

**THE LIGHT OF
THY COUNTENANCE
GREEK CATHOLICS
IN HUNGARY**

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Cover images: wall-painting of the Pantocrator (by Zsolt Maklár) in the Nyíregyháza Seminary Chapel and a fragment of the icon *Christ the Great High Priest* from the iconostasis of Velyki Kom'yaty (*Magyarkomját*)

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IV.2.3 Historical Specimens of the Hungarian Liturgy

András Dobos

The origins of the Hungarian-speaking population of the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve (*Munkács*)

Initially, the overwhelming majority of the population of the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve was constituted by Rusyn and Romanian ethnic groups. At the same time, the presence of other Byzantine-rite communities is evidenced by early data. Fleeing the Ottoman conquest in the Balkans, many would find their new home on Hungarian soil: Greeks, Macedonians, Serbs, and it would be hard to tell how many other nations. A more affluent merchant class could afford to build churches and invite priests to conduct the divine services. Such church communities were also crucial to the preservation of national identity. It seems clear that, wherever these ethnic groups were represented only in smaller numbers and lacked any institutions, they would assimilate fast in those places. The case of the Hajduks, regarded as of Serbian provenance, who settled in the area of Hajdúdorog, obtaining privileges, is truly peculiar.¹ In the surrounding region of Hajdúság, they represented but a small island as it were. It is thus no surprise that they lost their native language early – if speaking of a single ancestral tongue in their case could be appropriate at all. The fate of their ecclesiastical identity would be markedly different though. The inhabitants of this town continue to cherish the liturgical tradition of their forebears with pride to this day.

Although, historically speaking, the role of Hajdúdorog is prominent – its community subsequently becoming a standard-bearer in the struggle for the liturgical use of the Hungarian language – it only marginally contributed to the growth of the whole of the Hungarian Greek Catholic community in terms of

demographics. The growth of Hungarian-speaking communities was largely due to parishes situated in the southern part of the Eparchy, i.e. in Borsod, Abaúj, Torna, Zemplén, Szabolcs, Szatmár and Bereg Counties. In these locations, Rusyns and Romanians alike lived in small sporadic clusters, mixed with the Hungarian population. According to the first census, recording data on ethnicity with accuracy and in detail, in 1806, in the Eparchy of Mukacheve encompassing three counties, the ratios of ethnic groups were as follows:² 63.8 per cent Rusyn, 20.9 per cent Romanian (mainly in the four southern counties of the Eparchy), 6.23 per cent Hungarian (in the aforementioned seven counties) and 0.94 per cent Slovak (in four north-western counties). As is apparent, these ethnic groups were concentrated in different regions. At the same time, in many places, coexistence was also in evidence, and – as much as it may be deduced from the relevant documents – hostility between them was not typical. About 8 per cent of the faithful were bilingual – a fact reconstructed from surveys on the language of sermons: Rusyn–Romanian, Rusyn–Hungarian, Rusyn–Slovakian or perhaps even other combinations. Many of the priests spoke or at least understood multiple languages.

In the 20th century, a number of historians blamed the Magyarisation policies of the Hungarian state for the spread of Hungarian among Greek Catholics. However, from the above, it seems straightforward that Magyarisation was more of a spontaneous process. It is undeniable that ethnic policies following the Austro-Hungarian Compromise of 1867 had an impact on the Eparchy of Mukacheve as well, though primarily affecting the level of higher ecclesiastical ranks, such as bishops.³

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¹ It remains debatable when South-Slavic elements appeared in Hajdúdorog, as well as to what extent these would be a factor in the development of a Byzantine-rite community and how great a role they would play in its consolidation – cf. Dávid, Zoltán. Hajdúdorog népesedéstörténete, in: Komoróczy, György (Ed.). *Hajdúdorog története*, Hajdúdorog, 1971, 43–52. Despite the availability of various lists and censuses of the residents, surnames and first names in themselves cannot be considered as reliable sources in determining nationality. Moreover, epithets alluding to nationality cannot furnish a safe point of reference, either, because the labels *Rác* (Rascian), *Orosz* (Russian) and *Görög* (Greek) frequently reflected religious affiliation or denoted only approximate origins. The town attracted Rusyns and Romanians who had previously settled in the area, mingling with the local populace and linguistically assimilating to their Hungarian-speaking environment. At any rate, it is unquestionable that, at the outset, the religious life of Hajdúdorog sprang from a Serbian or – to put it more moderately – a South-Slavic core. This is also confirmed by a *Euchologion* from the parish, appearing to be purely Serbian in origin, unlike comparable manuscripts dating from the same period. The manuscript is kept in the University Library, formerly Episcopal Library, in Uzhhorod (*Ungvár*) (Службеник, 37 D [335], Наукова бібліотека Ужгородський національний університет). In all probability, the manuscript is a copy produced on the basis of a book in Old Slavonic issued in Goražde (Bosnia and Herzegovina) or Venice in 1519. (For the respective editions, cf. Львович Немировский, Евгений. *Славянские издания кирилловского (церковнославянского) шрифта*, Том 1, 1491–1550, Москва, 2009, 330–339).

² Udvari, István. Etnikai, nyelvi viszonyok a munkácsi egyházmegyében, in: Id. (Ed.). *A munkácsi görögkatolikus püspökség lelkészsképeinek 1806. évi összeírása* (A Vasvári Pál Társaság Füzetei, 3), Nyíregyháza, 1990, 86–88.

³ Cf. Coranič, Jaroslav. Východná cirkevná tradícia a maďarizačné hnutie v Prešovskom gréckokatolíckom biskupstve v rokoch 1867–1918, in:

The first translations of liturgical texts

Tradition has it that the first Hungarian translations of liturgical texts were prepared by a monk by the name of Izaiás, regarded as one of Bishop Giuseppe De Camillis's (1689–1706) confidants, in the late 17th century.⁴ The Bishop's diary contains several references to a Greek monk by this name, whom he mentions as his 'compatriot', who previously lived on Mount Athos.⁵ At one time, Izaiás served among the Greeks of Debrecen before becoming head of the Romanian priests of Bihar/Bihor. Even if his alleged activities as a translator remain unrecorded, it may well be the case that this monastic did translate texts for the rapidly Magyarised communities of Balkan origins in Debrecen. In the 17th century, such translations would not have counted as exceptional as, in the second half of the 18th century, the first prayer books and catechisms translated from Greek were published for use by the Orthodox faithful even in print.⁶

The first surviving specimen of the full liturgy in Hungarian is a translation attributed for long to Mihály Krucsay. Recent investigations have demonstrated that this translation mistakenly dated to 1793 subsequently⁷ – similarly to another manuscript copied by Antal Papp in Hajdúdorog in 1854 – goes back to the same first text prepared by György Kritsfalusi, teacher of Hungarian at the Grammar School of Uzhhorod, and presented to Bishop András Bacsinszky as a name-day gift in 1795. In his dedication, the translator notes that he 'was encouraged to shoulder the assignment in all possible ways' (translated from the Hungarian original).⁸ What is meant by the expression 'encouragement', Kritsfalusi

omits to explain, but it is safe to assume that he had received encouragement from the steadily increasing cohort of those with no knowledge of Slavic.

One of the seemingly ancillary comments in the dedication in question is remarkable. Having completed his translation, Kritsfalusi appears as though he were excusing himself: 'Albeit filled with fear, I eventually commenced the assignment and, if perhaps hesitatingly, I did execute it, certain that, even if failing to please Your Excellency, I will surely not occasion any displeasure' (translated from the Hungarian original).⁹ Bishop Bacsinszky (1772–1809) is remembered by posterity as an outstanding figure of Rusyn cultural history. Akin to his contemporaries, he was convinced that the key to the survival of a nation was language.¹⁰ Even at this point, nationality and religion are two nearly inextricably linked aspects for the Bishop. This is also manifested in the view he propounded that the language of the Rusyns (at that time, usually labelled by the adjective *Russkiy* [Russian]) is virtually identical with the language of divine services, i.e. Church Slavonic. His circulars are informed by concern for the 'fathers' Russian fear of God', which he felt was imperilled since, among the clergy ascending the social ladder, more and more abandoned the Slavic ancestral language, frequently along with the Byzantine Rite – if not faith though. In light of this, Kritsfalusi's enterprise might even appear to be a provocation, but, to prove that his intentions were far from anything of that kind, he attempts to adduce arguments himself. In addition, according to tradition, while parish priest of Hajdúdorog, the Bishop was the first to allow the use of Hungarian in church and even translated a few songs himself.¹¹ Although no historical evidence is available on

Žeňuch, Peter (red.). *Cyriľské a latinské pamiatky v byzantsko-slovanskom obradovom prostredí na Slovensku*, Bratislava, 2007, 173–192.

⁴ On the monk Izaiás, cf. Ivancsó, István. Izaiás szerzetes papi tevékenysége De Camillis püspök idején, in: Véghseő, Tamás (Ed.). *Rómából Hungáriába: A De Camillis János József munkácsi püspök halálának 300. évfordulóján rendezett konferencia tanulmányai*, Nyíregyháza, 2008, 283–292; Terdik, Szilveszter. A bikszádi monostor kegyképének eredete, in: *ibid.*, 318–322.

⁵ Cf. Baán, István (Ed.). *Giovanni Giuseppe De Camillis görög misszionárius és munkácsi püspök (1689–1706) levelei* (Collectanea Athanasiana, II/13), Nyíregyháza, 2017, 170–171, 178, 191.

⁶ Cf. Horváth, Endre. Magyar-görög bibliográfia, in: Horváth, László (Ed.). *Studia hellenica*, II, Horváth Endre válogatott tanulmányai, Budapest, 2018, 119–122.

⁷ The original of the Krucsay-text has been lost; it only survives in the 1814 manuscript of István Lupess, parish priest of Tímár. In view of János Nyirán's comparative work, it appears most likely that this text formerly considered as the first translation was, on the basis of a subsequent annotation, dated incorrectly to 1793, whereas, in fact, it represents a variant of Kritsfalusi's translation. Nonetheless, it is plausible that Krucsay did make a translation of his own, with not even a facsimile thereof surviving though, cf. Nyirán, 2011, 37–42. A copy of the Krucsay-text produced by Lupess was published in a facsimile edition: Ivancsó, 2003. The Krucsay-translation was published by Hiador Sztripszky: *A Görög Anya-Szent-Egy-Háznak Liturgiája vagyis Isteni-tisztelete Aranyszájú Szent János szerént: magyarra fordított Ungvárt 1795-dik esztendőbenn* [The liturgy – i.e. the Divine Worship – of the Greek Holy Church by Saint John Chrysostom: translated into Hungarian in Ungvár (Uzhhorod) in the year 1795], in: Szabó – Sztripszky, 1913, 451–501. The third extant version copied by Antal Papp is available in juxtaposition with the aforementioned: Nyirán, 2011, 43–96.

⁸ Nyirán, 2011, 37.

⁹ Nyirán, 2011, 37.

¹⁰ Cf. Udvari, István. Bacsinszky András püspök (1732–1772–1809), a ruszin felvilágosodás képviselője, in: *Id.*, 1994, 214–215.

¹¹ No historical proof exists in this regard, but, in the struggle to 'raise the Hungarian language to the altars', references to his name abound, cf.

the permission or the translation, this point in historical memory could hardly be the product of accident. As to the association of the Hungarian *Liturgia* with the name of the Bishop with markedly Slavic sentiments, the explanation could come from Bacsinszky's firm resolution to involve the people in liturgical chant.

The naïve or almost legend-like notion, encountered even in scholarly circles, that, in the churches of the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve, services were always conducted with the active participation, i.e. singing, of the people is widely known. Not only is this idea uncorroborated but positively controverted by contemporary documents. However, a circular by Bacsinszky obliging parish priests and cantors to instruct joint singing to the faithful – chief among them, to the school-age youth – does survive.¹² His motivation is complex. The Bishop also cites aesthetic reasons, and, though not stated overtly, it is implicitly conveyed that he expects to save the language of the people this way, ensuring the preservation of religiousness. His strongest argument, however, is a completely different thought, well ahead of his time. He clearly articulates and theologically supports the precept referred to by the Second Vatican Council 250 years later as *participatio actiosa*, i.e. the idea that active participation of the whole congregation is integral to the essence of Divine Worship. The assumption that this aspect was paramount to the Bishop is substantiated precisely by his lenient attitude to the liturgical use of the Hungarian language. Unparalleled in the Eastern Churches, his decision to entrust the service of singing to the people, still illiterate in many places at the time, rather than to cantors may have been informed by some influence of Protestant mentality. It must be borne in mind that, as parish priest of

Hajdúdorog, Bacsinszky was head of a parish that was surrounded by Calvinist congregations, and, for the latter, nothing was more natural than common church singing. Active involvement of the people in services would be advocated by a number of hierarchs thereafter.¹³

As of the late 18th century, data are available not only on the celebration of the summit of the liturgy, the Divine Liturgy, at least partially in Hungarian. From the 19th century, several handwritten *Euchologia* survive, a clear indication of the fact that the Sacraments and certain parts of the Divine Office tended to be celebrated in Hungarian increasingly widely.¹⁴

Printed publications

It would not be for almost another century that the first printed *Liturgicon*, which was also the first printed liturgical book in Hungarian, was published in 1882. This of course does not mean that Hungarian liturgical texts intended for Greek Catholic believers had not been published in print before. The first prayer book in evidence, with an extant copy, was the publication entitled *Imádságos könyvetske, a' magyar oroszok lelki hasznokra* [Prayer booklet for the spiritual benefit of Hungarian Russians] published in Košice (*Kassa*) in 1825.¹⁵ Published in several editions, this book¹⁶ was primarily made for private use. A real breakthrough in the spread of community singing was enabled by *Ó hitű imádságos és énekeskönyv* [Old-believers' book of prayers and hymns], compiled by Ignác Roskovics, published in Debrecen in 1862 for the first time.¹⁷ The collection was specifically designed to facilitate the church singing of the faithful. It is worth pointing out that the first comparable Slavic compilation was published in the Eparchy of Mukacheve only two years later.¹⁸ Albeit

Véghseő, Tamás. A görögkatolikus magyarok mozgalma a kezdetektől 1905-ig, in: Véghseő – Katkó, 2014, 33–34. Some sources suggest that Bacsinszky ordered sermons to be in Hungarian and permitted scriptural readings to be read in Hungarian, as well as the singing of Hungarian chants at processions and in the Divine Office (i.e. outside the Divine Liturgy). Other sources also claim to have evidence of his activities as a translator. See: Véghseő – Katkó, 2014, 251, 306, 356, 437.

¹² Cf., for example, in Bacsinszky's circular dated 6 March 1798 (published: Задорожний, Ігор. *Єпископ Андрій Бачинський в єпістолярній спадщині: До 270-річчя від дня народження*, Мукачево, 2002, 55).

¹³ Cf. Sándor Ladizsinszky's circular no. 1273, dated 8 April 1854 (Protocol of Bácsaranyos, NYEL, III–1–44–b) or Bazil Popovics's circular no. 582, dated 19 February 1861 (NYEL, IV–2–a, 1861/37).

¹⁴ Cf. Nyirán, János. *19. századi kéziratok görögkatolikus szerkönyvek Nyírgyulajból és Fábánházáról* (Collectanea Athanasiana, II/2), Nyíregyháza, 2012.

¹⁵ The first book edited by the Catholic Church to contain Byzantine-rite liturgical texts in Hungarian was most probably the primer-cum-catechism printed at the order of Bishop Mánuel Olsavszky in 1755. Not a single copy of these publications survives though. Sztripszky, Hiador. *Bibliographiai jegyzetek az ó-hitű magyarság irodalmából*, in: Szabó – Sztripszky, 1913, 424–435.

¹⁶ For a description, see: Szabó – Sztripszky, 1913, 439–440; Ivancsó, 2006, 1–10.

¹⁷ Cf. Szabó – Sztripszky, 1913, 439–440; Ivancsó, 2006, 11–32.

¹⁸ Immensely popular and aesthetically impressive, the compilation of hymns *Veliky Sbornik*, critical to nation formation, was edited by Andrej Popovics, parish priest of Velyka Kopanya (*Felsőveresmart*). It was published in Vienna in 1866 (Пекар, Атанасий В. *Нариси історії церкви Закарпаття*, II, Рим–Львів, 1997, 383), though some sources cite an 1864 edition (Сабов, Евмений. *Очерк о литературной деятельности и образовании карпатороссов*, Ужгород, 1925; Недзельській, 1932, 169.).

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unofficial in character, Roskovics's book was thus practically the first publication for liturgical use in the Eparchy of Mukacheve. Subsequently, several similar books of hymns were printed, enabling the people to sing services entirely in Hungarian. The compilations of János Danilovics¹⁹ and of Gábor Krajnyák, published in 1892 and 1928²⁰ respectively, were in use in parishes as long as until the dissemination of the hymn book *Dicsérvételek az Urat* [Praise the Lord]²¹ published in 1954.

The first regular liturgical book was printed in Debrecen in 1882.²² This publication, the texts of which were edited by a translation committee of nine,²³ was in effect a concise *Liturgicon*: As it contained the text of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom, it was a book expressly aimed at the clergy. Although, liturgically, it complied with the regulations, it was printed without an imprimatur.²⁴ Neither the Bishop of Mukacheve nor the Bishop of Prešov (*Eperjes*) could afford to issue an imprimatur because the Holy See did not consider Hungarian a recognised liturgical language. In no way was the significance of the book diminished as a result though. Aside from the fact that Hungarian Greek Catholics continue to use its 1920 expanded version at present, it is also relevant from the point of view of liturgical history, for it is reasonable to surmise that it is a reflection of the liturgical praxis prevalent in the Eparchy of Mukacheve during the second half of the 19th century.²⁵ Given that no liturgical book in Old Slavonic or Romanian, considered official in the Eparchy to 1965, was produced, either, the Hungarian publications constitute significant sources of liturgical tradition. The *Liturgicon* would be followed by

other liturgical books in Hungarian. The same year, i.e. 1882, also saw the publication of *Apostolos könyv* (Epistle Book),²⁶ and, one year later, a *Euchologion*²⁷ was published, followed by *Evangéliumos könyv* (Gospel Book)²⁸ in 1925.

Fight for the Hungarian liturgical language

As the number of publications grew, attacks on Hungarian services became more fervent as well.²⁹ The Hungarian-speaking faithful were literally left alone in this struggle, which they would liken to the Road to Calvary. While they were mostly only tantalised by politicians, their endeavour was harshly criticised by Roman Catholic hierarchs, and the Romanian Greek Catholic bishops would view their cause with strong antipathy. The Bishops of Mukacheve and Prešov were practically helpless as they could not defy the position of the Latin bishops, quoting the Holy See as the ultimate authority over them. The conviction of the latter holding that the Divine Liturgy could only be celebrated in a dead language appeared to be unshakable.³⁰

The behaviour of the clergy – or at least some of its representatives – with Rusyn sentiments is noteworthy. Their protest was not predicated on considerations of ethnicity or ecclesiastical policy but stemmed from a sense of concern about the purity of the rite. As they claimed, parishes where the Divine Liturgy was celebrated in Hungarian would even 'mutilate' it by omitting certain elements – mainly litanies – occasionally even inserting Catholic hymns into their services.³¹

¹⁹ Cf. Ivancsó, 2006, 139–184; Ivancsó, István. *Danilovics János Általános egyházi énekkönyve* (Athanasiana Füzetek, 7), Nyíregyháza, 2003.

