# György (Đuro) Arnold (1781–1848), the Musician with Two Homelands

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Abstract: György (Đuro) Arnold (1781–1848) the composer, teacher, conductor, lexicographer and founder of the first music school in Subotica, was the regens chori of the Subotica's Sv. Terezija church (1800-48). He was a prolific composer, writing in a variety of genres, from compositions for the church of Sv. Terezija, choral and chamber works to operas, melodramas, songs, overtures, and verbunkos (the complete list of his works is included in the appendix). Arnold's style was influenced by Viennese Classical church music and the emerging Hungarian national style. In his early sacred pieces, he used quotations from popular operas, but in later compositions he was closer to Haydn, and the Te Deum Solenne dedicated to the Zagreb Bishop Aleksandar Alagović shows possible influence of early Beethoven. In many aspects, Arnold was a composer on the periphery. He liked large ensembles which could impress audiences with the brightness of the orchestral sound although, as far as we know, he never attempted to build a large symphonic form which would match the richness of such a sound. He usually set the text in short sentences, quickly exhausting its possibilities, undermining the expectations raised by the large-scale gradations which open his compositions. In 1819, Arnold published Pismenik, a collections of texts (without tunes) of Croatian Roman Catholic hymns collected in Bačka (western Vojvodina); the preface to Pismenik and its complete table of contents are reprinted in an appendix. In 1839-40, he completed the hymnal Valóságos egyházi kántori fontos énekeskönyv with 186 church compositions intended for Hungarian and Transylvanian church musicians, which remained unpublished. In 1826, Arnold began working on the Historisch- musikalisch bibliographisches Tonkünstler Lexikon, which expanded to four manuscript volumes in length, but remained unpublished and seems to be lost today.

Keywords: György Arnold, Hungarian and Croatian music history

The art music of central Europe should not be judged today exclusively by the works produced in its largest centers, just as the musical past of small Pannonian towns should not be judged by their often modest present-day musical life. Subotica (Szabadka in Hungarian) is one such small town in Vojvodina, just south of the present-day Hungarian border, where György (Đuro) Arnold instituted musical life and then continued working on its organization and expansion for most of the first half of the 19th century. As the *regens chori* of the

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Sv. Terezija church, the conductor, composer, ethnographer, lexicographer, organizer of musical life, and the founder of the first municipal music school, he was better known in the 19th century than today, but the quality of his compositions – which were recently traced in several central-European musical archives – indicates that his work should be reevaluated.

Arnold's father József (1751–96) was from the Austrian town of Prinzensdorf, and as far as we know, he served as the organist first in Paks (Hungary), then in Taksony, town a few kilometers south of Pest, and finally in Hajós, the well-known Hungarian place of pilgrimage. While in Paks, in 1780 he married Katalin Böhm and, on 5th June 1781, their first son was born, in Croatian sources known as Đuro and in Hungarian sources as György.<sup>1</sup>

Arnold received his music education first from his father, and then continued in Pécs and Kalocsa at the court of the Archbishop Ladislav Kolonić (1736–1817), where he studied with the cathedral's choirmaster Pál Pöhm. In



Figure 1: György (Đuro) Arnold

<sup>1</sup> For earlier biographies of Đuro Arnold cf., Kálmán Isoz, *Arnold György* (Budapest, 1908); Albe Vidaković, "Đuro Arnold", *Sv. Cecilija* XXX/3 (1937) 77–79; XXX/4 (1937) 108–112; *Idem.*, "Nekoliko nepoznatih dokumenata o glazbeniku Đuri Arnoldu" (Some unknown documents about the musician Đuro Arnold), *Sv. Cecilija* XXXIII/3 (1940) 55–57.

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April of 1800, he was appointed *regens chori* of Subotica's parish church of Sv. Terezija, and stayed in this town until his death on 25 October 1848.<sup>2</sup> The new church in Subotica was completed only a short time before his arrival (built 1773–98) and electing him the town council wanted to have a capable person taking care of its musical life. In the recommendation for the job, Arnold's teacher Pál Pöhm wrote that he was able to play the violin, violoncello, organ, and wind instruments, and that he was capable of conducting a choir.

In 1802, Arnold married Jozefa Malek from Pécs and had five children with her (Antal, Friedrich/Frigyes, Károly, Ferenc, and Mária). Two of them used to accompany Arnold on his concert tours and performed with him: Friedrich – who was later the chief judge in Subotica – played the piano and flute, and Mária sang and played the piano.

Subotica, called Maria Theresiopolis in Arnold's time, was in the early nineteenth century a town of not more than 2300 families, widely spread around the old Franciscan church. In this town two cultures were merged: that of the Croats - known here as Bunjevci - and of the Hungarians. Little is known about the musical life of Subotica prior to Arnold's arrival. After the bishop of Kalocsa decided in 1758 that choral singing should be in his diocese a compulsory part of the high-school curriculum, older students were able to participate in choral ensembles in town celebrations and to sing during the funerals of eminent citizens. With Maria Theresa's 1777 reforms of the school system in the Monarchy, music became compulsory in the curriculum of elementary schools as well. Still, such modest musical training was still not enough for the town to burst with musical events. When Arnold arrived in Subotica he organized an instrumental ensemble – which in 1803 consisted of five musicians - but in order to find enough capable musicians for his ensemble, he begun teaching twelve boys to play instruments. Archival records show that he was doing this without being paid from at least 1805 to 1814, when the municipal council decided to award him regular payments for his teaching. Since that time, teaching instruments became a regular duty of the town's regens chori. The first result of Arnold's teaching was a concert that he organized and conducted in 1809 at Palić Lake on the outskirts of Subotica, which is today recognized as the first public concert in the town. Arnold's teaching is also considered the origin of Subotica's municipal music school. Throughout his life Arnold was himself a busy performer, playing not only in Subotica but also in other towns of Slavonia, Vojvodina, southern Hungary, and possibly even in Preßburg, where he was elected one of the honorary members of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Arnold's grave is in the Sv. Terezija church in Subotica.

Preßburger Kirchenmusikverein zu St. Martin in 1836. For his many years of service in Subotica, he was in 1826 elected there to the municipal council.

