Ádám reverted to the family's Catholicism and passed the collection to the Franciscan Monastery he founded in 1638,<sup>11</sup> clearly expecting the fathers to keep such menacing Protestant works away from readers and assuage the spread of heretical teachings that had made some local headway. So the medieval codex fragments used to cover them ultimately did the opposite – we can thank mainly the disciplined Franciscans for our ability to take and read the books today.

As for other source materials, there is no way to reconstruct the earlier history of the valuable codices from which fragments were taken, but possibilities spring to mind. The medieval plainchant manuscripts in the monastery library and some of the codices cut up for covers may have come from earlier owners in the Batthyány family,<sup>12</sup> and the rest presumably from other church bodies, even the nearby Augustine community that Boldizsár Batthyány abolished<sup>13</sup> or the monastery of the Order of Saint Paul the First Hermit that preceded the Franciscan foundation.<sup>14</sup> In seeking origins for codices and fragments, account must also be taken of a typical Franciscan approach to books. The steady acquisitions of the Battyányis<sup>15</sup> may have

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<sup>9</sup> On the Batthyányi collection see also István Monok, "A Batthyány család németújvári udvara és könyves műveltsége" [The Batthyány family's Németújvár court and literacy], in István Monok ed., *Kék vér, fekete tinta. Arisztokrata könyvgyűjtemények 1500–1700* [Blue blood, black ink. Aristocratic libraries 1500–1700] (Budapest: Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 2005), 87–104.

<sup>10</sup> Born in Németújvár, Beythe was a famed botanist, Boldizsár Batthyány's court cleric and school head from 1612 until his death. His handwritten name appears on most title pages of books covered in liturgical codex fragments.

<sup>11</sup> See Note 6.

<sup>12</sup> László Dobszay raised the case for saying the *Missale Notatum Zagradiense* was transferred from Batthyány family holdings in Slavonia and Western Hungary. Such links may have allowed valuable codices to escape northward from the threatening Ottomans. See Dobszay, "Árpád-kori kottás misekönyvünk provenienciája", 11. Considering the hypothesis of Arnold Magyar Janka Szendrei raised the possibility of the missal being sent by Slavonian Franciscans. See Janka Szendrei, *A „Mos patriae” kialakulása 1341 előtti hangjegyes forrásaink tükrében*, 214; Arnold Magyar, "Das Missale Zagradiense von Güssing", *Burgenländische Heimatblätter* 48 (1986), 139–142 (141).

<sup>13</sup> See Edit Madas and István Monok, *A könyvkultúra Magyarországon a kezdetektől 1800-ig*, 141.

<sup>14</sup> László Fejérpataky, "A német-újvári sz. ferencrendi zárda könyvtára", 100.

<sup>15</sup> On supplying 17<sup>th</sup>-century book needs to the Németújvár Franciscan house, see Edina Zvara, *Libros habere: A szakolcai ferencesek könyvkultúrája a 16–17. századi Magyarországon* [Book culture of the Szokolca Franciscans in 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> century Hungary] Doctoral theses. (University of Szeged Arts Faculty, 2006). On features of the stock of today's Güssing Franciscan library, see István Monok, "A németújvári iskola könyvtárának teológiai arculata" [The theological identity of the library at the Németújvár school]. Balázs Karlinszky and Tibor Varga ed., *Folyamatosság és változás. Egyházszerkezet és hitélet a veszprémi püskökség területén a 16–17. században* [Continuity and change. Church structure and religion in 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries. Veszprém Diocese]. Lectures delivered at Veszprém see School of Theology, August 30–31 (Veszprém, 2018), 269–278.

been accompanied by works from other sources such as the obsolete monastic and diocesan liturgical codices or codex pages used for covering purposes. The Franciscans' travel habits mean they may have come from other parts of Hungary, even Transylvania, as our earlier research implied.<sup>16</sup> There is certainly a prominent number of Transylvanian books in the collection. One example is a Transylvanian ms. breviary of 1462,<sup>17</sup> from which the office rite of 15<sup>th</sup>-century Transylvania can be reconstructed.

It seems likely the Franciscans covered the Protestant volumes in parchment fragments taken from obsolete liturgical codices of Catholic institutions, soon after the foundation and settlement of the monastery. Initially it may seem strange for Protestant books to be preserved in this way, but there may be another reason: there is a clear intention to camouflage them, as the most obvious way to solve the disquieting problem of banned books. Having been covered to look like liturgical codices, they disappeared from view into a separate room, where it was forbidden to read them – indeed entry to the room called for leave from its warden.<sup>18</sup> Even today they were being kept separate when they were rediscovered.

So the Lutheran school's specialist theological collection and the fragments of liturgical codices which covered them were all saved. Indeed fathers boldly conceded the value of the collection to cultural history and began to allow to scholarly study of them in the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Early in the 1860s, Imre Nagy, then László Fejérpataky, reported on unusual books they had found.<sup>19</sup> The library's importance to music history was then noted first by István Bartalus, followed by Zoltán Falvy and Polykár Radó.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Fragments of the same 15<sup>th</sup>-century Transylvanian Gregorian manuscript (an antiphoner) were found on volumes in the Gyöngyös, Csíksomló (Șumuleu Ciuc) and Szokolca (Skalica) collections. See Gabriella Gilányi, "15. századi erdélyi antifonále-töredékek és ferences hordozókönyveik" 15<sup>th</sup>-century Transylvanian antiphoner fragments and Franciscan carriers], in Aranka Markaly ed., Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve (Székely Museum in Csík Yearbook) XIII–XIV (2019), 115–130 (forthcoming).

<sup>17</sup> A-GÜ I/34.

<sup>18</sup> See Edit Madas and István Monok, *A könyvkultúra Magyarországon a kezdetektől 1800-ig*, 101.

<sup>19</sup> Fejérpataky, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, reported 450 volumes, 34 of them in ms. See László Fejérpataky, "A német-újvári sz. ferencendi zárda könyvtára", 101–102. See also Imre Szopori Nagy, "Az almádi konvent" [(Balaton)almádi convent], *Győri történelmi és régészeti füzetek* [Győr historical and archeological booklets] III (1865): 54–234 (55).

<sup>20</sup> See István Bartalus, *Jelentés felső-ausztriai kolostoroknak Magyarországot illető kézíratairól és nyomtatványairól a Magyar Akadémiához* [Report to the Hungarian Academy on manuscripts and printed works of Hungarian origin from Upper Austrian monasteries], *Értekezések a Nyelv- és Széptudományok köréből* [Treatises on linguistic and scholarly studies] I (Pest: Eggenberger, 1870), 11; Zoltán Falvy, "A magyar középkor zenei emlékei Szlovákiában és Ausztriában" (Music relics of the Hungarian Middle Ages in Slovakia and Austria), *MTA I. Osztályának Közleményei* (Communiqués of Class I of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences), XIII/1–4 (1958): 205–214. Polykár Radó's source catalog cites only the *Missale Notatum Zagradiense*, see Note 3. The musical fragments go unmentioned.

Music-history research continued in the 1980s with surveys of the fragmentary materials, facilitated by microfilm recordings then in the hands of the Early Music Department of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences' Institute for Musicology. Based on these, Janka Szendrei managed to include 50 Némétújvár musical codex fragments in her 1981 catalog.<sup>21</sup> Still, systematic attention to the sources for Hungarian Gregorian showed a need for closer examination *in situ*, to allow the whole fragment stock to be surveyed musically, and for color photographs of higher technical quality to be made, to identify the exact content of fragments and facilitate later analyses of the liturgical melodies and musical notations. Such *in situ* research was headed in 2004 by László Dobszay and Janka Szendrei. The author of this study also took part as a beginning researcher: it was the experience of a lifetime to see the store where the old books were kept, the grandiose, rusting shelves on which the parchment-covered books had been kept, and the palpable permanence and order of them over the centuries. We could confirm that the longstanding collection and the medieval parchment covers of most importance were intact, and that the manuscripts and printed books had been kept on shelves in closed premises, probably in the very order of centuries before, so providing an authentic medium for *in situ* research.

The examination included all the volumes covered in fragments of liturgical codices. These were not merely registered and identified: digital documentations were made of the fragments, and of the title pages of the books they covered.<sup>22</sup> The main outcome of the research trip was to add a further 25 musical codex fragments to the Szendrei catalog.<sup>23</sup>

In considering the cover fragments, attention went first to the notation – the most obvious musical attribute. The fine Gregorian notations on the parchment fragments were very varied geographically and chronologically, covering medieval Hungary, the Carpathian Basin, and more broadly various patterns of Gregorian notation from Central Europe, from 12<sup>th</sup>-century German neume notations to Hungarian/Esztergom notation of the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries and Gothic mixed notations of the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries. The collection also proved varied liturgically. The fragments cover all the types of the notated books of the Catholic liturgy (Mass and

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<sup>21</sup> See Janka Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*: F 265, 266, 311, 349, 350, 351, 352, 496 (–507), 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508 (–534), 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537 (–538), 538.

<sup>22</sup> The *in situ* photography was done by Zsolt Kemecsei.

<sup>23</sup> The additions are 1/6, 1/40, 1/81, 2/85, 2/158, 3/129, 3/260, 4/7, 4/35, 4/38, 4/58, 4/152, 4/156, 4/163, 4/228, 4/229, 4/231, 4/232, 4/237, 4/252, 12/22, 18/7, 18/10b, 18/11, 19/40/b. The first digit in each number refers to the shelf, the second to the number of the volume on the shelf. Codex fragments are referred to hereafter by the same reference number of the book bearing them.

Divine Office), including graduals, antiphoners, notated breviaries and missals. However, most of the essential, scientific work on the musical codex fragments remained incomplete and fell in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century: Hungarian Gregorian research still owes detailed descriptions of the items, and discussion and evaluation of the whole source material or parts of it.

One explanation for the shortfall may be that the examiners began by analyzing the very early and most valuable complete musical manuscripts from Güssing; the fragmentary sources taken second or not covered at all. Research centered mainly on the most outstanding source: the full *Missale Notatum Zagrabense* dated to the early 13<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>24</sup> which counts among the most valuable and earliest complete remains of Gregorian Mass melodies of the Hungarian Middle Ages.<sup>25</sup>

As international interest in research into the Gregorian fragments increased, so concern for the Németújvár source materials revived also in the Early Music Department of Institute of Musicology in Budapest: systematic examination of Gregorian codex fragments and comprehensive analysis of the larger collections became a priority task. The newly initiated and still expanding *Fragmenta Manuscriptorum Musicalium Hungariae Mediaevalis* database<sup>26</sup> offers varied musical-liturgical descriptions that will hopefully inspire a succession of monographs and case studies covering the Németújvár fragments as well. This, as the first such case study, looks at the most exciting group of such fragments, based on the general analytical viewpoints of Latin plainchant repertoires: analysis of musical palaeography, comparative study of the liturgical content and the melodies found in the fragments. Here special emphasis is being placed on analyzing the musical notation, on selecting the most informative viewpoint of fragment studies, on which basis our musical codex fragments could be effectively explored.

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<sup>24</sup> See Menyhért Zalán, “A magyar középkori missalék kutatásának feladatairól” (Tasks for research into Hungarian medieval missals), *Pannonhalmi Szemle* III/1 (1928), 189–198 (197). For a detailed description, see Polikárp Radó, *Libri liturgici...*, 78–86.

<sup>25</sup> The complex exploring and analyzing the musical codex fell to László Dobszay and Janka Szendrei. See László Dobszay, “Árpád-kori kottás misekönyvünk provenienciája”, 7–12; Janka Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, 24–25; *idem*, “Árpád-kori források” [Sources from the Árpád period], in Benjamin Rajeczky ed., *Magyarország zenetörténete* [Hungary’s music history] I (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), 225; *idem*, “Zágrábi Missale Notatum”, 210–246. For detail on its notation: *idem*, *Középkori hangjegyvírások Magyarországon*. Műhelytanulmányok a magyar zenetörténethez [Medieval notation in Hungary. Workshop studies of Hungarian music history] 4 (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1999), 61–62.

<sup>26</sup> Online: [fragmenta.zti.hu/](http://fragmenta.zti.hu/), 2019. 02. 28.

## 14<sup>th</sup>-century antiphoner fragments – Codicological survey

A special place among Gregorian codex fragments is held by the coherent pieces making some form of group, whose recoverable data is multiplied by examining them together. Community among the fragments may rest on the common type of liturgical book, the musical notation, or the liturgical content, but the scholarly value of these is outstripped by fragments found to belong to the same codex. This marks the most elementary type of connection. If this codex fragments are found to belong to the same codex, they have altogether equal value in terms of the musical palaeography of a whole source, and their content may suffice to draw from them the complete set of Gregorian neume types in the given codex.

The Némétújvár collection is important in this respect, because it includes several series of fragments: parts of more than one codex can be assumed.<sup>27</sup> Of the fragments reconstructed, the most valuable belonged to a 14<sup>th</sup>-century liturgical book – an antiphoner with chants for the Divine Office – whose pieces were found on 14 different books. The fragments must be examined *in situ*, without removing them from the carrier, and so only the outside parts can be seen (with one exception).<sup>28</sup> In other words, only about half the actual liturgical music content is available for examination. The fragments were attached to the books by the simplest method: the folio edges tucked in and glued to the inside paper pages, and the spine threaded with a cord of leather. The coverings are soft and thin; there is presumably no attachment to the binding.

The codes on carriers show the shelf number and each book's place on it. This library signs was posted on the parchment cover on two types of paper tag, bearing an old and a new reference. Some glued tags also show an author's name and a shortened book title. Sadly these tags, more than one on a few volumes, can hide valuable information in the fragment from musical notation or text, so blocking reconstruction of the content of its liturgical music. Reading would be easier if tabs could be soaked off and perhaps placed in an empty margin. Details of the carrier could be written straight onto the covered spine, to reveal the codex notation again.

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<sup>27</sup> The largest number of fragments found are 27 from a former Franciscan antiphoner: 4/1, 85, 95, 16, 28, 103, 128, 251, 112, 6, 234, 260, 236, 47, 101, 271, 113, 109, 114, 83, 94, 141, 34, 192, 276, 67, 3/111.

<sup>28</sup> Fragment 4/30, see below.

However, the music could also be masked by the leather cord.<sup>29</sup>

All in all, the musical notation on the fragments, where examination begins, offers enough material for musical paleographic examination: the music notation can certainly be analyzed in detail based on the 14 sizeable pieces of the late codex.



The chant texts on the fragments appear with musical notation throughout; the lines of liturgical texts and melodies alternate on the leaves. The fragments belonged once to a musical manuscript, an antiphoner. Some parts are hard to read as the notes have gone from the parchment (e.g. 19/40/b) or been smudged by damp (4/124, 4/137). However, the notation on some fragments in the group is in a remarkably good state (4/68, 4/273).

Signs	Feasts on the fragments	Size (mm)
4/4	november 19. – Elisabeth	Height (H.): 163, Widht (W.): 268
4/30	szeptember 8. – Nativity of Mary	H.: 286, W.: 165
4/48	szeptember 8. – Nativity of Mary	H.: 290, W.: 168
4/49	September 14 – Exaltation of the Holy Cross	H.: 260, W.: 171
4/68	November 22 – Cecilia	H.: 150, W.: 268
4/80	November 22. – Cecilia	H.: 160, W.: 270
4/82	November 19. – Elisabeth	H.: 150, W.: 268
4/116	November 25. – Catherine	H.: 268, W.: 158
4/119	November 25. – Catherine	H.: 160, W.: 240
4/124	November 25. – Catherine	H.: 275, W.: 170
4/137	November 25. – Catherine	H.: 180, W.: 268
4/142	November 25 – Catherine	H.: 300, W.: 190
4/273	November 22 – Cecilia	H.: 320, W.: 240
19/40/b	September 21 (?) 26, 29 – Matthew the Evangelist ?/ Repose of St John, Cosmas és Damian, Michael	H.: 260, W.: 167

*Table 2.*

The folios of the original codex used nine staves and nine text lines. These meet the practice in Hungarian sources: the rastrum contains four red staff lines, and the notes are in black on it. The scribe used *c*, *f*, *g*, *h* keys. Double key-writing is given in a fifth interval: the keys *c-g*, *f-c* and *b-f* show the height of the melody

<sup>29</sup> E. g. on 4/137.



at the beginning of a line or item – combinations of three keys also appear (*f-c-g*).<sup>30</sup> The notation shows noticeably frequent key changes, due to the wide range of the newer sanctorale compositions. Also typical is the thinness of the rastrum, which is familiar from the north-east peripheral Hungarian plainsong tradition, especially from Transylvania. The staff lines are 5 mm apart, the staves 15 mm high, and the text space the same, giving a total height of 30 mm per line of musical notation and text. The full, nine-staff pages also allow the height of the writing area to be measured accurately: a size of 196 x 265 mm can be handled comfortably and counts as average for a choir book of the period. The full size of a codex folio cannot be given due to the clipped edges, but based on the fragment 4/273, it can be taken as a little greater than 320 x 240 mm. (Fragment measurements appear in *Table 2*.)

Important for dating is that the *custos* at the line end, to convey the designating initial note of the following line, is usually absent, but has still been used in the notation of two fragments (4/80, 4/142). The cover of the volume bearing 4/80 gives the *custos* at the end of the last line, while on 4/142 it appears for the last two lines. Both appear at musically vital points, before leafing over, where the height of the melody on the next page is given to ease continuity.<sup>31</sup> The generally absent *custos* signs, with only occasional, hesitant provision of them, point to the Hungarian practice in the latter half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>32</sup> a dating that features of the notation as a whole confirm. However, it cannot be ruled out that the *custos* signs were added a little later, despite the matching ink colour.

One fragment (4/4) has a strip with a glued repair, which may mark subsequent emendation, although the text and musical writing suggest the correction was made by the notator (*Figure 1*).

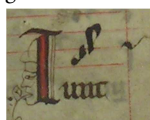


*Figure 1.*

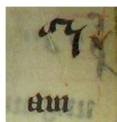
The script and the musical notation form a harmonious whole. The outward

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<sup>30</sup> See on fragment 4/124:



<sup>31</sup> On 4/80:



On 4/142:

<sup>32</sup> Janka Szendrei, *Középkori hangjegyvírások Magyarországon*, 39 and 68.

appearance of the folios shows the scribe's competence, yet these are not from a representative codex – it seems not to derive from a high church centre, but from some lower-ranking institution or parish. The notation is not the work of a professional, though apparently done by someone closely familiar with reading and copying music. Both text and musical notation show small inconsistencies and errors that could be explained by speed of writing or by their presence in the original being copied.<sup>33</sup> One major error comes in fragment 19/40/b, where the **end of the melody** of the verse of responsory *Vox tonitru* drops out of mode, though the keys are given correctly (*Figure 2*).

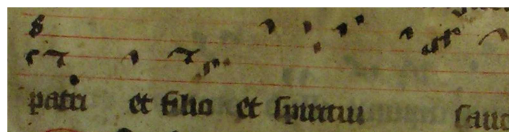


Figure 2. 19/40b

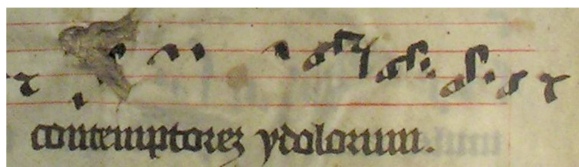


Figure 3. 4/68

It can also be seen that the same ink was used for the text and the musical notation, which may mean the writer of both was one and the same. This assumption is backed by the arrangement of the script: the text remains strictly within the borders marked by the perpendicular beginning and finishing lines, but the musical formulas, in matching the script, often slips over the border (*Figure 3*). The copyist may first have written the text, then tried to fit the melody to the words, with varying success. There are three arguments for saying all this: 1. The words of the text are separated by spaces of roughly the same size. 2. The scribe accurately fills the space for the line. 3. The words are written singly and not usually in syllables, so that the writing of the text pays no heed to the melody, which had to be adjusted subsequently to the text.

The Latin text is clearly of a *gothica rotunda* type, which suits the fluency of this musical notation: typical traits are round forms of the letters *c* and *o*, the letter

<sup>33</sup> Noticeable, for example, is the melody of the repeat of *O quam felices* in fragment 4/124, as the key signature *b* comes right before the formula (mid-line), yet the notation is wrong. Another error occurs in the repeat in fragment 4/81, where two different clivis neumes (f+e, d+g) are wrongly combined (f+e+d+g). There is a copying difference in fragment 4/273: *Aman in patibulo cum Esther apprehendit* appears instead of ... *dum Esther apprehendit* and *O lampas ecclesie rivos fundens olei medicinam* (instead of *medicina gratie nutrimentum fidei*; 4/142: *Gaude decus virgineum* (instead of *virginum*); 4/4: *Novum hoc spectaculum idem ista* (instead of *isti*) *vetus Christi*; 4/124: *Virgo flagellatur cruciata* (instead of *crucianda*) *fame*.

*d* written with an old-fashioned upper stem, the Italianate *r*, the special *v* and *y* created from tiny little curved elements and the absence of word abbreviations typical of usual Gothic writings. This rounded Gothic text writing that typically follows Italian patterns is often found in musical manuscripts from medieval Transylvania,<sup>34</sup> i. e. this attribute supports further the assumed Transylvanian provenance. This type of textual notation may have been imported into Hungarian literacy in the Angevin period, aided by the increasing popularity of the Italian universities among the Hungarian (also Transylvanian) clergy, the dynastic relations and Crusade campaigning of King Louis (Lajos) the Great, or the lively cultural life of the *capella regia* as a factor in proliferating attention to Italian art.

Another outcome of writing the text in first as described is to elongate the neumes or neume combinations horizontally, so that they may sometimes fall apart altogether. On the other hand, where there is no further melismas, there may be too great a gap between two simple neumes, which causes the musical writing to become unduly scanty (Figure 4, V. *Manum mittens*).

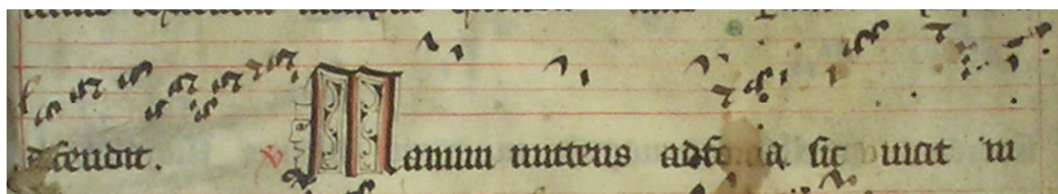


Figure 4. 4/273

This union of the textual and the musical notation in one pair of hands adds extra meaning expressed in graphic form. For example, there seems to be a personal interpretation behind the the differentiation of drawing of *punctum* according to its position in the melodic formula. Three cases can be distinguished where the first punctum grows and lengthens by an **apostrophe**: 1. with several separate notes succeeding each other and the scribe giving emphasis to the first, 2. at the beginning of a word, and 3. as a liquescence with individual consonant or vowel endings. One feature of musical **notation** is visual emphasis of the cadences. Where the text reaches a climax or a kind of “declamation”, or where there is a long interval jump in the melody, the size of the neume may increase noticeably. For details, see the ensuing palaeographic analysis. There can be little doubt that the writer of the strictly musical notation was somebody with high musical qualifications and individual notions.

Only in the illustration and coloring of the initial letters is the work clearly not in the hand of the notator. These fine, none-too-complicated, pen drawings, in line with early Renaissance tastes, must have been the works of manuscript illuminators.

<sup>34</sup> See Janka Szendrei, *Középkori hangjegyírások Magyarországon*, 141, Note 30.

However, the rubrics provided in the antiphoner fragments are noticeably slim. The name of a liturgical feast is found only once, in the office for the martyrs Cosmas and Damian.<sup>35</sup> Of course it was not generally from the beginning of the given sanctorale office that the fragments derived, although there is a case of that: the codex provides no rubric for the feast of St Michael, for example, which suggests that not only the notation of the feast names, but several other aspects of the writing were haphazard.

Abbreviations of musical genres appear irregularly; only now and again does the scribe show them in red (e. g. for 4/48 and 4/273). Interestingly, only the R (responsory) and V (versus) appear;<sup>36</sup> antiphons are not marked anywhere, although the layout would generally provide adequate space (4/137, for instance); only occasionally is there space lacking at the beginning of a piece (for instance 4/116 – *Caesar electos*). Fragment 4/48 has a curious solution: the R appears at the end of the line, not at the beginning of the musical piece, so adding again to the number of ad hoc solutions (*Figure 5*).

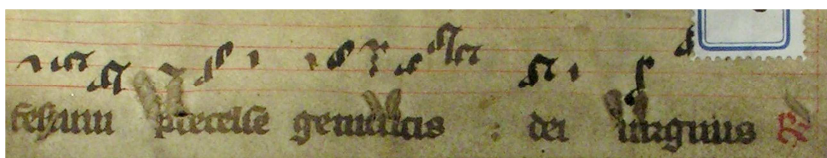


Figure 5. 4/48

An important issue raised by the musical notation of the fragments is whether there was a single notator. Occasionally the discipline and proportions of the writing break down, as if the work were more perfunctory (e. g. in 4/124, 4/49 and 4/137). Taking all into account, the variation in the standard of musical writing, such as different letter thickness and distortion of some signs, can be explained more easily by temporary problems with storage (the parchment could have suffered damp), for other parts of the same folios are proportionately and carefully inscribed, and their music wholly legible. Even after a systematic examination of every neume, no sign could be found of more than one notator at work. A further argument in favor of a single notator is that it derives from a church with a lower rank and a smaller staff. Furthermore, the 14 fragments belong to feasts very close to each other in the calendar, which again makes it probable that one notator did all the surviving passages, even if further ones were involved in the case of the whole codex.

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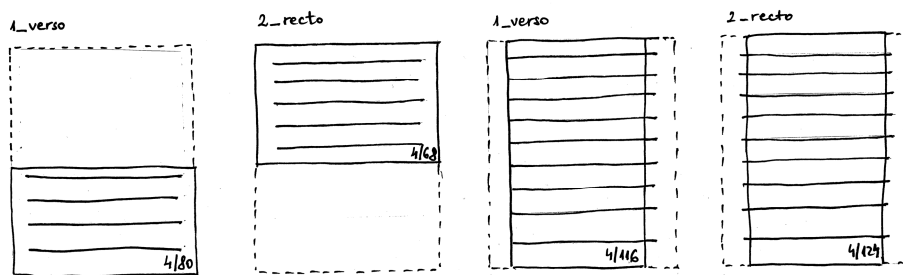


Table 6.

As for the decoration of the codex, the capitals of each item colored in blue and red have been done carefully on several occasions. Several of them depict human heads, but the more important of them also feature decorative motifs of flowers and leaves. All in all, the decorations, the text and the musical notation form a harmonious whole, even though the design of the codex shows a cursive tendency and refers an everyday liturgical use under modest conditions.



The musical pieces of the office that appear in the surviving parts of the antiphoner are connected with the feasts of saints the sanctorale (*Table 2*). Interestingly, the volumes were covered exclusively from folios bearing the offices for winter or autumn saints, sometimes from almost consecutive leaves, so that the parts of the codex used for coverage may have represented a coherent whole. Two pairs out of the 14 certainly are conjoined or consecutive: 4/68 and 4/80 come from the office of St Cecilia, and 4/116 and 4/124 contain consecutive parts of the office for St Catherine of Alexandria. Having been cut, these fragments must have been passed on consecutively as covering material, as they are found very close to each other in the library shelves (reconstruction: *Figure 6*).

Six fragments are almost full folios: nine lines of musical notation and text appear on them, with only the melodic line beginnings and ends tucked over, or in the best cases, only the original margins. Another four fragments bear music of almost full folios (7 or 8 lines).<sup>37</sup> The remaining four have a folio cut in half, with 4–5 lines of music and text; these were used for smaller volumes, although the full width of the folio was used. The edges of the parchment pages seem in their case not to have been cut off, but folded over to fit instead.

<sup>37</sup> Numbers of musical and text lines in smaller-sized covers: 4/4: 4–4; 4/119: 3–5; 4/82: 5–5; 4/137: 5–5; 4/68: 5–5. Larger-sized covers: 4/116: 9–9; 4/48: 8–9; 4/49: 9–8; 19/40: 8–8; 4/142: 9–9; 4/273: 9–9; 4/30: 8–7; 4/116: 9–9, 4/124: 9–9.

The fragments show sections of 50 liturgical chants (*Table 3*): great responsories (often with versus) and antiphons, mainly from matins, sometimes vespers and lauds.

Their specific musical notation gains instant notice, to a degree that establishes a community of the fragment covers among the bound printed materials shelved randomly at Németújvár library. It shares the ease of the Esztergom notation that flourished in the beginning of the 14<sup>th</sup> century: this musical writing moves modestly and flexibly like a line of dainty, decorative fingering, turning itself into something esthetic and enjoyable. Typical distinguishing marks of the fragments from the main Hungarian tradition of Esztergom Gregorian notation are the extremely rounded neume forms, curved and looped.

Fragm.	Feasts	Liturgical positions	Chants	MMMAe/ Responsories <sup>38</sup>	Cantus ID
4/4	Elisabeth	Matins, N2	R1/ Caeco nato cui nec	8211	600312
			V1/ Novum hoc spectaculum	8211	600312a
4/30	Nativity of Mary	Matins, N3	R1/ Nativitas tua Dei genitrix	1073	007199
			V2/Ave Maria gratia plena	1073	007199a
			R2/ Nativitas gloriose	1039	007198
			V2/ Gloriosae virginis Marie	1039	007198a
			R3/ Solem justitiae	1158	007677
			V31/ Cernere divinum	1158	007677a
			V32/ Gloria patri	1158	909000
			R4/ Felix namque	1104	006725
4/48	Nativity of Mary	Matins, N3	a2/ Fons hortorum puteus	5072	002887
			a3/ Veniat dilectus meus	6152	005329
			W/ Diffusa est gratia	-	008014
			R1/ Diem festum praecelsae	4008	006441
			V1/ Nativitatem hodiernam	4008	006441a
			R2/ Corde et animo	8028	006339
			4/49	Exaltation of the Holy Cross	Lauds
a2/ Sanctae crucis in honore	3152	206150			
a3/ Vere obstructum	4190	206151			
a4/ Fons omnium	5071	206152			
a5/ Ecclesia sanctorum	6126	206153			
Am/ Cornu salutis					
4/68	Cecilia	Matins, N3	a3/ Tunc Valerianus perrexit	8258	005253
			R1/ Beata Caecilia dixit	8054	006161
			V1/ Suscipe Domine	8054	006161a
4/80	Cecilia	Matins, N2, N3	R3/ Domine Jesu Christe	8094	006498
			V3/ Nam sponsum quem	8094	006498a
			a1/ Credimus Christum	2065	001946
			a2/ Nos scientes sanctum	2065	003961
			a3/ Tunc Valerianus perrexit	7023	005253

*Table 3*

<sup>38</sup> Use was made of systematic publications of medieval Hungary's antiphon and responsory melodies: László Dobszay and Janka Szendrei ed., *Antiphonen, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi V/1–3* (Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1999), and idem, *Responsories*, vols 1–2 (Budapest: Balassi, 2013).

Fragn.	Feasts	Liturgical positions	Chants	MMMAe/ Responsories	Cantus ID
4/82	Elisabeth	Matins, N3	a1/ Deo decantent omnia	7301	201155
			a2/ Juste lux orta gratiae	8573	202798
			a3/ Deus palam omnibus	1547	201201
4/116	Catherine	Matins, N1	R3/ Martyrium sitiens	2125	601396
			V3/ Daemoniis plena sunt	2125	601396a
			a1/ Cum esset adhuc	4306	201006
			a2/ Maxentius instat impius	5142	203060
			a3/ Caesar electos convocat	6172	200717
4/119	Catherine	Matins, N3	R3/ O mater nostra	1150	601595
			V31/Jam Christo juncta	1150	601595a
			V32/ Gloria patri	1150	909000
		Lauds	a1/ Passionem gloriosae	1513	203773
			a2/ Gloriosa Dei martyr	–	a00447
4/124	Catherine	Matins, N2	a3/ Caesar electos convocat	6172	200717
			R1/ Christus sanctam tenebroso	6065	600347
			V1/ Salve virgo benedicta	6065	600347a
			R2/ O quam felices	4096	601631
			V2/ Cum duce Porphyrio	4096	601631a
			R3/ Virgo flagellatur	6049	602506
4/137	Catherine	Matins, N1/N2?	R1/ Ex ejus membris	1145	006679
			V1/ Catervatim ruunt populi	1145	006679a
			R2/ Horrendo subdendo rotarum	7155	601077
4/142	Catherine	1. Vespers	a4/ Regia stirpe generosa	5131	206175
			a5/ Gaude decus virgineum	6178	206176
			R/ Haec quinquagenos	3079	601004
			V/ Efficiens testes fidei	3079	601004a
			V/ Gloria patri	3079	909000
			Am/ O inclita costi regis filia	5082	206180
4/273	Cecilia	Matins, N2	a3/ Fiat Domine cor meum	7066	002863
			R1/ Cilicio Caecilia membra	8078	006284
			V2/ Non diebus neque	8078	006284a
			R2/ Caeciliam intra cubiculum	3028	006259
			V2/ Angelus domini descendit	3028	006259a
	Elisabeth	Matins, N3	R2/ Aman in patibulo	8212	600087
			V2/ Manum mittens	8212	600087a
			R3/ O lampas ecclesiae	5082	601586
			V31/ Tu Dei saturitas	5082	601586a
			V32/ Gloria patri	–	909000
19/40/b	Matthew the Evangelist ?/ Repose of St John Cosmas and Damian, Michael	Vespers	R/ Vox tonitruui	6057	007921
			V1/ Victo senatu cum	6057	007921a
			V2/ Gloria patri	6057	909000
		Vespers	Am/ Cosmas et Damianus	8257	001938
		1. Vespers	a1/ Excelsi regis filium	–	201702
a2/ Cui sol luna	–	200962			

Table 3 cont.

Only sporadic examples of Esztergom notation are known to survive;<sup>39</sup> the hiatuses in its chronology and topography hamper examination of its history. The obstacle becomes still greater when exploring the writing background to the local

<sup>39</sup> See Janka Szendrei, *Középkori hangjegyzírások Magyarországon*, 58–60.

variants, rooted in Esztergom notation but geographically and organizationally distant from it – which certainly applies to our fragments. Exploring these notation systems belongs among the immediate tasks for plainchant research in Hungary. The notation patterns Janka Szendrei found to belong to Transylvania, the easternmost see of the Roman Catholic Church, she saw as the scanty remains of a once rich tradition, suspecting that a distinct notation school lay behind almost all the peripheral codex fragments.<sup>40</sup>

Analysis of the patterns had hardly begun before it met clear impediments. For data known or rediscovered show the Esztergom notation of the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries varying strongly among more distant church centres owing allegiance,<sup>41</sup> and in some continuing to shape themselves thereafter.

It is also important for examples of the surviving, so-called peripheral Hungarian tradition<sup>42</sup> to be told apart from those generally valid when compiling notational customs of a specific place. Szendrei notes how the Veszprém Pontificale incorporated Italian elements reflecting a Latin writing ductus of plainchant, and the special type of notation distinct from the Esztergom writing style was seen as a curiosity within the Hungarian notational tradition. However, no other notated codex from Veszprém has survived, and so there is no way of telling how far this type exemplifies the real writing tradition of its time.<sup>43</sup>

It has been noted that the sources for the so-called Transylvanian notation are mainly codex fragments.<sup>44</sup> Although bibliographic data, the Transylvanian possessor notes of the volumes, linked these fragmented sources and their original codices to Transylvania,<sup>45</sup> an East Hungarian origin becomes ever clearer from the

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<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 62.

<sup>41</sup> Such as Veszprém and Zagreb.

<sup>42</sup> The term peripheral was used also by Janka Szendrei, e. g. in *Középkori hangjegyzések Magyarországon*, 72.

<sup>43</sup> Idem, 56–57.

<sup>44</sup> Unfortunately the full 12<sup>th</sup>-century Transylvanian antiphoner *Codex Albensis* earlier associated with Székesfehérvár, then Gyulafehérvár (Alba Iulia, see Zoltán Falvy and László Mezey, *Codex Albensis. Ein Antiphonar aus dem 12. Jahrhundert*, Monumenta Hungariae Musica 1, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1963) was in German neume notation, so ruling it out for notation analysis. Neumes do not allow melodies to be read, so that *Codex Albensis* cannot be included as a comparative source in musical analysis.

<sup>45</sup> E. g. F 325: coverage of the “Jancsó Codex”, a chant book of András Petri, a cantor at Csíkrákos and Csíkszentmihály. F 337: “Place of emergence of the fragment and its writing layout suggest a form of a Hungarian notation of Transylvanian origin.” See Janka Szendrei’s handwritten description of the fragment in the Institute of Musicology, Room 202, labeled the “Szendrei-case”. Fragments F 361 and 362 cover archival documents from Szikszó, Szabolcs and Abaúj probably from a locally used parchment codex from North-East Hungary as binding material. Further fragments come from Csíksomlyó (see *Table 4*), and some are kept in Gyergyószentmiklós, Sepsiszentgyörgy, Kolozsvár. On fragment BCU Ms. 706 (*Table 4*) the words “Pallagi jobbágy” [a villein from Pallag] are legible. This could refer to “Parlag” in Sztalmár (Ró-



notatory features and parallels in the specific writing style. Janka Szendrei in the 1980s was the first to explore the idea of a separate medieval Transylvanian plainchant writing style. However, she expressed herself cautiously on provenance, so that her work may refer to the same fragment as Transylvanian or as East Hungarian, or simply as a case of peripheral notation. This implies that the terminology was still immature and the research incomplete.

Understandably, the urgency of analyzing the main Esztergom tradition of notation left little room for peripheral Hungarian systems such as the one behind the Transylvanian patterns. Apart from Janka Szendrei's short chapter on Hungary's notation history, there was no specialist literature on the field. Still, encouragement for such research has come recently from identification of further latent sources. So work on identifying, defining and classifying peripherals such as the medieval Transylvanian notation looks far more hopeful today.

The Némétújvár fragments can play a big part in this, as the largest coherent group of office sources where Transylvanian plainchant notation and melodic variants can be studied. Nothing further (about provenance, say) can be learned about the codex from which the 14 fragments came. Nor does anything more appear from the covered books of the Batthyány-Beythe collection, apart from ownership marks by István Beythe (see *Table 1*). Still, the style of notation on the fragments speaks for itself, in several features distinguishing it from the central, Esztergom Gregorian style, and coupling it to notation in other fragments known to be East Hungarian or Transylvanian.

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zsapallag, Prilog), which suggestion is supported by another nearby village name, "Szinervarallia" (Szinérváralja, Seini), appearing on the same folios. These two villages are 8 km apart. Many thanks to Klára Kísi and Ágnes Korondi for their valuable help in reading these texts. F 174: A covering of the Collection of István Szamosközy (Gyulaféhevár). Our research confirmed that the fragments F 34, F 348, BMV C.218 and C. 55090 were used to bind documents at the Benedictine Monastery of Kolozsmonostor. See Gabriella Gilányi and Adrian Papahagi, "Membra Disiecta from a Transylvanian Antiphoner in Budapest and Cluj". Forthcoming.

Fragment <sup>46</sup>	Book type	Date (c.)	Collections, signs	Content
F 325	antiphoner	13	Budapest, National Széchényi Library, cover of Quart. Hung. 1395	Lucia
Q 406-07	antiphoner	14/ex	Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, Fragm. lat. Q 406-07 <sup>47</sup>	2 <sup>nd</sup> Sunday after Octave of Easter
F 360	gradual	15/ex	Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, E 159/47, 1553 Bereg	Corpus Christi
F 361, F 362	antiphoner	14	Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, E 159/155, 1579/3. Comit. Szabolcs; E 159/10, 1578/27 Szikszó	Augustinus
F 337	antiphoner	14	privat possession	Sanctorale, júl. 22.–aug. 6.
F 406	antiphoner	14	Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, E 156, U et C.45/36	3 ff.: Agatha, Benedict, Annuntiatio BMV, Visitatio BMV
U. Fr. l. m. 216	antiphoner	14	Budapest, University Library, Vet. 34/6	Stephen the First Martyr
F 174 (= U. Fr. l. m. 221)	antiphoner	15/in	Budapest, University Library, Litt. orig. 272/b	Augustinus
F 45, F 332	antiphoner	15	Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, T8; Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, 159/1571/20	Conversion of Paul, Agatha, All Saints' Day
F 34, F 348, BMV C.218, C. 55090 <sup>48</sup>	antiphoner	15	Budapest, Library of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, T 422; Budapest, National Archives of Hungary, F 15 prot 27; Cluj/Kolozsvár, Romanian Academy Library, BMV C.218, C. 55090	Stephen the First Martyr, Holy Innocents, Vince, Gregory
BCU Ms. 706 <sup>49</sup>	gradual	14/2	<i>Cluj/Kolozsvár</i> , Central University Library, Ms. 706	Mass ordinary (Kyrie), Clement, Catherine, Andrew

Table 4

<sup>46</sup> At full codices, the common short name of the sources is used in our study, at fragments, an F+a number sign from the Szendrei catalog appears. If the source is not found in the Szendrei-catalog, it is mentioned by the sign of the *Fragmenta Codicum*-catalogs (e.g. S. Fr. l. m. 87 = Fragment Number 87 of the Library of the Central Seminary, Budapest. In case of a newly-found fragment, the original library siglum of the fragment/carrier is applied.

<sup>47</sup> See Fanni Hende, „Az Országos Levéltár Mohács előtti gyűjteményében található kódextöredékek”, *Turul* 2. szám (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat Szerkesztőség, Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, 2018), 69.

<sup>48</sup> The identification of these unknown pieces of the late Cluj-Mănăştur/Kolozsmonostor antiphoner based on the photographs from Adrian Papahagi. For analysis see Gabriella Gilányi–Adrian Papahagi, "Membra Disiecta from a Transylvanian Antiphonal in Budapest and Cluj". Forthcoming.

<sup>49</sup> Among Adrian Papahagi's photographs.

Fragment	Book type	Date (c.)	Collections, signs	Content
Sepsiszentgyörgy, 1. sz. töredék (Sepsi-1) <sup>50</sup>	antiphoner	15	Sfântu Gheorghe/Sepsiszentgyörgy, Székely National Museum, fragment No. 1	Trinity Sunday
Fragm. 80	antiphoner	15	Esztergom Archdiocesan Library, cover of MSS II 319, <a href="http://www.bibliotheca.hu/fragmenta/080.htm">http://www.bibliotheca.hu/fragmenta/080.htm</a> <sup>51</sup>	Good Friday, Lamentations
Cz. Fr. 7	breviarium notatum	13/1	Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda, Székely Museum in Csík. Original possessor: Şumuleu Ciuc/Csíksomlyó, Franciscan Monastery, Cz. Fr. 7 (Sign. rec.: T 55/b) <sup>52</sup>	14 <sup>th</sup> Sunday after Trinity Sunday, Job
Cz. Fr. 8	breviarium notatum	14.	Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda, Székely Museum in Csík. Original possessor: Şumuleu Ciuc/Csíksomlyó, Franciscan Monastery, Cz. Fr. 8 (Sign. Inv. 3786)	1 <sup>st</sup> Sunday after Octave of Epiphany
F 143, S. Fr. l. m. 87, Cz. Fr. 10	antiphoner	16/1.	Budapest, Pauline Library of the Central Theological Seminary, S. Fr. l. m. 87; Franciscan Library in Gyöngyös, Ant. 674 borítója; Csíksomlyó Franciscan Monastery, Cz. Fr. l. 10 (Sign. inv. 1766-69); Szlovák Nemzeti Könyvtár, Martin/Túrócszentmárton, Slovak National Library, 2 ff, without sign	Octave of Christmas, Book of Prophets, Thomas of Canterbury, Lamentations
F 586	gradual	15	Güssing/Németújvár, Franziskanerkloster, Stell 4/279	2 <sup>nd</sup> Sunday after Epiphany, Septuagesima

Table 4 cont.

The study of the music palaeography here goes beyond an exhaustive, analytical presentation by attempting to identify some features of the Németújvár fragments compared with the notational variants found far from Esztergom that Janka Szendrei called peripheral, how they shape in relation to the Hungarian tradition of notation, and what traits they have compared with central Esztergom notation. The second part of the study – viewing fragments in terms of the liturgical items and melodies they contain – centers on the choice of pieces, their place, liturgical order and melodic style, how these augment data from the notation, and finally, how they define the origin of our antiphoner.

<sup>50</sup> My special thanks go to Edit Madas for drawing the attention to this fragment and to Hunor Boér, the leader of the Library of Székely National Museum, for permitting me to use the photograph of the fragment in this work.

<sup>51</sup> András Vízkelety hrsg., *Mittelalterliche Lateinische Handschriftenfragmente in Esztergom*, Fragmenta et codices in bibliothecis Hungariae II (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1993), No. 80.

<sup>52</sup> For fragments kept here see Zsuzsa Czagány–Erzsébet Muckenhaupt–Ágnes Papp, “Liturgikus és kottás középkori kódextöredékek a Csíksomlyói Ferences Kolostor egykori könyvtárának átlományában” [Liturgical and notated medieval codex fragments in the Library of the Franciscan Monastery at Csíksomlyó].

Csíksomlyó Cantionale	gradual	16/in	Miercurea Ciuc/Csíkszereda, Székely Museum in Csík. Original possessor: Şumuleu Ciuc/Csíksomlyó, Franciscan Monastery, A V/5252
C 80 = Transylvanian Psalter	psalter	1400	Sibiu/Nagyszeben, National Museum Brukenthal, Mss.23.V.1
Gyulafehérvári („Gyergyói”) Gradual	gradual	16/1	Alba Iulia/Gyulafehérvár, Bibl. Batthyaneum, R. IX. 57
C 37=Erdélyi Gradual	gradual	1534	Budapest, National Széchényi Library, Fol Lat 3815
C 39=Codex Albensis (CAlb)	antiphoner	12/in	Graz, Universitätsbibliothek, Ms. 211
C 53=Váradí Antiphoner (VA)	antiphoner	15/ex	Győr, Diocesan Treasury and Library, without sign (main corpus)

*Table 5*

In the comparative examination of musical notation, *Table 4* shows how we turned first to fragments Janka Szendrei had identified as Transylvanian, and lit upon further ones. We also looked at available retrospective sources of the peripheral tradition that display special notational elements (see *Table 5*). The secondary musical manuscripts used for comparison (for instance from Esztergom or Zagreb) appear in the appendices at the end of the study (*Appendix 3*).

## *Libri liturgici ex Transylvania*

### – The results of Gregorian research so far

Inconsistent usage of the terms “Transylvanian rite” and notation underline the need to know what exactly is meant by the frequent expressions “Transylvanian”/“peripheral”/“East Hungarian” liturgical tradition. We need to know what phenomena prompted Gregorian researchers to use the label “medieval Transylvanian office rite,” which sources were seen as Transylvanian, and for example, as belonging to the *ritus Varadiensis* (Nagyvárad, Oradea), to the other important Eastern diocese. How were these told apart from those of Kalocsa (superior to them) or Zagreb rite? What conclusions were drawn about liturgical *consuetudo* and musical traditions? Did the methods of examination permit the medieval Transylvanian and Várad rites to be seen as distinct from each other or from other Hungarian tradition variants?

The questioning involves a return to the early church organization in Hungary. Medieval Transylvania belonged to Hungary’s second archiepiscopal see: Kalocsa–Bács. This came during the 11<sup>th</sup> century to cover the south-west suffragan see of Zagreb, those of Sirmium and Csanád (Cenad), and two other dioceses founded along the see’s south-east border. That of Transylvania, founded in 1009 by Saint/King Stephen I<sup>53</sup> was named after its territory, not after its seat, Gyulafehérvár, as the custom was.<sup>54</sup> This may suggest Byzantine influence and something different from the outset in its running, which might reflect its territorial-cum-ethnic variety or the proximity of Eastern Christianity. The vast see became divided in the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries into 13 archdeaconries;<sup>55</sup> the earliest surviving registry

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<sup>53</sup> See papers in Gyula Dávid ed, *Erdély a keresztény Magyarországon. Erdélyi Tudományos Füzetek 231* [Transylvania in Christian Hungary, Transylvanian Scholarly Papers 231] (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 2001): Károly Vekov, “A keresztény egyházszervezés Erdélyben” [Christian church organization in Transylvania], 97–114; Zsigmond Jakó, “Az erdélyi püspökség középkori birtokairól” [Medieval estates of the Transylvanian see], 105–115; Sándor Tonk: “Erdély integrálódása a középkori magyar államba” [Transylvania’s integration into the medieval Hungarian state], 116.

<sup>54</sup> The Hungarian designation Erdély or Erdőelve [“Beyond the Forest”] took the Latin form Ultrasyvania or Transsylvania from the 13<sup>th</sup> century.

See online: <http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/E/Erd%C3%A9ly.html>, 2019. 02. 28.

<sup>55</sup> I. Archidiaconatus Albensis – Fehérvár, divided into subdeaconries or deaconries: Fehérvár, Sebes, Springi, Selyki, Csík and Sepsi; II. Archidiaconatus de Doboka – divided into Doboka and Beszterce districts; III. Archidiaconatus de Hunyad; IV. Archidiaconatus de Kézdi; V. Archidiaconatus de Kolos; VI. Archidiaconatus de Krasna; VII. Archidiaconatus de Küküllő; VIII. Archidiaconatus de Ózd – divided into Ózd and Régen districts; IX. Archidiaconatus de Zolnok (Szolnok); X. Archidiaconatus de Telegd – divided into Csík, Erdőhát and Maros subdeaconries; XI. Archidiaconatus Thordensis (Torda); XII. Archidiaconatus de Ugocha

of papal tithes, from 1332–1337, lists 586 church parishes (see map in *Appendix 2*).<sup>56</sup>

In the east of the country, north-west of Transylvania, Saint Stephen founded the see of Bihar/Várad about 1030. Its seat moved to Várad under Ladislas the Great in about 1091.<sup>57</sup> This had six archdeaconries<sup>58</sup> and about 300 parishes in an area between Bihar and Békés. It was a more minor division of the Hungarian Church, dwarfed by its neighboring Transylvania, though both had large benefices and sizeable numbers of canon's stalls.<sup>59</sup> Indeed Várad may have had a more unified, centralized liturgical life than the varied, extensive Transylvania (with the centre of Gyulafehérvár).

The two big units of the East Hungarian ecclesiastical region, under the Várad and Transylvania sees, introduced in the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries much the same liturgical customs as the other centers of the country's church.<sup>60</sup> Yet early results of examining the liturgical sources reveal two special features.

1. Várad and Erdély, suffragans of the Archbishop of Kalocsa, developed a liturgical variant that differed from the Kalocsa–Zagreb rite in several ways;<sup>61</sup> territorial isolation provides an adequate explanation for this.

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(Ugocsa); XIII. Archidiaconatus de Zathmar (Szatmár). See Ferenc Lestyán, *Megszentelt kövek. A középkori erdélyi püspökség templomai* [Blessed stones. Churches of the medieval Transylvanian see] (Kolozsvár: Gloria, 1996). Online: <http://mek.oszk.hu/04600/04684/html/11.html>, February 28, 2019.

<sup>56</sup> Károly Nyárády R., “3. A népesség számának és összetételének alakulása a 13–17. század között” [Developments in the population and its content in the 13<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries]; idem, “Erdély népességének etnikai és vallási tagolódása a magyar államalapítástól a dualizmus koráig” [Transylvania's ethnic and religious structure from the foundation of the Hungarian state to the Dualism period], *Erdélyi Múzeum* LIX, 1–2 (1997): 1–39 (5).

<sup>57</sup> On the dispute over the foundation of Várad diocese, see Vincze Bunyitay, *A várad püspökség története alapításától a jelenkorig* [The history of Várad diocese from its foundation to the present day] (Nagyvárad, 1883). Online: <http://mek.oszk.hu/04700/04735/html/7.html>, 2019. 02. 28.

<sup>58</sup> Bihar, Békés, Kalota, Homorog, Kölesér, Szeghalom.

<sup>59</sup> A 15<sup>th</sup>-century list shows the *servitia* of Várad at 2000 gold florins and those of Transylvania at 1500. (By contrast, Szerém gathered only 100 gold florins. Várad chapter in the 14<sup>th</sup> century had 24 canons and another 3 subcanons in the city. Gyulafehérvár's chapter in 1331 also had 24 canons and a smaller subchapter can be surmised from the data. So the two eastern dioceses were among Hungary's most important centers. See Elemér Mályusz, *Egyházi társadalom a középkori Magyarországon* [Church society in medieval Hungary] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1971), 117–118, (181).

<sup>60</sup> See László Dobszay, *Corpus Antiphonarium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae. A Preliminary Report* (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1988), 389–390.

<sup>61</sup> Janka Szendrei, “A Zalka antiphonale provenienciája” [Provenance of the Zalka antiphoner], in László Felföldy–Katalin Lázár ed., *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok* (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 1988), 21–31 (26).

2. Very few full sources survive for East Hungarian medieval office liturgy. Reconstitution relies mainly on 15<sup>th</sup>-century breviaries: a Transylvanian manuscript at Németújvár from 1462 (Tra-34), a 15<sup>th</sup>-century breviary for private use (Tra-104), a manuscript from Várad of 1460 (VBr-8247), and the truncated (VA).<sup>62</sup>

The early examinations led to a long-held theory that the *Codex Albensis* had been written by ear by a pupil of the school next to the Székesfehérvár chapter.<sup>63</sup> This was confuted on several grounds.<sup>64</sup> László Dobszay's studies show a distinct Kalocsa-Zagreb-Transylvania rite and Janka Szendrei's palaeographic/liturgical/musical analyses belie its Székesfehérvár origin, as on seemingly logical, complementary grounds do the most recent analytical results, all pointing to the possibility of a south-east usage of the early 12<sup>th</sup>-century antiphoner in Hungary.<sup>65</sup> However, despite the liturgical and musical elements pointing to an eastern origin, the *Codex Albensis* employs a liturgical system that still seems to be developing under strong German influence, but with no stave system, so that it is not open to musical interpretation. Furthermore, a large numbers of mistakes and misreadings leave it far from reliable; caution must be shown in allowing it to contribute to the examination process.

Apart from our early antiphoner, only 15<sup>th</sup>-century liturgies of Transylvania-Várad can be gauged fairly accurately, and the melodies only from one source, the Várad Antiphoner. As for the Gregorian office tradition in the two sees – the “Transylvanian Gregorian Office” – we could study only what Várad Bishop János Filipecz had ordered: an elaborately presented but incomplete late medieval manuscript, the fine Várad Antiphoner in Bohemian musical notation (adding also some Bohemian liturgical elements), with surviving parts of an associated choir book series. Earlier inspection of the Transylvanian-Várad rite paid little melodic or liturgical heed to surviving codex fragments with local musical notation from Transylvania. Tiny and variable as the excerpts are, they can shed light on the Gregorian chant of the Transylvanian see. This group of fragments is major evidence

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<sup>62</sup> See the Transylvanian volumes of the CAO-ECE project (Institute for Musicology, Hungarian Academy of Sciences): Andrea Kovács, CAO-ECE Transylvania-Várad VII/A. Temporale (Budapest: MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, 2010); VII/B Sanctorale (2010). These are referred to here by the abbreviation Tra-, apart from the Várad volumes: VA=Várad Antiphoner, VBr-8247= Várad Breviary, I-Rvat 8247.

<sup>63</sup> László Falvy and László Mezey, *Codex Albensis. Ein Antiphonar aus dem 12. Jahrhundert*, 27–28.

<sup>64</sup> László Mezey assumed the codex was from Székesfehérvár because of a 13<sup>th</sup>-century draft of a letter in the margin of f. 58v that includes the word “Alba” (as in Alba Regia – Fehérvár). In fact this says nothing of its origin. See Zoltán Falvy and László Mezey, *Codex Albensis. Ein Antiphonar aus dem 12. Jahrhundert*, 24, 28, and for a rebuttal, Janka Szendrei, *A „Mos patriae” kialakulása 1341 előtti hangjegyes forrásaink tükrében*, 104–109.

<sup>65</sup> See Note 50, and *ibid.*, 104–109.

of rite variants in the Transylvanian archdeaconries, even in the unexplored period before the 15<sup>th</sup> century.

The most pertinent finding so far has been a similarity between Várad and Transylvanian sources. Not finding marked differences in liturgical order or item choice that could define another rite, writers at the end of the last decade tended to see the Transylvanian–Várad rite as one body of liturgical customs. The substantive differences found in earlier research had rested on the 12<sup>th</sup>-century *Codex Albensis*, so that a good few “pan-Transylvanian” liturgical elements were found, which classed the substance of the Transylvanian breviaries as notably closer to the 12<sup>th</sup>-century antiphoner. Yet differences between the *Codex Albensis* and the Transylvanian breviary also show the older manuscript to be a valuable age-document reflecting early development of the Transylvanian rite, rather than a source from which to gauge Transylvanian liturgical practice in the high Middle Ages.<sup>66</sup>

Beside the exploration of liturgical structures of 15<sup>th</sup>-century Transylvania–Várad rite no any comparative musical analysis of plainchant of Transylvania has been published. A work by Zsuzsa Czagány on the Várad Antiphoner is still in preparation. But there is a way forward, as stated earlier. The codex fragments of liturgical music – not just what Szendrei found, but newer finds too – still await research. Their scholarly worth cannot equal that of whole codices, but liturgical melodies found on these *membra disiecta* lend themselves to comparative melodic examination that may reveal much on the locations, characteristics and relations of this peripheral, East Hungarian melodic tradition. The major work awaiting scholars covers not only transcribing the musical content of the codex fragments of liturgical music, but assessing its liturgical content and fitting it into the great comparative efforts already made (publications of antiphon and responsory melodies).

So analysis of the Németújvár fragments is a big step forward. It cannot be said for sure which fragments of the broader “Transylvanian” group belong to Várad and which to various other parts of the see, but origination may be helped by data from the books covered and results of triple (palaeographic, liturgical and melodic) analysis in plainchant research.

The progress so far in notation analysis, thanks to Janka Szendrei, will be coupled with new gains from systematic comparative analysis of the Németújvár fragments. This may even make it possible to distinguish and group them. It may

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<sup>66</sup> Discovery of the codex showed that the *Codex Albensis* was not representative. See Janka Szendrei, *A „Mos patriae” kialakulása 1341 előtti hangjegyes forrásaink tükrében*, 107. Its presentation was as modest as the institution behind it. Even the parchment is of poor quality with frequent holes.



cause excitement by showing how the Gregorian musical style, felt to be Transylvanian, relates to the melodic style of other Hungarian traditions – the melodies of Esztergom or the peripheral variants, including the late Várad version. Can so strong a musical tie be shown between Transylvania (Gyulafehérvár) and Várad as the liturgical parallels suggest?

Attention and caution must be paid, before any conclusions are drawn, to the chronological and geographic hiatuses, despite the valuable increase in the fragment source materials. The data will reveal sites within the vast Transylvanian see, and discoveries from these will present us with numerous local solutions and curiosities.

## The comparative source materials for musical examination

Scriptoria of the more distant, subordinate Hungarian dioceses in the 11<sup>th</sup>–12<sup>th</sup> centuries began writing their chant books in German neume notation: this appears in the earliest (at the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century) codices held in Zagreb, and in the *Codex Albensis* of the early 12<sup>th</sup> century, the oldest fully notated musical source of the medieval Hungarian office tradition. After church life stabilized, there began to appear at the end of the 12<sup>th</sup> and beginning of the 13<sup>th</sup> centuries an Esztergom/Hungarian type of notation. This or elements of it probably began to spread promptly through the whole Hungarian Church. It seems feasible to imagine the churches of the second archbishopric, Kalocsa–Bács, accepting this notation and altering it to their needs over succeeding centuries.

It was also possible to associate with Esztergom notational practices the Gregorian neume-structures drawn from fragments from the East Hungarian region. The set exemplified several Esztergom customs, such as *climacus* neums starting with double points, a tied *scandicus*, and later flexible, rounded ligature-elements. The basic neume shapes of the Zagreb sources and the neumes of the fragments from the eastern part of Hungary form a common set that shows where the peripheral Hungarian marks differ from those of Esztergom. Among the Transylvanian–Zagreb features are long, streaked introductory lines of *puncta* (pseudo-*virga* signs) emphasized in relation to the, hooked *scandicus* forms shaped by rounded, curved, adjacent sections, punctum-like emphases against the rounded elements, and for example, *pes quadratus* figures, and retention of linear composition, which had been dropped from Esztergom notational practice by the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century. All in all, the strong Latin (Franco-Italian) effects<sup>67</sup> of the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup>-centuries Zagreb–Transylvanian notation seem to have left stronger marks here than on the main tradition of Hungarian calligraphic writing, or rather, or as if the peripheral signs had preserved an earlier phase of writing, parallel to the earlier staff notation of the Pray Codex, and then developed from that relatively archaic starting point.

Later developments in the notation practice of Zagreb and Transylvania can be clearly distinguished, for instance by their different use of introduction lines. In Zagreb, these streaks accompany almost all the neume introduction, while in Transylvania long *punctum* forms of word beginnings are introduced, i. e. tied to a

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<sup>67</sup> Janka Szendrei, *Középkori hangjegyzírások Magyarországon*, 41. Hungarian clerics could have met with such musical notation traditions abroad in their perigrinations to Paris, Bologna, etc. which became ever more frequent from the 12<sup>th</sup> century. See László Makkai, “Középkori művelődés Erdélyben. Írás és írástudók” [Medieval culture in Transylvania. Literature and literates], László Makkai and András Mócsy ed., *Erdély története. Első kötet. A kezdetektől 1606-ig* [History of Transylvania. Vol. 1. Beginnings to 1606] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1986). Online: <http://mek.oszk.hu/02100/02109/html/81.html#85>, 2019. 02. 28.

function and slowly vanishing from the sources.

So research into Hungarian peripheric musical notations seems to have been neglected: detection of them needs to ensue. Indeed examination of the musical codex fragments available allow and necessitate attention to these notation subtypes and characterizing of them.



To Szendrei, *Transylvanian* (or almost synonymously East Hungarian) notation meant a broader writing style<sup>68</sup> distinct from Esztergom's, but a variant referring back to the main tradition in several ways, and according to the fragment sources in several local versions. With the self-evidently elements of Transylvanian musical notation of some medieval codex fragments and full retrospective manuscripts, Szendrei was the pioneer of collection, but the stages of typing them wholesale, identifying their attributes and placing them chronologically were not reached. Such assessment and clarification are tasks that await Gregorian research, along with deciding how many local notation types appear in surviving Transylvanian source materials and to what precise locations they can be associated.

As mentioned, there is no full, notated liturgical codex available for paleographic analysis before the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The same applies to Várad diocese: the slips of information hardly show anything of the medieval scriptorial customs. Sadly, the southernmost parts of Kalocsa–Bács archdiocese such as Csanád and Syrmia (Srem) were in the main line of Ottoman advance and largely destroyed, as were their books. There are hardly any comparative source materials for any of that vast area.<sup>69</sup> So what we term “Transylvanian notation”, based on available sources, may even have been reflected in Kalocsa, Csanád or Syrmia.

To return to the Transylvanian diocese, there are other historical reasons for the lack of sources. Protestantism spread there at high speed in the earlier 16<sup>th</sup> century, squeezing out Catholicism in mere decades. The range of denominations that developed reflected a polyethnic environment. The Catholic Saxons, settled since the early 12<sup>th</sup> century, took to the Lutheran faith in the 16<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>70</sup> as did al-

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<sup>68</sup> For a first, brief summary of Transylvanian musical notation, see Janka Szendrei, “IV. A magyar notáció differenciálódása. Erdély” (Differentiation of Hungarian notation. Transylvania), 62–63, and “V. A magyar notáció demokratizálódása. Észak és Kelet-Magyarország” (Democratization of Hungarian notation. North and West Hungary), 72–73, *Középkori hangjegyzések Magyarországon*.

<sup>69</sup> See László Dobszay, *Corpus Antiphonarum. Európai örökség és hazai alakítás* [European heritage and Hungarian creation] (Budapest: Balassi, 2003), 367.

<sup>70</sup> Esztergom's exempt provostship of Szeben (Sibiu) failed to gain the rank of bishopric, even based on the see of Milkó (Milkovul), destroyed in the Mongol invasion of 1241. Conversions to Protestantism must also have been a strong negative factor. See *Magyar Katolikus Lexikon* [Hungarian Catholic Lexicon] III, ed. István Diós (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1996). Online: [http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/E/erdelyi\\_puspokség.html](http://lexikon.katolikus.hu/E/erdelyi_puspokség.html), February 28, 2019.

most all Transylvania's population by the 1550s, but for a few distinct areas such as Csíkszék (Scaunul Ciuc) in the Székely Land (Ținutul Secuiesc). This rapid decline of the Catholic Church and almost total elimination of its institutions<sup>71</sup> meant old Catholic codices had hardly any chance of surviving, and want of institutions precluded new books, except in the sparse Catholic areas of the Székely Land, obviously in very poor circumstances.

So the Gregorian source materials surviving in Transylvania are few. The full books available can only be of secondary help in research; there is no basic source of full value in all respects.<sup>72</sup> The Baroque collection at Gyulafehérvár's Bathya-neum has just one, 16<sup>th</sup>-century source item significant to medieval Transylvanian church tradition, of a period when notation had become less location-specific.<sup>73</sup> Of the medieval liturgical books of the Csíksomlyó (Șumuleu Ciuc) Franciscan Monastery, the one notable source is the *Cantionale* of the early 16<sup>th</sup> century, whose Hungarian notation with local traits in semi-cursive musical writing probably preserved a lot from the Transylvanian diocesan tradition.<sup>74</sup> As comparative material, there are book-cover fragments from the Csíksomlyó Franciscan Monastery, some showing Hungarian/Transylvanian musical notation.<sup>75</sup> In paleographic terms, there are source materials from Székelyudvarhely:

<sup>71</sup> Most Transylvanian families converted. Priests and monastics were expelled from the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century onward. Ibid.

<sup>72</sup> See the source researches and notes of Elena-Maria Șorban, "Erdélyi középkori katolikus graduale-kódexek" [Medieval Transylvanian Catholic Graduale Codices], *Református Szemle* 104/4 (2011): 417–422; idem, in greater detail: *Muzica gregoriană în Transilvania medievală* [Gregorian music in medieval Transylvania]. Dissertation, Academia de Muzică "Gh. Dima", 2001. For the latest and more complete catalog of the medieval ms. materials in today's Romania, see Adrian Papahagi and Adinel-Ciprian Dinča in collaboration with Andreea Mârza, *Manuscrisele medievale occidentale din România* (Iași: Censur Polrom, 2018).

<sup>73</sup> On the Gyulafehérvár (Gyergyóújfalussy, "Újfalussy") Graduale, see György Merczel: "A Gyergyói Graduale", *Magyar Egyházzene* VII (1999/2000): 187–196. The source is marked G4 in Elena-Maria Șorban's catalog, with the title "Ujfalussy Gradualé" at f. 34v-n: *Istud Graduale est Julia* [?] *Ujfalusiensis*; f. 77r *Graduale Ujfalusiensis*. See Elena-Maria Șorban, "Erdélyi középkori katolikus graduale-kódexek", 420.

<sup>74</sup> For a detailed description of the Csíksomlyó Cantionale marked G3 in Șorban's catalog, 419–420.

<sup>75</sup> See Zsuzsa Czagány–Erzsébet Muckenhaupt–Ágnes Papp, "Liturgikus és kottás középkori kódextöredékek a csíksomlyói ferences kolostor egykori könyvtárának állományában" [Liturgical and notated medieval codex fragments in the Library of the Franciscan Monastery at Csíksomlyó], *A Csíki Székely Múzeum Évkönyve 2005. Társadalom-és Humántudományok* [Székely Museum in Csík Yearbook 2005] (Csíkszereda, 2006), 149–232. Relevant to our subject are the fragments with catalog nos. Cz. Fr. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, especially 10, from the 15<sup>th</sup> century, the antiphoner fragment Sign. Inv. 1766–69, other fragments of which we have found and identified in the Ferences Library, Gyöngyös, the Library of the Central Seminary at Budapest (H-Bs Fr. 87, H-Ggn Fr. 674) and in Túrócszentmárton (Martin), Slovakia at the Slovakian National Library Collection of Printed Matter (notated fragments from the Franciscans of Szokolca, Skalica, no library sign).

a Transylvanian *Graduale* of 1634 now in National Széchényi Library in Budapest,<sup>76</sup> and a much earlier partial psalter of 1400 held in Nagyszeben – this and the Némétújvár fragments are the only major non-retrospective musical sources from before the 15<sup>th</sup> century, although its psalter-genre means it can only be a secondary musical source.

Fully notated medieval codices containing the liturgy of the Catholic mass and the psalter have survived in larger numbers from the Saxon cities of Transylvania: Nagyszeben (Hermannstadt, Sibiu), Brassó (Kronstadt, Braşov), and Medgyes (Medwisch, Mediaş).<sup>77</sup> These were originally subordinated to Esztergom directly. They follow the alien German-language liturgical practice of Szeben Provostship and Brassó Deaconry, not Hungary's main tradition. However, Transylvania's Saxon liturgical codices also draw on the Hungarian liturgical tradition, for instance in following the basic temporale structures of the Esztergom rite and their notable respect for King László, patron saint of the Szeben Chapter.<sup>78</sup> So the liturgy of churches under Esztergom proved open to some Hungarian traits, but the rite as a whole remained alien. The Saxon group of sources are precluded from joining our comparative sources by their German melodic variants and Messine Gothic notation.<sup>79</sup> Precluded for the similarly international, generally Central European nature of its robust, standardized musical notation is the early 16<sup>th</sup>-century Kolozsvár *Graduale* held at Gyulafehérvár.<sup>80</sup> Also exemplifying international codex artistry is the monumental Várad Antiphoner, though it differs from them in its local significance, made as it was specifically for the Várad church.<sup>81</sup> It has great value for its own variation of Hungarian office liturgy and its own melodies, but in paleographic terms it is again curbed: its musical notation shows that it cannot contribute to a definition of East Hungarian, as it has been written in Bohemian

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<sup>76</sup> G5 in Şorban's catalog.

<sup>77</sup> See Brassó Gradual I (SZJ C 81, Şorban G1), Scored Breviary (C72, Şorban G2), Antiphoner (C 76), Psalter (C 75), Brassó Gradual II (C 38), Kolozsvár Gradual (C 51), Passionale (C 34), Medgyes Prosarium. On the last see Janka Szendrei, "A Medgyesi Prosarium", in Gábor Kiss ed., *Zenatudományi Dolgozatok 2008* (Budapest: MTA Zenatudományi Intézete, 2008), 13–38.

<sup>78</sup> The Saxons settled in Transylvanian areas followed their own liturgical practices with the help of German priests. The Saxon Provostship of Szeben founded by King Béla III in 1190 had strong autonomy directly under Esztergom. For liturgical information in Transylvanian Saxon sources in detail, see Karl Reinerth, *Misale Cibiniense. Der Meßritus der siebenbürgisch-sächsischen Kirche im Mittelalter* (Köln–Wien: Böhlau Verlag, 1972).

<sup>79</sup> See Janka Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, 65–66.

<sup>80</sup> Şorban: G6. Szendrei discerned Polish elements in its notation. Janka Szendrei, *Középkori hangjegyrások Magyarországon*, 39.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid., 41. Idem, "A Zalka Antiphonale provenienciája", 21–32. On the latest research and studies of the Várad source group see Zsuzsa Czagány, "Töredék, kódex, rítus, hagyomány. A Zalka Antifonále győri és modori töredékeinek tanúsága" [Fragment, codex, rite, tradition. The Zalka Antiphoner's Győr and Modor fragments], in Gábor Kiss ed., *Zenatudományi Dolgozatok 2011* (Budapest: MTA Zenatudományi Intézet, 2012), 123–141.

notation. Still, the cursive Hungarian musical writing that grew up after the Esztergom notation and spread from the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century<sup>82</sup> posits a loose tie to the Protestant graduals of 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup>-century Transylvania,<sup>83</sup> but again only hypothetically, as their writing style is not expressly local in nature. These chant books differ wholly from the previous in their denomination and content, using the general cursive handwriting of the early modern Hungarian plainchant sources. Such cursive notation based on the Esztergom neume structures, known and favored in the school system of the Hungarian Catholic Church organization as a music-writing means in the late Middle Ages, lacks almost entirely the local (Transylvanian) writing marks, so that occasional signs at most can be drawn into the examination.<sup>84</sup>

We are clearly in a poor state for source materials and the full codices among them can be useless, either not belonging to Transylvania in a narrow sense, or not primarily manuscripts of liturgical music, or later appearances at most of use in retrospective analysis. So comparative musical paleographic inspection of the Némétújvár fragments cannot rely on whole codices. It must rest mainly on secondary source type, the notated codex fragments found in collections at home and abroad.

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<sup>82</sup> See Janka Szendrei, *Középkori hangjegyírások Magyarországon*, 80–88.

<sup>83</sup> See, for example, the printed *Öreg Gradual* (Old Gradual, Gyulafehérvár: Fejedelmi Nyomda, 1636). RMNY 176.

<sup>84</sup> This could include, say, the Hungarian climax, only partly slanting right (the *punctum* under the double *punctum* is still central, but the last note moves rightwards), or variant shapes of the Hungarian *scandicus* form.

## Musical paleographic analysis

Several interesting observations can be made if the requisite neume structures of the fragments are entered under the elegant neumes of the early 14<sup>th</sup>-century *Missale Notatum Strigoniense* (MNS) (Table 6). For one thing, the Németújvár antiphoner also presents the special basic signs of Hungarian notation: the *clivis* in the shape of a 7, the tied *scandicus*, the *climacus* consisting of a perpendicular series of points and its combinations, and the tied version of the same sign. Important aids to recognition are the round *ductus* of notation and maintenance of the typical writing direction: neumes are written upward to the right, then vertically down. Along with these notable parallels there are clear differences: the notation on the fragments is autonomous and improvisatory; there is clear lively fluctuation in the writing as a whole. The overall impression is of a provincialism that contrasts with the ornamental writing of the early 14<sup>th</sup>-century MNS, devoid of random elements, with every move planned and proportionate, every detail covered by the strict calligraphy of the notation.

Although the neume structures in the Németújvár fragments likewise suggest there had been an earlier calligraphic tradition, the notation points to a period of decline. Earlier conjunct forms seem to be breaking up. The notation does not fix the form of neume; it permits form variations, and is notated in the handiest way for the flow of writing. Such arbitrary usage would be inconceivable in Esztergom notation. Formal ornamental writing does not allow for random forms, and behind the late 14<sup>th</sup>-century Transylvanian notation, it is possible to assume, based on the fragmentary examples, an old, stable, moderate calligraphic tradition reflecting own principles similar to Esztergom's.<sup>85</sup> An idea of such a style can be gained from late 14<sup>th</sup>-century fragments F 325 and 361–362, inscribed in what can be seen as a direct antecedent of this Németújvár notation. Such patterns are East Hungarian parallels to Esztergom calligraphic notation, and visibly balanced in the same way as Esztergom notation of 80–100 years before. The Esztergom notation then devised may lie behind the rounded forms, with single basic neumes appearing later in the Németújvár fragments (e. g. elongated *punctum* forms, marked entry lines, exaggerated roundness, and loops) as separate developments.

So initial study of the Németújvár fragments may suggest the same as several Transylvanian ones: a wholly energetic, cursive style of notation, in which Szendrei saw Italian antecedents,<sup>86</sup> and with prevalent rounded forms and fine, flexible momenta.

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<sup>85</sup> There may be evidence of this in the mature notation of fragments F 325 and 361.

<sup>86</sup> See Janka Szendrei, *Középkori hangjegyvírások Magyarországon*, 62–63.

	Punctum	Pes	Clivis	Torculus	Porrectus	Scandicus	Climacus
Missale Notatum Strigoniense, 14/1							
Güssingi töredékek 14/2							

Table 6

Elements of sometimes redundant<sup>87</sup> writing found in late 14<sup>th</sup>-century antiphoner fragments may tie in with a need for changed notation habits that speed up notating. There was indeed in the Hungarian *scriptoria* of the later 14<sup>th</sup> century an effort to arrive at a rapid, cursive way to record liturgical chant material, so that their musical writing had outgrown the calligraphic traditions.<sup>88</sup>

What features are found in this “transitional” writing style of the fragments? An obvious one is that notators take the wavy lines of the horizontal elements to extremes. Neume elements such as the first stroke in the *clivis* are extenuated notably in closing situations. The same form shows in some other basic signs like the *pes*, *torculus* and conjunct *climacus*, and other tied neumes like the *scandicus flexus* and *torculus subpunctis*: a magnified, extended wavy form that picks the neume or neume combination out from the writing. This elongation and its momentary break in the tempo of writing is not disturbing to the piece as a whole; it tends to give a dynamic, pulsating effect, although it does appear disproportionate in larger quantities.

This manner of notation may have musical significance, as the writing becomes livelier and the neumes grow at peaks and closures. For instance, one passage in the office for St Catherine features an enlarged *clivis* where her name appears (Figure 7).

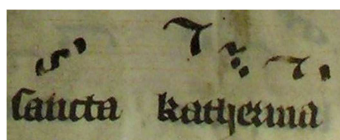


Figure 7

<sup>87</sup> Szendrei's original word was the similarly derogative “sallangos” (“redundant, gaudy”).

<sup>88</sup> See Janka Szendrei, *Középkori hangjegyrások Magyarországon*, 81.









As for the shaping of single neumes, it is worth comparing the signs on the fragments with Esztergom and other Transylvanian examples, i. e. making a complex analysis of the various elements.

The root unit of Hungarian Gregorian notation, basic syllabic neume, is the *punctum* formed out of the *tractulus*. Instead of the later pointed element it expresses a single note not in the 13<sup>th</sup>-century way by the more varied, wavy, “fly-foot” pattern of the neume. As Gothic feather pen cut and treatment gained ground, so patterns of chiselled *punctum* signs steadily gave way by the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, to the ever more regular, square notehead shapes of Gregorian notations. Initially the residue of the Messine *tractulus*, as entry line, was inherent to the neume, but later it slowly disappeared.

The *punctum* notes in our fragments typically take a teardrop shape, irregularly drawn (partly due to the speed of writing) to appear in several variants, for example with or without an entry line.<sup>89</sup> As in the Némétújvár example, the entry line is no longer emphatic and its use less frequent than in earlier Transylvanian examples. It is noticeable that the writing is less square than before. (As against the rounded variant, this is typical of a local East-Hungarian writing tradition consisting of more linear, scratchy elements and horizontally lengthened neumes.) Neither this nor the previous calligraphic notation is marked by the arched drop shape. The notation is dominated rather by longish, angular *punctum* signs. Yet the basic common feature of the points is that the notator stretches them vertically to fill the area available for staff lines and spaces. The extent of the sign is irregular and lengthy, with the *punctum* at an angle to the line (unlike the later regular rhomboid shape of Hungarian writing tradition). Such placement is spectacular where notes have a longer entry line.<sup>90</sup> The entry lines parallel Zagreb notation, but the initial lines are longer and more decisive there. Still, the appearance of Zagreb notation is clearly distinguishable from Transylvanian, as the *puncta* of its sources (and other neumes too) appear consistently with entry lines – as pseudo-*virgae*. The Némétújvár fragments follow others thought to be Transylvanian in using entry lines, but only functionally, on occasions to be described here.

Musically speaking, use of the many *punctum* variants seems not depend on the whim of the notator: teardrop points carry extra information. Where the syllable ended with a specific vowel or consonant, it had a liquescent effect. In

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<sup>89</sup> A drop on a longer lead line,  with a curved spherical form,  as a rhombus hanging to the right,  or in some cases in a form like a *clivis* 

<sup>90</sup>  (4/68).

other situations (syllabic melody), two or more consecutive *puncta* means the first syllable takes a certain shape or may acquire a long entry line, or may increase in length in relation to subsequent notes.<sup>91</sup> On seeing this variability, readers may get the impression that the notator may have sung the melody to himself as he copied it, and articulated or interpreted it as he did so (Figure 8).




Figure 8









Figure 9



The *punctum* as last separate note in a cadence sometimes takes a mannered, multiplied shape, with three or even five points to heighten the closing of the chants (Figure 9). So shaped, these pairs or chains of points often appear in Némétújvár and early Transylvanian sources of the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> centuries. The first member has a long entry line, second or subsequent ones being less accented. Their formation derives from the specific shape of a dual *punctum* that begins the Transylvanian *climacus* (see below). Along with the long entry line of a typical strophicus, this is often seen as a provenance determinant mark in early Transylvanian sources, as notators of cursive writings of the 15<sup>th</sup> century also adopt.<sup>92</sup>

On the *punctum* issue, it pays to study other Transylvanian sources.<sup>93</sup> Again the *tractulus* appears as a pattern and early form – earliest in our Transylvanian

<sup>91</sup>  The tied version is a strophicus, which plays an important part in the shape of the *climacs*

 and may appear on its own in the fragments as a closure: 

<sup>92</sup> F 325 bistropha:  tristropha:  multiple:  F 361:  Némétújvár:

 Transylvanian Graduale: 

<sup>93</sup> For clarity's sake, fragments are identified in the comparison by the abbreviations in Szendrei's catalog, cited in Table 4.

fragment, a badly damaged folio piece from a 13<sup>th</sup>-century antiphoner found on a Franciscan carrier book from Csíksomlyó,<sup>94</sup> with jagged, spindly notes like those of the *Missale Notatum Zagradiense*, for example.<sup>95</sup> The late 13<sup>th</sup>-century fragment F 325 of several decades later<sup>96</sup> has note depictions in more *punctum*-like calligraphy, with the points longer, more rectangular, and noticeably drawn out. The *punctum* *neume* skew strongly leftward and spread sideways to give an airier appearance of notation that later dominates in Transylvanian sources.<sup>97</sup> In the F 325 notation the sign takes two forms, as later in Németújvár fragments: with or without a marked entry line.<sup>98</sup> The differentiation recalls the dot (*punctum*/rod *virga*) of German neume notation, as two kinds of basic syllabic mark, though the German sources use them to mark pitch relations, the *virga* being higher and the *punctum* lower in pitch. The entry lines of early sources later shorten considerably, until they vanish in the latter half of the 14<sup>th</sup> century and the *punctum* becomes a more square (Gothic) form.

The next stage, from the early 14<sup>th</sup> century, appears in fragment F 361/362, from the cover of a north-east Hungarian *protocollum*. Its notation has many features in common with the 13<sup>th</sup> century and with the Transylvanian neume structures of the Németújvár antiphoner. Of the earlier elements, it shows the long, emphatic introductory line (a), and the *punctum* without it (b).<sup>99</sup> By this time it is general for the regular elongated square *puncta* to skew slightly to the left.

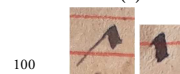
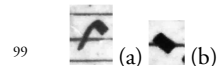
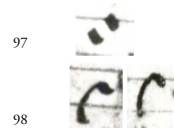
For comparison, there is fragment F 337 from a private source, described by Szendrei as Transylvanian, which likewise shows the *punctum* extended vertically and skewed leftward, so that the notes are written slantwise on and between the lines.<sup>100</sup> As with the Németújvár example, entry lines are rare. The speciality here is a noticeably squarer, skinny appearance in the notation. It differs from the gaudy

<sup>94</sup> See Zsuzsa Czagány–Erzsébet Muckenhaupt–Ágnes Papp, “Liturgikus és kottás középkori kódextörödékek a csíksomlyói ferences kolostor egykori könyvtárának állományában”, Cz. Fr. I.



<sup>95</sup> *Missale Notatum Zagradiense*.  See Janka Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, 50.

<sup>96</sup> The fragment appears in the Jancsó Codex volume made at Csíkrákos or Csíkszentmihály in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. See Janka Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, 55.



Transylvanian forms as a fine example of a local tradition in which the neumes have linear, horizontal details rather than a rounded appearance. Slantwise teardrop shapes prevail in the musical notation, not curved teardrop ones.

As mentioned, the *punctum* neumes even in most Transylvanian sources of the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries are still drawn out into a parallelogram, in a variant, stably contoured, angular form, possibly with a tiny entry line at beginning and end. This distinguishes them from the transitional teardrop developed from the earlier *tractulus* form, still widely found among Némétújvár fragments. Still, it has been seen that the basic neume shape in later Transylvanian sources differs also from the regular rhombus of the early Hungarian/Messine Gothic mixed form, so that the irregular slanted shape remains a mark of Transylvanian notation throughout.<sup>101</sup>

Starting with the *punctum* (confirmed by analysing other neumes), the seemingly closest relative to the notation of our Némétújvár fragments appears in the Sepsi-1 fragment of 50–80 years earlier. Its careful shaping shows long entry lines appearing early in Transylvanian notation; teardrop forms also proved transient: they had all dropped out by the 15<sup>th</sup> century, leaving just one rite-determining feature: the longish, skewed rectangular form. All *puncta* from the 15<sup>th</sup> century onward were the same shape, influenced by Gothic penmanship (*Figure 10*).

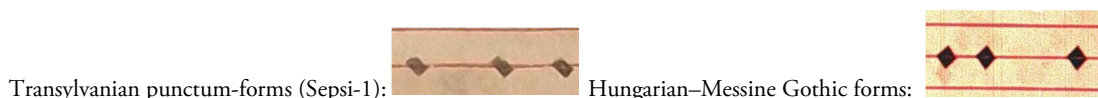


Figure 10

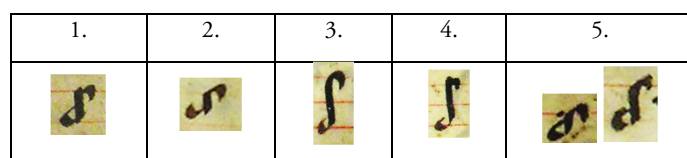



Figure 11

The next basic neume, the *pes*, a version of the Esztergom notation’s flexible neume in the Némétújvár fragments as well, appears here in a rounder shape, as a continuous loop that seems to curl in on itself (like a shape “8”). Only a closer look shows that the *pes* form is articulate and broken. In the case of a second step it is sometimes written with three distinct pen marks: two teardrops joined by a curved

<sup>101</sup> Q 406-07, BCU Ms. 706, U. Fr. l. m. 216, Cz. Fr. 8, F 406, F 143 (S. Fr. l. m. 113), Gyula-



perpendicular (*Figure 11*, column 1). The immature pen work and varying order of writing the tiny elements appear in another version, where the initial mark is separate from the tie and second note, and the neume seems to have a tiny spur to it (*Figure 11*, 2). Where the *pes* has a bigger interval, the archaic continuous form appears (*Figure 11*, 3), although it can happen with a bigger interval that the notator breaks up the neume and fails to be consistent in using this system (*Figure 11*, 4). Perhaps this is a case of the teardrop variant appearing when the loop closes the shape from below (*Figure 11*, 5), as no such tie appears with the upper, returning part of the shape: that remains opens.

The calligraphic Esztergom notation shows a differing direction in which the sign is drawn,<sup>102</sup> so that the neume moves back to form a single “s” shape. In addition there is apparent the loop-like form, whose lower initial element receives a decided “conclusion”, or more precisely in view of writing direction, a starting point. Mention needs making of a differing form of *pes*, of another East Hungarian type with a squarer line lead, whose sources were mentioned earlier (e. g. F 337, F 34, F 174, Cz. Fr. 7, and the Transylvanian Psalter). Here the round *pes* gives way to a reversed “z” form of straight lines () in which the upper horizontal is often shorter.<sup>103</sup> The elongated horizontal elements in this *pes* already distinguish this notation in the 14<sup>th</sup> century from Némétújvár’s arched, gaudy variant. In F 34, the linear *pes* shows a homogeneous line breadth due to the new, Gothic-style treatment of the pen. In these cases the loops of the round *pes* figure are relaxed, in a tendency applying also to other neumes: the rounded signs are coupled in each case with angular parallels. All this points to two traditions of Transylvanian notation, and remaining fragments also testify that both had a calligraphic and a broken/cursive period, and later a last turn to the Gothic fashion. The Transylvanian antiphoner from Némétújvár can be placed on the grounds of its *pes* in the early group of F 325 and F 361–362. It could be coeval with Q 406-07, while displaying the same writing as the later, Gothicized examples of the F 143, Sepsi-1, Fragm. 80 fragments.<sup>104</sup>

The next basic neume, the *clivis* seen in the fragments, is a major emblem in Transylvanian notation, which is one of the most characteristic signs of the Némétújvár fragments as well. A significant detail is the wave line that begins horizontally and appears in several forms (*Figure 12*).

<sup>102</sup> MNS: 

<sup>103</sup> Cz. Fr. 7:  Transylvanian Psalter:  F 34:  F 80:  F 337:  F 174: 

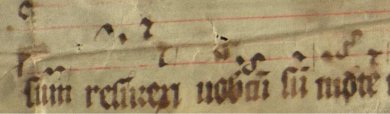
<sup>104</sup> Detail of the musical notation of the Sepsi-1 fragment: 



Figure 12

The shape of the *clivis* in important places, especially the ends of movements, is stretched out like the drawing of the *punctum* and lengthened by an entry line (12a). The ending of the subsidiary formula has a medium-length *clivis* (12b), while for larger or smaller intervals the horizontal part of the *clivis* is short and quite devoid of an entry line (12c); this combination of three forms dynamizes the notation and gives it a bright visual impression. The *clivis* shape depends on the formal units of the melody, so allowing for musical interpretation: once again the notator, in varying the *clivis* shape to signify the ends of sections, is depicting the musical process, which assists in orientation in the musical form. The visual essence lies in the first *clivis* element; it is drawn more thickly than the vertical part, which is stumpy and rudimentary especially in its second-step form (12b). As seen, the horizontal element has various forms: in significant positions the arched, wavy shape appears, while the *clivis* used at second steps makes a simple, but emphatic straight line. The perpendicular part is not constant either: it sometimes curls back (12b) and sometimes sits at right angles to the upper element (12a, c). Indeed it sometimes has a special pedestal, while at other times no such detail can be seen (12d).

All in all, the *clivis* belongs to the group of archaic basic neume signs: in each case the notator writes it with a single move of the pen. The wavy, gaudy shape found on the fragments, can also be seen on one Transylvanian fragment of the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (F 325). In this calligraphic example, use of the *clivis* is less differentiated in form: the open wavy *clivis* with an entry line is found almost exclusively, irrespectively of the inner formal hierarchy of the melody (whether in an opening, transitional or closing position), and the difference hardly appears other than in the length of the entry line.<sup>105</sup> In connection with the exclusive form, it might be thought that the flexible, fluent main shape, close to the Esztergom one, was the former stylized main form, but the comparative codex fragments also show that in another part of East Hungary, the square, right-angled form dominated, rather than the flexible – the former echoing the shape of the South Italian *clivis* of Benevento, or the Messine *clivis* of a “7”-shape.<sup>106</sup> Occasional lengthening of the

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<sup>105</sup> F 325: F 362: F. l. m. u. 216: C 55090: Sepsi-1: F 406:   
Csíkksomlyó Cantionale

<sup>106</sup> F 337: Transylvanian Psalter: In the period of Gothic penmanship, some aspects of the subsequent shaping of the square (Transylvanian) *clivis* clearly persisted in the tied form (Transyl-

horizontal element of the *clivis* is also typical – in other words, the extended first momentum of the neume is typical of a *scriptorium* that represents a local tradition. The notation of the 14<sup>th</sup>-century F 337, which can be considered as the calligraphic model for a square, but tied mode of writing, also contains evenly elongated first horizontal part, but here again, this long element was placed slanted on the staff line or space and the other vertical element becomes secondary, so that structurally it is remarkably similar to the more rounded Transylvanian *clivis*. It is also possible to distinguish within this group an important form of the *clivis* consisting of thick lines, which essentially preserves the Gothic form.<sup>107</sup> Another side form in the group has the horizontal element rising slightly from the vertical element.<sup>108</sup>

The *clivis* of the Némétújvár fragments is exceptional because it is the only neume in the catalog of signs to show very many variants from wavy to square or vestigial horizontal elements to very long forms – even ones curling upward. In other words, our *membra disiecta* they show all those sign variants found in the other Transylvanian fragments surveyed, as if the aim had been to present the whole range of *clivis* forms found in the Transylvanian region. Yet not a single example appears in our Némétújvár fragments of the liquiscently augmented *clivis*, the *cephalicus*, whose “9” shape is common in Transylvania even in the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>109</sup>



Figure 13

The signs of the *torculus* and *porrectus* are worth examining together as they are inverse forms and structurally similar. These base neumes take more articulate shapes in the Némétújvár fragments and can be classed as modernizing forms of neume. The *torculus* usually starts with a teardrop *punctum* (Figure 13), rendered distinct from the rest by a lift of the pen. The second part is simply a *clivis*, with the second and third note joined to the *punctum* by a long joining line. This arched form of the second and third note is the most obvious visual detail in the whole sign, due to the special Transylvanian *clivis* described already. The notator may

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vanian Psalter: F 174: ) through the period of cursive tendencies (e. g. the Gyulaféhérvár Gradual ), up to the spread of the rigid geometric forms (F 45, 332: ).

<sup>107</sup> C 55090: U. Fr. l. m. 216:

<sup>108</sup> F 337: F 406: U. Fr. l. m. 216: F 174:

<sup>109</sup> F 361, 362: F 337: Csíksomlyó *Cantionale*:

attach the *punctum* to the *clivis* in two different ways. In some cases, the hand rises from the *punctum*, especially if the interval is of a second, so that it may even initiate the second element (the *clivis*) from a low position (13a), while in others the *torculus* appears to be strictly tied, as if it were a direct continuation from the first *punctum* element (13b). Yet again there is duality: where the interval is greater than a second, the *torculus* figure is expressly tied. Indeed in some cases two *torculus* signs may be linked.

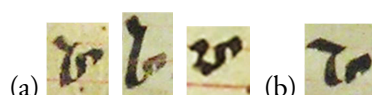


Figure 14

With the pair of the *torculus*, the *porrectus*, the archaic conjunct form dominates, not the *clivis+punctum* pair, and applies even in a simple form (Figure 14). The link consists of a thin line and a closure with a whiplash reversal that again expresses the flexible, gaudy style of the writing (14a). The separated form (*clivis+punctum*) does not appear alone, just in a neume-combination (14b).

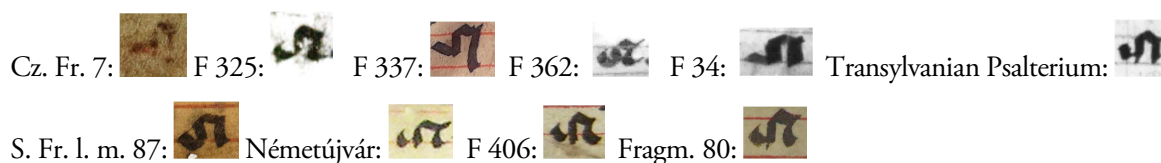


Figure 15

The fragmented *torculus* has not yet become typical in earlier Transylvanian notation patterns; the tied form still predominates. What is common to all is the *clivis* feature of having a sharp break between the second and third notes, instead of a rounded, conjunct Esztergom form. The result is a wavy, flag-like feature, then a shape closed by a straight line, which can be seen also in the notation of the Németújvár fragments as a mannered, hilltop shape. The broken *torculus* line appears in every fragment associated with Transylvania, although the camber is held out only in the narrower, rounded style (Figure 15). So this marks a discovery of paleographic features that distinguish this sub-tradition clearly from that of Esztergom.



With the *porrectus*, this shape compares with the breaks in 14<sup>th</sup>-century Transylvanian notation<sup>110</sup> – a tied form, complemented by an entry line in F 361 and 362. Only later, in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, did it become a fragmented structure after the manner of Gothic penmanship.<sup>111</sup> Also common in the Némétújvár shapes is the archaic, tied structure (*Figure 16a*), unlike the composition starting out from the *torculus*, where the opening *punctum* is usually separate (see above, *16b*).

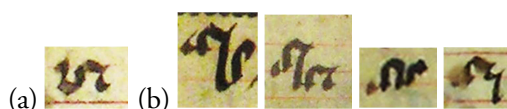


Figure 16

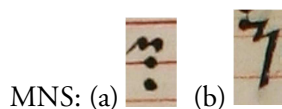


Figure 17

Those examining Hungarian notation traditions had long paid heed to the three-note *climacus* neume. Janka Szendrei traced the shape changes in numerous sources for the main Hungarian tradition, and in examining the details, lit upon possibly the most specific element of calligraphic Hungarian notation. Two basic forms can be followed in the Esztergom sources (see *Table 6* and *Figure 17*): 1. a perpendicular neume starting with double points (*17a*),<sup>112</sup> and 2. for bigger intervals, a quite closed, perpendicular figure (*17b*). Earlier parallels with these *climacus* shapes can be found in two geographically distant places. One was in the Benevento notation, where both versions, with and without the dual *punctum*, can be found, and the direction of writing is the same. The other is in the vertical point (*tractulus*) series of the early Messine notation. German neume notations from the earliest times to the Gothic staff notations exclusively and consistently keep the *climacus* variant, slanted rightward from a *virga* and consisting of two points on the right sloping downward. The urges to bring the special form of the neume into Hungary can be explained in terms of generally stronger Latinization at the end of

<sup>110</sup> E. g. F 325: F 361, 362: F 337: Sepsi-1: S. Fr. l. m. 87:

F 34: MS 706:

<sup>111</sup> Transylvanian Psalter: Csíksomlyó Cantionale: F 332: Transylvanian

Gradual: Fragn. 80:

<sup>112</sup> This can be found in early Metz, Lotharingian and Italian notations.

the 12<sup>th</sup> century and frequent studies by Hungarian priests in Paris and Italy and the influences on them.

As far as the Transylvanian type is concerned, Szendrei drew attention to the Eastern sub-tradition she knew, not the 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup>-century Esztergom *climacus*. However the *climacus* forms underline this most strongly in starting the neume with a broad, horizontal line or “cap,” a “recumbent *virga*” rather than a pair of *punctum* signs.<sup>113</sup> The Transylvanian sources certainly present a large mixed group – seemingly irrespective of chronology, as there are 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup>-century examples available as well, from the rounded or the lined calligraphic tradition alike – where the opening form of a horizontal line or enlarged or contracted *puncta* almost supplant the regular, detached pair of points.<sup>114</sup> But caution is needed on the antecedents of this. It may seem at first glance that the *virga* from German neume notation appears in the recumbent position, but that is at best one pattern in these special Transylvanian forms of *climacus*, as the same form occurs in various Italian notations (such as from Bologna, Mantua, Vercelli, Pistoia and Troia).<sup>115</sup>

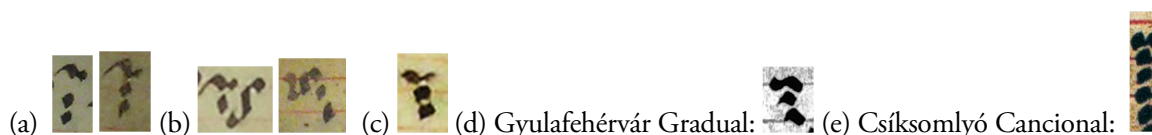







Figure 18

The Némétújvár fragments show a special form of this *climacus* with recumbent *virga*. One of the liveliest elements in notation, it is formed here out of conjunction of its elements, partial combination and some “blurring” of two *puncta* (18a), due to the increasingly cursive nature of the notation. The first member of the double *punctum* signs usually begins with a long, curved entry line, and then without the pen being lifted, continues to the second, which is smaller. The *climacus* element in the Némétújvár fragments, essentially the merging and blurring of the double points, so that it is no antecedent of the “capped” Transylvanian form. That form of the 14<sup>th</sup>-century linear, angular shape of calligraphic writing is a separate local variant, stemming from the development period of the Hungarian notations. (See the first notation in the Pray Codex, or the pseudo-*virga* of *climacus* of the Zagreb Missale Notatum.) In our earliest Transylvanian fragment in Cz. Fr. 7 notation and then in the 14<sup>th</sup>-century F 337 fragment, the “capped” *climacus* is a

<sup>113</sup> See Janka Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, 63.

<sup>114</sup> F 362:  F 337:  S. Fr. I. m. 87:  U. fr. I. m. 216:  The similar Istanbul An-

tiphoner neume belongs here too. 

<sup>115</sup> Bruno Stäblein, *Musikgeschichte im Bildern. I. Schriftbild der einstimmigen Musik*, hrsg. Werner Bachmann (Leipzig: VEB Deutscher Verlag für Musik Leipzig, 1975), 127, 131, 137 and 145.

stable member of the neume set. Behind the use of double *puncta* in our Némétújvár fragments (and the gaudy group discussed before) can be assumed to lie the calligraphic notation of Esztergom, whose smooth character also supports such a link.

Here another *climacus*-related feature needs mentioning. While the separate neumes in our antiphoner fragments follow largely a vertical writing direction, the vertical lines of *puncta* in the *climacus* combinations tend to skew rightward (18b). It is typical also for the perpendicular points of a skewed *climacus* to meet at the sides, not the angles (18c), to give space for extemporarily drawn *punctum* series – this solution, known from Western square notation, is not unique here either: examples appear in several Transylvanian sources (18d, 18e).<sup>116</sup>

Since the Némétújvár fragments feature both *climacus* forms, vertical and skewed, it is unlikely that the skew was due to the notes not fitting side by side in the line system, as the basic *punctum*-type sign does not yet take much space. Far more relevant to the direction change is the draw of the Gothic writing fashion, for apart from some conservative Hungarian schools of notation (such as the Paulines Fathers'), the falling lines of points begin to swing right at the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century. So the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Némétújvár fragments were very early examples of this. The steady change in writing direction as a first modernization step (along with neume-fragmentation and energetic *ad hoc* changes of a stable form) typifies the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, also in the main Hungarian tradition. Yet East Hungarian comparative sources show peripheral notators being slower to break with traditional forms, while modernization tended to arise in the new style of fragmentation of neumes. Only in 16<sup>th</sup>-century sources are skewed point series seen in Transylvania (e. g. in the Gyulafehérvár Gradual and Csíksomlyó Cationale, see 18d, 18e).




Conjunct climacus	MNS	Némétújvár
2 <sup>nd</sup> steps	–	
2 <sup>nd</sup> + 3 <sup>rd</sup>		

Figure 19

Yet the conjunct *climacus* version belongs to the archaic sign group in the 14<sup>th</sup>-century fragments, when the noteheads vanished and lined elements dominated (Figure 19). One finds a stepped conjunct *climacus* not just where three notes are tied, but in four-note lines of second steps. This counts as a rarity in the fragments,

<sup>116</sup> Pl. BMV C. 55090



F 45:

although parallels can be found in German Gothic and Italian notations.<sup>117</sup> The musical writing on the fragments follows general Hungarian practice in using the closed form as a subordinate; it tends toward the *climacus* with *puncta* – more imposing aesthetically, as it fortifies the curved or rounded effect of the notation.

Also curious are the special *scandicus* forms found on our fragments. The conjunct Hungarian *scandicus* variants with Italian (Benevento) and French (Messine) analogies appear,<sup>118</sup> in three basic forms whose development states can be seen in surviving East Hungarian (Transylvanian) sources (*Figure 20*): 1. The round *scandicus* of calligraphic Esztergom notation appearing in some 13<sup>th</sup>–14<sup>th</sup> century fragments (F 325, F 361, 362, 19a), 2. the version where parts of the conjunct sign cling together, starting with a *pes* (20b, 20c), and 3. the later cursive notation of general Hungarian sources and the Gothic articulated form of this (20d). Taken together these are the second group of Transylvania’s specific, provenance-determined notation variants.

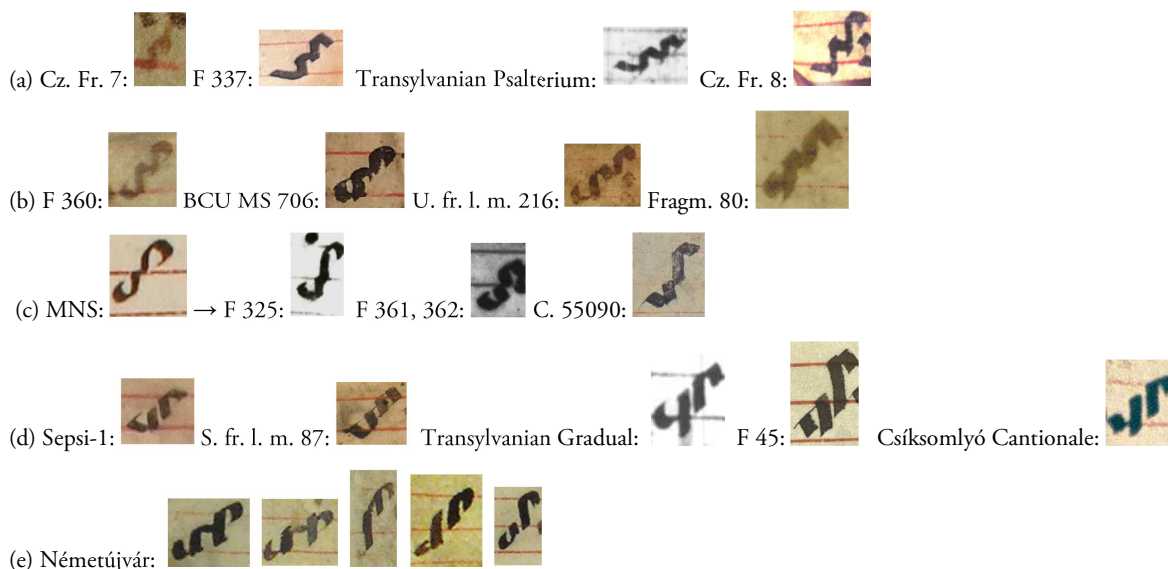


Figure 20

The special version distinct from the Esztergom sign (20a) can be traced to the 13<sup>th</sup> century: it appears in our earliest Transylvanian source (Cz. Fr. 7). It hardly resembles the later, round Esztergom form, tending to show squared, lined features. The neume, rather than being a conjunction of two types of *pes*, recalls the “pre-

<sup>117</sup> vs. The last is seen in German Gothic notation at the Central Seminary Library (S. Fr. m. 76).

<sup>118</sup> A parallel between the developing Hungarian *scandicus* and Italian *gradata* is noted in Szendrei, *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*, 41.

*scandicus*” based on a square *pes*, an experiment preceding consolidation of Hungarian staff notation, known from the 13<sup>th</sup>-century musical writing of the Pray Codex. This neume variant seems to have begun developing in Transylvania and survived, for its use can be detected all through succeeding centuries. Its simple line elements become rounder and slowly evolve into three, then five parts with the spread of cursive writing, so hooking up into a semicircle without it losing its ligature feel (20*b*). In contrast to that is the group exemplified by the Esztergom *scandicus* and its meritorious formative roundness. This sign may have spread also to East Hungary after the Esztergom notation reform, as its first appearance at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (F 325) may confirm (20*c*). The last stage in the transformation process of the *scandicus* can best be called “unification,” as the fashion for Gothic penmanship would seem to unite the whole Hungarian notation tradition into one (20*d*). Transylvania also shows from the 15<sup>th</sup> century the thickening and increased rigidity of *scandicus* elements seen elsewhere in the country, and the fragmentation of the earlier sign into three characters. Only the elongated middle element may carry a reference to the formerly tied Hungarian *scandicus*, and represent its specific traditional form, rather than the *punctum+punctum+rod* solution of the dominant Messine Gothic notations.

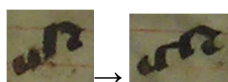


Figure 21

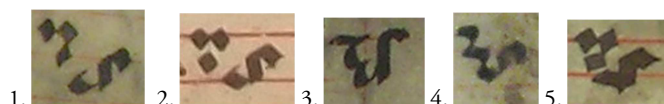
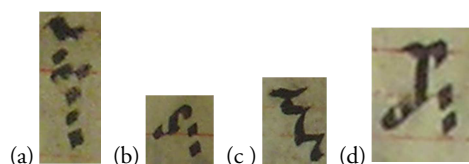


Figure 22

In that light let us look at Némethújvár forms (20*e*): the hooked Transylvanian *scandicus* and its fraying semicircular variants. We can also cover the new type found in the more modern, mixed Messine Gothic Hungarian writing just mentioned, the *punctum+rod+semicircle* figure, where the parts have yet to coalesce. This last is dominant for bridging wider intervals: the first is a double *punctum* and rod (*pes*) drawn in two pen movements and the third a newer, hook-like element drawn as a separate mark. The middle part may be longer or shorter. In its form for intervals of more than a third (e. g. three notes over a fifth+a third) the *scandicus* is wholly tied, as are the *climacus* and *porrectus* in a similar situation.

Light on neume content is shed not only by basic neumes, but by typical solutions used in the neume-combinations. Consistency is lacking: a structure may appear later in a quite different form – e. g. the *scandicus flexus* which fragment 4/4’s notator shows first as a little outer line, then as a *scandicus* with a backward bent *virga*. (See above and Figure 21.)

Notably specific in our fragments is the *climacus resupinus* ligature, of which several parallel forms are found (*Figure 22*). The last member in the *climacus* starting with two *puncta* becomes the first member in the *pes*, while moving rightward in a notably wider horizontal structure. The same form takes a calligraphic form in the Sepsiszentgyörgy (Sfântu Gheorghe) fragment (*Figure 22, 1. 4/82* → *22, 2. Sepsi-1 fragment*), then the lined, scratchier form of Eastern writing tradition (*22, 5. F 586*). The tied *climacus resupinus* also occurs in the Némétújvár Antiphoner (*Figure 22, 3*) mainly with intervals wider than a second (4/80). Yet another second-interval formation starts unusually with a simple *punctum* (*22, 4*).



*Figure 23*

The free, untethered creativeness allowed to the notator of our antiphoner is supported by two other ligature variants. As the perpendicular note lines appear, use is made of both Hungarian *climacus* forms (*punctum*-lined and tied), usually with the regular verticality of the post-*puncta* retained (*Figure 23a*). With the *pes subbipunctis* it no longer matters to have a straight line of point series and it always moves downward to the right (*23b*). Consequent on this may also be the typical stepped form (*23c*), alien to Hungarian tradition though it is in this form. Also among the special neume structures is a curiously variant *scandicus subbipunctis* (*23d*), where the last note doubles as the start of a double-pointed *climacus* – the last note of the *scandicus* becomes the second (!) of the double points, for the notator has oddly written the first *punctum* of the *climacus* before it. This appears nowhere else in the Hungarian tradition of notation; it is not standard, but all the more inventive for that. Still, there remains the question of why this practical compression was needed in notation that had ample horizontal space.

An examination of the musical notation must include the use of keys, which may also have specific, provenance-revealing significance. The form of a *c* key seen on fragments is disproportionately small and specific in shape:<sup>119</sup> the upper part lingers long – again emphasizing the horizontal element – while the lower does not bend sharply right in line with *c*. The sign was formed in two motions, not a single round as in Esztergom, where it has an expressly *c* shape. The *f* key in the Némétújvár fragments is a swallowtail hook, sometimes with a florid entry line. It is drawn in a zestful way, whereas the crosspiece of the standard *f* key of the MNS

<sup>119</sup> The *c* key on the Némétújvár fragments:



is thinner and more distinct, without any essential hook (*Table 6*).<sup>120</sup> Two types found in the other Transylvanian sources used for comparison are noticeable. One is an almost regular capital *F* that might be traceable to the first standard writing of *F* found in the Guido staff-notation of South Italy. The other omits the little middle stroke of the letter and abides by the swallowtail scheme.<sup>121</sup> These versions may have belonged to smaller, local writing traditions in Transylvania.

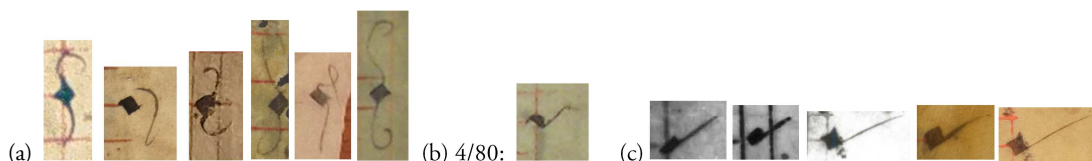








Figure 24

How the *custos* was written has been discussed. In general the main Transylvanian guiding notes drawn from an “Upland *custos*” are characteristic signs (*Figure 24a*) that act as guides in identifying the fragments.<sup>122</sup> Yet some *custos* shapes found in the fragments make not a regular rhombus, but a transitional teardrop *punctum* (*24b*). The line sprouting from the *custos* is hesitant, unlike the strong, tube-shaped, Messine Gothic form later prevalent in Hungary. This *custos* form came into vogue in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and slowly dominated Transylvanian Gregorian manuscripts (*24c*). The typical “Upland *custos*” shapes survive in later sources tied to Inner Transylvania and the Székely Land (e. g. the Csíksomlyó Cationale and Transylvanian Psalter), where even 16<sup>th</sup>-century scribes insisted on their own traditional signs.

Although letter decoration is not a musical trait, it needs mentioning here as a decisive part of the individuality of the Németújvár fragments. The antiphon series all begin with a capital letter later embellished with finer drawing in thinner lines, and have flower and leaf illumination in the margin. The central detail of each such letter is black, with its very center colored red, and the parts on the right perhaps filled with leaf decoration and geometric forms (mainly circular lines). Alongside the capital letter beginning the antiphon series, the other antiphons begin with capitals in red and black ink, notable for being filled by profile heads

<sup>120</sup> On Németújvár fragments:  F 337:  Q 406-07:  → MNS: 

<sup>121</sup> The two types: 1) F 143:  F 45:  Fragn. 80:  2) C. 55090:  Sepsi-1:  F 174: 

<sup>122</sup> On the origin, role and spread of *custodes* in Hungarian Gregorian writing: Gabriella Gilányi, “Jelentéktelen kis apróság? A gregorián *custos*” [An unimportant little detail? The Gregorian *custos*]. *Magyar Zene* XVI/4 (Nov. 2018), 385–398 (392–395). On the Transylvanian *custos*: idem, “15. századi erdélyi antifonále-töredékek és ferences hordozókönyveik” [15<sup>th</sup>-century Transylvanian antiphoner fragments and Franciscan carriers]. Forthcoming.

facing left, while on the right they too sport geometric forms and leaf motifs (*Figure 25a*). These illuminations seem specific: direct analogies of them appear in several sources associable with Transylvania, such as the F 332 fragment (*25b*), the Transylvanian Psalter of the early 15<sup>th</sup> century (*25c*), the Transylvanian Pauline fragment from the later 15<sup>th</sup> century (*25d*),<sup>123</sup> and even the Csíksomlyó Cationale of the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup>–16<sup>th</sup> centuries (*25e*), along with a Missal kept in Szeben (*25f*).<sup>124</sup> The mouths are generally open to suggest speech or song; a similar expression of sound is portrayed in the capitals of the Csíksomlyó Cationale. Important to the head portrayals are various headpieces of the period or monastic tonsures. These details of objects may form a subject of examination for art historians, for the portrayal of heads is general in medieval liturgical codices, although the parallels, positions and drawings are not depicted with great sophistication or artistry. They tend rather to be assessible as being closely tied to our sources and belonging clearly to one narrow tradition of codex decoration.



<sup>123</sup> Cz. Fr. 11 (Sign. Inv. 744). See Zsuzsa Czagány–Erzsébet Muckenhaupt–Ágnes Papp, “Liturgikus és kottás középkori kódextöredékek a csíksomlyói ferences kolostor egykori könyvtárának állományában”, 227 (*Table 4*).

<sup>124</sup> RO-Sb Ms. 7. V. 1.





Based on paleographic analysis, old and new in the musical notation of the Némétújvár fragments form a combination undocumented elsewhere. So varied a system of signs retains marks of old local traditions along with reactions to later 14<sup>th</sup>-century changes (spreading Gothic penmanship and the arrival of a cursive writing style), presumably among persons or groups in the lower levels of the ecclesiastical administration. Thus the notation bears marks of a transition from one period to another. It is both traditional and innovative, its neumes appearing in several gradations, so that archaic forms vie with new articulations. The result sometimes appears as modernistic shorthand that imposes no specific shape on each neume, but draws on its past in choosing shapes for the notating process. The rounded, sinuous style noted in the analysis seems to rest on—a separate Transylvanian tradition, whose specificity to the diocese or archdeaconry is still unclear. Be that as it may, the florid notation allows several fragmented sources to be paired. Behind the gaudy Transylvanian type probably lies the impact of early 14<sup>th</sup> century calligraphic writing from Esztergom: writings in the group – as witnesses to fine writing of music – are found from the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century (F 325, 360 and 361).

Clearly distinguished from this writing tradition is a more archaic, angular and scratchy one that still prefers strongly bound forms, in which both the calligraphic phase (e. g. F 337, 34 and 348) and the transitional (e. g. C 80) survive. This tradition is thought to date back to the introduction of staff notation, and certainly to the transition just preceding the calligraphic Esztergom style (e. g., the more angular musical layout of the Pray Codex.) There can be sensed behind it strong Italian and Messine patterns; its angularity did not alter even with the spread of developed, flexible Hungarian notation. It is risky to link such staff notation territorially – only guesses can be made as to where it was used, maybe northwest Transylvania, Várad or Szabolcs – but analogies favor close ties with Upland notations or those of broader northeastern regions.

The main outcome of the paleographic examination is to date the Némétújvár fragments. Novelty in the writing puts the notation in the final third of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, under King Louis the Great, but only at the end of that century do the technique and Gothic forms apply generally in Hungarian scriptoria. This dating is backed by occasional writing-out of the *custos*. The look of the writing and its lack of stylization suggest a non-professional but practiced, musically trained scribe, who could take this traditional type of Hungarian musical notation to a high level.

## Liturgical analysis

Apart from notation, there are two other examinations traditionally used to help establish the provenance of a Gregorian manuscript: liturgical analysis and melodic comparison. The variants of the chant repertory and melodic style were each embodied in the traditionally decisive identity of a medieval community, so that the task seems clear: to seek liturgical variants in the Gregorian sources that stand closest to those in the fragments. These provide conclusive arguments for provenance.

The liturgical and melodic examination found in the folio of fragments segments of chants for autumn and winter feasts that fall close to each other in the calendar. The earliest is September 8, for the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, while the latest to have its own texts is for St Catherine of Alexandria (25 November). Between them come chants for the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 September), Saint Cosmas and Damian martyrs (26 September), Archangel Michael (29 September), St Elizabeth (19 November), and St Cecilia (22 November).<sup>125</sup>

The main point here is to see whether the liturgical content in the fragments of the original full codex confirm the Transylvanian diocese's use: whether such specific points can be found in the stock, selection and arrangement of the chants.

Unfortunately we failed to find major Hungarian saint material in the content of the fragments, apart from one of vague import of items for St Elizabeth of Hungary. The documentation of her chants in the fragments does not help in identifying the provenance, as the historia *Laetare Germania* popular in the Hungarian Church was a stable cycle found throughout Central Europe.<sup>126</sup>

Yet we were still sure the other universally known saints' days appearing in the fragments would yield specific information. So the search was conducted by bringing out the specifics, with the intention of revealing detail significant and insignificant to provenance.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Chants for October feasts between these has not been found in the fragments.

<sup>126</sup> This historia for St Elizabeth of Hungary was composed for the elevation of her relics at the Elisabethkirche in Marburg (2 May 1236). See Barbara Hagg, *Two Offices for St Elizabeth of Hungary*, in *Musicological Studies* LXV/1, series *Historiae* (Ottawa: The Institute of Medieval Studies, 1995), xix.

<sup>127</sup> What was used were the CAO–ECE databases reconstructing Central European office rites and printed volumes based on this project of the Early Music Department of the Institute for Musicology (Hungarian Academy of Sciences), etc. General source abbreviations were also adopted: Str- for Esztergom, Sc- for Szepes, Zag- for Zagreb, Tra- and CALb for Transylvania

The offices appearing in the antiphoner fragments fall into three groups. The first covers cycles ever present in the generally used offices of the medieval Catholic Church, including the choice of pieces and the liturgical order. It usually contains no surprises (rare feasts) and can be disregarded in the liturgical analysis. Even the *historia* for the feast of St Elizabeth was listed only for its presence. The rhymed office of *Laetare Germania* was held regionally in common: the parts in the fragments (4/4 and 4/82), quoting chant parts for matins, match in detail what is found abroad and in other Hungarian sources.<sup>128</sup> There is wider uniformity in the antiphon series for lauds for the feast of Exaltation of the Holy Cross (4/49) as well, where five chants follow an order known throughout Europe.<sup>129</sup> However, this items appears in the next chapter due to the peculiar melodies paired with them in the antiphoner fragment. The well-known pieces include the Magnificat antiphon for *Cosmas et Damian* (fragment 19/40/b), which in Hungarian traditions also emerge as the only proper chant for the feast.<sup>130</sup>

The second group contains the liturgical variants tied to some branch of the Hungarian tradition, whose parallels can be identified in the country's surviving medieval source materials. These can be distinguished on several levels from small differences to more significant structural changes.

	4/273	Esztergom	Kalocsa-Zagreb	Transylvania
N2 R1	Cilicio Caecilia	Caecilia intra cubiculum	Cilicio Caecilia	Cilicio Caecilia
N2 V1	Non diebus neque	Angelus Domini	Non diebus neque	Non diebus neque
N2 R2	Caeciliam intra	Beata Caecilia dixit	Caeciliam intra	Caeciliam intra
N2 V2	Angelus Domini	Vade igitur	Angelus Domini	Angelus Domini

and Várad. Online: <http://earlymusic.zti.hu/cao-ece/cao-ece.html>, February 28, 2019, recently: <http://zti.hu/index.php/hu/regizene/kutatas/zsolozsma/cao-ece-series-nova>, 2019. 07. 09.

<sup>128</sup> Normalized Latin forms and spellings are used for the texts in the notes. 4/4: N2 R3 [*Caeco nato cui nec sedes erant*] *oculorum instrumenta lucis dedit et naturae decus rediit per momenta temporum*; V31 *Novum hoc spectaculum idem ista vetus Christi renovat miraculum. \*Et naturae. V32 Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto. 4/82: N3 a1 Deo decantent omnia, a2 Juste lux orta gratiae, a3 Deus palam omnibus. 4/273 recto: N3 R2: Aman in patibulo cum besther apprehendit holofernis dexteram in caput extendit et suo periculo populum defendit. V2 Manum mittens ad forcia sic vincit innocencia; R3 O lampas ecclesie rivos fundens oley medicinam gratie nutrimentum fidei tutelam presta pavidis calorem minus fervidis languidis medelam; V3 Tu dei saturitas oliva fructifera cuius lucet puritas et resplendent opera. Gloria patri.*

<sup>129</sup> 4/49: a1 *Praecinxit se Dominus, a2 Sanctae crucis in honore, a3 Vere obstructus est, a4 Fons omnium benedictionum, a5 Ecclesia sanctorum laudet. Codex Albensis, from the Transylvanian/Várad group of sources has a different sequence of antiphons: a1 O magnum pietatis, a2 O crux admirabilis, a3 Nos autem gloriari, a4 Salva nos Christe, a5 Propter lignum servi.*

<sup>130</sup> The text and melodic passage for the antiphon to the vespers *Magnificat. Cosmas et Damianus Anthimus Leonti[us Euprepus] hi quinque fratres a deo coronati sunt.*

4/80				
N2 V3	Nam sponsum quem	Non diebus neque	Nam sponsum quem	Nam sponsum quem
N3 a1	Credimus Christum	Credimus Christum	Credimus Christum	Credimus Christum
N3 a2	Nos scientes sanctum	Nos scientes	Nos scientes sanctum	Nos scientes sanctum
N3 a3	Tunc Valerianus	Tunc Valerianus	Tunc Valerianus	Tunc Valerianus
4/68				
N3 a3 folyt.	Tunc Valerianus	Tunc Valerianus	Tunc Valerianus	Tunc Valerianus
N3 R1	Beata Caecilia	Virgo gloriosa	Beata Caecilia	Beata Caecilia
N3 V1	Suscipe Domine <sup>131</sup>	Cilicio Caecilia	Suscipe Domine	Suscipe Domine

Table 7.

Three fragments of the Némétújvár antiphoner show pieces from the office of St Cecilia, one of the oldest office cycles, which appear in sections of matins for the feast (antiphons and responsories for the second and third nocturn, *Table 7*).<sup>132</sup>

The comparisons proved instructive at several points. The order of chants in the Cecilia office follows the ordinary chant sequence in sources of the Kalocsa-Bács suffragan churches. By comparison, the strict archaic order found in sources for the main Esztergom tradition falters a little in the second and third nocturns; the responsories between the antiphon pillars come in a different order, except in the sources for the exempt church of the Szepesség (Spiš), which agree at every point with Kalocsa-Bács and the Némétújvár fragments, not with Esztergom.<sup>133</sup> Here something must be said also of a responsory verse in 4/68, where the folio cut

<sup>131</sup> The beginning of the item is illegible, letters from the first two words may refer to a text variant.

<sup>132</sup> 4/273: N2 R1 *Cilicio Caecilia membra domabat Deum gemitibus exorabat Almachium exsuperabat Tiburtium et Valerianum ad coronas vocabat*; V *Non diebus neque noctibus vacabat a colloquiis divinis et oratione*; N2 R2 *Caeciliam intra cubiculum orantem invenit et juxta eam stantem angelum domini quem videns Valerianus nimio terrore correptus est*; V2 *Angelus domini descendit de caelo et lumen refulsit in habitaculo*. 4/68: N3 a3 [*Tunc*] *Valerianus perrexit ad antistitem et signo quod acceperat invenit sanctum Urbanum*; N3 R1: *Beata Caecilia dixit Tiburtio hodie te fateor esse meum cognatum quia amor dei te fecit esse contemptorem idolorum, V [Suscipe ... ? Domine]seminum fructus...*] The antecedent of this: 4/80: N2 R3V [*Nam sponsum quem quasi leonem ferocem accepit*] *ad te quasi agnum mansuetissimum destinavit*; N3 a1 *Credimus Christum filium dei verum deum esse qui sibi talem elegit famulam*, a2 *Nos scientes sanctum nomen omnino negare non possumus*, a3 *Tunc [Valerianus perrexit...]* For the continuation see 4/68.

<sup>133</sup> Sc-2, Sc-46, Sc-6374. Except the verse selection of the *Beata Caecilia* responsory, which follows Esztergom even in Szepes sources: *Cilicio Caecilia*.

has sadly left illegible part in the last responsory in matins for St Cecilia, which follows the Zagreb–Transylvanian order, not the Esztergom one (*Beata Caecilia dixit*). The usual verse is *Suscipe Domine seminum fructus*, of which only the *seminum fructus* and possibly the initial *S* can be discerned on the fragment. Yet the second word is not the awaited *Domine* and the words following *seminum fructus* are left uncertain. This independent version typical of the fragments probably points to a textual variant, while the melodies follow the general version.

The office of the Nativity of Mary consists of layers of various ages, much overlapping material for the Assumption. So textual variability is a feature of the cycle: ampler chant material appears compared to what the liturgical functions require, and this could be arranged diversely in single rite-variants. Yet the similarities and differences cannot be ignored, as they offer major information on provenance.

	4/30	Esztergom	Kalocsa-Zagreb	Transylvania
N2 a2	Fons ortorum puteus	Fons ortorum puteus	Fons ortorum puteus	Fons ortorum puteus
N2 a3	Veniat dilectus meus	Veniat dilectus meus	Veniat dilectus meus	Veniat dilectus meus
N2 W	Diffusa est gratia	Diffusa est gratia	Diffusa est gratia	Diffusa est gratia
N2 R1	Diem festum praecelsae	Diem festum praecelsae	Diem festum praecelsae	Diem festum praecelsae
N2 V1	Nativitatem hodiernam	Nativitatem hodiernam	Nativitatem hodiernam	Nativitatem hodiernam
N2 R2	Corde et animo	Regali ex progenie	Regali ex progenie	Corde et animo

Details of matins for the feast appear on two fragments (4/30 and 4/48, *Table 8*). The cover of 4/48 had antiphon 2–3 of the second nocturn in the original codex;<sup>134</sup> this is the one fragment from which a versicle (*Diffusa est gratia*) dividing the antiphons and responsories can be registered. Nocturn 2 begins with the responsory *Diem festum praecelsae*, as everywhere else in Hungary. Second comes *Corde et animo Christo*, which use again has a Transylvanian–Váradi parallel, as this is the only region where the same order is found: the responsory comes third in Kalocsa–Zagreb and Esztergom sources,<sup>135</sup> with *Regali ex progenie* as second. Fragment 4/30 follows with the responsories for the third nocturn of the feast. This is the one cover fragment out of 14 whose inside page is legible, and so the whole order of the nocturn can be reconstructed. The verso folio specifies responsories 2–

<sup>134</sup> 4/48: N2 a2 [*Fons orto*]rum puteus aquarum viventium fluunt impetu, Ps. *Deus noster*, a3 *Veniat dilectus meus in ortum [suum ut] comedat fructum pomorum suorum*; N3 R1 *Diem festum praecelsae genetricis dei virginis [Mariae] sollemniter celebremus qua inchoata est eius [felix na]tivitas*. V1 *Nativitatem hodiernam perpetue [Virginis ge]netricis Mariae sollemniter celebremus*. N3 R2 *Corde et animo Christo canamus [gloriam in] hac sacra sollemnitate praecelse genetricis...*

<sup>135</sup> Hereafter Codex Albensis.

3 (*Nativitas gloriosae, Solem justitiae*), both being identifiable along with their versicles. The *Gloria* attaches to the *Solem*: the doxology's end appears on the inner page, as the verso is tucked in. This shows it to be the third responsory of matins.<sup>136</sup> Surprisingly an extra responsory follows, not the lauds item: a pale capital F and some melodic fragments point to *Felix namque es* as the fourth responsory in matins. The previous recto page (inside of the cover) presents the very end of a responsory and beginning of the *Ave Maria* vers. On this basis the responsory *Nativitas tua Dei Genetrix* can be identified; so the first responsory of the nocturn is present as well (Table 9). This order is unique in Hungarian tradition, as with a couple of exceptions, the first and second responsories are reversed in Esztergom, Zagreb and Transylvania.<sup>137</sup>

	4/30	Esztergom	Kalocsa-Zagreb	Transylvania
N3 R1	Nativitas tua Dei Genetrix	Nativitas gloriosae	Nativitas gloriosae	Nativitas gloriosae
N3 V1	Ave maria gratia plena	Gloriosae virginis Mariae	Gloriosae virginis Mariae	Gloriosae virginis Mariae
N3 R2	Nativitas gloriosae	Nativitas tua Dei Genetrix	Nativitas tua Dei Genetrix	Nativitas tua Dei Genetrix
N3 V2	Gloriosae virginis Mariae	Ave maria gratia plena	Ave maria gratia plena	Ave maria gratia plena
N3 R3	Solem justitiae	Ad nutum Domini	Solem justitiae	Solem justitiae
N3 V31	Cernere divinum	Ut vitium virtus	Cernere divinum	Cernere divinum
N3 V32	Gloria patri (doxology)	Gloria patri (doxology)	Gloria patri (doxology)	Gloria patri (doxology)
N3 R3+	Felix namque	–	–	–
N3 V3+	?	–	–	–

Table 9.

Here there is a further notational difference between traditions: the responsory *Solem justitiae*, third placed here, appears in central Esztergom sources in vespers,<sup>138</sup> while matins has *Ad nutum Domini* instead. *Solem* is the third piece of the third nocturn in the Zagreb and Transylvanian sources, and also in the Istanbul antiphoner, so making it an important common usage of the Eastern traditions. Furthermore, the liturgical order in the fragments follows Kalocsa and Transylvania in giving a fourth responsory, *Felix namque es*, at the end of matins,

<sup>136</sup> N3 R1V: *Ave Maria gratia plena*... Presumably the verse for the responsory *Nativitas tua Dei genetrix*. R2: *Nativitas gloriosae virginis*..., verso: (continuation of N3 R2) [*Nativitas gloriose virginis Marie ex semine Abrahae orta de tribu Juda clara*] *ex stirpe David cujus vita inclita cunctas illustrat ecclesias*, V2 *Gloriosae virginis Marie [ortum dignis]simum recolentes*; N3 R3 *Solem justitiae regem paritura supremum stella Maria maris hodie processit ad ortum*, V31 *Cernere divinum lumen gaudete [fideles]*, V32 *Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto*.

<sup>137</sup> Exceptions: Str-1829, Str-110, Sc-6384. Transylvania: CALb.

<sup>138</sup> Except the Sc-6374 (Szepes) breviary, where it appears at the end of matins, as in the Eastern traditions.

after the *Gloria*. Let us look in more detail.

Some Zagreb sources<sup>139</sup> also add an item at the end of matins – the responsory *Ad nutum Domini* – while other Transylvanian–Várad sources where this extra appears are the Várad Antiphoner and Várad breviary (Tra-8247). *Codex Albensis* counteracts this by replacing third-placed *Solem justitiae* with a melodically more modest *Felix namque*, which may preserve an earlier use. Placing it in Németújvár fragments as an extra item is archaic, for *Felix namque* is confined later almost wholly to the Commune office of the Virgin Mary and otherwise yields to the newer *Solem*. So the dual presence here is most odd, perhaps marking a brief moment in the transition.<sup>140</sup>

All in all, the office structure for the Nativity of Mary is unstable. Some solutions in it have seemingly trivial, yet mutually supportive proximity with Transylvanian–Várad sources, but also display the individual colors and seclusion of our codex.

Stronger in content is the codex fragment 19/40/b, amounting to almost a folio, which includes items for the feast of Archangel St Michael: two antiphons from the first vespers.<sup>141</sup> It must be stressed immediately that these are solutions associable with the traditions of medieval Hungary's northern and eastern peripheries.<sup>142</sup> Of the churches directly under Esztergom, only the Szepesség sources contain the series. The 15<sup>th</sup>-century Transylvanian–Várad breviaries prescribe the same antiphons and *Codex Albensis* from the earlier 12<sup>th</sup> century also shows the typical antiphon series, although the general order breaks at the fourth and fifth items, where the old antiphoner chooses different antiphons.<sup>143</sup> Esztergom and Kalocsa–Zagreb instead begin the office for St Michael with an *antiphona sola*. Certainly the different chronological layers and the St Michael office's relatively late development may explain the characteristic variants within the Hungarian office rite, though clearly the use of the vespers antiphon series also ties the fragments to Transylvania–Várad.

The most exciting group of variants in the fragments are the odd assignments. The part of the fragment preceding the material for the feast of St Michael offers items for other feasts. At the top of the folio stands a responsory vers (*Victo senatu*) complete with doxology, which assigns its place in the responsory just before the end of matins, or as secondary in vespers. Presumably this proper chant appeared

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<sup>139</sup> Zag-29, Zag-44, Zag-46, Zag-65, Zag-103, Zag-104, Zag-446.

<sup>140</sup> My thanks go to Zsuzsa Czagány for a valuable consultation on this liturgical point.

<sup>141</sup> V1 a1 *Excelsi regis filium collaudant cives [caelici quem] cherubim et seraphim sanctus proclamant sedule; a: Cui sol luna deserviunt per tempora qui sedes [super thronum et judicas aequitatem adesto nostris]*.

<sup>142</sup> The one exception for Esztergom is the cycle's prescription in the breviary Str-1812.

<sup>143</sup> Calb: a4 *Domine Deus Sabaoth*, a5 *Summa laus dulcis melodia*.

on the feast in question, probably for vespers. The end of the responsory before the versus also appears (*suum alleluja*), so that it can be identified with the *Vox tonitrui tui Deus* great responsory quoting Psalm 76:19.<sup>144</sup> So what is this item doing here? To which late September feast did it belong? This responsory traditionally goes with the December 27 feast for St John the Apostle and Evangelist, belonging to the day or its octave, or to May 6, the feast of St John at the Latin Gate (“St John boiled in oil”) based on the rich source repertory of *Cantus Database*.<sup>145</sup> Sadly the parts preceding the fragment cannot be seen (although raising the inner cover might help with identification). Only the antiphon for the Cosmas and Damian feast can specify the date, before or around September 27. Two possibilities arise. According to Hungarian tradition, the feast before Cosmas and Damian would be St Matthew the Apostle and Evangelist on September 21, usually marked with a proper Magnificat antiphon. So there is a slight chance that the responsory *Vox tonitrui*, which belongs to St John, was taken over for St Matthew. Still, the theory is weakened by the chant being fully written out, complete with doxology: this is not just an incipit reference to the main feast, but a weighty and perhaps the one full transcription of the chant in a place certainly secondary to it. Another argument against Matthew is that no case of the *Vox tonitrui* responsory being used on that feast has been found in the Catholic liturgy. On the other hand, the text of the Magnificat antiphon for *Commune evangelistarum* occurs tied to St John the Apostle in the Hungarian area (apart from Zagreb):<sup>146</sup> *Revelation* 4 speaks of the Throne of Heaven and around God four living creatures.<sup>147</sup> This argument too is weakened, as *Vox tonitrui* has never been found as part of the *Commune evangelistarum*, at least in the large source material surveyed. It refers solely to a John feast in the sources examined.

The second theory sounds bolder, but may resolve the question. On the very day of Cosmas and Damian, September 26, the Greek Eastern Orthodox Church marks the Repose of St John. Could marks of such a feast be present in a fragment of a 14<sup>th</sup>-century Catholic liturgical codex from Transylvania? Even though the Roman calendar does not include this September feast, the transfer cannot be ruled

<sup>144</sup> R [*Vox tonitrui tui deus in rota Johannes est evangelista mundi per ambitum praedicans lumen caelicum qui triumphans Romae lavit in vino stolam suam et in sanguine olivae pallium*] *suum alleluia*. V1 *Victo senatu cum [Caesare vir]gineo corpore tripudiat in igne*. V2 *Gloria patri et filio et spiritui sancto*].

<sup>145</sup> *Cantus: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant – Inventories of Chant Sources*. Directed by Debra Lacoste (from 2011), Terence Bailey (1997–2010) and Ruth Steiner (1987–1996). Web developer, Jan Koláček (from 2011). Online: <http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/>, 28 February 2019.

<sup>146</sup> Here *Conspicit in caelis* also occurs. See Zag-42, Zag-104, Col-43.

<sup>147</sup> *Ecce ego Johannes vidi ostium apertum in caelo et ecce sedes posita erat in eo et in medio sedis et in circuitu ejus quattuor animalia plena oculis ante et retro et dabant gloriam et honorem et benedictionem sedenti super thronum viventi in saecula saeculorum*. The *Conspicit in caelis* antiphon used in Zagreb reverts to the vision of the prophet Ezekiel. See *Ezekiel* 1, 4–14.



out, given particularly the special conditions for the Transylvanian see on the fringe of the Western Church. In the mid-14<sup>th</sup>-century reign of the Angevin King Louis the Great, which coincided with the presumed date of the source discussed here, it was possible for some elements of Orthodox liturgy to be absorbed into Transylvania's Catholic tradition. Louis the Great began in 1366 to bring growing numbers of Eastern Orthodox into the Catholic Church as part of an effort to formalize the ecclesiastical position of the many Romanians and Slavs moving in.<sup>148</sup> Franciscan missions were sent out over the next couple of decades, when the laws of the day only let members of an alien group become noblemen if they joined the Catholic Church. So heterogeneity of the people led to local mixing of various liturgical customs – in this case adoption of Orthodox feasts and rituals.<sup>149</sup> What a shame it is that our antiphoner has not survived in a more complete form that would allow such unusual solutions to be studied.

Finally, it is worth noting how creatively the codex provides a proper chant for the alien feast of the Repose of St John. What appears is no common antiphon, but a monumental musical composition, a fine *responsorium prolixum* from the saint's major feast, rooted in the Catholic liturgy. Yet even if the 21 September feast of St Matthew lies behind it, it is worth considering whether local denominational diversity explains the unique choice, with commemoration of the Eastern feast of St John (another evangelist) coming two days later.

The last office reconstructible from the Transylvanian antiphoner concerns the 25 November feast of St Catherine of Alexandria.<sup>150</sup> This appears as part of the vespers, matins and lauds in 17 items on five Németújvár fragments. The cult of St Catherine was widespread in the Middle Ages, yet the rite for the saint did not have a unique agreed form, so that important variants of it can be found in medieval sources. This instability is also typical of its appearances in the Hungarian tradition. The precise order found in the fragments does not appear in any of the Hungarian sources. There are so many variants at sub-traditions and even between liturgically close sources that it becomes hard to trace the way or patterns of adoption of the *historia*'s single elements. Once again, the choice and order of the matins responsories is the most variable feature. Instead of the first nocturn *Martyrium sitiens* found as the first item in fragment 4/116, Esztergom assigns in fragment 4/142 *Haec quinquagenos* from the vespers, which is chosen in the Kalo

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<sup>148</sup> János Karácsony, *Magyarország egyháztörténete főbb vonásaiban 970-től 1900-ig* [Main aspects of Hungary's church history from 970 to 1900] (Budapest: Könyvértékesítő Vállalat, 1985), 96–97.

<sup>149</sup> On the opposite – Transylvanian Catholic Hungarians' participation in Orthodox ceremonies – see Gyula Kristó, "A multikulturális Erdély középkori gyökerei" [Medieval roots of multicultural Transylvania], *Tiszatáj* (November 2001): 91–98, here: 97.

Online: <http://www.lib.jgytf.u-szeged.hu/folyoiratok/tiszataj/01-11/kristo.pdf>, 28 February 2019.

<sup>150</sup> See 4/116, 4/119, 4/124, 4/137 and 4/142.

csa–Zagreb sources as well. The Pauline liturgical codices that otherwise follow Esztergom place here the item *O quam felices*. The Transylvanian–Várad breviaries also avoid putting the *Martyrium sitiens* responsory in first place (although chosen as second): *Nobilis et pulchra* is the opening matins responsory in all sources listed here (including the Istanbul Antiphoner). So there is no precedent for the assignment in our fragment, but it should be remembered that the order of responsories stands at the most superficial level of structural variation, making it the factor to be evaluated least. Similar changes occur in the second nocturn: the responsory assignments in all Hungarian sources or source-groups differ from the main, normative solution. The last responsory for the third nocturn in the fragments is *O mater nostra* in the Esztergom and Transylvanian–Várad sources, but some Zagreb liturgies prefer *O lampas ecclesiae* for closing the night prayers, or have the *O mater nostra* of the fragment as an extra piece.<sup>151</sup> Unlike the responsories, the matins antiphons in the Catherine office are uniform in the Hungarian and European traditions: no variation can be found in the fragments. That does not apply to the vespers or lauds, where fragments of the Transylvanian antiphoner make unusual choices. Most of the vespers items on fragment 4/142 can be registered: special heed needs paying to the end of the initial antiphon series and to the responsory and Magnificat antiphon. (No hymn at all appears even in the vespers.) Of the five antiphons opening the feast, fourth and fifth – *Regia stirpe generosa* and *Gaude decus virgineum* – are also known from late Esztergom sources as parts of the *Ave gemma claritatis* cycle. The Transylvanian–Várad sources open vespers with the *antiphona sola Virginis eximiae Katharinae*, while the Paulines, the Szepesség and Zagreb sources have a cycle of five antiphons likewise beginning with *Virginis eximiae*. So it is notable that the fragment shows the Esztergom version, instead of the *Virginis eximiae* antiphon.