²⁰ Cf. Ivancsó, 2006, 467–518; Ivancsó, István. Görög katolikus egyházunk négy legfontosabb imádságos és énekes könyve, in: Id. (Ed.). *A „Homo liturgicus” ünnepi szimpozion előadásainak anyaga*, 2017. szeptember 29–30. (Liturgikus örökségünk, XXI), Nyíregyháza, 2017, 475–481.

²¹ Cf. Ivancsó, 2006, 783–835. On the circumstances of publication and the preceding editorial work, cf. Ivancsó, István (Ed.). *A Dicsérvételek az Urat című énekeskönyvünk megjelenésének 60. évfordulója alkalmából 2014. május 8-án rendezett szimpozion anyaga*, Nyíregyháza, 2014.

²² Cf. Ivancsó, István. Az 1882-es *Liturgikon*, in: Id. (Ed.). *Az első magyar nyomtatott Liturgikon megjelenésének 120. évfordulójára 2002. április 18-án rendezett szimpozion anyaga*, Nyíregyháza, 2002, 27–46; Ivancsó, 2006, 39–43.

²³ Cf. Ivancsó, István. *Az 1879-es hajdúdorogi liturgikus fordító bizottság és tevékenysége* (Athanasiana Füzetek, 1), Nyíregyháza, 1999.

²⁴ It is to be noted that members of the Translation Committee possessed episcopal authorisation though, cf. Ivancsó, 2006, 30–35.

²⁵ At any rate, it seems certain that the Hungarian *Liturgicon* was not translated from a single edition in a different language but was compiled by drawing on multiple texts.

²⁶ Cf. Ivancsó, 2006, 57–60; Ivancsó, István (Ed.). *Az első nyomtatott Apostolos könyvünk kiadásának 125. évfordulója alkalmából 2007. május 3-án rendezett nemzetközi szimpozion anyaga* (Liturgikus örökségünk, VII), Nyíregyháza, 2007.

²⁷ An expanded edition of the *Euchologion* was published in 1927, cf. Ivancsó, 2006, 99–116.

²⁸ Cf. Ivancsó, 2006, 407–426; Ivancsó, István. *A magyar görög katolikus egyház Evangéliumos könyve* (Athanasiana Füzetek, 6), Nyíregyháza, 2002.

²⁹ On the battle of the Hungarian Greek Catholics for the liturgical use of their mother tongue, an ample bibliography is available. What follows is a brief selection of a few comprehensive works: Véghseő, Tamás (Ed.). *Hajdúdorog, 1868–2018: Tanulmányok és források a magyar görögkatolikusok történetéhez*, Nyíregyháza, 2019; Véghseő, 2012, 6–89; Szabó – Sztripszky, 1913; for the sources, cf. Véghseő – Katkó, 2014.

³⁰ In the case of Romanians, use of the vernacular was rather seen by the Holy See as tolerated as they had conducted their services in that language even prior to the union, cf. Véghseő – Katkó, 2014, 304–305.

³¹ Cf. Фенцик, Евгений. Порча нашего обряда, *Листокъ*, II(1886), no. 23, 1886, 449–450; Id. Скромныя примѣчанія на вышеприведенное письмо, *Листокъ*, IX(1893), no. 3, 32–33.

From the Roman Catholic perspective, the demand of the Greek Catholics was felt to be Protestantistic and excessively peremptory for two related reasons. In the Latin Rite, the use of the Latin language, incomprehensible to the majority of the people, was a given, and the idea of ‘active participation’ was in fact regarded as irrelevant at the time as, from the Council of Trent, private Mass was taken to be the ordinary form of the Holy Mass. For the Hungarian faithful, it became clear that the only way for their struggle to succeed was to pursue the cause of having the official use of their native language recognised united in an eparchy of their own.

In 1912, the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog was established, but Hungarian could not be made its official liturgical language yet. When, after long delays, the Holy See finally acquiesced to the creation of the Eparchy, it stressed repeatedly that the Divine Liturgy could never be celebrated in Hungarian. The Hungarians’ vernacular was to be represented in services at a maximum to the extent that was allowed for Divine Worship in the Latin Rite. The new Eparchy comprised parishes that were detached from the Eparchies of Mukacheve and Prešov, employing Old Slavonic, as well as from the Eparchies of Gherla (*Szamosújvár*), Oradea (*Nagyvárad*) and Făgăraş (*Fogaras*). Therefore, it would have been practicable to use either of the two languages concerned in the liturgy. However, as the point was precisely to ensure that the Byzantine Rite would not necessarily be linked to minority groups in the public mind within Hungarian society, and as the Government was also keen to evade the accusation long levelled at the dominant Hungarian political movements for the Magyarisation of Rusyns and Romanians, the Bull of Foundation specified Koine Greek for liturgical usage. Although subsequent acts granted a respite for the introduction of Koine Greek, it became increasingly obvious to the Holy See that the Hungarian language could no longer be eliminated from praxis, and the introduction of Greek was unrealistic since a large proportion of the Eparchy consisted of simple parishioners lacking even secondary education. After a while, the warnings from Rome emphasising that the tacit tolerance

of abuse did not by any means amount to approval would also cease. The only result of the demands of the Vatican was that the clergy said the Anaphora of the Divine Liturgy, or a part of it deemed to be especially important, in Greek.³²

Search for liturgical directions in the Hungarian Eparchy

Despite the fact that the language of the new Eparchy came to be Greek, not only did this not bring about any profound changes in language use, but services also continued to be conducted practically as they had been earlier, i.e. in keeping with the peculiar Slavic traditions of the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve. Some attempts were made to take account of the relevant Greek books as well. One example of this is the Breviary published in Miskolc in 1938,³³ including indications of differences between the Greek, Slavic and Romanian traditions for services, in a fashion unique in comparison with the books of other Churches.³⁴ Explicitly marking different customs at certain points of the services seemed to be necessary and useful primarily because – even though the language of the Eparchy as defined by Rome was Greek – in the Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc, Slavic books continued to be regarded as normative. The Exarchate in question was created by the Holy See in 1924 from the parishes of the Eparchy of Prešov remaining within the borders of Hungary, and, in that region, Old Slavonic was still in regular use in most places at that time.

In the period between the two World Wars, the intellectual life of the Hungarian Greek Catholic community was enlivened by exciting debates. The main question was whether it was permissible to open the way for recent devotional forms coming from the Western Church, such as Sacramental Adoration, the cult of the Sacred Heart or May Devotions.³⁵ The Mother Eparchies of Mukacheve and Prešov, once so proud of their conservatism, had long succumbed to the temptation of popular piety practices, chiefly motivated by fear of the spread of the Orthodox Church constantly growing in size and favoured by the state as

³² This is also confirmed by the *Liturgikon* published in 1920, featuring the Anaphora in two languages.

³³ *Dicsérvétek az Úr nevét* [Praise the name of the Lord], Miskolc, 1938. One year later, a digest of the Breviary, under the title *Énekeljétek a mi Istenünknek* [Sing to our God], was also published, primarily for use by the laity; cf. Ivancsó, 2006, 547–570, 643–657; Id. (Ed.). *A Dicsérvétek az Úr nevét című zsolozsmáskönyvünk 80. évfordulója alkalmából 2014. november 20-án rendezett szimpozion anyaga* (Liturgikus örökségünk, XIV), Nyíregyháza, 2014.

³⁴ Such a division of the Byzantine Rite obviously presupposes some simplification as even books published in Slavic do not reveal a uniform practice, either, but diversify a purportedly common Byzantine heritage with different customs across ages and locations. In particular cases, the similarity between a Muscovite and Greek book might be greater than between a Kievan and Greek edition.

³⁵ For a description of the general picture, cf. Rohály, Ferenc. A liturgikus mozgalom elgondolásai a bizánci szertartásra alkalmazva: Mit akarnak a liturgikusok? *Keleti Egyház*, 3(1936), 170–181.

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well. Liturgical elements imported from the Western Church assumed a distinctive function and became a sign of fidelity to Rome for the Greek Catholics, in principle practising the same rite as the Orthodox. In Hungary, a similar threat was scarcely detectable, but the choice of the Mother Eparchies acted as a source of inspiration for those who would not have minded certain reforms otherwise, either. At the same time, what defenders of the ancient traditions cited as their main argument was that the Hungarian Greek Catholic community remained the sole heir to the old Mukacheve tradition as the eparchies transferred to Czechoslovakia not only were unable to resist innovations but also accepted the Ukrainian liturgical books which they had long demurred at, for they had seen them as corrupting the Rite. Thus, this time, the tables were turned: It was the Hungarian clergy that accused the clergy of Prešov and Mukacheve of adulterating the Rite.³⁶

The battle between the conservatives and innovators finally ended with the victory of the latter. Apart from the reason described above, some others also played a part in this respect. Therefore, as a result of the zealous missions of members of the reformed Basilian Order,³⁷ the spirituality of the clergy educated in Latin-rite seminaries in the absence of a seminary of their own, the International Eucharistic Congress of 1938, as well as owing to land loss, whereas, prior to the war, 9.8 per cent of Hungary's population identified themselves as Greek-rite, the figure dropped to 2.2 per cent by 1920 and kept declining due to mass rite changing.³⁸ Between the two World Wars, existence as a minority and stigmatisation imputed to ethnic affiliations had a depressing effect on Hungarian Greek Catholics, who, seeking social endorsement, were

eager to accommodate to a considerably larger Roman Catholic community liturgically as well, at least in the area of a few emblematic practices.