In 1819 Arnold published at Martin Aloys Divald in Osijek his songbook Pismenik, illiti skupljenje pisama razlicsiti, za nediljne, svetcsane, i ostale dneve priko godine podobni, za vechju slavu Boxju, i kreposti dushevne naroda illyricskoga ucsinjeno [A songbook, or Collection of various songs suitable for Sundays, holidays and other days during the year, compiled to honor God and the spiritual virtues of the Illyric people]). The Pismenik included traditional church songs which were sung at the time by the Croats in western Vojvodina (a region known as Bačka).<sup>3</sup> The songbook included only texts in the Croatian Ikavian dialect, and it is difficult to judge the reasons why Arnold did not supply them with tunes as well, but one possible reason could be that Divald's printing shop was not equipped with type fonts for music, and a trip to a better-equipped printer in Pest or Buda would have been too costly for him. In either case, he imagined that even texts without music would be beneficial in terms of unifying the church repertoire throughout the region. In his foreword to the Pismenik, Arnold explained that the purpose of his collection was to serve the "Illyrian" people (by "Illyrian" he meant Croatian), since congregations did not have a standard hymnal and each singer used a different one in the church.<sup>4</sup> This unfortunate circumstance he considered to be one of reasons for the decline of piety, and he hoped that his Pismenik would correct this trend and bring people back to the church. The *Pismenik* is divided into three portions: songs for the Mass, songs for church holidays (the Lent, Holy Week, Easter, Pentecost, Ascension Day, Holy Spirit's Day, Advent, Christmas, Epiphany), and songs for the holidays of saints whose names are most often given to children in Slavonia and Vojvodina. The collection was well-received not only in Bačka, but in all of Slavonia and Sriem.

To imagine how would Arnold's *Pismenik* look if he had means to include in it also tunes we can look in the volume with a selection of 186 church compositions (mass songs, requiems, passions, litanies, psalms, antiphons, and laments) which he wrote for Hungarian and Transylvanian church musicians. This collection remained in an unpublished manuscript at the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, dated 1839, which was obviously prepared for the printing, because on the verso of the partially destroyed title page is visible a note in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Known copies of the *Pismenik* are kept at the Nacionalna i Sveučilisna Knjižnica, Zagreb, IIE-8°–27; the Dijecezanska Knjižnica, Đakovo; the library of the Franciscan Monastery, Subotica; and the Biskupij-ska Knjižnica, Subotica, II/1384.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Cf. Đuro Arnold, "Pridgovor" to *Pismenik* (Osijek: M.A. Divald, 1819), 3–4. Arnold's preface and the contents of the collection are included in an appendix.

which church authorities gave in 1840 the imprimatur for its publication.<sup>5</sup> Each song is written for a voice with a simple organ accompaniment.

In 1826, Arnold began working on the *Historisch-musikalisch-bibliographisches Tonkünstler Lexikon, mit eigenem Fleisse, zu seiner Belehrung, aus den besten Hilfsquellen geschöpft und zusammengetragen von Georg Arnold*, which expanded to four manuscript volumes in length, but remained unpublished, and seems to be lost today.

#### **Compositions**

Arnold was a prolific composer, writing in a variety of genres from works for musical theater to church compositions, verbunkos and chamber music. Most of his manuscripts are kept today at the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár; some are located at his parish church in Subotica, and individual compositions are preserved in collections in northern Croatia, Hungary, Austria, and Slovakia.

During his early years in Subotica, Arnold had enough skilled musicians available only for chamber ensembles, and his earliest compositions - offertories based on themes from popular operas, such as Grétry's Richard Coeur de Lion, Mozart's Don Giovanni, and Weigl's Die Schweizerfamilie, were scored for a few voices and a small instrumental ensemble. In 1980, I located among the musical materials at the Sv. Terezija church in Subotica scores and parts of works by Joseph Haydn, Mozart, Joseph Drechsler (1782-1852), Joseph Eybler (1765-1846), and Václav Pichl (1741-1805), which Arnold himself copied for performances in the church; many of these scores have on the title page the note "Ex rebus G. Arnold", indicating Arnold's ownership. Among these materials, only four of his original compositions were found, mostly incomplete. There were several parts for the Offertorium pastorale, copied by Arnold's successor Franjo Steib, the regens chori of Sv. Terezija from 1852 to 1874. This piece is an arrangement of the Croatian Christmas carol Veselje ti navišćujem, which Arnold scored for several different ensembles: a two-part women's choir with a pastoral interludium on a flugelhorn solo; two-part women's choir accompanied with strings and the organ; and a setting for one

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> The title of the collection is as follows: *Valóságos egyházi kántori fontos énekeskönyv, melyet az ájtatosság növekedésére Magyar 's Erdély Ország kántorai számára hangjegyekkel szerkezte 's kiad[t]a Arnold György Szabadka szabad királyi városa fő kántora, egyházi hangász karmestere, szentséges római pápai arany emlékpénznek tulajdonosa, a nemes kül tanácsnak valóságos és a Po[z]sonyi hangászati egyesület egyik tagja. 1839 mp.* [A genuine and precise liturgical songbook for cantors, edited and issued for the use of cantors in Hungary and Transylvania to heighten their worship by György Arnold, the regens chori of free royal city of Subotica, conductor of church musicians, owner of the holy Roman papal gold commemorative medal, practicing member of the Royal Honorary Council, and a member of the Preßburger Musikverein. 1839 mp.]. The autograph of 151 folios is kept at the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms.mus. 30.

voice with strings, two clarinets, three horns, flugelhorn, and organ.<sup>6</sup> Various arrangements of the piece and later copies of its performing material, indicate the popularity of the piece and its tradition of performances in Subotica long after Arnold's death.

Also preserved at the Sv. Terezija church is a piece from Arnold's early years in Subotica, *Pucse moj, ad Adorationem Crucis in Festo Parasceve*, for Holy Friday, – scored for two clarinets, two horns, and a trombone. The parts in Arnold's autograph dated 1831 have many annotations from the later part of the 19th century, indicating that this piece was also continuously performed.

The other two works found there were the *Oratio pro Rege Hungariae Apostolico* and the *Graduale Solenne de Comuni Cofessore*. From the first piece only parts for two clarinets written by Steib are preserved, while the other work, dedicated to the bishop of Pécs Ignjat Szepesy (bishop 1828–38), is completely preserved in the 1830 autograph together with an additional organ part also written by Steib.<sup>7</sup> It is possible that more compositions for such ensembles, suitable for performances in churches with fewer musicians at their disposal, will be identified in churches of this region. For example, the church in Cenad (Banat) owns one Arnold's offertory for the Pentecost, scored for four voices and organ.<sup>8</sup> In the musical archives of the Zagreb Cathedral has been preserved *Te Deum Solenne*, written *pro festo consecrationis episcopo Alexandro Alagovics*, when he was anointed in 1830 as the bishop of Zagreb.<sup>9</sup> The work is scored for mixed chorus and orchestra without violas and organ.

In his works, Arnold was particularly attracted to the massive sound of a large orchestral ensemble and the stereo effects of two choirs, sometimes using them combined with two orchestras. Such a sound was difficult to obtain in Subotica, since the number of skilled musicians was not that large despite Ar-

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Franz Metz, *Te deum laudamus: Contribuție la istoria muzicii bisericești din Banat* (București: ADZ, 1995), 228.