The vespers' great responsory capped by the *Gloria* is the *Haec quinquagenos* already referred to, i. e. the same choice found most in Hungary in the Transylvanian–Várad sources. The responsory also occurs in Esztergom sources placed in vespers, but with *Surge virgo* as the commonest assignation. The first choice in Kalocsa–Zagreb is *O lampas ecclesiae*, but *Surgo virgo* also appears. The *Haec quinquagenos* found here in Transylvania does not feature in any Kalocsa–Zagreb source. Also cogent are Hungarian occurrences of the Magnificat antiphon, varying mainly by archiepiscopal sees. Our 14<sup>th</sup>-century antiphoner follows the assignation of Transylvanian–Várad and Kalocsa–Bács rite (*O inclita Costi regis*), rather than the Esztergom great antiphon *Prudens Katherina*. The item in the Némétújvár fragment and Kalocsa–Bács sources may be familiar from the octave of the Assumption of Mary (*O inclita David regis*), secondarily borrowed for the Catherine feast.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> Zag-103.

<sup>152</sup> Assigned in the Istanbul Antiphoner and CALb.

Some items of the Catherine *historia* appearing in the fragments are so odd they can be documented only from here, among them the second antiphon in the lauds.<sup>153</sup> This Mode 8 chant beginning *Gloriosa Dei martyr* is absent from the CAO–ECE project that processes many Central European office sources, from the *Cantus Database* of about 150 codices, and from the still grander *Cantus Index*. A version appears in a 16<sup>th</sup>-century Aquitanian antiphoner of Braga Cathedral, likewise in the lauds of the Catherine office, but as first item,<sup>154</sup> with only a word changed from the Hungarian text (*dulcissima* becomes *castissima*). Here too the melody is in Mode 8, but comparison shows it differs from the chant in the fragment. The late Aquitanian version is so distant a parallel that without a source to connect them, no direct link can be made between them. Certainly the text may have been tied with the Mary feast originally, as it has a variant frequently found for the feast of the Immaculate Conception.<sup>155</sup> The Mode 2 melodic variant appears mostly in South German sources, but also in some Aquitanian and Italian codices. The Istanbul Antiphoner has it as the second antiphon in the lauds for the 8 December feast – just as in the fragment.

This is the second correspondence in the choice of items in the two sources, and raises further questions about the connection with the Istanbul Antiphoner (see later).<sup>156</sup>

Another case that can be added to oddities surrounding the fragments of the 14<sup>th</sup>-century antiphoner, which again ties in with the Istanbul Antiphoner. The appendix to the source (299v) follows the chant material for St Demetrius, then a responsory *Ex ejus membris sanctissimis* in cursive notation: this is a contrafactum adapted for the office of Catherine from the feast of St Nicholas (*Ex ejus tumbae marmore*). It is notated fully in fragment 4/137. Its liturgical position is unclear, but based on the content of other sources it may have belonged to the first or second nocturn. The contrafact does not appear elsewhere in the Hungarian tradition. The famous trope (*Sospitati*) of the original responsory for St Nicholas does not feature on the feast of Catherine. As for its single use, László Dobszay notes French parallels to the item in his introductory study to the facsimile edition of Istanbul Antiphoner.<sup>157</sup> The *Cantus Index* finds the responsory for Catherine in

<sup>153</sup> La2: *Gloriosa Dei martyr et virgo dulcissima precibus te venerantium annuae* [piissima ut a malis eruamur et per te semper protegamur].

<sup>154</sup> Cantus ID: a00447.

<sup>155</sup> *Gloriosa semper virgo Maria dulcissima precibus te venerantium annue piissima inoffensis ne labamur a te semper protegamur*. Cantus ID: 201983.

<sup>156</sup> See the treatment of the melodic ties in the next chapter.

<sup>157</sup> László Dobszay, “Végig a kódexen, végig az éven” [Through codex, through year], in Janka Szendrei ed., “Az antifonále rítusa” [The rite of the antiphoner], eadem ed., *Az Isztambuli Antifonále. 1360 körül. Tanulmányok* [The Istanbul Antiphonal of about 1360. Studies] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1999), 38. Dobszay found the trope variant in the Hoffmann-Brandt catalogue and in French sources in Hesbert’s CAO. See Helma Hoffmann-Brandt, *Die Tropen zu den Responsorien des Officiums II* (Diss., University of Erlangen, 1971), 125; Jean-René Hesbert, *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii IV*, *Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta, Series maior, Fontes*

the Cambrai Antiphoner (F-CA 38, No. 13). It also appears in the Einsiedeln (CH-E 611, No. 14) and Kielce (PL-Kik 1, No. 14) antiphoners with the incipit *Ex ejus tumba* as a part of the Catherine office. It seems that this broad, seemingly random 14<sup>th</sup>-century appearance might involve several sites, but Hungary's text version stands alone and has not been found elsewhere.

Cecilia (Matins)	Psalms (4/273, 4/80)	Psalms (Esztergom)
N2 a3 <i>Fiat Domine cor meum</i>	<i>Domine Dominus noster</i> <b>Ps. 8</b>	<i>Fundamenta [ejus]</i> <b>Ps. 86</b>
N3 a1 <i>Credimus Christum</i>	<i>Domine quis [habitabit]</i> <b>Ps. 14</b>	<i>Cantate [Domino benedicite]</i> <b>Ps. 95</b>
N3 a2 <i>Nos scientes</i>	<i>Domini est terra</i> <b>Ps. 23</b>	<i>Dominus regnavit</i> <b>Ps. 96</b>
N3 a3 <i>Tunc Valerianus</i>	<i>Eructavit [cor meum]</i> <b>Ps. 44</b>	<i>Cantate [Domino canticum]</i> <b>Ps. 97</b>

This variability on several levels can be linked with the 12<sup>th</sup>–13<sup>th</sup>-century vogue for the Catherine feast, for its many such features show how unstable material for a popular feast can be, even within one area of tradition.<sup>158</sup> The troped responsory arose as an item in French territory in the 13<sup>th</sup> century and can be seen to root itself a century later in some rites in the Eastern part of Europe. It may not have reached Hungary before the date the main corpus of the Istanbul Antiphoner was notated, as it appears in the codex only as an appendix. In the Némétújvár fragments, the contrafactum is a fixed item in the corpus, which improves the dating of the codex behind the fragments. Copying of the Istanbul Antiphoner about provides a *terminus post quem* to confirm the previous premise that our Transylvanian codex arose in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century, probably its final third.

A further phenomenon specific to the fragments is the individual psalm assignments to the office of St Cecilia. The psalms as the oldest and most essential elements in the office liturgy were chosen by a strict pattern set in early times,<sup>159</sup> at least in the temporale, as continual psalm singing could be assured only by a consistent system. For the offices of sanctorale feast days, however, the system was less strict. A psalm could be picked from the Commune Sanctorum, and if it was for a major feast, a different psalm choice altogether might be made.

Our fragments show for St Cecilia a different treatment from the one general for female saints and in contrast also to Hungarian tradition (*Table 10*). This applies to each antiphon of the matins in 4/273 and 4/80. This consistent change excludes the possibility of mistakes, and even allows for the possibility of a maverick sample book or tradition behind it.

10 (Rome, 1970), Nr. 6679; Clemens Blume ed., *Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi*, 44. *Sequentiae ineditae. Liturgische Prosen des Mittelalters aus Handschriften und Wiegendruckten*. Neunte Folge (Leipzig: Reisland, 1904), 176.

<sup>158</sup> See Czagány Zsuzsa, *CAO-ECE III/B Praha (Sanctorale)*, 60.

<sup>159</sup> These ties are already stated in the Rule of St Benedict.

To sum up, the liturgical analysis shows sources representing the second archdiocese, more precisely the Transylvanian–Várad rite, as the closest to our fragments. However, they are also markedly original, considering the small quantity of liturgical material they contain. The fragments show similarity with the Istanbul Antiphoner in some cases.

## Melodical examination

Musical analysis is held up by three factors mentioned earlier. 1. The fragments are not restored and only one side visible, which halves the musical content area available for research. 2. Folding and sticking mean the musical materials of the folios to hand are fragmentary in themselves – the covers show few complete lines.<sup>160</sup> 3. Later use of the fragments as book covers has left the legible outer sides unprotected. Over centuries, notes have been frayed as books were jammed together and storage was traditional, so that inappropriate humidity damaged the writing. Sadly, as noted, the strings tying them and library marks glued on later impede the examination, hiding valuable information, letters and notes on parts of the folios.

Of course musical analysis has been affected also by script quality. It was found while reconstructing melodies that the vertical placing of text behind music in the fragments is often inaccurate. The stringing affects particularly the ends of melodic formulas, where text/melody connections and syllable formulae are masked by concluding melismas: notes cannot be matched to syllables (*Figure 26*).

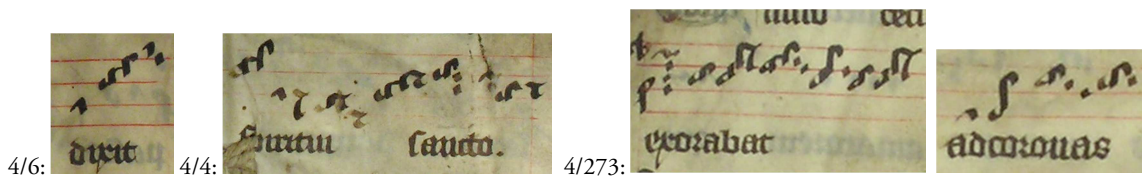


Figure 26

The codex copying clearly began with entry of the text, with the scribe not dividing the words by syllable or considering the possibility of long melismas, so giving an atypical word presentation to which the music notation had to adapt. Such curiosities appear as having a word end a line, but its melodic begins the next staff (e. g. 4/273, R. *Cilicio Caecilia V. Non diebus neque zarlata: et oratione* – *Figure 27*).<sup>161</sup> Likewise inexact, indeed misleading, is the word *tutelam* under the notes: this begins the next musical section but comes under the previous one.

<sup>160</sup> Whole lines can be read on the following fragments: 4/4, 4/68, 4/82, 4/119, 4/137, 4/273.

<sup>161</sup> The next line has only the text to be repeated: *Tyburcium*.

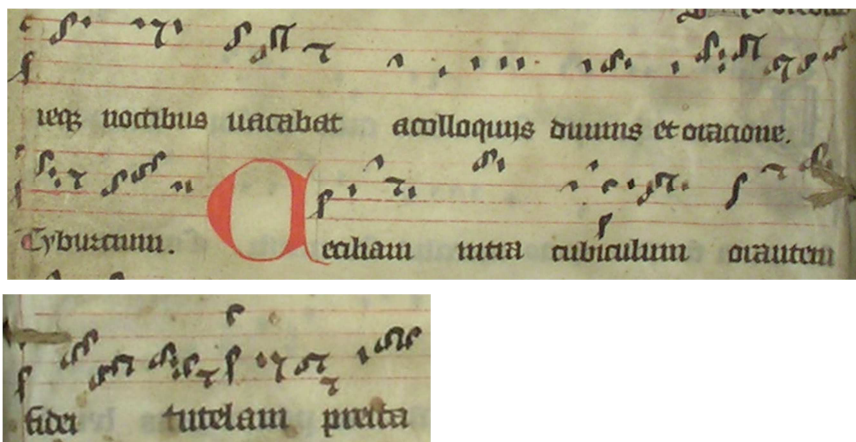


Figure 27. 4/273

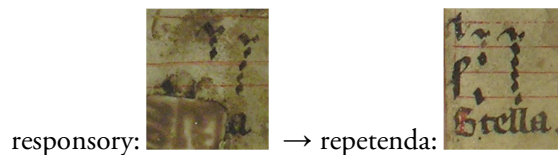


Figure 28. 4/30

The next problem is to identify separate *punctum* neums. The notation on the fragments does not show clearly whether the note is single, attached to a syllable, or a member of a neume-composition (Figure 26, *dixit*). This too results clearly from strange placing of the text: the *post-puncta* in the ligatures are generally divorced from their context of neume structures (Figure 26, *ad coronas*), and run confusingly into the following separate syllabic note. Help was gained in resolving these ligatures from our earlier experience with melodic analogies found elsewhere in Hungarian Gregorian sources.

As found above, inconsistencies appeared in the copying of the Némétújvár antiphoner. A typical mistake was inaccurate repetition or notation of *repetenda* in responsories or the musical repeats in the doxology. An example comes in fragment 4/30 at the responsory *Solem justitiae*: the *repetenda* is not the formula variant in the main section (it begins from *a*, not *b*) and the start of the *Gloria* similarly differs from its beginning of main appearance (*Cernere* – Figure 28). This shows again how flexible the melodic treatment could be in some cases.

To conclude, the fragments' negligent musical notation meant this codex could have been managed only by singers with liturgical experience, who knew the chant repertory by heart. Otherwise they could not have matched text with melody. Bearing the age of the codex in mind, this method of merging text with music was most anachronistic; it reminds us of old codices with undiastematic neume notation. Yet the musical notation attributes can be approached in another way. Examining the materials underlined an impression among us that this antiphoner

was not meant to codify accurately. It was not made for use of singers, but perhaps as a reminder, a summary. Still, if it were not intended for practical use, its curious presentation might suggest a more modest, lower-ranking church: possessing a liturgical chantbook or book series would have raised its prestige. In that case the inconsistent, erroneous, unprofessional copier may have been less bothered with precision than with setting down a local tradition of liturgical music at a particular time.



These factors affect retrieval of the analysis of melodies in a sensitive way, yet despite the drawbacks, the quantity and quality suffice to warrant a separate chapter on musical conclusions.

As with liturgical analyses, musical examination must pay heed to melodic variation of the sanctorale offices of various periods in the general and Hungarian Gregorian traditions. Some cycles and items are stabler and less variable, while some show, even locally, great melodic disparities. Especially prone to musical variation are the sanctorale for saints whose rites were widespread in the Church: the melodic repertory for their days would alter and expand from time to time. For example, the documented variation found in Hungary and Central Europe in the verse office cycle for St Elizabeth of the House of Árpád remained at a general level, whereas that of Catherine of Alexandria, popular throughout the Church, showed colourful late medieval variations in office and melody. The melodies in later *historiae* for the latter moved more freely. The choice and arrangement of items was flexible and individual, and varied even over short distances of local traditions.

As for method, the melodies on the fragments were written out in modern transcription before melodic examination took place. Then the melodies were compared with versions from other Hungarian sources.<sup>162</sup>


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<sup>162</sup> Use was made of systematic publications of medieval Hungary's antiphon and responsory melodies: László Dobszay and Janka Szendrei ed., *Antiphonen, Monumenta Monodica Medii Aevi VI/1–3* (Kassel, Bärenreiter, 1999), and idem, *Responsories*, vols 1–2 (Budapest: Balassi, 2013).



**R/ Nativitas gloriosae**

4/30      Str-3, -8, -I/3/2



Ab - ra - - hae



Ab - ra - - hae

**a/ Credimus Christum**

4/80      Str-3, -I/3/2




es - se



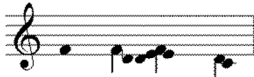
es - se

**R/ O lampas ecclesiae**

4/273      Str-3, -8, -I/3/2



tu - te - - lam



tu - te - - lam

**a/ Ex ejus membris**

4/137      Str-8



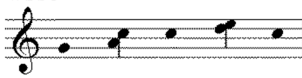
cer - ne - re



cer - ne - re

**a/ Caesar electos convocat**

4/116      Str-3, -8



ad - ver - sus il - lam



ad - ver - sus il - lam

Example 1.a

**a/ Deo decantent omnia**

4/82      Str-3, -8, -I/3/2



ef - fu - gat dae - mo - ni - a



ef - fu - gat dae - mo - ni - a

**A/ O inclyta Costi regis**

4/142      Str-I/3/2



san - cta Ka - tha - ri - na



san - cta Ka - tha - ri - na

**a/ Tunc Valerianus perrexit**

4/68      Str-8



ac - ce - pe - rat



ac - ce - pe - rat

**R/ Diem festum praecelsae**

4/48      Str-3, -5, -I/3/2



na - ti - - vi - tas



na - ti - vi - tas

Example 1.b

**R/ Nativitas gloriosae**


4/30                      Str-3, -5, -8, -1/3/2, IST



cun - ctas                      cun - ctas

**R/ Beata Caecilia dixit**

4/68                      Str-3, -8, -1/3/2, IST



co - gna - tum                      co - gna - tum

**R/ Cilicio Caecilia membra**

4/273                      Str-3, -8, -1/3/2, IST




et o - ra - ti - o - ne                      et o - ra - ti - o - ne

*Example 1.c*

**R/ Caeco nato cui nec**

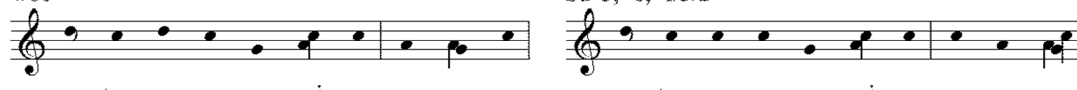
4/4                      Str-3



in - stru - men - ta lu - cis                      in - stru - men - ta lu - cis

**a/ Nos scientes sanctum**

4/80                      Str-3, -8, -1/3/2



san-ctum no-men o-mni-no ne-ga-re                      san-ctum no-men o-mni-no ne-ga-re

*Example 1.d*

Musical analysis matches the conclusions on the paleographical and liturgical survey: melodic variants in the fragments often differ from those in the main Esztergom tradition. *Example 1* shows smaller musical variations of the fragments compared to the Esztergom melodies, ranging from inessential musical differences to stronger variants. The superficialities include one or two-note inflexion differences (*1a*), prosodic variants derived from different syllable matches (*1b*), and length changes in melismatic closing *formulae* (*1c*). More notable are formula variants involving several notes (*1d*) and melodic differences tied to textual versions (*1e*). Dozens of similar cases can be given of different types of variations in rank. *Example 2* shows more significant ones of these. Despite the gaps in the fragments, the excerpt *lux caelica fusa* in the responsory *Virgo flagellatur* brings an unwonted

freedom of variation, followed by a fairly accurate return to the usual melody line (at *fragrat odor*). Similarly notable musical variant is the first line in the St Catherine's responsory *Martyrium sitiens*, which hardly matches the typical Esztergom version in more than its first and last notes. Differences at all levels show the fragment melodies certainly did not belong to a tightly wrought Esztergom diocesan codex. They are distinct variants borne of a subordinate Hungarian church.

**a/ Gaude decus virgineum**

4/142 Str-I/3/2

Gau-de de - cus vir - gi - ne - um Gau-de de - cus vir - gi - num

**R/ Aman in patibulo**

4/273 Str-3, -8

a su - o per - i - cu - lo et su - um per - i - cu - lo

4/273 Str-3, -8, -I/3/2, IST

ap - pre - hen - dit ap - pen - dit

Example 1.e

**R/ Virgo flagellatur**

1. 4/124  
2. Str-3

1. lux cae - li - ca fu - sa re - ful - get frag - rat o - dor dul - cis can - tant cae - li ag - mi - na

2. lux cae - li - ca fu - sa re - ful - get frag - rat o - dor dul - cis can - tant cae - li ag - mi - na

**R/ Martyrium sitiens**

1. 4/116, IST, Str-I/3/2  
2. Str-3

1. Mar - ty - ri - um si - ti - ens li - ba - mi - na Cae - sa - ris hor - rens

2. Mar - ty - ri - um si - ti - ens li - ba - mi - na Cae - sa - ris hor - rens


Example 2

*Example 3* illustrates the musical relationship to the Szepes Antiphoner. Fragment 19/40/b shows two vespers antiphons for the feast of St Michael (a1 *Excelsi regis filium*; a2 *Cui sol luna*) that count as repertory curiosities in Hungary – omitted from the collected publication of Hungary’s antiphons as they were not used in the central Hungarian tradition. The peripherical Várad Antiphoner also included this series for St Michael, the folio with the first and second antiphons of the vespers is missing, so the source can not be used in our analysis.<sup>163</sup> All in all, the melodic versions of the Szepes source essentially match those of the Németújvár fragments, but the scope for superficial variation maximized.


**a/ *Excelsi regis filium***

1. 19/40/b

2. Sc-2: f. 229r

1.    
 Ex - cel - si re - gis fi - li - um coll - au - dant ci - ves che - ru - bin et se - ra - phin

2. 


   
 san - ctus pro - cla - mat se - du - le.



**a/ *Cui sol luna***

1. 19/40/b

2. Sc-2: f. 229r

1.    
 Cu - i sol lu - na de - ser - vi - unt per tem - po - ra qui se - des

2. 

*Example 3*

<sup>163</sup> In this stumpy codex (vol. II. f. 128r), the office for Michael begins with the third antiphon of the vespers: a3 *Praepositus paradisi*, a4 *Summa laus*, a5 *Archangele Christi*.

After earlier partial analyses, the new results are unsurprising. Differences in the fragments and the peripheral East Hungarian practice they exemplify probably mark a local Transylvanian Gregorian tradition explained by isolation from Esztergom and the Szepesség area.

Of the surviving comparable sources for the medieval Hungarian Church, first comes the codex torso of the Várad Antiphoner representing the 15<sup>th</sup>-century Transylvanian–Várad Gregorian liturgical tradition. Problems arise from the small quantity of common items available for study: only some sanctorale parts are available. Even then, the analogies are confined mainly to September feasts (*viz.* the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, hymns for the Nativity of Mary and a responsory taken over from the December feast of St John the Apostle). These few are too sparse for analysis to show the musical connection between the fragments and the Várad Antiphoner, or relations of both to the main Esztergom tradition of Gregorian melodies. Still, they may suffice to give a varied picture of the medieval systems of music relations.<sup>164</sup>

<sup>164</sup> The content of the Várad Antiphoner can be aligned with fragments 4/30, 4/48 and 4/49. The joint Gregorian chants are referred to hereafter by their folio numbers in the Várad Antiphoner. Those of actual use to the examination, i. e. the legible Németújvár fragments in the singing material, have been set in bold:

44r	Nativitas Johannis	V1 R	<b>Vox tonitruī tui</b>
44r	Nativitas Johannis	V1 V	<b>Victo senatu cum</b>
285r	Nativitas BMV	N2 a2	Fons hortorum
285r	Nativitas BMV	N2 a3	<b>Veniat dilectus meus</b>
285r	Nativitas BMV	N2 W	Diffusa est gratia
285v	Nativitas BMV	N2 R1	<b>Diem festum praecaelsae</b>
285v	Nativitas BMV	N2 V1	<b>Nativitatem hodiernam</b>
286r	Nativitas BMV	N2 R2	<b>Corde et animo Christo</b>
288r	Nativitas BMV	N3 V1	Gloriose virginis Mariae
288r	Nativitas BMV	N3 R2	Nativitas tua Dei Genitrix
288v	Nativitas BMV	N3 V2	Ave Maria gratia plena
289r	Nativitas BMV	N3 R3	<b>Solem justitiae</b>
289v	Nativitas BMV	N3 V3	<b>Cernere divinum lumen</b>
302r	Exaltatio Crucis	L a1	<b>Praecinxit se Dominus</b>
302r	Exaltatio Crucis	L a2	<b>Sanctae crucis in honore</b>
302v	Exaltatio Crucis	L a3	<b>Vere obstructum est</b>
302v	Exaltatio Crucis	L a4	<b>Fons omnium</b>
303r	Exaltatio Crucis	L a5	<b>Ecclesia sanctorum</b>
v	Caecilia	N3 a3	Tunc Valerianus perrexit (forrás: Győr, Rómer Flóris Művészeti és Történeti Múzeum (korábban: Xúntus Júnos Múzeum). 54.12.4. Fragmenta Codicum III, nr. 66. Szendrei, A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai F 610. Egyébként a töredék lappang, csak másolatban áll rendelkezésre.

**a/ Veniat dilectus meus**

1. 4/48, IST
2. VA
3. Str-3, -8, -1/3/2

1. Ve - ni - at di - lec - tus me - us

2.

3.