Although state authorities in Hungary spared the Greek Catholic Church from dissolution, they heavily inhibited its internal spiritual development. Bishop Miklós Dudás's (1939–1972) liturgical ordinances³⁹ from 1954 cannot be regarded as a reform but rather as codifying the existing order, with a view to pre-empting further abridgements and some anomalies. The hymn book *Dicsérvétek az Urat* published in the same year exhibits no new content other than a few prayers adopted from the Roman Catholic Rite or formulae inspired by such, along with the office composed for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. The texts of the chants are identical to those published earlier. In its various expanded editions,⁴⁰ it remains the most widely used hymn book among Hungarian Greek Catholics even today.

The 1990s saw the opening of new prospects for liturgical renewal in Hungary, urged by the Holy See as well.⁴¹ Thus, nearly the whole fund of Byzantine liturgical texts has been published in print, with the revision of previously published texts under way, the first tangible outcome of which is the Psalter issued with the approval of the Holy See in 2018.

³⁶ Cf. Szántay-Szémán, István. *A görög rítus liturgikus könyvei és magyar nyelvűre való átültetésük*, Miskolc, 1938, 8–9.

³⁷ Subsequent Bishop Miklós Dudás also came from the ranks of the reform generation, cf. Пекар, Атанасій В. *Василіянська провінція св. Миколая на Закарпатті* (Analecta Ordinis Sancti Basilii Magni, II/IX, fasc. 1–4), Roma, 1982, 142; Dudás, Bertalan – Legeza, László – Szacsavay, Péter. *Bazilíták*, Budapest, 1993, 20.

³⁸ Véghseő, 2012, 52, 62.

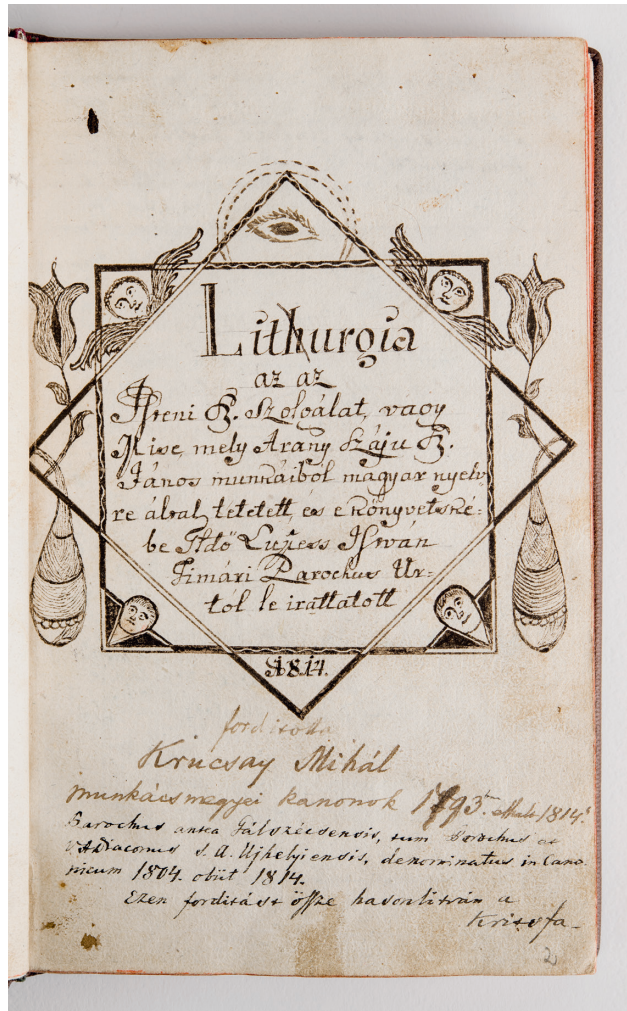
³⁹ *Szertartási utasítások Aranyszájú Szent János Liturgiájának ünnepélyes bemutatásához* [Liturgical instructions for the solemn celebration of the Liturgy of Saint John Chrysostom], Nyíregyháza, 1954. The Instruction was issued as a circular as well: *Rendelet a szentmise egyöntetű végzéséről, valamint a szentségek és szentelmények kiszolgáltatásáról* [Ordinance on the uniform celebration of the Holy Mass and on the administration of Sacraments and sacramentals], Ordinance No. 819 promulgated in Circular 1954/XIII; cf. Ivancsó, István. *A magyar görögkatolikuság körlevélben közölt liturgikus rendelkezéseinek forrásgyűjteménye*, Nyíregyháza, 1998, 185–207.

⁴⁰ It is notable that Western devotional forms (Sacramental Adoration, devotion to the Sacred Heart) were admitted only by the third edition published in 1974, cf. Pallai, Béla. *Énekeskönyvünk első kiadásának bemutatása*, in: Ivancsó, István (Ed.). *A Dicsérvétek az Urat című énekeskönyvünk megjelenésének 60. évfordulója alkalmából 2014. május 8-án rendezett szimpozium anyaga* (Liturgikus örökségünk, XII), Nyíregyháza, 2014, 40–41.

⁴¹ Cf. the liturgical instructions of the Congregation for the Oriental Churches published in 1996 – in English translation: *Instruction for Applying the Liturgical Prescriptions of the Code of Canons of the Eastern Churches* (Libreria Editrice Vaticana), Vatican City, 1996.

IV.2.3 The Hungarian translation of the Divine Liturgy

Catalogue IV.37



Liturgy, that is Divine St. Service, or Mass, which was translated into Hungarian from the works of St. John Chrysostom, and written in this book by the Right Reverend Parish Priest of Timár István Lupess in 1814 ink on paper

94 pages

20 × 12 × 1,7 cm

Library of the St. Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological College, No. M-769, Nyíregyháza

The issue of the first translation of the liturgy into Hungarian caused a headache for researchers for a long time. György Kritsfalusi was the first to translate the full text of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom into Hungarian according to the latest opinion, which was not yet refuted. Kritsfalusi was a teacher at the grammar school in Uzhgorod and prepared his translation in 1795, that he offered to Bishop András Bacsinszky as a name-day gift. This hand-written translation was presumably copied several times later, including this copy here.

This manuscript was written in 1814 by Parish Priest of Timár István Lupess († 1835). A later possessor, Ignác Roskovics, attributed the translation to Mihály Krucsay († 1814), Parish Priest and Canon of Sečovce (*Gálszécs*) and Sátoraljaújhely later. Roskovics also believed, that Krucsay completed his work in 1793. However, based on a comparative analysis, it is obvious that István Lupess copied the translation of Kritsfalusi or another copy. There is no firm information available, whether Krucsay ever translated the Holy Liturgy or his text was only a link in the line of copies.

The manuscript of Lupess is a variant of the first known liturgical translation from 1795, written by György Kritsfalusi and preserved in the Episcopal Library of Uzhgorod. The text was published in 1913 by Híador Sztripszky. Other copies are also available, suggesting that the demand for Hungarian texts increased in the 19th century.

A very important question is what text Kritsfalusi, the first translator, worked from. He did not give any information in this regard. A Catholic edition can be immediately ruled out on the basis of clear signs, such as the existence of the rite of the zeon. Looking at the Greek and Slavic Orthodox books from that time, the range of possible publications can be narrowed down quite well. It is striking that the translation provides some Easter-related texts after the communion. The hymns beginning with "Having seen the Resurrection of Christ...", "Shine, Shine...", and "Oh, truly great and holiest Passover..." are to be recited mutely by the priest as communion prayers according to the note here. These were first included in the *sluzhebnik* of Patriarch Nikon of Moscow in 1656 as permanent parts of the liturgy and are not included in any other editions than those published in Moscow. The pre- communion acclamation of the people is also revealing: "Blessed is he, who comes in the name of the Lord" – which, however, was only available in print since the fifth edition of Nikon's *sluzhebnik* (1658). At the same time, there is no priestly blessing immediately preceding the reading of the gospel in the Hungarian text, which was first included in the reformed Russian *sluzhebnik* in 1667. Based on all this, the first Hungarian translation shows the greatest similarity with the Moscow edition of 1658. This phenomenon is quite surprising, as both the existing library collections and the old parochial inventories suggest that, although Orthodox publications were preferably used in the Eparchy of Mukacheve, they obtained Gospels and books for the holy services from Moscow at most. There were rarely any Liturgicons among them. Why Kritsfalusi used a Moscow edition, may be explained by

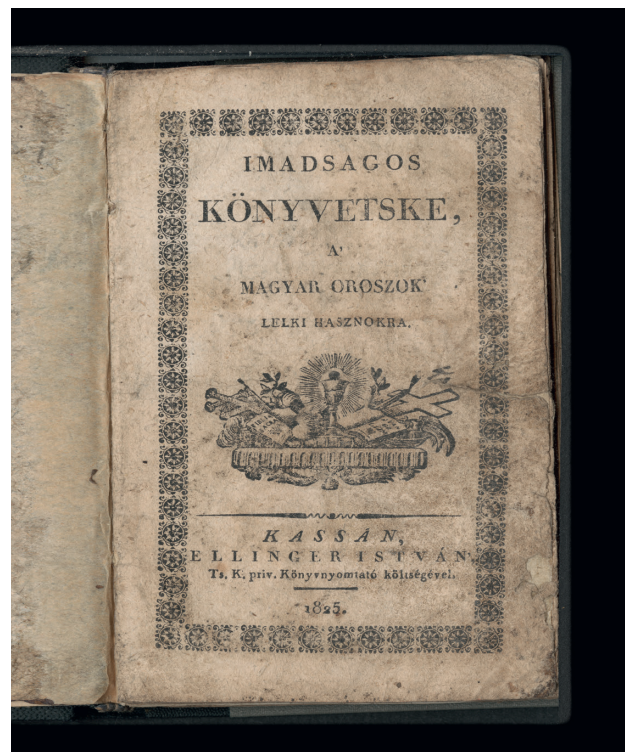
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the fact, that the news of Patriarch Nikon's book reform spread everywhere at that time, and the products that had left the press after lengthy works of correction were probably considered reliable abroad. This may be the reason, why the translation committee of Hajdúdorog in 1879 almost ignored the instructions of Kritsfalusi's text, as they did not correspond to the Hungarian liturgical practice. (A. D.)