<sup>9</sup> The autograph of *Te Deum* is kept in the archives of the Zagreb Cathedral. The title page reads *Te Deum* Solenne pro Festo Consecrationis Eppo compositum, Excellentissimo, Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Domino, Domino Alexandro Alagovics Episcopo Zagrabiensi – S.C.R. et A. Hon. Sociali Intimi Status Consiliaris &c. in Devotione dedicatum per Georgium Arnold L.R. Cittis MTheresiopolis Chori Regente. 1830. – Janko Barlè, in his brief information about the work, mistakenly dated it to 1813. Cf. "Svečani Te Deum Đure Arnolda" [Solemn Te Deum of Đuro Arnold], Sv. Cecilija XXXI/5 (1937) 149. The first contemporary performance of the work, revised by Lovro Županović, took place in September 1994 at the Varaždinske Barokne Večeri festival in Varaždin.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Cf. A. Vidaković, "Đuro Arnold", 111–112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> The full transcript of the title page is: *Graduale Solenne de Comuni Cofessore a Soprano, Alto, Tenore, Basso, Violinis, Clarinettis, Flauto, Obois, Fagotto, Cornuis, Clarinis, Viola, Organo, Violone, Trombone con Czello & Tympanis. Authore Arnold Chori Regente. Exc[elentissimo] Ep[isco]po 5-Eccles[iensi]. 1830.* The text chosen for the gradual is from Psalm 91 (Ps. 91,13 and 91,3), and from Jacob 1,12. In the supplement of *Sv. Cecilija* LXIII/2 (1993) Josip Mioč published an arrangement of the composition for mixed choir and organ. Mioč transposed the piece from G Minor to F Minor and entirely dropped the second half of the composition.

nold's educational efforts. One way to get around the problem was to dedicate a piece to some dignitary and hope that this might generate performances. During the period when he was the regens chori of the Sv. Terezija church, five Popes were crowned: Pius VII Chiaramonti (1800–23), Leo XII della Genga (1823–29), Pius VIII Castiglioni (1829–30), Gregory XVI Cappellari (1831– 46), and Pius IX Mastai-Ferretti (1846–78). To each of them Arnold dedicated a piece. In 1815, when Pius VII returned from exile in France, Arnold sent him an offertory set to the text from the Gospel according to Matthew.<sup>10</sup> For the anniversary of Pope Leo XII's coronation in 1825, he composed the offertory Dialogus sacer seu Evangelium festi Cathedrae s. Petri, which he sent to the pontiff in December of the same year through the Nuncio in Vienna, Pietro Ostini. In return, Arnold received from the Pope a gold medal worth 12 ducats accompanied by a breve (dated 22 February 1826),<sup>11</sup> which arrived to Subotica on 16 June 1826 and was given to Arnold on 7 July 1826.<sup>12</sup> The text of the offertory was also taken from the Gospel according to Matthew (16:13-20) – Peter's confession of his faith – linking the content of the piece with the context in which it was written. We are told about the piece dedicated to the next pontiff, Pius VIII, only in a document (dated 26 May 1829), which the Viennese Nuncio Ugo Pietro sent to Rome with a sealed box containing Arnold's composition for the Pope. The work composed for the new pope was first time performed in Subotica's Sv. Terezija church on 10 May 1829, during the Mass celebrated by Péter Klobusitzky, the Archbishop of Kalocsa.<sup>13</sup> The composition, however, has not yet been found.<sup>14</sup> A piece written for Pope Gregory XVI has also not been found, but there is a breve of 13 August 1831 in which the Pope acknowledged receiving it.<sup>15</sup> To Pius IX, the last Pope crowned dur-

<sup>10</sup> A transcript of the breve in which the Pope acknowledged receiving the offertory is reprinted in K. Isoz, *op. cit.*, 8–9.

<sup>12</sup> News about Arnold receiving the medal are published in *Magyar Kurir* (4 August 1826), 79–80; and *Vereinigte Ofner und Pester Zeitung* (6 August 1826).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Magyar Kurir (26 May 1829), 335–336.

<sup>14</sup> Albe Vidaković looked for Arnold's compositions at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, but did not find any. Cf. A. Vidaković, "Nekoliko nepoznatih dokumenata …", 57. This however does not mean that the work is lost, and it might be found either in the Vatican or some of the central European music collections.

<sup>15</sup> A transcript of the breve is included in K. Isoz, *op. cit.*, 15–16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> The autograph of the piece, lost for a long time, has been found in the music collection of the church of Sv. Mihovil Arkanđel in Osijek, no. VI/57, among the performing materials of the Essegger-Kirchen-Musikverien which Johann Nepomuk Hummel (Kalocsa, 1820 – Budapest, 1896) founded in 1850 and conducted until 1862. The piece is obviously Arnold's later copy, since the title page mentions the papal golden medal which Arnold received in return for this very same piece. The full transcription of the title page reads: *Dialogus Sacer seu Evangelium Festi Cathedrae s. Petri pro Aniversario Electionis, et Coronationis Romani Pontificis Leonis 12i Concinatum a vocibus Jesum, Evangelistam, Petrum et Caeteros Apostolos representantibus Pleno Choro et Solenni illustratum per Georgium Arnold L.R. Cittis M. Theresiopolis Exterioris Senatus Commembrum, Civem Chori Regentem et Aurei Numismatis Papalis Proprietarium. 1825. A transcript of the breve is included in K. Isoz, op. cit., 10.* 

ing Arnold's lifetime, he dedicated in 1846 the *Offertorium de Beata Maria Virgine* "Quae est ista", in E minor, for tenor solo, mixed choir, organ, and orchestra.<sup>16</sup>

Festivities for royal dignitaries were also occasions for writing pieces for large ensembles. To this group of works belongs the *Oratio pro Rege* for two mixed choirs and orchestra, dedicated to the Emperor Franz II (1768–1835), possibly for the celebration of the 40th anniversary of his reign in 1832. The work is set to the text "Domine Deus, Domine fac Salvum Regem, Regem nostrum Franciscum".<sup>17</sup> When the Emperor Franz II died in 1835, Arnold again dedicated a piece to his memory. This time it was an absolutum, the responsory *Libera me Domine* for two choirs and wind orchestra.<sup>18</sup>

Most of manuscripts with Arnold's compositions dated after the death of his wife in 1844 contain church music: the Mass in C major for mixed choruses, two orchestras, and organ (1848);<sup>19</sup> the Mass in B-flat major, with the text in German; two Libera settings (G minor and E minor) for voice and organ, with parallel Croatian and Hungarian texts;<sup>20</sup> and a requiem (*Halotti mise*) in G minor, for voice and organ again with the text in Hungarian and

<sup>18</sup> The title page of the autograph, formerly belonging to the Preßburger Kirchenmusikverein zu St. Martin in Bratislava, reads: Libera Requiem pro Exequiis Augustissimi nupea Regnantis Imperationis Austriae Regis Apostolici Hungariae, ac Francisci I. Monarchiae Memoriae indelebilis. Authore Georgio Arnold Li[be]rae Reagiae Cittis MTheresiopolis Electo Cive, Chori Regente, Aurei Numismatis Pontificii proprietario et Amplum Ebnionis Musicalis Posoniensis ad S. Martinum Comembro. 1835. Bratislava, Archív hlavného mesta; Cirkovný hudobny spolok, inv. 477, sign. 402:209.