Example 4

The start of the survey already revealed a promising melodic parallel. The fragment 4/48 matins antiphon beginning *Veniat dilectus meus* for the Nativity of Mary appears in the same transposed version as the Várad source, not as in Esztergom (Example 4). A yet more elementary parallel appears in the *initium* of the item. The “emblem” defined by the intervals of a second + a fourth appears in the fragment and in the Várad Antiphoner on the second word, *dilectus*, not the first. The Esztergom version presents the similar fourth interval consisting of a second + a third on *Veniat*. This separate melodic move pointing beyond the usual Gregorian melodic variation suggests a Transylvanian–Várad version of the melody.

Sadly we could not support this with further examples; nothing comparable was found. Later melodic comparisons tended to point out even the differences between the versions of the fragments and the Várad Antiphoner, and looking from here, the melodic and modal matches seem rather to be the random and exceptional ones. The other sources show the Várad Antiphoner offering a third way in musical solutions alongside the largely homogenous Esztergom melodies and those found in our fragments (Example 5). The degree of variation between our fragments

**R/ Diem festum praecelsae**

4/48, IST      VA      Str-3

prae - cel - sae      prae - cel - sae      prae - cel - sae

4/48, IST      VA      Str-3, -5, -8, -1/3/2

na - ti - vi - tas      na - ti - vi - tas      na - ti - vi - tas

**R/ Corde et animo Christo**

4/48, IST, Str-3, -5, -8, -I/3/2



ca - na - mus

VA



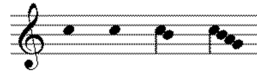
ca - na - mus

4/48, IST, Str-3, -5, -8, -I/3/2



ge - ni - tri - cis

VA



ge - ni - tri - cis

**RV/ Cernere divinum lumen**

4/30, IST



Cer - ne - re

VA



Cer - ne - re

Str-3, -5



Cer - ne - re

Example 5

and the Várad Antiphoner is clear in the treatment for the *Solem justitiae* responsory (Example 6, lines 1 and 2).<sup>165</sup> The Várad melody differs often from the fragment variants, but is notably close to the Szepes Antiphoner (Example 6, lines 2 and 4). It is worth thinking of this parallel between the last two peripheral sources in more parts of the melody (*paritura*, *supremum*, *processit*). These may be explained by the international character mentioned earlier, which now loosely, now tightly binds the Eastern-Hungarian and Uplands sources with liturgical books linked in some form with Bohemian codex culture, but it is new to find such a link affecting melodies as well. Based on all this it seems clear that the Transylvanian melodic tradition found in the fragments and Várad, known here only from the Várad Antiphoner, cannot have fully common ground. And if the Némétújvár melodies available for comparison are painfully slim, these examples seem to show that the music of the Várad Antiphoner cannot have a direct (institutionally raised) connection with the fragments' melodic versions. Of course the question may recur as to how reliable the variant in the Várad Antiphoner is if considered as a medieval Transylvanian or Várad medieval musical version.

<sup>165</sup> Between 4/30 and the Istanbul Antiphoner there appeared, apart from insignificant differences, one of how the *climacus* and its constituents were written (*viz.* a double note or not), just one melodic difference in the whole item: the *bc clivis* is lacking from the IST at the end of the *proces* melisma.

- 1. 4/30
- 2. VA: f. 289r
- 3. Str-8: p. 615
- 4. Sc-2: f. 207v

1. R. So - lem jus - ti - ti - ae re-gem pa - ri - tu - ra su-pre - mum ^stel - la

2. Ma - ri - a ma - ris ho - di - e \*pro - ces - sit

3. ad or - tam. V1. Cer - ne - re di - vi - num lu - men gau - de - te fi - de - les

4. \*Stel - la V2. Glo - ri - a Pa - tri et Fi - li - o et Spi - ri - tu - i San - cto.

The musical score consists of four systems, each with four staves. The first staff in each system contains the vocal line with Latin lyrics. The other three staves provide instrumental accompaniment. The lyrics are: 'R. So - lem jus - ti - ti - ae re-gem pa - ri - tu - ra su-pre - mum ^stel - la', 'Ma - ri - a ma - ris ho - di - e \*pro - ces - sit', 'ad or - tam. V1. Cer - ne - re di - vi - num lu - men gau - de - te fi - de - les', and '\*Stel - la V2. Glo - ri - a Pa - tri et Fi - li - o et Spi - ri - tu - i San - cto.' The score includes various musical notations such as clefs, time signatures, and dynamic markings.

Example 6



Meanwhile the musical analysis then had and could have no way of considering an unexpected result that ties the fragments tightly to another remarkable musical codex. For the seemingly individual melodic details of the Németújvár antiphoner concur in a surprising number of cases with analogous musical details in the Istanbul Antiphoner, a work of uncertain provenance dating from about 1360 (*Example 5*).<sup>166</sup> The similarity is not casual but sequential: where the Németújvár fragments give a different musical solution from Esztergom sources, it is highly likely that it features as well in this other manuscript of the Angevin period, held in Istanbul. It was an even bigger surprise that the connection applied to cases where the melody of the Várad Antiphoner was available for analysis. For these were strong variants compared with those of the fragments (by and large a third solution alongside Esztergom), yet the Istanbul Antiphoner repeats the rare version of the fragments word for word. The differences in the Várad Antiphoner, from the superficial to the more important, show many more variants than the fragments/Istanbul Antiphoner pair do (*Example 7*). The exuberantly melismatic melodic variant of the *Solem justitiae* responsory mentioned earlier differs from the Szepes and Várad sources, and stands closer to Esztergom. Yet the similarity of the melodic variants in the fragment and the Istanbul Antiphoner is clear, despite the complex musical material, making it obvious that the two melodies on excitingly close patterns.

The melodic excerpts decipherable in the Németújvár fragments also raise interesting parallels inside the broader Esztergom tradition. Melodic forms similar to the Istanbul ones appear in an antiphoner from Esztergom see that includes sanctorale part (Str-I/3/2).<sup>167</sup> The link is odd also in appearing in a central manuscript, which seems thereby to have shown major musical variation in a narrower circle. The picture is tinged by issues of provenance and content and by alien, Bohemian elements in the notation of this 15<sup>th</sup>-century liturgical codex, showing its origin in an isolated northern area, not the central field of Esztergom – our latest fragment studies suggest an exempt parish in Nagyszombat (Trnava).<sup>168</sup> Two lessons can be drawn: 1. The analogies point to a peripheral melodic tradition tied musically with a hitherto unidentified area displaying the peripheral traditions of the Hungarian Church, where melodies of the Várad Antiphoner appear in further, more remote variants. 2. However, there had to be a far closer and more closely detailed unit, clear from the ties between the fragments and the Istanbul Antiphoner, which may feasibly link with the chronology and the proximity of the provenance.

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<sup>166</sup> See TR-Itks 42 (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi, Deissmann 42). Facsimile publication: Janka Szendrei ed., *The Istanbul Antiphonal of about 1360. Facsimile edition and studies* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1999).

<sup>167</sup> Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár (Esztergom Archdiocesan Library), Ms. I. 3c.

<sup>168</sup> See Gabriella Gilányi, “Esztergomi kódexsorozataink új Graduale Strigoniense töredékek fényében” [Esztergom codex series in the light of new *Graduale Strigoniense* fragments]. Paper at the conference held in honour of Janka Szendrei’s birthday. Institute for Musicology of the HAS RCH, 15 November 2018. Accepted for publication in *Zenetudományi Dolgozatok 2019*, ed. Katalin Kim.

*R/ Virgo flagellatur*

4/124, IST      Str-3, -8

lux cae - li ca      lux cae - li - ca

*R/ Caeciliam intra cubiculum*

4/273, IST      Str-3, -8, -1/3/2

cor - re - ptus est      cor - re - ptus est

*R/ O lampas ecclesiae*

4/273, IST      Str-3

lan - gui - dis me - de - lam      lan - gui - dis me - de - lam

*R/ Caeco nato cui nec*

4/4, IST      Str-3

in - stru - men - ta lu - cis      in - stru - men - ta lu - cis

4/4, IST      Str-3, -8

tem - po - rum      tem - po - rum

Example 7

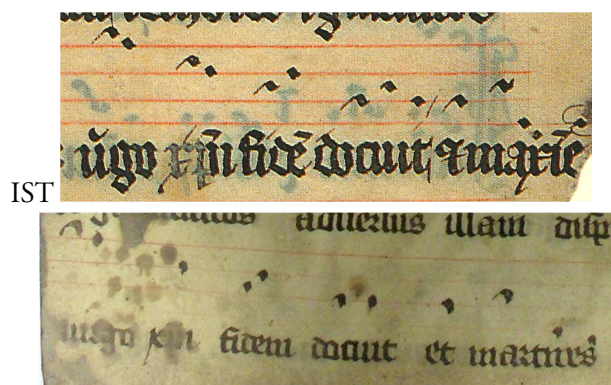


Figure 29.

These unexpected turns in melodic kinship raise several questions urged by uncertainty over the provenance of the Németújvár fragments and the Istanbul Antiphoner.<sup>169</sup> It is notable that László Dobszay, in his analysis, dismissed the idea of a Transylvanian–Várad origin for the Istanbul Antiphoner, citing differences in the chant repertory of the temporale and sanctorale and in the liturgical order, while pressing the direct claims of Esztergom.<sup>170</sup> So if the Istanbul Antiphoner is not Transylvanian, what explains the strong musical bond with the Transylvanian Németújvár fragments? Deliberation on this would clearly start differently if the common melodic forms were limited to items from one or two sanctorale feasts – when we would posit at most a similar tradition behind them – but the analogy appears more general, and apparent in materials of different ages.

This study cannot begin to clarify theories of origin, and the complexity of the issues relating to the Istanbul Antiphoner and the lack of comparable sources rule out a clear response to the question of what church ordered the Angevin codex. Nonetheless, attention is drawn to East Hungary by the suspiciously intensive melodic parallels in the Németújvár musical material and the Istanbul Antiphoner’s resemblance to Transylvanian notation, in elements liked the capped *climacus*, broken *scandicus*, characteristically round *torculus* and Upland–Transylvanian *custos*. *Figure 29* shows in two cuts only a few notes of a syllabic melody sequence, first in the Németújvár Antiphoner, then in the Istanbul. Closer attention to the *punctum* reveals the same differentiation and teardrop shapes at exactly the same places, on exactly the same notes. It was typical of Transylvanian notation to use especially enlarged *punctum* for initial notes and those in important positions. So despite the strong variation, could the musical writing and melodic material show a regional or even closer relations?

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<sup>169</sup> László Dobszay, based on the antiphoner’s specific solutions and the contents of its appendix – *viz.* the suffragan hymns for St Stephen the Martyr and St Irenaeus and the chants for St Demetrius – took the view that the source may have reached the Kalocsa–Bács area not long after its compilation. St Irenaeus was Bishop of Syrmium in ancient times and so medieval patron saint of the Szerémség diocese, Demetrius was his deacon. The see was centred at Szávaszentdemeter (Sremska Mitrovica) and Kőmonostor (or Bánmonostor, Banoštor) the patron saint of the latter being St Stephen the Martyr. Dobszay put forward the possibility that the Ottoman Turks had taken the antiphoner from Szerémség and gave the Sub-Chapter of Títel as a second designation. See László Dobszay, “A kódex eredete és sorsa” [The origin and fate of the codex], Janka Szendrei ed., *Az Isztambuli Antifonále. 1360 körül. Tanulmányok*, 48. Later the Sub-Chapter of Títel was given as the possible original provenance of the Codex. See László Dobszay, *Corpus Antiphonarum. Európai örökség és hazai alakítás*, 339.

<sup>170</sup> The temporale differs in some details mainly in the Advent section from the Transylvanian breviaries, as does the sanctorale, for example in referring to the Translation of St Adalbert of Prague, for which a complete office appears in the Istanbul Antiphoner, which brings it closer to Esztergom, of which St Adalbert was patron saint. See László Dobszay, “Az antifonále rítusa”, *ibid.*, 30.

Certainly this major musical tie cannot have arisen simply from some intangible, generally peripheral community, or on a date near to that of the codex,<sup>171</sup> for such a chronological argument is weakened by the oft-noted analogy with the later 15<sup>th</sup>-century melodies of Str I/3/2. Perhaps an institutional explanation of relations between the Németújvár fragments and the Istanbul Antiphoner might point towards the archiepiscopal province of Kalocsa. A south-east office tradition might have provided enough grounds for these common solutions, and such a connection is not ruled out by earlier palaeographic arguments either.<sup>172</sup> We know László Dobszay sees the Istanbul Antiphoner's conspicuously worked initial for the Feast of St Michael, points to patronage from some high-ranking church dedicated to Michael, which would place the codex a little further from the main Esztergom tradition and explain the differences from it. Michael is patron saint of such high Transylvanian churches as Kolozsvár's and Gyulafehérvár Cathedral, which might in itself justify the use of such an elaborate choral codex, if there were not liturgical

variations to consider.<sup>173</sup> Indeed other Transylvanian fragments, such as the Kolozsmonostor (Mănaştur) Antiphoner (for its presentation and content give no clues to its provenance, but it is treated as a source from the Transylvanian see),<sup>174</sup> earlier and now discovered fragments with temporale and sanctorale sections, likewise show considerable melodic parallels to the Istanbul Antiphoner.<sup>175</sup>

**a1 Praecinxit te Dominus**

1. 4/49

2. Str-3, (VA, IST)

The image shows two staves of musical notation. The first staff is labeled '1.' and the second '2.'. The notation is in a medieval style with square neumes on a four-line red staff. The lyrics are written below the first staff: '[...] fa - ctus est pro mun - di red - em - pti - o - ne'. The notes are mostly quarter and eighth notes, with some beamed eighth notes.

<sup>171</sup> I. e. noting how the Istanbul Antiphoner was copied c. 1360 and the fragments too belong to the later 14<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>172</sup> See the liturgical comparisons of the Istanbul Antiphoner and palaeographic analogies presented. Just by the notation, Istanbul's rounded calligraphic notation and certain neume shapes might suggest it was Transylvanian.

<sup>173</sup> Veszprém as prime origin – see Dobszay's "A kódex eredete és sorsa" [Origin and fate of the codex], Janka Szendrei, ed., *Az Isztambuli antifonále. 1360 körül. Tanulmányok*, 48 – seems to this author unlikely on grounds of notation and musical analysis.

<sup>174</sup> Kilián Szigeti, "Két középkori erdélyi Graduale eredetének kérdése" [The origin question of two medieval Transylvanian graduals], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 86 (1970/3): 165–172 (168).

<sup>175</sup> The question also arises in a forthcoming study: Gabriella Gilányi and Adrian Papahagi, "Membra Disiecta from a Transylvanian Antiphoner in Budapest and Cluj". Forthcoming.

**a2 Sanctae crucis**

1. 4/49

2. Str-3, (VA, IST)

1. *sancte* cru - cis in ho - no - re Do - mi - no ju - bi - le - mus qui - a cu - ra *nos* est

2.

*in* ae - ter - num mi - se - ri - cor - di - a e - jus.

**a3 Vere obstructum**

1. 4/49

2. Str-3, (VA, IST)

1. [...] quan - do per li - gnum cru - cis a mor - te sur - re - xit vi - ta.

2.

*Example 8*

Yet despite all these arguments, we again run up against the clear liturgical dissimilarity between the known Transylvanian breviaries and the Istanbul Antiphoner. An end must be made here to a quagmire in our thinking. So far we have mainly put questions about phenomena that arise, which shows how deficiently we know the relations within the shades of Hungarian Gregorian tradition. Only after studying systematically all the fragmented materials will we have a chance of seeing it more clearly.

*R/ Christus sanctam tenebroso*

1. 4/124

2. Str-3: f. 183v

The image shows a musical score for two parts, labeled 1 and 2. Part 1 is a vocal line in treble clef with lyrics: "Chri - stus san - ctam te - ne - bro - so [re - clu -]sam er - ga - stu - lo mi - ro". Part 2 is a string line in treble clef. Below the string line, there are two additional lines of music. The first line has lyrics: "sa - tis at - que blan - do con - for - tat [a] - lo - qui - o." The second line has lyrics: "a - lo - qui - o." The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and brackets.

*Example 9*

Finally, the musical analysis must cover some free-standing melodic variants, which alter further the general view of Gregorian chant gained from the fragments. For some melodies found have been recorded nowhere else, and these seem to form a very high proportion of the total Némétújvár material. This no longer counts as variation, but as a separate category, where the melody differs tonally and musically from what was known hitherto. The very presence of such special melodies in the fragments suggests they must also have featured large in the unknown portions of the codex.

One important case is the vespers antiphon series for the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross preserved in fragment 4/49 (*Example 8*). The texts of each of its five antiphons match perfectly the ones found with other melodies in the general and Hungarian traditions. Here there are no analogies in the Istanbul or Várad antiphoners, as they both follow another Esztergom selection. Considering the brisk, supple melody the fragments provide for the opening *Praecinxit se* item, some similarities can be detected with the compared sources and the tonality (Mode 2) is the same. More separate is the melodic shape of *Sanctae crucis* in second place: the first semi-cadence still matches, but the melodies of the fragments and of Esztergom differ in melodic contour and tonality. The situation is similar with the antiphons in third, fourth and fifth place, where the fragments and Esztergom have different melodies. For the final item in the cycle the compared sources have the same Mode 3 melody, but the fragment brings a wholly different Mode 1 version somewhat akin to independent melodic form of the second-placed *Sanctae crucis*.

*a/ Gloriosa Dei martyr*

4/119

Glo - ri - o - sa De - i mar - tyr et vir - go dul - cis - si - ma pre - ci - bus te

ve - ne - ran - ti - um an - nu - e [ ... ]

*Example 10*

Also relevant is the *Christus sanctum tenebroso* responsory, among the significant melodic versions for the Catherine office (*Example 9*). The variation is unusually strong, though within a common tonal frame. The melodies arrive at a shared inner closing formula (*ergastulo*), then continue with the same formula before taking largely different routes to the final note.

Let the list end without comment with what has been discussed already as a liturgical curiosity: the remaining *Gloriosa Dei martyr* of the Catherine office. It appears, uniquely in Europe, in fragment 4/119 (*Example 10*).

## Summary

This comprehensive musical study of the 14 fragments held at the Franciscan Monastery in Németújvár leads to a baffling conclusion. The analytical paths result in reciprocal issues, but clearly contribute with varying intensity to the overall picture. The issues of the liturgical analysis largely support the notion of Transylvanian–Várad relations in the structures found in the fragments. Meanwhile curiosities hitherto unknown in the Hungarian tradition have appeared: unwonted item assignments and text variants, and unique chants whose presence points not to variation within the practice of the Esztergom see, but to a more remote liturgical consuetudo. Presumably there lies behind the fragments the liturgical, musical tradition of Transylvania. Ultimately, our results did not extend to the whole south-eastern region of the Kalocsa–Bács archdiocese; even this limited liturgical survey did not point specifically to Kalocsa or to Zagreb.

Yet the liturgical analysis failed to find serious reasons for the Transylvanian theory. The few individual office variants drew only a faint line. In the end only the next, melodic exploration brought some advance, in the shape of a surprise that also marked a dilemma. The late medieval Várad antiphoner, whose liturgical content agrees almost wholly with the Transylvanian breviaries left by itself melodically. Not only were our fragments no close variants of the Németújvár antiphoner, but they showed an even weaker tie to its Gregorian chants than the main Esztergom tradition did. Research then shed more light on the fragments and the 15th-century Esztergom Antiphoner (Str-I/3/2), and then between our antiphoner fragments and the melodies of the Istanbul Antiphoner. If the Várad Antiphoner melodies are seen as a reliable source for 15<sup>th</sup>-century Várad tradition, the musical study cuts Várad out of the possible Eastern origins of the Németújvár antiphoner fragments, showing a gulf between the Várad Antiphoner melodies and the Transylvanian musical traits of the fragments. If we risk saying the Várad Antiphoner, with its Bohemian notation, may have taken a more internationalised melodic variant, it becomes still more possible to link it to the Szepes Antiphoner's version than to our Németújvár antiphoner, and also means we know nothing of the real medieval melodic tradition of Várad.

The musical paleographical research, which has been done first, may have taken us closer to the origin of the Németújvár Antiphoner. Analysis of the repertory is still expanding through library research. It backs the old assumption that the fragments' notation points to the area of the Transylvanian diocese. The book-covering fragments of notation surviving from Csíksomlyó, Sepsiszentgyörgy, Kolozsmonostor, Csíkrákos, Csíkszentmihály, etc. suggest a yet more specific Transylvanian provenance for the fragments. Similarly to the the covered books and fragments, the writing elements that Janka Szendrei saw as Transylvanian, with their tortuous, looped forms, wavy outlines, horizontally spread neumes and



specific initials, derive in our view from East Transylvania, the Székely Land. This specific musical writing probably affected several areas of church organization: *scriptoria* in Fehér, Telegdi, the Kézdi archdeanery and Csíkszék, which were main areas of action as the last bastions of Transylvanian Catholicism. We guess that the area of linear, rectangular, scrathy notation type was in Várad diocese further north-west, bearing in mind the notation parallels in the northern periphery. However, the exact locations where this variant notation was employed have yet to be found. The smooth-lined style of writing and the rounded Transylvanian notation find a common denominator in horizontal expansion of the structures and the shaping of the capped *climacus* and the rectangular *punctum*. It can be stated that these two notations do not descend from one another: they were used in parallel in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, so that distinguishing them is not only logical, but needful.

The Transylvanian Catholic Church suffered grave damage in the Middle Ages; almost all its codices of liturgical music were destroyed. The surviving scraps – like our fragments – point to an excitingly rich, maybe Italian-inspired cultivation of a notably high standard musical notation in some periods like the reign of Louis the Great. Under Louis, the Transylvanian bishoprics and archdeaconries were in exceptionally capable hands, among them Bishop Demeter (Demetrius), acting from 1368. He had been raised in Louis's court and rose to head the royal administration as chancellor in chief, before being appointed Bishop of Transylvania under Pope Urban V.<sup>176</sup> Assisting Demeter in running the diocese were János Apród, Canon-Archdeacon of Küküllő (Tárnava Mare), a noted historian. So the see was headed by two high-ranking churchmen who may have trained at foreign universities or at least at court come across Italianate cultivation and writing forms, and turned them in Transylvania into Gothic and early Renaissance accomplishments of their own.<sup>177</sup> The broad outlook and cultural patronage of the Transylvanian church leaders benefited not only the Gyulafehérvár archdeaconry, but lower levels of church organization, from which this antiphoner may stem.

The antiphoner from which the Németújvár fragments derive is all but unknown to Hungary's musical and cultural history, but marks all the more the first sign of a colourful music tradition. Nor perhaps the last: most fragmentary music-codex material in Transylvanian collections remains unexplored in the early 21<sup>st</sup> century; further research is very likely to yield latent relics of inestimable value. Far from ending, research into the Gregorian tradition of medieval Transylvania may gain new momentum. Certainly the first study results on our Transylvanian fragments will offer a good basis for future research.

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<sup>176</sup> János Temesváry, *Erdély középkori püspökei* [Medieval bishops of Transylvania] (Kolozsvár: Minerva, 1922), 178–196. Demeter later became Bishop of Zagreb, from 1378 Archbishop of Esztergom, and at the peak of his church career a cardinal archbishop and apostolic nuncio.

<sup>177</sup> See László Makkai, "Középkori Művelődés Erdélyben. Írás és írástudók", in László Makkai and András Mócsy ed., *Erdély története. Első kötet*. See Note 57.

## Facsimile and musical transcription

We end the study by presenting colour facsimile photographs of the fragments of the 14<sup>th</sup>-century Transylvanian antiphoner surviving at Némétújvár/Güssing. Then follows the full musical material in modern musical transcription, where some rational compromises have been made. The content of the stave agrees with the original arrangement, but the modern transcription does not keep to their lengths, seeking instead to set the music out in a more proportionate way, so the lengths of stave are not unified. The parts that are illegible or cut away are marked by square brackets in the melody and text alike. The accidentals appear only when they are visible in the manuscript. No melodic articulations appear in the fragments, and it was decided to mark the melodic units with apostrophes and brackets (bar lines or double bar lines), so that hiatuses can be understood more easily. The Latin text has been normalized to the guiding principles of the *Cantus Index*, but it has not been punctuated.