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Nyirán, 2011.
Dobos, 2019, 246–248.

Imadsagos könyvetske a' magyar oroszok' lelki hasznokra *Catalogue IV.38*



Kassán, Ellinger István Ts. K. priv. Könyvnyomató költségével. 1825.
*(A Prayer Book for the Spiritual Benefits of 'Hungarian Russians'.
in Kassa, at the expense of István Ellinger's Private Imperial and Royal Book Printer. 1825)*
cover page + pages 3-64 + 3-page case
Page 25 to 34 of this specimen is incomplete and some pages remain only in fragments.
Pages 41–42 are also missing.
OSZK, Mor 3530e.

This book is the first Greek-Catholic publication in Hungarian, that contains only prayers. Liturgical texts were already published in earlier prints. This volume is the only surviving copy known in Hungary, coming presumably from the legacy of Hiador Sztripszky to the collection. Its content and text are almost entirely identical to the collection of prayers for Orthodox believers printed by Demeter Karapács in Pest in 1795, published several times later. It was presumably translated by Atanáz Szekeres (1738–1794), a former Orthodox priest from Győr, who later became a Catholic and whose name recurs as a translator in other books with almost the same content.

Although there was another opinion, that the edition was not proved to be a Catholic one, the word *Filioque* ("and from the Son") in the creed makes it clear, that the prayer book was printed for the

Byzantine rite. It should be noted, that the 1795 edition by Karapács did not contain this formula.

It is evident, that it was intended primarily for private use from the twenty-nine prayers, that the editor published under the heading “Prayers under the Holy Liturgy”. Contrary to popular belief, this type of prayer book was not the work of the Uniates. It would be obvious, that it was created in the Greek Catholic group following the pattern of mass prayers prevalent in the Roman Catholic Church, but the first Byzantine ceremony book with such prayers was published in 1595 – shortly before the Union of Brest – the collection *Everyday Prayers* published by the printing house of the Holy Trinity Monastery in Vilnius. This series of prayers was later taken over by Catholic editions, so it was already included in the *molitvoslov* of Unev (folio 86–101) from 1694. The prayers in the *Prayer Booklet* correspond exactly to these formulas, so it is evident, that the first translator, whoever he was, translated from Slavonic instead of Greek texts, even if “translated from Greek into Hungarian” was written again and again in the title of these Orthodox publications.

The second major part of the book is actually the Canon to the Mother of God, a series of hymns for the morning service celebrated with the Byzantine rite, inspired by biblical odes. The canons usually (except during Lent) consist of eight odes, based on the eight biblical odes – the canticle in the Roman rite. But the Byzantine Church actually knows nine hymns from the Scriptures, the second – the Song of Moses – is sung only in the canons of the three Odes of Lent. The numbering of the canons consisting of eight odes is therefore changed, the third one comes immediately after the first. The numbering of the odes is incorrect in the *Prayer Booklet*, because the third is taken to be the second. It is worth noting that the pages 50 to 61 contain the entire *Akathistos*, embedded in the canon, and not separately, as in the Orthodox edition of Karapács for example.

The small volume may have had an effect on Hungarian translations later, as some of the wording and translation solutions of some of the prayers or songs seem to be preserved in the later texts as well. (A. D.)

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Imádságos könyvetske, a magyar oroszok lelki hasznokra *Catalogue IV.39*

*Nagyvárad. Kapható Pauker Dánielnél.
 (A Prayer Booklet for the Spiritual Benefit of Hungarian Russians
 Nagyvárad. Available from Daniel Pauker)
 On the first page of the last sheet: Pest, 1866. printed by J. Kertész.
 69 pages
 OSZK, Mor 3530f.*

As it was noted by Hiador Sztripszky, this edition is the same in every respect, as the prayer book published in Košice in 1825 with the same title, except for “some spelling changes”. About forty years passed between the two editions. We do not have any information of any other reprints or publications with this title from that period.

In the case of this edition, it is especially clear that the term “Hungarian Russians” in the title has a multiple figurative sense. The adjective “Russian” referred to the rite already in the first edition, however, it could still indicate the Slavonic origin of the readers. The place of the second edition was Oradea, the episcopal seat of the diocese of the same name, established in 1777, where ethnic Romanians were in the majority.

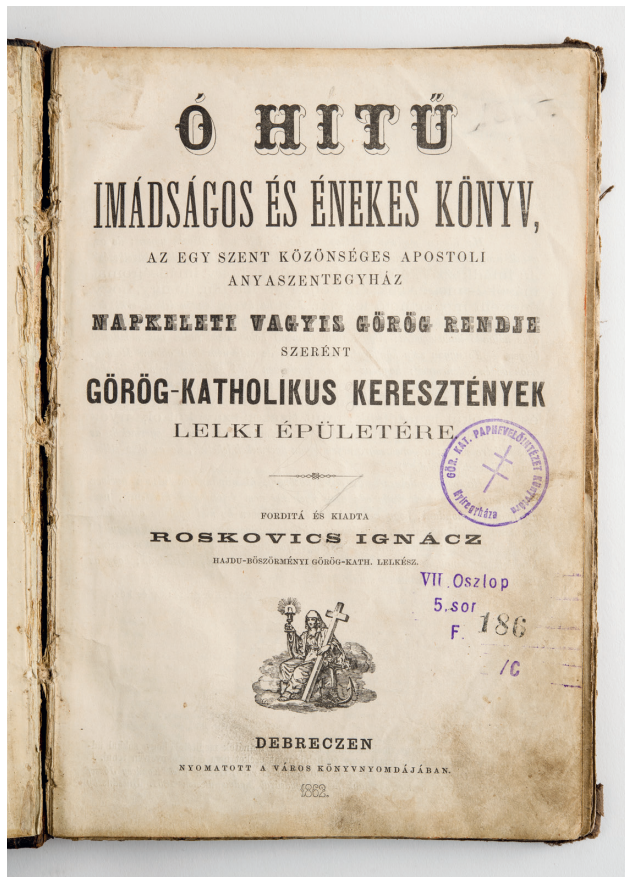
It may give some thought as to what made the publication necessary at all, if the songbook of Roskovic, much richer and written in a more modern language, was available from 1862. The question can be explained by the fact, that in the Diocese of Oradea, even if the Romanian language was officially used in the liturgy, the people were not involved in the ceremonies, which were accompanied only by the singing of the cantor. The people were involved in the liturgical singing due to the urgent measures taken by some bishops in the Eparchy of Mukacheve and Prešov. Even if common singing was sporadically spread in the Romanian parishes, the Romanian nationalist bishops of the period – Iosif Pop Silaghi (Papp-Szilágyi) in the year of the publication – would hardly have tolerated it in Hungarian. Thus, since the people were not involved in the services with their singing at the ceremonies, a prayer booklet simpler and clearer than a songbook proved to be appropriate and sufficient for individual prayer and piety. (A. D.)

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- Szabó – Sztripszky, 1913, 443–444.

IV.2.3 Roskovics' Hymn book

Catalogue IV.40



Ó hitű imádságos és énekes könyv, az egy szent közönséges apostoli anyaszentegyház napkeleti vagyis görög rendje szerént görög-katholikus keresztények lelki épületére. Fordította és kiadta Roskovics Ignác hajduböszörményi görög-kath. Lelkész. Debreczen nyomtatott a város könyvnyomdájában. 1862.

*111 4 unnumbered pages
26 × 18 × 2 cm*

Library of the Saint Athanasius Greek Catholic Theological College, No. M–1685, Nyíregyháza

This was the first collection with the clear aim of involving the people in liturgical singing. It was compiled by Ignác Roskovics (1822–1895), when he was still a parish priest in Hajdúböszörmény. He became the Great Provost of Uzhgorod later. Bishop András Bacsinszky was the first in the Eparchy of Munkács to encourage his priests to teach the people, starting with the youth, to participate in the services in this way, too. However, there had been no aid available until Roskovics' book. The first Old Slavonic collection songbook (zbornik) was published only two years later by Parish Priest of Velika Kopanya (*Felsőveresmart*) Andrej Popovics.

Roskovics set up a whole concept in connection with the Hungarian translations. His principle was that Hungarian should prevail above all in the passages heard by the congregation, and that the original liturgical language, that is ancient Greek, should be restored to its dignity. He also considered this principle valid for church services in Old Slavonic and Romanian. In parallel with editing this songbook, he worked on a translation of the liturgy, that he wanted to publish in a multilingual volume. This did not happen in the end, because the Liturgicon was published in Hungarian in 1882.

The contents of the collection are divided into the following parts: 1. basic prayers and catechism 2. private prayers; 3. the public parts of the Holy Liturgy and preparation for the Holy Communion; 4. paraclis; 5. funeral songs; 6. the permanent texts of the daily canonical hours; 7. the changing parts of the canonical hours for Sundays and major feasts.

Given the translation principles outlined above, it is understandable that the editor used sources from different editions and languages. The view, held by some scholars, that he would have taken primarily the Greek text into account, does not seem to be justified with regard to either the Holy Liturgy or the other services. Basically, this could not have been his objective, as the difference between the Greek and the Old Slavonic books was not only of a philological nature, but there were also differences in the course of the ceremonies, and the historical Eparchy of Mukacheve used Old Slavonic books. The fact that he took mainly Slavonic sources during the translation into account is evident from the texts of the canonical hours, partly from their differences in content and partly from the differences in sound notations and the existence of typically Slavonic elements, such as festive eulogies. Roskovics used the Greek text for help in some of the more difficult-to-translate parts of the Holy Liturgy. He did not ignore the Romanian liturgical tradition, either, as many Hungarian parishes

had Romanian roots. It is proved by the fact, that he also included two songs of the great martyr St. Demeter in the festive part with the remark: "Feast of the Romanians."