<sup>19</sup> Albe Vidaković considered the Mass to be Arnold's most mature piece. The score, at the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms.mus. 31, is dated *1. März 848*.

<sup>20</sup> Libera. Honi Nyelven Egy Szóra és Organára. Bővitette Arnold György Szabadkai. Arnold's name was with a different ink, possibly by his son Frigyes, changed to Frigyes Szabadkai főbíró and the date from 1847 to 1848. Autograph at the Országos Széchény Könyvtár, Ms.mus.35.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> The transcript of the title page of the autograph reads: *Offertorium de Beata Maria Virgine sue Sanctitati Pio Nono Romano Pontifici dedicatum ab Authore Georgio Arnold Pro Reagae Cittis Maria Theresiopolis Chori Regente Senatus Exterioris, nec non Musicalis Unionis Posoniensis Comembro unius Aurei Numismatis Papalis proprietario. Anno 1846.* The autograph score is kept at the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms.mus. 34. The orchestra includes one flute, one clarinet, two oboes, two bassoons, two trumpets, two horns, two flugelhorns, two trombones, bombardone, and strings.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> The title page of the autograph formerly belonging to the Musikverein in Graz reads: Oratio pro Rege. Choro dupplici vocali Sex decem item Instrumentis Musicalibus. Caesareo=Regias Provincias ad Deum pro Patre Patriae Preces fundentes representantibus Solenniter illustrata, et Sacratissimae Caesareo-Regiae Majestati Francisco I. Imperatori Austriae, Regi Hungariae Apostolico, Regi Bohemiae etc. etc. Archi Duci Austriae etc. etc. Domino Domino Clementissimo ab infirno subdito Hungaro Georgio Arnold Li[ber]ae Raegiae Cittis Maria=Theresiopolis Cive, et Principalis Ecclesiae Parochialis Chori Regente homagiali devotione dedicato (Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Musiksammlung, S.M.9867). Another version of the work, written also by Arnold and dated 1837, was once owned by the Preßburger Kirchenmusikverein zu St. Martin and today is kept in Bratislava. The title page of the autograph reads: Veni Sancte Solenne a Choro duplici (2° attamen prohibitum) Pro parte Ecclesiae Collegiatae ad S. Martinum Posonii. Authore Gregorio Arnold Chori Regente et Senatus Exterioris L.R. Cittis MTheresiopolitanae Membro. Pro Coronatione. The title page for the "choro secondo non obligato" has a note Correctum choro 2° Veni Sancte con accompagnament dall musique Turque. Bratislava, Archív hlavného mesta; Cirkovný hudobny spolok, inv. 476, sign. 401:209. In the Sv. Terezija Church in Subotica, as was mentioned earlier, was found only a later copy of parts for two clarinets and the autographed title page.

Croatian (1847).<sup>21</sup> However, all these works might have not been composed at the time when these manuscripts were dated since the requiem in G minor has been in its variant with the Hungarian text included already in the 1839 manuscript of *Valóságos egyházi kántori fontos énekeskönyv* (f.64v–66v).

Arnold's scores for music theater were also not without importance. His singspiel Kemény Simon, based on the drama by Károly Kisfaludy (1788-1830), opened in 1826 at the theater in Subotica, and in March of the following year the Magyar Szinjátszó Társaság restaged it in Baja.<sup>22</sup> Jointly with József Heinisch, Arnold wrote the singspiel Mátyás királynak választása [The Election of King Matthias], to the 1792 play by László Szentjóbi Szabó. The work was premiered in Kassa (now Košice, Slovakia), in 1830, the year Heinisch moved there from Kolozsvár (Cluj-Napoca), and then on 15 December 1834 was staged in Buda.<sup>23</sup> The Buda performance, in which participated 30–40 singers, was prepared in about a week and its reviewer in Honművész indicated that particularly successful were the finale of act I, and trio and quartet in act II.<sup>24</sup> Both works were quite often performed by traveling theater groups then popular in south Hungarian towns. Arnold's melodrama A gotthardhegyi boszorkány [The Witch of the Gotthard Mountains], written to a text by Antal Schuster, was premiered in Debrecen on 21 February 1837. His final work for the stage was the incidental music to Ignác Nagy's play Tisztújitás [Reelection]. Pioneering early Romanticism in Hungarian music theater, Arnold was with these works blazing a trail for Ferenc Erkel's national operas of the 1840s and 1860s.

Arnold's chamber pieces have not yet surfaced, although it is known that he took part in chamber music concerts, performing his own pieces. While preserved compositions were once given to church archives or music societies, chamber pieces he possibly kept at home and they disappeared when his household was dissolved. One of Arnold's few printed works was the romance *A vesztett rózsa* for soprano and piano from 1825.<sup>25</sup>

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Honművész 102 (21 December 1834) 814-815.

<sup>25</sup> A vesztett rózsa. Románcz Sárosytól zenéje Arnold Györgytől. Méltóságos Szalbeck Jakobné született báró Bánfy Polyxéna ő Nagyságának ajánlják Sárosy Gyula és az "Életképek" szerkesztője [The Lost Rose. A romance by Sárosy, with music by György Arnold. Dedicated to the honorable Mrs. Jakob Szalbeck, born Her Highness Baroness Polyxéna Bánfy, from Gyula Sárosy and the editor of "Scenes from Life"].

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Halotti mise. Magyarul egy ének szó[lam]ra és orgonára írta Arnold György Szabadkai kántor [?]. With a different ink, this title was also changed to Arnold Frigyes szabadkai főbíró 1848 (Arnold Frigyes, Subotica's judge 1848). Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms.mus. 32. The work includes the introit (Requiem), sequence (Dies), offertory, Sanctus, and Agnus.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Cf. a report from Baja in *Magyar Kurir* 30 (13 April 1827), 239–240. A single violin part of the singspiel is at the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Ms.mus. 1112, and the score of the overture is kept at the music collection of the Veszprém Cathedral, Ouvert.16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> József Heinisch (before 1800–40), was active in Kassa until 1836, when he moved to Pest, where he spent the last four years of his life as the second conductor of the Hungarian theater, which opened on 22 August 1837 with a performance of his overture *Thalia diadala az előitéleteken* (Thalia's Victory over Prejudice).

His best-known instrumental pieces were verbunkos. The dance, developed as a distinct music form in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, achieved the status of a national style with Arnold's contemporaries János Bihari (1764–1827), Antal György Csermák (1774?–1822), Márk Rózsavölgyi (1789-1848), and János Lavotta (1764-1820). At the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, there is a collection of six verbunkos for four violins and violoncello (MS mus. 4377) which, besides pieces by György Antal, János Bihari, and Márk Rózsavölgyi, includes one Arnold's verbunkos. Four of Arnold's piano verbunkos were included in the 135-piece and fifteen-volume collection Magyar nóták Veszprém vármegyéből, collected by Ignátz Ruzitska, and published in Vienna between 1823 and 1832.<sup>26</sup> Two of these were reprinted in the collection 30 eredeti magyar zenedarab, compiled by Ede Bartay (1825–1901) and published in 1860 at Rózsavölgyi, and one was also reprinted independently at Rózsavölgyi. A manuscript of another set of four verbunkos for piano, dedicated to Joseph Rudics from Almas, has been preserved in the music collection of the Franciscan Monastery in Osijek.<sup>27</sup>

At the Goethe–Schiller-Archiv in Weimar (MS Z12) there is the collection of verbunos obtained from Franz Liszt's *Nachlaß*. The title of the volume reads *Nagy Pootpourri*. *Egyveleg 4 Kézre Zongorára*. *Liszt János Ur hátra maradt Nemzeti Notáibul* [Grand potpourri. Medley for piano four hands. National tunes from Mr. János Liszt's estate]. János Liszt (d.1851) was the chief surgeon of Szatmár county and an amateur musician whose relation to the composer has not been documented. The 22-page manuscript contains 45 distinct compositions, all but one verbunkos. Among the identified composers are Antal György Csermák, Arnold, János Bihari, József Kossovits, Márk Rózsavölgyi, Ignác Ruzitska and in two cases János Liszt's authorship is possible. Arnold's piece is the trio of verbunkos no. 11, borrowed from the verbunkos no. 87 in *Magyar nóták Veszprém vármegyéből.*<sup>28</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Arnold's attributed pieces are no. 74 (vol. IX, 1826), 81 (vol. X, 1827), no. 87 (vol. XI, 1827). No. 75 (vol. IX, 1826) is published anonymously in the volume, but Zoltán Kodály identified it to be also by Arnold. Cf. manuscript in the MTA Zenetudományi Intézet, Folk Music Department. (I am grateful to Lujza Tari for this information.) A version of no. 74 was also published separately in the series *Legkedveltebb csárdás tánczok gyűjteménye*, issued by the Rózsavölgyi és Társa firm.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> The title page of the manuscript reads: *Négy Magyar Tánczok Mellyeket Muzsikai Eszközre Készitette és Tettes Almási Rudics Joseph Urnak a Szép Tudományok Kedvellönek tisztelettel ajánlotta Arnold György – Szécsényi Joseph mpria*. [Four Hungarian dances prepared for the music needs of and dedicated respectfully to the connoisseur of fine arts Mister Joseph Ridics of Almaš, by György Arnold – Szécsényi Joseph mpria.]. The verbunkos are in E Minor, G Minor, E Minor, and F Major. The manuscript is in the monastery's library, shelf no. II/26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Cf. Géza Papp, "A Nagy potpourri: Tények, föltevések, ellentmondások, következtetések" [The Great Potpourri: Facts, Hypotheses, Contradictions, Deductions], *Zenetudományi dolgozatok 1995–1996*, 167–175.

# Style

Arnold's style was strongly influenced by Viennese Classical church music, and then the new Hungarian national style. In his early sacred pieces, he used quotations from popular operas, but in later compositions he was closer to Joseph Haydn. Each of his offertories is a little dramatic piece, almost a smallscale oratorio, with solo ariosi combined with choral inserts. They are usually organized in three parts (allegro-adagio-allegro) and, although through composed, the finales use motifs from the first part, underlining the cyclic form of the composition. The middle part sometimes calls for a reduced vocal ensemble, or possibly even soloists only, in the style of recitativo accompagnamento. The way the ensemble is treated in the Te Deum Solenne for Bishop Alagović, particularly its very difficult vocal parts, shows possible influences of early Beethoven.<sup>29</sup> Arnold paid special attention to the articulation of the text. In order to achieve better expression, he often changed the tempo and dynamics: important textual parts are accompanied by the piano dynamic in the orchestra, so the words could be clearly articulated and understood. Sometimes, in the orchestra, he uses techniques similar to the Renaissance madrigalisms, as for example, when the word discipulos, referring to the twelve apostles, is set in a twelve-note melisma, or a reference to Christ's ascension to heaven is accompanied by a rising glissando. His favorite mannerism for achieving a tension in the piece was sudden tutti forte chords followed by rests.

Arnold should get credit for not being affected by the possibilities (or impossibilities) of the performing forces he had at his disposal. His scores are often set for ensembles as large as he could imagine and consider appropriate for his musical ideas. Some of his compositions require an exceptionally large ensemble, and they were definitely never performed in Subotica with the original orchestration, since the size of the required orchestra would cause a problem for any performance, even in larger music centers. In one of these large-scale compositions, the overture in D minor, he required not less than four full wind orchestras placed at four sides of the performing space, each band conducted by its own conductor, with the audience sitting outside of this square. At the beginning of the autograph score of this overture,<sup>30</sup> which he had given to the Preßburger Kirchenmusikverein in Bratislava, he himself had a sketch showing how the musicians and the audience should sit during the performance.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Cf. Lovro Županović, program notes for the performance at the 24th Varaždinske Barokne Večeri, Varaždin, 29 September 1994.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Ouverture für 4 musikalische Chöre von Georg Arnold, Chor Regente zur Haupt Pfarrkirche in königl. L. R. Stadt M. Theresiopolel. 1836. Bratislava, Archív hlavného mesta, Cirkovný hudobny spolok, inv. 606, sign. 535:242.

mance. This unusual setting, and the score bound in five volumes – one for each of the four conductors and the fifth volume containing the score with parallel piano reductions of each orchestra – caused this piece to be cited in the literature as four overtures, rather than one overture for four orchestras.

As evidence of his constant struggle between the sound he imagined while composing and the ensemble he had at his disposal in Subotica, witness also the different instrumentations that he sometimes prepared for performances. Among the parts of some pieces were found substitute parts intended to replace instruments or even entire sections of the orchestra if the original setting was not available. On the last page of the violin part (intended to be used by the conductor) of the Graduale Solenne, found in Subotica, there is written a note that in case one does not have in the orchestra two oboes, two clarinets, and two clarinos at once, three Nothstimmen are included which can replace the six instruments originally required: Im Falle nicht 2 Oboen, 2 Clarinetten auf einmahl besetzt werden können, so auch bey Abgang 2 Clarinen so können statt jenen 6 Stimmen, die Nothstimmen genommen, mit welchen 3 Stimmen alle 6 eingebracht sind. - Author. The Nothstimmen were prepared for two oboes and a trumpet. It is clear that when writing a piece, Arnold scored it for an ensemble which reflected the ideal sound. Later, if he did not get the ensemble he was looking for, he reorchestrated the piece according to the given circumstances. Therefore, the title pages of some of his compositions bear notes like Vidi et Corexit or Revisum et Correctum, indicating that the piece has been reorchestrated or adjusted to the performing abilities of a particular place.

When writing for Subotica, he employed a rather small ensemble which was available to him there. But when reading Arnold's scores, it becomes clear that he liked the full sound of the wind section, and he used it extensively. Not only that, he also set several compositions for wind ensembles solo, and his works for symphonic orchestra include elaborate sections of the unaccompanied wind section.

Pieces dedicated to popes did not bring to Arnold more than prestige when the pontiff showed his gratitude by sending him a breve or the gold medal which Arnold proudly never forgot to mention on title pages of his compositions. Works dedicated to Habsburg royalty or bishops were, however, performed in towns all around the Monarchy: Graz, Preßburg, Pécs, Osijek, Zagreb, Pest and Buda. His autographs could be traced throughout music collections of central Europe, and it appears that he was himself making copies of his works distributing them for performances. The autograph of the *Oratio pro Rege* bears the stamp of the Musikverein in Graz; the title of the autograph of *Veni Sancte Solenne* includes a note that the piece was written for the colle-

giate church of St. Martin in Preßburg, the autograph of his *Dialogus sacer* bears a stamp of the Essegger-Kirchen-Musikverein, the Requiem for Emperor Franz II bears a stamp of the Preßburger Kirchenmusikverein zu St. Martin. In 1836, Arnold became an honorary member of this Preßburg society, and it might be possible that the composer himself conducted some performances of his works there.

It appears that Arnold was performing all around the region reaching centers from Preßburg to the eastern parts of the Monarchy. In many aspects, he was a composer on the periphery. He liked large ensembles which could impress audiences with the brightness of the orchestral sound. At the same time, as far as we know, he never attempted to build a large symphonic form which would match the richness of such a sound. He usually set the text in short sentences, quickly exhausting its possibilities, undermining the expectations raised by the large-scale gradations which open his compositions.

It is important to keep in mind that Arnold was comfortable in the multicultural and multilingual surrounding of the Black-and-Yellow Monarchy. He wrote his music lexicon in German, collected Croatian and Hungarian church songs, and underlaid his compositions with bilingual Hungarian and Croatian texts. The *Canonica visitation* from 1813 says that Arnold spoke German and Hungarian well, and his compositions show that he was proficient in Croatian and Latin. For most of the 20th century, the border between Hungary and Vojvodina went just north of Subotica. This is how it happened that Hungarian scholars, looking at his stage works and verbunkos, were claiming Hungarian origin for him in Hungarian reference works. Scholars from Croatia and Vojvodina looking at his *Pismenik* and compositions in Croatian language and were claiming for him Croatian origin. The truth is that he belongs equally to the music cultures of the Croats in Vojvodina and to the Hungarians of southern Hungary.

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# Arnold's Works<sup>31</sup>

#### I. Church music

# a. Masses:

Mass in  $E \not\models$  Major, for mixed choir and orchestra (1827), *H-P* 

Halotti mise (Requiem with Croatian and Hungarian texts), G Minor, for voice and organ (1847), H-Bn

Sparta. Mass in C Major, for mixed choir, double orchestra and organ (1848), *H-Bn* Mass in B Major\* (with German text), for mixed choir, orchestra and organ

#### b. Gradual:

Graduale Solenne de Comuni Cofessore, for choir, orchestra and organ (1830), YU-Subotica, Sv. Terezija

#### c. Offertories:

Offertory for St. Stephan,\* based on themes from Mozart's *Don Giovanni* and J. Weigl's *Die Schweizerfamilie* 

Offertory for St. Stephan,\* based on themes from A.-E.-M. Grérty's *Richard Cœur de Lion* (ca. 1805)

Offertory dedicated to Pius VII on his return from the exile in France (1815) \*

Dialogus sacer seu Evangelium festi Cathedrae s. Petri, for tenor and bass solo, mixed choir and orchestra, dedicated to Leo XII (1825), HR-OSma

Offertorium de Beata Maria Virgine,\* E Minor (1826), composed for the church in Hajós

Offertorium de Beata Maria Virgine, E Minor, for tenor solo, mixed choir, orchestra, and organ, dedicated to Pius IX (1846), *H-Bn* 

*Offertorium pastoralle* (zum Weihnachten) for voice, strings, 2 clarinets, 3 horns, and organ, *YU-Subotica, Sv. Terezija* 

Offertorium de Beata Maria Virgine,\* D Major

Offertorium in diem Ascensionis Domini\*

Offertorium de Passione Domini,\* F Minor

Offertorium in Festo Corporis Christi,\* F Minor

Offertorium in Festo Corporis Christi,\* G Major

Offertory,\* G Major

Offertory for Easter Sunday\*

Offertory for Pentecost, for four voices and organ, RO-Cenad, church

# d. Te Deum:

Te Deum Solenne, for soli, mixed choir and orchestra, dedicated to Bishop Aleksandar Alagović (1830), *HR-Zk* 

Te Deum, for mixed choir and orchestra\* (1833)

#### e. Responsoria:

Libera me\* (1809)

<sup>31</sup> Titles marked with \* are known only from the list of Arnold's works included in the monograph by Kálmán Isoz.

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György (Đuro) Arnold (1781–1848)



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Libera me Domine, C Minor, for double choir and orchestra without strings, dedicated to the Emperor Franz II (1835), SQ-BRm

*Libera me*, G Minor (with Croatian and Hungarian texts), for voice and organ (1847), *H-Bn Libera me*, E Minor (with Croatian and Hungarian texts), for voice and organ (1847), *H-Bn* 

#### f. Sequence:

Veni sancte spiritus (Oratio pro Rege ... Francisco I ... dedicato), D Major, for soloists, double choir and orchestra (1837), SQ-BRm & A-Wn

#### g. Hymns:

for mixed choir and organ: Tantum ergo\* (1810) Hymnus pro Assumptionie Beatae Mariae Virginis\* Hymnus de SS. Trinitate et de Beata Maria Virgine\* Hymnus Dominica in albis\* Hymnus Omnium sanctorum\* Hymnus Nativitatis Jesu Christi\* Hymnus Ascensionis Jesu Christi\* Hymnus de Beata Maria Virgine\* Hymnus de Trinitate\* Hymnus de Assumptione\* Hymnus Nominis Jesu\* Hymnus pro martyribus et Beata Maria Virgine\*

#### for other ensembles:

Tantum ergo, in C Major,\* for mixed choir, orchestra and organ (1832) *Pucse moj, ad adorationem crucis in festo Parasceve,* for 2 clarinets, 2 horns and trombone, *YU-Subotica, Sv. Terezija Et incarnatus est,*\* de Festo Annunciationis

# h. Antiphons:

Regina coeli,\* C Major, for mixed choir, orchestra and organ

#### II. Secular music

# a. Stage works

*Kemény Simon* (Károly Kisfaludy), singspiel (Subotica 1826), lost, except the overture in *H-VEs* and part of violin in *H-Bn* 

*Mátyás királynak választása* [The election of King Mathias]; László Szentjóbi Szabó, opera in 2 acts (Košice 1830), music written together with József Heinisch

A gotthárdhegyi boszorkány [The witch from Gotthardsberg]; libretto Antal Schuster, comic melodramatic fairytale (Debrecen 1837), lost

#### b. Song

A vesztett rózsa (text Gyula Sárossy), romance for voice and piano (Pest, 1845); HU-Bn; HU-Bami; SQ-BRm

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#### c. Instrumental works

4 Magyar nóták for piano, in: Magyar Nóták Veszprém Vármegyéből [Hungarian tunes from the Veszprém region], nos. IX/74 (F Major), [IX/75 (F Major)], X/81 (E Minor) & XI/87 (G Minor); ed. by Ignátz Ruzitska, vols. 9–11, Vienna <sup>1</sup>1826–27, Budapest <sup>2</sup>1994.

- Two verbunkos are reprinted in: *30 eredeti magyar zenedarab* [30 original Hungarian pieces], ed. by Ede Bartay, Pest 1860.

– A version of no. 74 also published in the series *Legkedveltebb csárdás tánczok gyüjteménye*, issued by Rózsavölgyi és Társa, *H-Bn*.

-The trio from the verbunkos X/81 is written in Nagy Pootpourri [sic] / Egyveleg /

4 Kézre Zongorára / Liszt János Ur hátra maradt / Nemzeti Nótáibul (Grand potpourri – Medley for piano four hands / National tunes from Mr. János Liszt's estate), D-WRgs

Magyar nóta no. 3 in the collection 6 Magyar nóták, for 4 violins and violoncello, H-Bn (missing parts for violin 1 & 3)

Négy Magyar Tánczok, E Minor, G Minor, E Minor, F Major, for piano, HR-OSf

Gyász-mars [Funeral march], A Minor, for piano (1842?), H-Bn

Overture, D Minor, for four wind orchestras (1836), SQ-BRm

#### **III.** Collections/Writings

Pismenik illiti skupljenje pisama razlicsiti, za nediljne, svetacsne, i ostale dneve priko godine podobnih, za vechju slavu Boxju, i kreposti dushevne naroda illyricskoga ucsinjeno [Hymnal, or a collection of various hymns for Sundays, saints' days, and other days throughout the year, put together to celebrate the Lord and foster spiritual virtues of the Illyrian people], Osijek 1819

Historisch-Musikalisch-Biographisches Tonkünstler-Lexicon\*, 4 vols. (1826)

Valóságos egyházi kántori fontos énekeskönyv, melyet az ájtatosság növekedésére Magyar 's Erdély Ország kántorai számára hangjegyekkel szerkezté 's kiadá Arnold György Szabadka szabad királyi városa fő kántora, egyházi hangász karmestere, szentséges római pápai arany emlékpénznek tulajdonosa, a nemes kül tanácsnak valóságos és a Posonyi hangászati egyesület egyik tagja. 1839 mp. [A genuine and precise liturgical songbook for cantors, edited and issued for the use of cantors in Hungary and Transylvania to heighten their worship by György Arnold, the regens chori of free royal city of Subotica, conductor of church musicians, owner of the holy Roman papal gold commemorative medal, practicing member of the Royal Honorary Council, and a member of the Preßburger Musikverein. 1839 mp.], 2 vols., *H-Bn*.

# Appendix

# Transcription of the title page of Arnold's *Pismenik*, its preface telling about the purpose of the songbook, and the table of contents

PISMENIK illiti skupljenje pisama razlicsiti, za nediljne, svetcsane, i ostale dneve priko godine podobni, za vechju slavu boxju, i krieposti dushevne naroda illyricskoga ucsinjeno po GJURI ARNOLDU, u slobodno-kraljevskoj varoshi M. Theresiopolitanskoj poglavite cerkve S.Theresie kora upravitelj. U Osiku. Slovim Martina Aloysie Divalda Privilegira-noga knjigotisca. 1819.

# Pridgovor.

#### Dobri, i poboxni Narode!

Vishe negoli dvadeset godina ima, kako jednako sluxim Narodu Illyricskomu u Slobodno-Kraljevoj Varoshi MARIA THERESIOPOLITANSKOJ; medju to jesam opazio, i ocsito vidio, da illiti bash nejma Pisama Cerveni za svaki, Nediljni, svecsani, illiti drugi dan godishtni podobni, illiti akoji i ima, a ono illiti takve Pisme nisu zakonito izvidjene, illiti pak po razlicsitim Knjigam tako jesu razmetnute, daji ni svaki Pivacs Cerkveni, akamoli ostali Puk jest moguch u jedno skupiti, sabrati, i imati: i ovo uzrok jeste, shto Narod Illyricski na mlogo missa u Pismam Cerkvenim jeste nemarljiv. Ovoj ovolikoj potriebi hotivshi zadosta ucsiniti, i ovo poglavito pomanjkanje Naroda Illyricskoga u sluxbi Cerkvenoj sa svim popraviti, s-pomochom Boxjom jesam naumio, Pisme Cerkvene po Vladi Zakonitoj izvidjene za svaku nedilju, svetca, illiti kakvi God, i za svaki dan priko godine podobne u jedno s-kupiti, sloxiti, i na svitlost izdati; shtosam naumio, tosam na slavu Boxju, a korist svog Naroda Illyricskoga i ucsinio.

Knjigu ovo, radi Koristi dushevne Naroda Illyricskoga sloxenu svemukolikomu Narodu prikazujem, a osobiti PLEMENITOMU MAGISTRATU, OBRANOJ OBCHINI, i ostalomu PUKU Slobodno-Kraljeve Varoshi MARIA THERESIOPOLITANSKE za ukazati Njima Zafalnost Sveserdnu radi Oniju primlogi Dobrocsinstva, kojasam odvech mlogo puta priko vrimena sluxbe moje od Njiho Ranitelja, i Branitelja moji osobito desad primio, i sad obilato primam; iz medju pak dobrocsinstva oniju, kojasam dosad primio od PLE-MENITOGA MAGISTRATA, I OBRANE OBCHINE slobodno Kraljeve Varoshi MARIA THERESIOPOLITANSKE jeste, ovo nezaboravljivo dobrocsinstvo, kojaje i prama svog Naroda Illyricskoga ucsinio, kadje mene i Vichom, i Pomochom vruchnoxeljno probudjivao, da Knjigu ovu radi koristi sveg kolikog Naroda Illyricskog na svitlost izdadem. - Radishta, kako ja, tako i vasholik Narod Illyricski duxni jesmo slatku uspomenu vazda u Serdcu imati PLEMENITOG MAGISTRATA, I OBRANE OBCHINE slobodno Kraljeve Varoshi MARIA THERESIOPOLITANSKE; shto Knjiga ova na svitlost izidje odkut u Ime sveg Naroda Illyricskoga TEBI PLEMENITI MAGISTRATU, I OBRANA OBCHINO slobodno Kraljeve Varoshi MARIA THERESIOPOLITANSKE xertvu zafalnosti vikovicsnje, shto bolje mogu prikazujem, svaka dobra i ovog, i onog svita od Boga sveserdno xelim, i u Millost TVOJU mene sa svim priporucsujem, i do Smerti ostajem

PLEMENITOG MAGISTRATA I OBRANE OBCHINE priponizni Sluga

Gjura Arnold m.p.

