

OBJECTIVES OF MONUMENTA RITUALIA HUNGARICA

There are thousands of liturgical, musical and/or textual sources for the liturgy of the Latin church in the period between its early medieval glory and the Tridentine reforms. Beginning in the 19th century, a systematic and scientific study of these sources appeared in *Paléographie musicale*¹ prepared by the Benedictines of Solesmes (1889–), in collections such as Hesbert's *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii* (CAO)² and in critical editions (of especially lyrical texts), such as the *Analecta Hymnica* of G. M. Dreyes and C. Blume. The success of these reference books, still in use today, can be ascribed to the fact that they were definitive and to the fact that the scholars involved, making use of all the technical advantages of their age, turned to the sources that were the best, most characteristic and earliest available to them.

In the second half of the 20th century, there was a growing scholarly consensus that a comprehensive analysis of this musical (Gregorian plainchant) and textual material should be engaged in forthwith; that the peripheral territories (such as East-Central Europe) and the post-millennial era (partly in correlation with these latter regions) must be included; or the later sources are not a corruption of an ancient pure state but embody its enrichment and differentiation. In terms of its aesthetic value, even non-primary material proves to be an authentic source of cultural history which may not and cannot be neglected.

With the professionalisation and institutionalisation of Gregorian studies, scholars turned to the study of the entire liturgical source material, to its publication in traditional (print) and modern forms (electronic databases) as a means to assisting first-hand treatment of material that is both extensive and sporadic. This work is primarily coordinated by the *Cantus Planus Study Group* of the *International Musicological Society* (IMS) which has, since 1984, been holding most of its meetings in Hungary.³

Editing liturgical sources

The liturgical books produced in the first millennium have been subjected to scholarly study since the 16th century; in the 20th century almost each of the more impor-

¹ Its first volume was published in 1889 by the Abbaye Saint-Pierre de Solesmes. The twentieth and last volume was published in 1983 by Editions Peter Lang, Berlin—Frankfurt. Then the second series began, as the re-edition of the old volumes, for example: *Cantatorium IX^e siècle* (see Bibliography).

² For this and for other items not detailed here see the Bibliography.

³ See: <http://www.cantusplanus.org>.

tant examples has been published in a textual edition of enduring value. However, the same could hardly be said of later sources and, even when they were published, their publication was a result of local interests and not of a systematic research effort. There is neither the need nor sufficient space here to list the hundreds of editions of sources of liturgical music (generally facsimile or thematic editions, such as the *Monumenta Monodica* volumes or the outstanding *Historiae*⁴ series which publishes the music and text of medieval liturgical offices for saints).

Musicological research (in particular the publication of musical sources) is being increasingly complemented by the publication of textual source material. The Swedish *Corpus Troporum*⁵ has been one of the most significant: by extending itself practically to the entire corpus of the available material, it is treating a genre that heretofore had been considered secondary.

In comparison with these efforts, there has only been a sporadic attempt at a comprehensive analysis of individual manuscripts or incunabula; this is partly because there is an extensive amount of material that features in several codices; this has led scholars to focus mainly on the differences and the analysis of the “more interesting” lyric or dramatic genres. Because of their completeness, textual editions of several Hispanic,⁶ English⁷ or Swedish⁸ liturgical monuments have become especially important.

What has been said above applies to the texts of the two principal forms of the Latin liturgy, to the Eucharistic worship (Mass) and the Psalmodic Hours (Divine Office) and thus to the books containing them (in late medieval terms: to the material of the *Missale* and the *Breviarium*). Yet, in comparison to the importance of these sources in terms of the book history of an entire millennium, the number of textually complete liturgical books deriving from different periods, geographic locations and traditions is insignificant.

⁴ Inaugurated in 1993 by the *Cantus Planus Study Group* of the *IMS* and with 13 volumes to dates.

⁵ *Studia Latina Stockholmiensia* (Stockholm 1975–1998, 9 vols. and five collected studies; editions in preparation). Carried on mainly by Ritva Jacobsson, Gunilla Björkvall and Gunilla Iversen.

⁶ The publication of the books of the Mozarabic rite was and is motivated by the effort to preserve the national cultural heritage. See, e.g., the old edition of the *Missale Mixtum* and the *Breviarium Gothicum* (PL 85–86), and later, in the 20th century the *Monumenta Hispaniae Sacra* or the volumes of the *Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores*. There are also some exemplary documents of the steadily developing research of liturgical history in Catalan-speaking territories, such as the textual editions of the *Biblioteca Litúrgica Catalana* series, e.g. the Missal of the bishopric of Vic: *Missalia secundum morem et consuetudinem Vicensis diocesis*; SEGUÍ I TROBAT: *El Missal mallorquí de 1506*, and the 14th century Catalan translation of the Mass: FERRANDO FRANCÉS — SERRA ESTELLÉS: *La traducció valenciana de la missa*.

⁷ The excellent editions of the Use of Sarum (from Walter Howard Frere, among others). For example, SANDON: *The Use of Salisbury*. The first volume of a proposed comprehensive facsimile edition: *Processionale ad usum Sarum*.

⁸ E.g. PETERS — NILSSON — WALLIN: *Breviarium Lincopense*.

The situation is somewhat different in the case of the normative texts regulating the liturgical practice and general life of the medieval Church (*ordines*, Ordinaries, Consuetudinaries, and Customaries). After Michel Andrieu, making use of the then current scholarly methodology, published between 1931 and 1961 a series containing the *ordines* dating from the first millennium (*Ordines Romani*),⁹ the publication of such sources of this genre became more frequent all over Europe. This work had been preceded at the turn of the 20th century in France by the *Bibliothèque Liturgique*¹⁰ series (special mention must be made here of Ulysse Chevalier), in England by the Henry Bradshaw Society.¹¹ (Still active today, it first aimed at making the sources of the British Isles available, but more recently has published French and even some Polish manuscripts.) Since then the *Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense*¹² series (in which the *Ordines Romani* were also published) and the outstandingly thorough *Spicilegium Friburgense*¹³ have been publishing a great many of the same genre's sources. In addition to these, during the second half of the 20th century at least fifty Ordinals have been published in France, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany, Sweden, and Great Britain. The *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum*¹⁴ series has been illustrating the life and liturgy of the monastic traditions since 1963. In the last few years this material has been significantly added to, and—although some of the aforementioned series contain also proper liturgical genres—the publication of Ordinals far exceeds that of liturgical books proper.

The *Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis* (CCCM) series found especially some Consuetudinaries¹⁵ pertaining to chapters of regular canons worthy of new editions, and has also published works of liturgical exegesis¹⁶ which are inseparable from normative liturgical texts. In both areas the *Patrologia Latina* (PL) series¹⁷ contributes significantly. Important normative texts and liturgical books proper have been published in the *Studi e Testi* (ST) series as well.¹⁸

⁹ ANDRIEU: *Les Ordines Romani*.

¹⁰ Between 1893 and 1923, a total of 22 volumes were published.

¹¹ From 1891; today 117 vols. See, <http://www.henrybradshawsociety.org/booklist.html>

¹² Peeters Publishers, Louvain/Leuven, see http://www.peeters-leuven.be/search_serie_book.asp?nr=50, to date 51 volumes.

¹³ Universitätsverlag, Freiburg Schweiz. Since 1957; the last volume is the 44th.

¹⁴ Franz Schmitt Respublica Verlag, Siegburg. The last volume (XIV/2.) was published in 1999.

¹⁵ JOCQUