# A Survival Liturgy – Continuity and Changes in the Processional Practice of Zagreb Cathedral from the 14th to the 18th Century\*

# Orsolya CSOMÓ

Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Budapest

Abstract: The reform of the Council of Trent made great influence on the liturgical development of all Europe. That was also the fact in Hungary: in 1630 the local synod of Nagyszombat accepted the introduction of the Tridentine rite into the Hungarian Church. Nevertheless some of dioceses – existed more independently – protested against this decision and insisted on the continuation of their own medieval traditions. Among these dioceses Zagreb was the greatest "Protestant". The cathedral itself guarded his medieval tradition till 1788. Through this largely documented processional practise of Zagreb Cathedral (ten manuscripts and one printed processional from the 14th up to the 18th centuries) one can follow the particularities of a liturgy preserved isolated: the basically remained liturgical chants were influenced by some new practise, mainly simplifications but additions as well.

**Keywords:** processional practice, Zagreb, liturgy, transmission of Gregorian chant

The processional practice of Zagreb Cathedral is very well documented. I studied a group of processional sources from the 17th–18th centuries, seven manuscripts and one printed processional. I compared them with medieval sources containing processions: two missals and one intonarium. This group of sources is significant not only from one point of view. On the one hand in the medieval Hungarian Church Zagreb is the only diocese where the cathedral processional practice is richly documented. On the other hand Zagreb Cathedral has a unique continuity of medieval liturgy and liturgical musical tradition right up to 1788.

In my study first I would like make a short introduction to the history of the liturgy of Zagreb Cathedral, then I will give a detailed analysis of the continuities and changes in the processional practice from the 14th to the 18th century.

<sup>\*</sup> This study is a summary of my doctorate dissertation, *A zágrábi székesegyház 17–18. századi processzionáléi* [The Processionals of Zagreb Cathedral in the 17th–18th centuries]. Liszt Ferenc University of Music, 2001.

### The Sources

As all the processionals, these sources are also very small (the average size is  $150\times200$  mm), they were carried during the processions. Their notations is a mixture of Messine-gothic and Hungarian, but some of them contain neumes quite broken up.

These processionals are mentioned already in earlier catalogues: the manuscripts of the Metropolitan Library marked in the catalogues of Fejérpataky, of Csontosi, of Markov. In addition you can find the MR 108 and the lost XII.

1. 15. on the list of Kniewald. The MR 108 exists in the catalogue of Szendrei, and the MR 191 is mentioned by Szigeti as well in his personal notices to Bárdos. All of these processionals are mentioned and described shortly in the work of Ljivljanić.

VII-104 – processional manuscript from 1697, in the Archive of the Croatian Academy of Sciences.<sup>8</sup>

MR 108- processional manuscript from 1698; Zagreb, Metropolitan Library. $^9$ 

II.a.25 – processional manusript from 1734; Zagreb, Archive of the Croatian Academy of Sciences. 10

MR 191 – processional manuscript from 1742; Zagreb, Metropolitan Library. There is an addenda, a "Brevis notitia ceremoniarum", which is later than the processional, but which is also before 1788. This ceremonial contains very detailed descriptions of the liturgy of all the liturgical year.<sup>11</sup>

II.a.31 – processional manuscript from 1750; Zagreb, Archive of the Croatian Academy of Sciences. <sup>12</sup>