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- 135 Pisma Od prisvetoga Troistva.
- 135 Pisma 2. Od Prisvetoga Troistva.
- 136 Pisma Pod Missom na Brashancsevo.137 Pisme na Brashancsevo (U Processii se
- piva Pisma: Svi Jezici etc.
- 141 Pisma Od S. Krunice.
- 141 Pisma Od S. Angjela Csuvara.
- 142 Pisma Pod Missom u Adventu, illiti u Vrime Doshashcha Gospodnja.
- 144 Pisma 2.
- 145 Pisma 3.
- 145 Pisma 4.
- 146 Pisma 5.
- 147 Pisma 6.
- 147 Pisma 7.

#### DIO TRECHI.

#### Sicsanj.

- 149 1. dan. Pisma na mlado Litto, illiti Novu Godinu !
- 149 Pisma 2.
- 150 6. dan. Pisma na Tri Kralja.
- 151 20. dan. Pisma od svetog Fabiana, i Sebastana.

- 152 25. dan. Pisma od Priobrachenja S. Pavla.
- 153 27. dan. Pisma od S. Ivana Zlatoustna.

#### Veljacsa.

- 154 2. dan. Od Ocsishchenja Blax. Divice Marie.
- 154 3. dan. Pisma od S. Blasie.
- 155 9. dan. Pisma od S. Apolonie.
- 156 24. dan. Pisma od S. Mathie Apostola.

#### Oxujak.

- 157 19. dan. Pisma od S. Josipa.
- 157 Pisma 2.
- 158 24. dan. Pisma od S. Gabriela
- Arhangjela. 158 25. dan. Pisma od Navishtenja Blax. D. Marie.

#### Travanj.

- 159 23. dan. Pisma od S. Adalberta.
- 160 24. dan. Pisma od S. Gyorgye.
- 160 25. dan. Pisma od S. Marka Evangeliste.

#### Svibanj.

- 161 1. dan. Pisma od S. Phillipa i Jakova Ap.
- 162 3. dan. Pisma na Nashashche S. Krixa.
- 162 4. dan. Pisma od S. Floriana.
- 163 16. dan. Pisma od S. Ivana Nep.
- 164 Pisma 2.

#### Lipanj.

- 165 13. dan. Pisma od S. Antuna Paduanskoga.
- 165 Pisma druga.
- 166 21 dan. Pisma od S. Alojsie!
- 167 24 dan. Pisma od S. Ivana Kerstitelja.
- 167 26 dan. Pisma od S. Ivana i Pavla.
- 168 27 dan. Pisma od S. Ladislava Kralja.
- 169 29 dan. Pisma od SS. Petra i Pavla.

#### Serpanj.

- 169 2. dan. Na Pohodjenje B.D. Marie.
- 170 13. dan. Pisma od S. Margarethe.
- 170 22. dan. Pisma od S. Mandaline.
- 171 25. dan. Pisma od S. Jakova.
- 171 26. dan. Pisma od Svete Ane.
- 172 29. dan. Pisma od S. Marthe.
- 173 31. dan. Pisma od S. Ignacie.

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#### Kollovoz.

- 173 2. dan. Pisma na Dan Porciunkule.
- 173 5. dan. Pisma od B.D. Marie, imenovane od sniga.
- 175 6. dan. Pisma od Priobraxenja Gospodina.
- 175 10. dan. Pisma od Svet. Lovrinca.
- 176 12. dan. Pisma od S. Klare.
- 177 15. dan. Pisma od Uzneshenja B.D.M. illiti na veliku Gospojnu.
- 177 16. dan. Pisma od Svetog Roka (Za K. Vaross M. Theresiopolis.)
- 178 Pisma 2.
- 179 17. dan. Pisma od S. Joakima.
- 179 20. dan. Pisma od Svetog Stipana.
- 180 24. dan. Pisma od S. Bartula Aposhtola.
- 181 25. dan. Pisma od S. Ludovika Kralja.
- 182 29. dan. Pisma od Usikovanja S. Ivana Kerstitelja.

#### Rujan.

- 183 4. dan. Pisma od S. Rosalie.
- 183 8. dan. Pisma od Porodjenja B.D. Marie.184 Pisma Od Imena Marie u Nedilyu posli
- svetog Porodjenja B.D.M.
- 184 14. dan. Pisma od uzvishenja S. Krixa.
- 185 21. dan. Pisma od S. Mate Aposhtola.
- 186 29. dan. Pisma od S. Mihovila
- Arkangjela.
- 186 Pisma 2.

# Listopad.

- 187 4. dan. Pisma od S. Franje Serfinskoga.
- 188 15. dan. Pisma od S. Theresie.
- 188 23. dan. Pisma od S. Ivana Kapistrana.
- 189 28. dan. Pisma od S. Shimuna i Jude.

# Studeni.

- 189 1. dan. Pisma od Svi Sveti.
- 190 Pisma na Blag Dan Sviuh Svetih.
- 191 5. dan. Pisma od S. Emerika.
- 191 11. dan. Pisma od S. Martina.
- 192 19. dan. Pisma od S. Elisabete.
- 193 25. dan. Pisma od S. Katarine.
- 193 30. dan. Pisma od S. Andrie Apostola.

#### Prosinac.

- 194 3. dan. Pisma od S. Franje Xaverie.
- 195 4. dan. Pisma od Svete Barbare Divice.
- 195 6. dan. Pisma od S. Nikole.
- 196 8. dan. Pisma od Zacsecha B.D. Marie.
- 197 21. dan. Pisma od Tome Aposhtola.
- 198 25. dan. Pisma od Porogjenje Issussa Issukersta.
- 198 Pisma 2.
- 199 Pisma 3.
- 199 Pisma 4.
- 200 26. dan. Pisma od S. Stipana Mucsenika.
- 201 27. dan. Pisma od S. Ivana Evangeliste.
- 201 28. dan. Pisma od Sveti Mladinaca.
- 203 31. dan. Pisma Zafalna.