From a liturgical point of view, conservative views are as characteristic of Roskovics as certain reform ideas, and the songbook bears the marks of this duality. Respect for the tradition is manifested, for example, by the fact that the *Filioque* was inserted in the *Creed* in parentheses, or that he published the songs of Gregory Palamas for the second Sunday of Lent, whose reverence, being a post-secession saint, was usually omitted from Catholic publications. It is striking, however, that the text of the *Hail Mary* was included with a clause known in the Roman rite. A sign of the translator's openness to liturgical novelties is the courageous, but unsuccessful attempt to render the canons, originally written in Greek rhythmic prose, to Hungarian in rhyming according to the rules of emphatic poetry.

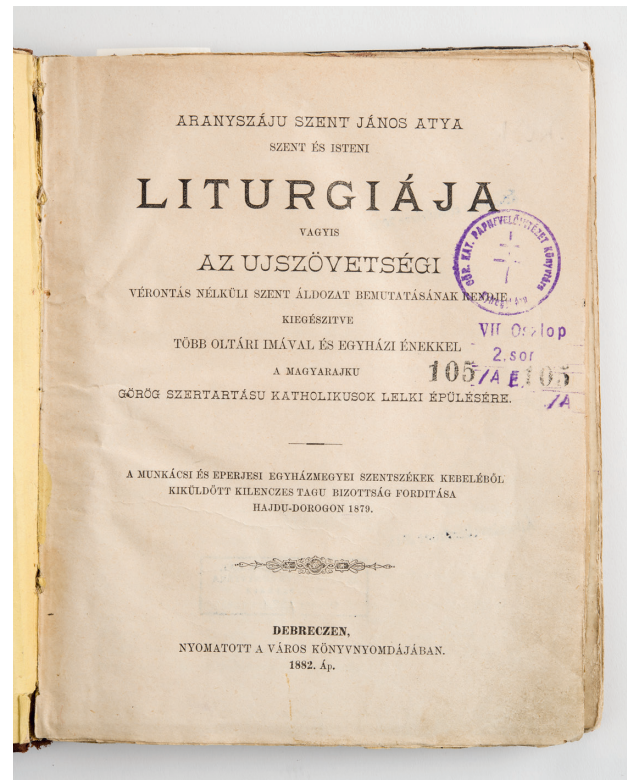
The popularity of Roskovics' publication was unbroken until the publication of Danilovics' songbook in 1892, and it was printed as late as 1898 for the eighth time, proving that Greek Catholics liked to use it until the early 20th century. (A. D.)

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Liturgikon Catalogue IV.41



Aranyaszájú Szent János atya szent és isteni liturgiája vagyis az ujszövetségi vérontás nélküli szent áldozat bemutatásának rendje kiegészítve több oltári és egyházi énekkel a magyarajku görög szertartású katolikusok lelki épülésére. A Munkácsi és Eperjesi Egyházmegyei Szentszékek kebeléből kiküldött kilenczes tagu Bizottság fordítása Hajdu-Dorogon 1879.
(*The sacred and divine liturgy of Father St. John Chrysostom, that is, the order of the presentation of the holy communion without the bloodshed of the New Testament with several altar and church songs for the spiritual edification of Hungarian-speaking Greek Catholics. Translated by the nine-member Committee sent from the bosom of the Eparchies of Munkács and Eperjes to Hajdu-Dorog in 1879.*)
Debrecen, printed in the city's book printing house. 1882
90 + 2 unnumbered pages
23 × 18.2 × 2 cm
SZAGKHF Library, No. M-1572, Nyíregyháza
Autograph by János Danilovics on the inside page:
Az egyháznak ajándékba. Danilovics (A gift to the church. Danilovics)

IV.2.3

The Liturgikon published in 1882 was a milestone in the birth of Hungarian liturgy. It was not only the first edition containing the text of the Holy Liturgy, but the first book to meet the standards in a liturgical sense in general.

The publication is the first result of the work of a nine-member translation committee set up in 1879 by the Eparchies of Mukacheve and Prešov. In fact, it is only an extract of the Liturgikon in the classical sense, as it includes only a few formulas for special occasions in addition to the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom. The Liturgy of St. Basil the Great, as well as the Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts and the priestly parts of the canonical hours were published in one volume eight years later, in 1890. The text of the three liturgies were published together only in the 1920 Liturgikon.

The significance of the publication goes beyond Hungarian aspects. The historical Eparchy of Mukacheve developed its own liturgical tradition over the centuries. At the same time, no liturgical books were printed in Old Slavonic, so Hungarian publications are important sources of this heritage. In this aspect, it is understandable that the committee did not translate only one text that had already been published in print in Hungarian, but rather worked on the basis of several versions, taking the local practice into account.

Although the translation committee was set up with the knowledge and approval of the competent bishops, this Liturgikon was not approved by the Church. This shortcoming is self-evident if we take the fact into account, that public worship in Hungarian was considered an abuse by the Roman Catholic High Priesthood in Hungary, referring to the statements of the Holy See and consequently neither the Bishop of Mukacheve nor of Prešov could officially bless the use of the Hungarian text.

In addition to the Proskomidia for the preparation of donations and the text of the *Liturgy* of St. John Chrysostom, as well as some special ceremonies of the Easter season, the so-called special-purpose Liturgy formulas occupy a significant place in the Liturgikon. In the Byzantine rite, the Holy Liturgy by nature unites the common offering of everybody present, that is, the intent of praying of everybody present. The priest celebrating the Liturgy could remember those who contributed materially to the celebration in addition to their prayers, including originally first of all the offering of bread and wine, duly in the Proskomidia. Over time, the notion of *intentio* (intention) infiltrated the United Churches from Latin theology. Accordingly, the Eucharistic

celebration was usually associated with a specific intention of prayer, which was expressed in several places during the Liturgy, for example in the Ectenia or the readings. The first such Liturgikon was not published by the United Churches, but it was an orthodox edition published by the Metropolitan of Kiev Petr Mogila in 1639. Later, texts written for varying intentions – with modifications and extensions – were included in various Greek Catholic editions of Pochaev and Lviv, which the translation committee certainly used.

The *Liturgy* of St. John Chrysostom is still celebrated by Greek Catholic Hungarians according to the text of this edition both in Hungary and abroad. (A. D.)

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IV.2.3 The Book of the Epistols

Catalogue IV.42

Vasárnapi és ünnepi apostolok és evangéliumok a gör. szert. kath. egyházban. Az apostoli sz. szék által hitelesített szöveg szerint, iskolai és magán-használatra. (Sunday and festive epistols and gospels in the Greek Catholic Church according to the text authenticated by the Apostolic Holy See, for school and private use.) Eger, Printing House of the Archbishop's Lyceum. 1882 21 × 14 × 1 cm SZAGKHF Library, No. M–1572, Nyíregyháza

While complete mass-books containing all the texts to celebrate mass became common in the Roman Catholic Church as early as the 12th century, various books were used to celebrate the Holy Liturgy in the Byzantine rite, tailored to the needs of each priest. The priest celebrated the service from the Liturgicon, the deacon read the prescribed pericope from the Book of Gospels, the singers used the volumes of the Octoechos, the Menea and the Triodions, and the reader read the so-called Book of Epistols, the Praxapostol. Essentially, this latter volume includes all the other books of the New Testament in part or in whole, in addition to the four Gospels and the *Book of Revelation*, which was never read in the Byzantine rite. The first reading of the Holy Liturgy is always a passage from the Letters of the Apostles or the *Acts of the Apostles*, while the second is from the Gospel. The structure of the Book of Apostles may be similar to a lecture, containing a selection of readings for each day of the church year. The sections are well separated, each one of them starting with the right upbeat, like addressing with “Brothers!” or the introduction of “In those days”. This type of structure is characteristic of the churches following the Greek liturgical language. On the other hand, Slavic-speaking churches prefer the continuous Book of Apostles. The latter includes each book of the New Testament without interruption, only denoted and the appropriate introductory words are indicated in footnotes. (cf. Praxapostolos by Robert Taft in: *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium*, III, New York – Oxford, 1991, 1712–1713; Турилов, Анатолий Аркадьевич: Апостол, in: *Православная Энциклопедия*, III, Москва, 2001, 95–97.)

The first Book of Epistols in Hungarian was published in 1882. The editor, the bishop's secretary Emil Melles (1857–1932), not only wanted to facilitate the service of the liturgical reading with this publication, but also intended it as a kind of textbook for school children. This is also reflected in the content of the book, because it covers not only the passages from the apostles, but also the gospel passages prescribed for Sundays and feasts. The first part contains Sundays and the feasts, which vary depending on the date of

Easter. The second part contains readings for the permanent feasts, as well as the passages of the resurrection from the Gospel to be read at the Sunday morning service and the so-called twelve gospels of suffering for Maundy Thursday. The pericopes prescribed for the intent of all good requests and for the Saturday of Souls are included in the appendix.

The second edition of 1902 is significantly longer than the first one. It includes, among others, the readings (parimias) usually taken from the *Old Testament* for the vespers on the eve of some major holidays.