- <sup>1</sup> László Fejérpataky: "A zágrábi káptalani könyvtár XV. századi könyvlajstroma" [The Inventory of the Metropolitan Library in Zagreb in the 15th Century], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 5 (1880), 363–368.
- <sup>2</sup> János Csontosi: "A zágrábi érseki és egyetemi könyvtárak kéziratai" [The Manuscripts of the Metropolitan Library], *Magyar Könyvszemle* 10 (1885), 92–127.
  - <sup>3</sup> Antun Markov: *Metropolitanska knji nica*. Zagreb 1944.
- <sup>4</sup> Dragutin Kniewald: *Illuminacija i notacija zagrebačkih liturgijskih kodeksa* (manuscript). Zagreb 1944
- <sup>5</sup> Janka Szendrei: "A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai" [Notated Sources of the Middle Ages in Hungary]. *Műhelytanulmányok a Magyar Zenetörténethez* 1. Budapest 1981.
- <sup>6</sup> Kornél Bárdos's notices of Zagreb, unpublished, Institute for Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, nr. 1205.
- <sup>7</sup> Katarina Ljivljanić: *Nepoznati rukopisni procesional u kontekstu procesionalnih obrednih prirucnika zagrebacke stolnice s kraja 17. i prve polovice 18. stoljeca*, Zagreb 1989, D-1297.
  - 8 Ljivljanić, op. cit., 32–33.
  - <sup>9</sup> Kniewald, op. cit., 84–85; Szendrei, op. cit., 65 and Ljivljanić, op. cit., 33–35.
  - <sup>10</sup> Ljivljanić op. cit., 36.
  - <sup>11</sup> Markov op. cit., 531; Ljivljanić op. cit., 37–38; Kniewald op. cit., 85.
  - <sup>12</sup> Ljivljanić op. cit., 38–39; Kniewald op. cit., 85.

Rukopisa 158 – processional manuscript from the 18th century; fragment without date: Zagreb, State Archive. 13

01-75-75 – printed processional from 1751; Zagreb, Library of the Theological Faculty. 14

To complete the view I have to mention a lost processional as well: XII. 1. 15. – processional manuscript from 1730; it had been lost, and it was in the Library of the Theological Faculty. (Kniewald mentioned it yet in his catalogue in 1944. 15)

I compared these 17th–18th century processionals with the following medieval sources:

MR 133 missal from Zagreb from the beginning of the 14th century, Zagreb, Metropolitan Library. 16

MR 10 Intonarium from the end of the 15th century, Zagreb, Metropolitan Library. 17

M 28596 printed missal from Zagreb from 1511, Zagreb, Metropolitan Library. 18

Printed Breviary from Zagreb from 1484, National Széchényi Library. 19

# The Liturgy of Zagreb Cathedral

The bishopric of Zagreb<sup>20</sup> which was founded by King St. Ladislaus<sup>21</sup> in 1094 has always had a special situation among the Hungarian bishoprics. First it belonged to the archbishopric of Esztergom, but a century later it was put under the authority of the archbishopric of Kalocsa. <sup>22</sup> Carolus Kniewald in his book

- <sup>13</sup> Ljivljanić op. cit., 42–45.
- <sup>14</sup> Ljivljanić op. cit., 39–41.
- 15 Kniewald op. cit., 85.
- <sup>16</sup> Szendrei op. cit., M 9.
- <sup>17</sup> Szendrei op. cit., C 57.
- 18 Nándor Knauz: "A magyar egyház régi szokásai. VII. Régi misekönyvek" [The Old Customs of the Hungarian Church. VII. Old Missals], Magyar Sion 7 (1869) no. 191, 1–15.
- 19 Géza Sajó Erzsébet Soltész eds.: Catalogus Incunabulorum quae in Bibliothecis publicis Hungariae asservantur. Budapest 1970, no. 828.
- <sup>20</sup> Joannes Baptista Tkalčić: Monumenta Historica liberae Regiae Civitatis Zagrabiae. I-XXI. Zagreb 1889–1975. I. no. 1; Ivan Kampuš - Igor Karaman: Zagreb Through a Thousand Years. Zagreb 1995. The date of the foundation is not clear. It is most likely the renewal of the bishopric of Sisak from the Roman Time. Franjo Šanjek: Zagrebačka (Nad)biskupija [Sveti Trag – Devetsto godina umjetnosti zagrebačke nadbiskupije 1094-1994 [The Sacred Token, nine Centuries of Art from the Archdiocese of Zagreb 1094-1994], Zagreb 1994, 27, 621-622. In the Early Hungarian Historical Dictionary 1090-95 are mentioned as presumable dates. Korai Magyar Történeti Lexikon 1994, 739. See also György Győrffy: "A lovagszent uralkodása (1077–1095)" [The Kingdom of the Saint Knight, 1077–95], Történelmi Szemle 3-4 (1977) 533–564; Danko Zelić: Proster Zagrebačke biskupije u vremen prije njezina osnutka [The territory of the Zagreb Bishopric Prior to its establishment] Sveti Trag, 97–100, 624–625.
  - <sup>21</sup> See Győrffy, op. cit., 533–564.
  - <sup>22</sup> Kampuš Karaman, op. cit., 21.

divides the history of the liturgy of Zagreb Cathedral into 4 periods. <sup>23</sup> The first represents the shaping from the foundation to the end of the 13th century, the second period is the development of the liturgy renewed by bishop Gazotti, who gave its special characteristic within the Hungarian Church from the beginning of the 14th century to the middle of the 15th; the third period is the culmination from the second half of the 15th century to the first quarter of the 16th; and the longest period is the fourth, from 1526 (the year of the Turkish occupation in Hungary) to 1788. Kniewald says that this is the period of stagnancy and decline. As the main theme of this study is the transmission of chants into the "modern times" I would go into more detail about this last period.

The reforms of the Council of Trent (1545–63) had a great influence on the liturgical development in all Europe including Hungary. In 1630 the local Synod of Nagyszombat accepted the introduction of the Tridentine rite into the Hungarian Church. (This came also as a response to the historical situation, because the main part of Hungary was under Turkish occupation and there was no financial support to get copies of the Hungarian rite.) Nevertheless, some dioceses which existed more independently, protested against the usage of the Roman rite, and insisted on the continuation of their own medieval traditions. Therefore the bishops of Zagreb fought against the archbishops of Esztergom. Finally, they made an agreement (in 1689) that the Zagreb bishopric had to adopt the Roman rite, the cathedral itself however could use its own medieval tradition until 1788.

So far it would follow from these facts that the liturgy and the chants in the cathedral remained unchanged till the end of the 18th century. But an isolated liturgy works differently from one, which is part of a living tradition. On the one hand the basic structure of the liturgy was preserved unchanged, on the other hand it was also influenced by some new practices and it gained a simplified shape. This study would like to show these changes in detail through the processional practice. We are aware that the processions are at the margin of the liturgy, but the group of sources, which I studied, will shade a clear light on the changes that happened in the whole structure of the liturgy. (Some sources contain only rubrics, but from the point of view of these changes they are equivalent with the notated sources. In the tables I indicated where there are only rubrics.)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Dragutin Kniewald: *Proprium de tempore zagrebačke stolne crkve 1094–1788*. Zagreb 1941, 1–8, 96.
<sup>24</sup> Nándor Knauz: "A magyar egyház régi szokásai. I. A római rítus behozatala" [The Old Customs of the Hungarian Church. I. The Introduction of the Roman Rite], *Magyar Sion* 3, 1865, 401–413. Carolus Kniewald: "Officium et missa de Conceptione et Nativitate B. M. V. secundum consuetudinem veterem Zagrabiensem", *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 73, 1959, 6–10; Dragutin Kniewald: *Proprium de tempore zagrebačke stolne crkve 1094–1788*. Zagreb 1941, 96–98; János Dankó: "Magyar szertartási régiségek", *Új Magyar Sion* II, 1871, 81–107; Dragutin Kniewald: "Zagrebački liturgijski kodeksi XI–XIV. stoljeća", *Croatia Sacra* 19, 1940, Zagreb, 1–128. See also Bárdos's notices of Zagreb, nos 1200–1202, 1217–1223.

By examining the changes we can distinguish between five groups.

1. Feasts remained unchangable till 1788. In these group you can find the Easter processions, the Officium Tenebrarum, and the Litany Major. These materials are identical in all the sources from the Middle Ages to the end of the examined period (*Table 1*).

MR 108 VII-104 MR 191 MR 133 Printed 10 .a.25 Title RKP 1 511 Æ 24  $30^{v}$ 24<sup>v</sup> 93 49 84 21 26<sup>\(\)</sup> 46 62 Inventor rutili (rubric) 91<sup>v</sup> 49  $24^{v}$ 21 27 47 Rex sanctorum 96 32 25 65 (rubric) angelorum 50 22<sup>v</sup> 26<sup>v</sup> Surrexit Dominus 26 29 51 34 69 26<sup>v</sup> 23 29<sup>v</sup> 51 34 27 69 Pax vobis 50 (rubric)  $26^{v}$ 23 129  $34^{V}$ 27 70 51 Christus surrexit (rubric) (rubric) (ag)(da) (rubric) (rubric) (da)  $26^{\overline{v}}$ 29<sup>v</sup> 34<sup>v</sup> 27 71 23 Cum Rex gloriae 51 52 (Dum) Christus (Dum) (Dum)  $30^{\overline{v}}$ 52 27<sup>\</sup> 24 54  $35^{v}$ 28 73 Regina coeli Salve festa dies 52<sup>v</sup> 28 24 31 55 36 28 73 Sedit angelus 52<sup>v</sup> 30 26  $33^{v}$ 59  $38^{v}$  $30^{\text{v}}$ 78 54<sup>v</sup> 27 40 31<sup>v</sup> Respondens 31 35 62 autem angelus + Laudate pueri ps. 112. 54<sup>v</sup>  $31^{v}$ 27<sup>v</sup> 35 62  $40^{\text{v}}$ 32 Cito euntes + In exitu ps. 113. 54<sup>v</sup>  $32^{v}$ 28<sup>v</sup> 41 33 Christus 36 63 resurgens

Table 1: Processions of Easter

2. Chants which disappeared from the sources after the medieval period. There is not any processional source from the 1511–1697 period, so we cannot give the exact date when the chants disappeared during that time. This was the time when they stopped using the great processional antiphons of Palm Sunday (Collegerunt pontifices, Ante sex dies, Cum audisset populis, Fulgentibus palmis, Occurrunt trubae), the ceremony of Mandatum on Maundy Thursday, the antiphon Dum fabricator, and the versed litanies of the Rogation days. (One can follow separately the great processional antiphons of Palm Sunday in the medieval sources on the *Table 2*.) The reason for these missing processional antiphons might be, according to one of the presumptions, that the ceremony of blessing of the branches is missing too. Manuscripts that would help us to clarify this question have not been found yet.

Table 2: Processions of Palm Sunday

Title	MR 133	1511	MR 10	VII-104	MR 108	II.a.25.	MR 191	II.a.31.	Rkp 158	Printed
Conclusit vias	73 <sup>v</sup> (rubric)	54 <sup>v</sup>	31 (rubric)	12	10 <sup>v</sup>	13	22	12 <sup>v</sup>		27
Circumdede-runt me	73 <sup>v</sup> (rubric)	55	31	13	11 <sup>v</sup>	14	24	13 <sup>v</sup>		29
Collegerunt pontifices	74	56								
Ante sex dies	74 <sup>v</sup>	56 <sup>v</sup>								
Cum audisset	74 <sup>v</sup>	57 <sup>v</sup>								
Fulgentibus palmis – Occurrunt turbe	75 (incipit notated)	58 <sup>v</sup>								
Spes nostra										30
Cum app-ropinquaret	75 <sup>v</sup>	59	31	13 <sup>v</sup>	11 <sup>v</sup>	14 <sup>v</sup>	25	14		31
Gloria laus	75 <sup>v</sup>	59 <sup>v</sup>	31	14 <sup>v</sup>	12 <sup>v</sup>	15 <sup>v</sup>	27	15 <sup>v</sup>		33
Ingrediente Domino		60 <sup>v</sup>	31	15 <sup>v</sup>	13 <sup>v</sup>	16 <sup>v</sup>	29	16 <sup>v</sup>	16	36
Pueri Hebreorum (tollentes)	75 <sup>v</sup>	60 <sup>v</sup>		16	14	17 <sup>v</sup>	30	17 <sup>v</sup>	16 <sup>v</sup>	37
Pueri Hebreorum (vestimenta)	75 <sup>v</sup>	61		16	14	17 <sup>v</sup>	30	17 <sup>v</sup>	16 <sup>v</sup>	37
Scriptum est	75 <sup>v</sup> (incipit notated)	61	31 <sup>v</sup> (incipit)	16	14	18	31	18	16 <sup>v</sup>	38
Crux fidelis	76 (incipit)	61		16 <sup>v</sup>	14 <sup>v</sup>	18	32	18		38
Turba multa Benedictus	76 (incipit)	61 <sup>v</sup>		17 <sup>v</sup>	15 <sup>v</sup>	19	33	19		40