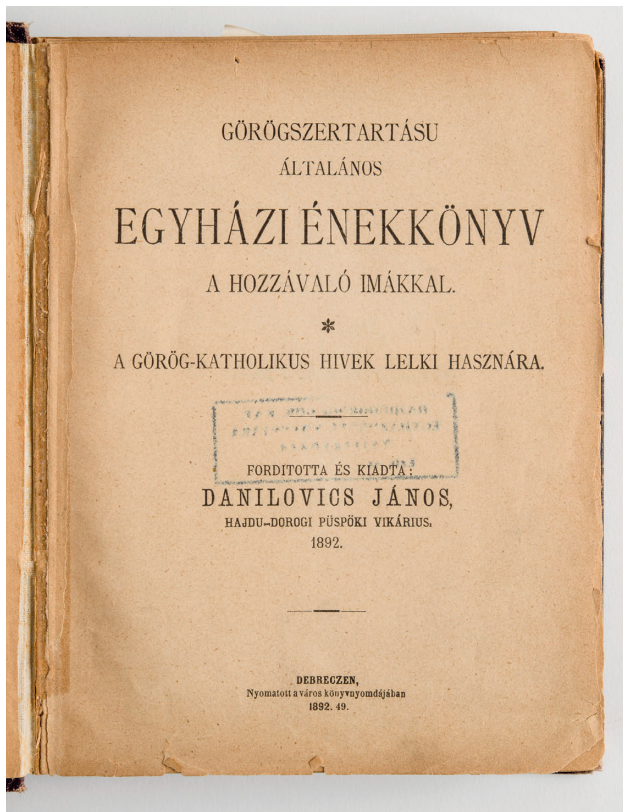
As for the text of the selected passages, Melles did not make an independent translation, but used the most modern edition of the age, the Káldi *Bible* revised by Béla Tárkányi, which was first published between 1862 and 1865. Káldi translated it from the Latin *Vulgate* instead of the Greek or Old Slavonic *Scriptures*, which would have been desirable in the case of a liturgical book for the Byzantine rite. At the same time, he received approval from the church, and this aspect is not negligible at all, considering that no church authority would have given its consent to a book for liturgical use in Hungarian. The caution of the editor can also be seen in the title, as the purpose of the publication was not indicated as reading in church, but rather for “school and private use”. Yet the volume proved most useful in worship services. The second edition is still in use in some places today despite its ancient language. (A. D.)

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IV.2.3 Danilovics' Hymn book

Catalogue IV.43



Görögszertartású általános egyházi énekkönyv a hozzávaló imákkal. A görög-katholikus hivek lelki hasznára.

(A general Greek Catholic hymn book with prayers. For the spiritual benefit of Greek Catholics.)

Translated and published by: János Danilovics, Episcopal Vicar of Hajdú-Dorog. 1892

Debreczen, Printed in the city's Printing House 1892. 49. 17.1 × 13.5 × 2.5 cm

SZAGKHF Library, No. M-1669, Nyíregyháza

The hymn book of Danilovics is chronologically the second collection in Hungarian, which primarily served the involvement of the congregation in liturgical singing. Its publication was planned by the nine-member translation committee of Hajdúdorog, as indicated in the service-book edited by the committee and published in 1883. The fact that the title shows only the name of the chairman of the committee, the first vicar in the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog is a sign, that he took the lion's share in the translation.

Its significance – in addition to including much more material, than Ignác Roskovics' songbook published thirty years earlier – lies mainly in the fact that his language proved to be long-lasting. Similar publications from the 20th century were all based on this translation.

It is worth noting about the person of János Danilovics, that his translation work came as a bit of a surprise to Hungarian-speaking Greek Catholics. He was born into a Ruthenian family in 1836 in Strážske (*Őrmező*). He spent the first decade of his service as a priest in the bishop's office of Uzhhorod. He already obtained the title of canon in 1867. He was elected co-president of the Society of St. Basil in 1872. The Society, initiated in 1864 and officially founded two years later, aimed to promote the intellectual life of the Eparchies of Mukacheve and Prešov, mainly through publishing books. Its spirituality was basically determined by the Slavophil movement, which Bishop of Mukacheve István Pankovics (1866–1874) tried to break. Danilovics was his personal secretary and previously known for his opposition to the Magyarization of the Ruthenians, but the bishop succeeded in winning him for the issue of promoting the Hungarian language. It was part of the bishop's policy to appoint a pro-Hungarian person to the Society. Unaware of this background information, the people of Hajdúdorog, who were at the forefront of the struggle for the Hungarian liturgical language received the Ruthenian canon appointed to head the Eparchy set up in 1873 mistrustfully, but he soon proved his sincere commitment to support their objectives.

The songbook begins with an introductory section with the most common prayers. This is followed by a section containing the permanent parts of the daily psalms, including the Holy Liturgy and the songs of the *Liturgy of the Presanctified Gifts*. The variable sections begin with an excerpt from the Octoechos, including the songs for the Saturday evening service, the Sunday morning and evening service. The texts for the Sundays and other notable days of the Lent and Easter are followed by the songs of the permanent feasts, and the book ends with the selected formulas of the collective veneration of saints and a calendar.

Its popularity was not surpassed by any other omnibus edition, as it was published fourteen times. The last edition was published without marking the year, presumably in 1913. (A. D.)

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Пол, Иван: Энциклопедия Подкарпатской Руси, Ужгород, 2001, 152–153.

IV.2.3 The Book of Gospels

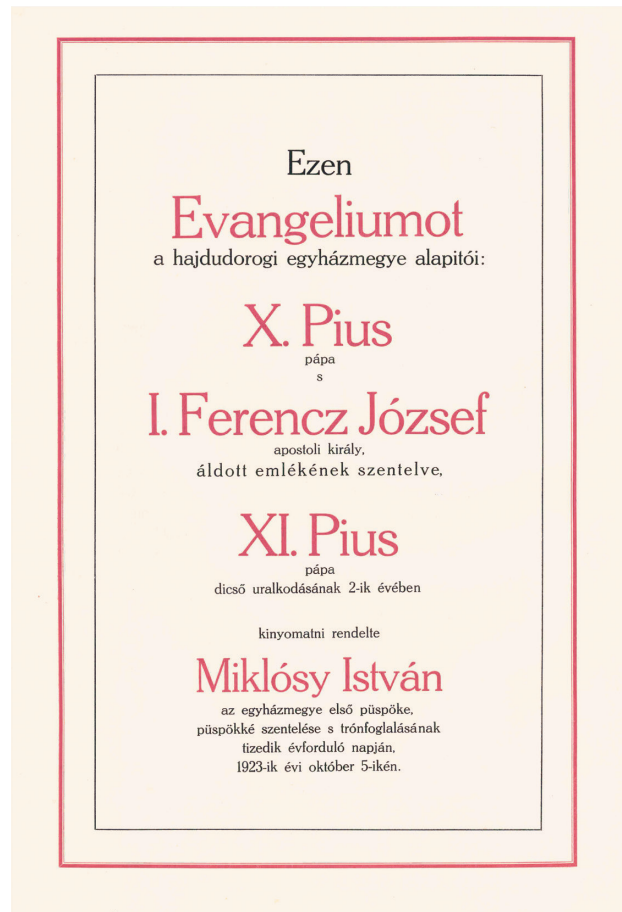
Catalogue IV.44



Szent Evangelium (The Holy Gospel)
Elek Jóba's Printing House, Nyíregyháza,
1925

The Book of Gospels was published in Hungarian in 1925, quite late compared to other liturgical books. The circumstances of the editing and printing are well documented. Bishop of Hajdúdorog István Miklósy (1913–1937) was already considering its publication from the time he took office, but it had to wait more than ten years due to the war and the financial difficulties.

The Gospel pericopes were certainly the first parts in the Holy Liturgy, that were read in Hungarian. This is suggested by the alleged permission of Bishop András Bacsinszky (1772–1809), which was not discovered in the form of any written document so far, but it was referred to again and again during the struggle for a Hungarian liturgy. In any case, it is already evident that Bishop Vazul Popovics (1837–1864), in his decree on the liturgical use of the Hungarian language (No. 4125/1843), authorized only the reading of the passage from the Gospels in Hungarian, that the priest had to read in the Holy



Liturgy. At the same time, however, it was not forbidden to sing in Hungarian.

After all this, it may seem strange that the most important liturgical books were published as the fruit of the work of the translation committee in Hajdúdorog established in 1879, but the Gospels were only published in Hungarian many decades later. Bishop Gyula Firczák of Mukacheve (1891–1912) received a related request, but he made it clear that only the Holy See was competent to authorize the publication. The process was certainly slowed down by the fact, that the Byzantine rite endowed the Book of Gospels with a kind of symbolic value and highlighted it among the other liturgical books. If the Gospel in Hungarian is placed on the altar, Hungarian “rises to the altar”, becoming an “altar language” according to the contemporary terminology.

The new Book of Gospels was finally printed with significant expenses, which is shown by the fact, that Bishop Miklósy obliged all parishes to make a financial contribution in the year of publication. In the end, the publication was the most impressive of all until that time. It was printed in two colours on high-quality paper.

IV.2.3

This edition was not their own translation; it was taken from Káldi's text, corrected by Béla Tárkányi. The language was already obsolete at the time of the publication of the Greek Catholic Book of Gospels and some people said that it should not have been used, since it was also abandoned by the Roman Catholics in the meantime. It is true that mainly the frequent use of obsolete tenses makes it difficult to understand, although it lends an elevation to the text. Nevertheless, the Book of Gospels was in use for about a hundred years. It is only now that it is slowly replaced by later editions, approved by the Holy See in 2017 *ad experimentum* and which do not follow the form of the *Tetraevangelion*, contrary to local tradition. (A. D.)