3. Chants which existed up to 1697, and one cannot find any trace of after 1698. There was a radical simplification in the liturgy in 1697–1698 for which I could not find a reason yet. But it is a fact that the greatest difference is between the first two processionals (VII-104, MR 108). This difference is very important, because the form of the MR 108 is passed on to the later processionals. The chants omitted that year are the following: the antiphon *Ave spes nostra*, the beginning of the feast of Purification (*Postquam impleti sunt, Ave gratia plena, Adorna thalamum, Responsum accepit, Lumen ad revelationem*), and the whole feast of Saint Nicholas, Saint Dorothea, Saint Gregorius, decem millia militum, Commemoration of Saint Paul, Saint Anne and Saint Augusti-

nus from the sanctoral. <sup>25</sup> In the *Table 3* one can find the chants of Purification. where the change affected even the "choreography" of the procession: that is the outside procession to the Holy Mary church became an inside procession to the Saint Michael altar.

Title	MR 133	1511	VII-104	MR 108	II.a.25.	MR 191	П.а.31.	Rkp 158	Printed
Postquam impleti sunt	140 <sup>v</sup> (incipit)	150°	II/10						
Ave gratia plena	140 <sup>v</sup>	151	II/10 <sup>v</sup>						
Adorna thalamum	141	151 <sup>v</sup>	II/11						
Responsum accepit Simeon	141	152	II/11 <sup>v</sup>						
Lumen ad revelationem	141 <sup>v</sup> (incipit)	152 <sup>v</sup>	II/11 <sup>v</sup>						
Gaude Maria	141 <sup>v</sup> (incipit)	153	II/12 (Laude)	II/9	78	143	84	74	149
Simeon justus et timoratus			II/13	II/10	78/2*	145	85	75	151
Quod chorus vatum	141 <sup>v</sup> (incipit)	153 (incipit)	213	II/11 <sup>v</sup>	78/2 <sup>v</sup>	146		75 <sup>v</sup>	152
Dum inducerent puerum Jesum + ps. Benedictus	141 <sup>v</sup> (Cum) (incipit)	153 (Cum)	II/14	II/11 <sup>v</sup>	79 <sup>v</sup> (Cum)	148		76 <sup>v</sup>	154
* Mistake in the foliation: the number 78 is used twice									

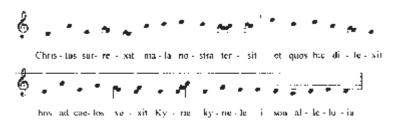
Table 3: Processions of Purification

4. Chants which presumably existed in the Middle Ages but can only be found in the sources of the modern time. Their absence from the medieval sources can be explained by the difference of genres. According to the list of the sources it is evident, that medieval processionals did not survive until the present day. The processional chants – in the Hungarian practise – were written in graduals, missals or in books of other genres. In consequence only the chants of the greatest feasts were chosen to be written in these books, and some chants of other occasions – presumably of medieval origin – do not appear in the medieval sources. That is why one cannot find in the medieval sources the procession of the vigil of Epiphany, of Ash Wednesday, the hymn O redemptor of Maundy Thursday, the second day of Easter, the whole liturgy of the Rogation days, Ascension, Pentecost, Trinity Sunday, Feast of Corpus Christi, Dedication and the Invention of the Holy Cross.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> The sanctoral shows a general European characteristic, the additions are only the three Hungarian saint kings, the patrons of the cathedral: Stephen, Emeric, Ladislaus.

5. Chants which appeared in the liturgy in the modern time. The vernaculars in the sources of the modern time are originally medieval, but their emphatic use in the liturgy is new in comparison with the medieval practice. The only change in the Easter processions in the 17th–18th centuries is that the *Christus surrexit* cantio appeared at the end of the vigil ceremony. Example 1 shows both the facsimile and the transcripted version. This particular vernacular can be found in all processionals. Three other vernaculars are mentioned in only two sources (printed processional, addenda of the MR 191): Dies est laetititiae, Redemptor orbis, Narodilszeie kralje nebeszki. All of them belong to the recordation of Epiphany, which is a paraliturgical movement where, although the appearance of the vernaculars are not unusual, their appearance in the liturgical books is a new phenomenon. It is worthy to mention that Narodilszeie kralje nebeszki is the only vernacular in Croatian language in this group of sources.

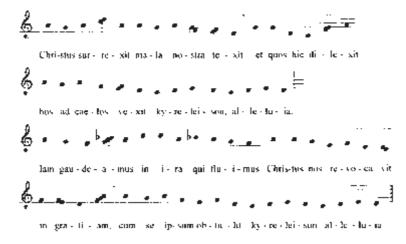
Finally one more change which cannot be rendered into any of these classes concerns the melodies. Considering the chants that have been the constant part of the liturgy from the 14th to the 18th century there have been simplifications and other alterations in the melody. In the handout you can see a typical example for this in the case of the Advent processional antiphon *Ecce carissimi*. You can compare the different transcriptions of 4 sources line by line in *Example 5* on the handout. (MR 10 representing the medieval tradition, VII-104, MR 108, processional manuscripts and the printed processional.) As you can see in the handout the most significant change is in the printed processional.



Example 1a: MR 191, pp. 51–52

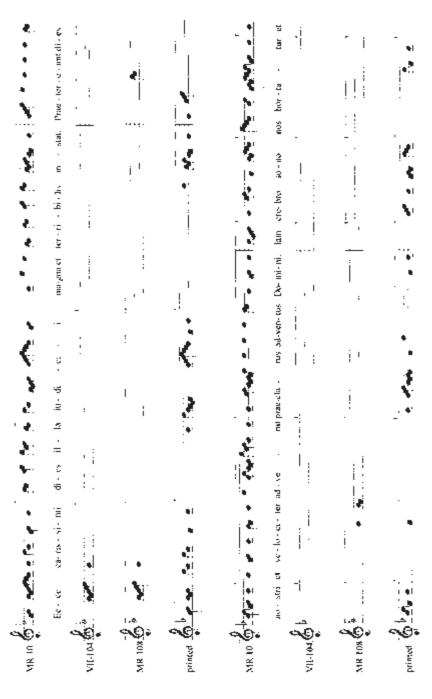
To summarise there is an interesting consistency of the processional practise of Zagreb Cathedral all through the years from the beginning of the 14th century to 1788, on the other hand when we observe sources we discover some changes. These are the following: on the one hand chants were omitted in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Both two versions of melodies of this latin vernacular appear in these sources. I indicated the two variants in the table of the first example.

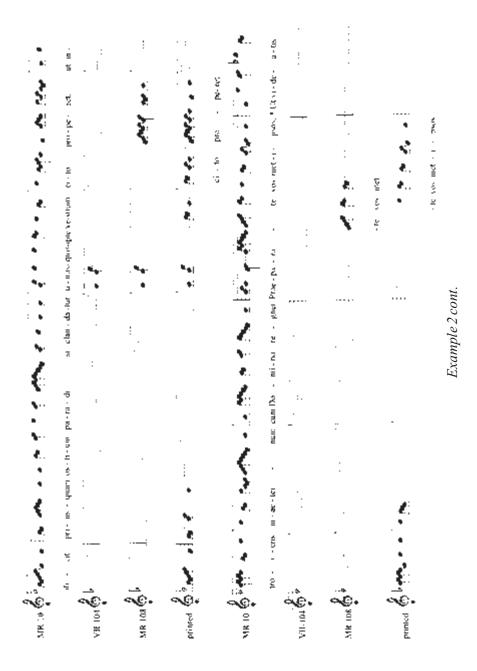


Example 1b: II.a.25. f. 129

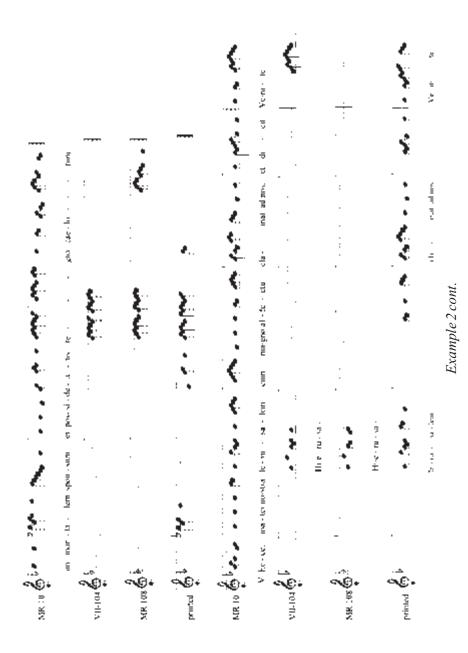
long interval between the last medieval source and the first processional (1511–1697), and between the birth of the first two processionals (1697–98); on the other hand new chants turned up in the 17th–18th centuries. A part of these must have been in use in the Middle Ages, others bear the signs of modern times.



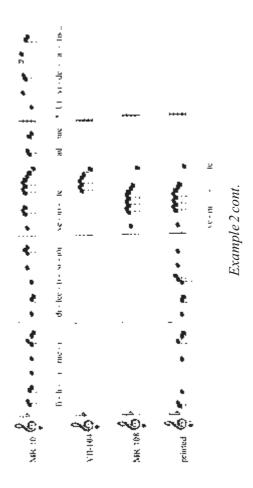
Example 2: The processional antiphon Ecce carissimi



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## Selected bibliography of the two versions of this vernacular

First version – *Christ ist erstanden*: Géza Papp: *AXVII. század énekelt dallamai* [The sung melodies of the 17th Century] [RMDT II.] Budapest 1970. (Géza Papp: 152, 262; Benedek Kisdi ed.: *Cantus Catholici* [MIR 35] Budapest 1935, 97, 101; Béla Holl – Béla Stoll ed.: *Katolikus egyházi énekek (1660-as, 1670-es évek)* [Catholic chants in the Sixtees and Seventees of the 17th Century] [RMKT XV] Budapest 1992, 248; Benjamin Rajeczky: "Többszólamú zenénk emlékei a 15. század első feléből" [Traces of Poliphony in Hungary in the first half of the 15th Century], *Rajeczky Benjamin írásai* Budapest 1976, 152–153, 168–171; Walther Lipphardt: "Christ ist erstanden", *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 5 (1960) 96–114; Camillo Schoenbaum: "Die Wiesen des Gesangbuchs der Böhmischen Brüder von 1531", *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 3 (1958) 44-62.

Second version – ... mala nostra texit: Kálmán Csomasz Tóth: A XVI. század magyar dallamai [The Hungarian Melodies of the 16th Century] [RMDT I] Budapest 1958, 68, 69, 70; Benedek Kisdi ed.: Cantus Catholici [MIR 35] Budapest 1935, 95; Béla Holl – Béla Stoll ed.: Katolikus egyházi énekek (1660-as, 1670-es évek) [Catholic Chants in the Sixtees and Seventees of the 17th Century] [RMKT XV] Budapest 1992, 249; Janka Szendrei – László Dobszay – Benjamin Rajeczky: XVI–XVII. századi dallamaink a népi emlékezetben [16th–17th Century Melodies in the Folklore Memory] Budapest 1979, I. 48, II. 21.

Both versions: Iván Horváth – Gabriella H. Hubert: *Répertoire de la poésie hongroise ancienne*, [Ad Corpus Poeticarum] Paris 1992, 349–356; László Dobszay: *A magyar népének I*. [The Hungarian Vernacular] Veszprém 1995, 53–54 and 56–57; Ilona Ferenczi: *Krisztus feltámada. Magyarországi egy- és többszólamú adatok a 16–17. századból*, [Christus surrexit. One and More Part Versions from the 16th–17th Century Hungary] *Zenetudományi dolgozatok* 2 (1979) 85–98.