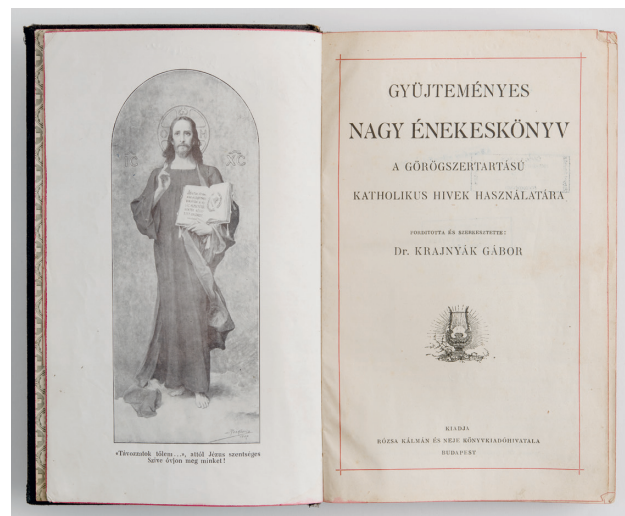
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Krajnyák's Hymn book

Catalogue IV.45



Gyűjteményes nagy énekeskönyv a görögszertartású katolikus hivek használatára

(A book with a large collection of hymns for Greek Catholics)

Translated and edited by dr. Gábor Krajnyák / Published by Kálmán Rózsa's and his wife's Publisher / Budapest 1929.

667 pages, [7] panels

22.9 × 14.4 × 3.2 cm

SZAGKHF Library, No. 1956, Nyíregyháza

The book was published to meet an urgent need. Although the songbook of János Danilovics was reprinted more than a dozen times, it was still impossible to obtain. Gábor Krajnyák, a rite teacher at the Central Seminary, initially wanted to publish a revised edition only. However, the final result was a new songbook, significantly expanded in its content, with a revised text in a new format.

Krajnyák identified important aspects, that revealed the liturgical search for a way for Greek Catholic Hungarians, who lived already in their own eparchy. The songbook of János Danilovics – at least according to Krajnyák – was “implemented exclusively according to the Old Slavonic text”. Therefore, he observed both the Slavonic and the Greek texts during the revision, because “it is impossible to make a good translation from another translation” – i.e. the Old Slavonic. At the same time, with regard to the typical instructions, i.e. the instructions concerning the course of the ceremonies, he insisted on the instructions of the Old Slavonic books, because the common treasure of traditions was built from these, that the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog shared with the Eparchies of Mukacheve and Prešov.

The publication and its preparatory work sparked quite a widespread controversy. This was a sign, that the Hungarian Greek Catholic liturgy entered a new era.

It was the first problem that arose again and again in all liturgical languages. The translation of Danilovics already passed completely into the common knowledge and was fixed in the people's memory in many places. The concern was rightly articulated: is it possible or necessary to change the fossilized phrases of the lyrics known from the outside? In connection with Hungarian, although it was not even a canonized language yet, the same dilemma soon arose as in the case of the ancient liturgical languages: can the liturgical language develop together with the common language, or must break away from the spoken language for the sake of its "sacredness"? There was another opinion, that Krajnyák's text was a good starting point, but it was not ready for use in church, so it would be more useful to reprint the old book of Danilovics, than to release a new, semi-finished product, which would soon be followed by new improved editions. The officially invited reviewers did not agree, either. We can also see, that a technical issue was raised for the first time among Hungarian Greek Catholics: what is the better solution, gradualism or a one-time but possibly drastic intervention in the case of a liturgical reform of any scale?

One of the undisputed novelties of the publication was introducing interval signals in the text and giving the musical notes of the most frequently recurring standard melodies in the appendix in order to help collective singing. It was also criticized and in fact opened a debate, that continues until today about the uniformity of singing and the correct prosody.

The Hymn book was popular in the parishes of the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog for a long time. It has served even more the collective singing in the Hungarian-speaking parishes of Transcarpathia, than in Hungary, because in the meantime, the new songbook, first published in 1954 and a new facsimile edition of Krajnyák's book (Nyíregyháza, Örökségünk, without pictures and signs) also spread among Hungarian communities over the border after the end of communism. (A. D.)

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Dicsérvétek az Úr nevét! Görögszertartású katolikus ima- és énekeskönyv. Tartalmazza a mindennapi egyházi zsolozsma állandó részeinek magyar fordítását az Apostoli Szentszék által kiadott hiteles egyházi szövegek nyomán, az egyházi év nevezetesebb alkalmaira szóló változó részekkel, – különös tekintettel a magyar nyelvterületen érvényes liturgikus gyakorlatra és közhasználatú szövegekre
(Praise the name of the Lord! A Greek Catholic prayer and hymn book. It contains the Hungarian translation of the permanent parts of the canonical hours for every day according to the authentic ecclesiastical texts published by the Apostolic Holy See, with varying parts for the most notable occasions of the ecclesiastical year—with a special regard to liturgical practice and public texts valid in the Hungarian language area.)
Published by the Chrysostomos Society, István Ludvig Jr's Printing House, Miskolc, 1934
1119 pages
SZAGKHF, Nyíregyháza

The publication known as the "Book of Hours" is still used by Hungarian Greek Catholics. It was first published in Miskolc in 1934 with the approval of Governor of the Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc Antal Papp (1924–1945).

The United Churches borrowed the genre of the Book of Hours, i.e. the breviary from the Roman Catholic Church. Until the middle of the Middle Ages, the canonical hours, that is, prayer hours consecrating certain periods of the day, were usually celebrated in communities both in the West and the East by the monks and members of the chapter bodies together, and the pastoral priesthood with the people; and several books were required for such public prayers. The ministering priest, the reader and the singers had their own books. In the 11th century, when members of the clergy were frequently not able to participate in the choir, books were published for the Roman rite that allowed anyone to celebrate the canonical hours alone. These editions, extracted from several liturgical books, were called breviaries. The name comes from the Latin word *brevis*, which means "brief". In this case, precisely because it is a collection, that allows the individual prayer of the canonical hours in an abbreviated form. The breviary spread rapidly everywhere from the 13th century due to the new mendicant orders, especially the Franciscans. The reason for its popularity was that even if the lay people missed the canonical hours over time, it continued to live as a private obligatory prayer for the clergy (cf. Radó, Polikárp. *A megújuló istentisztelet*, Budapest, 1975, 38–40).

IV.2.3

The obligatory nature of the canonical hours was interpreted differently in the East, but it was certainly not reduced only to the clergy. In the churches of the Byzantine rite – apparently compared to the monastic customs – the canonical hours are celebrated in a reduced, but continuous way, in which the believers can also join. That is why the need for a publication like the Breviary was not needed for a long time.

A whole series of changes took place in the religious life of the historic Eparchy of Mukacheve from the end of the 18th century, as a result of which the celebration of the canonical hours almost disappeared in many places. Bishop Vazul Popovics of Mukacheve (1837–1864) reminded his priests several times, that the obligation of the canonical hours was part of the discipline in the ancient Eastern church, even if it was not explicitly codified as in the Western Church.

At the same time, Popovics also urged the celebration of the daily Holy Liturgy in his circulars, which can already be attributed to the spiritual influence of the Latin Church. The priesthood took the latter encouragement seriously, while the warning about the obligation of the canonical hours was less observed. At the same time, collective prayer got a new impetus in many parishes with the help of new songbooks published one after the other.

The liturgical renewal between the two world wars was also felt in the Greek Catholic Churches. The question of the canonical hours arose again, but its more regular practice already encountered an important obstacle among Hungarian-speaking Greek Catholics at that time. Not all the books needed for praying at the canonical hours were available in Hungarian. The songbooks contained only the most essential parts of many books for singers. This was one of the needs which prompted the idea of publishing a Book of Hours in Hungarian. The other one came from the priestly spirituality already shaped for the Latin rite. If a priest wanted to pray alone those parts of the canonical hours, that the congregation would not have visited, he could ignore three or four other books with the help of such a publication. The Book of Hours thus proved to be a useful tool both for private prayer and the public prayer of the canonical hours, for the priests, the cantor and the people alike.

In many aspects, the Book of Hours is a unique publication in an international context, because it includes the *Liturgy* of St. John Chrysostom and some other ceremonies not related to prayer hours in addition to some parts of the canonical hours. Moreover, the calendar part of the canonical hours, that is, the text of the Saints of the Day and the permanent feasts were published in ten small volumes. This series, entitled *Ménologion* was published in 1939, its parts can be attached to the end of the Book of Hours.

Even more remarkable was the editorial principle that the Book had to reflect all the traditions of Hungarian-speaking Greek Catholics of various origins. Thus, the Book of Hours always included the instructions and textual versions of the Greek, Old Slavonic and Romanian liturgical books, if they differed from each other. This was necessary also because in the parishes of the Apostolic Exarchate of Miskolc – on the territory of the Diocese of Prešov that remained in Hungary after 1920 – Old Slavonic was used as a liturgical language. The Holy See ordered Ancient Greek to be the official ceremonial language for the Eparchy of Hajdúdorog, but the heritage of the Mother Eparchy of Mukacheve, where the Old Slavic elements dominated, also survived in part. In addition, even Romanian was used as a liturgical language to some extent in some parishes. The Book of Hours gave a Hungarian text to the clergy and the congregation, taking all existing traditions into account. An excerpt from the Book of Hours entitled *Sing to Our God* was published for Greek Catholics in 1937.

The Book of Hours used the texts of the Danilovics Songbook and the publications of the translation committee of Hajdúdorog, sung or heard by the people at the ceremonies, which were already fixed in practice. The private prayers and the quietly recited priestly parts were translated mainly from the Greek text by editor János Kozma and to a lesser extent by István Szántay-Szémán. They are two of the leading figures in the theological workshop that defined the intellectual life of Hungarian Greek Catholicism between the two world wars, primarily through the monthly paper *The Eastern Church* published in Miskolc between 1934 and 1943 and several other scientific and educational publications. (A. D.)

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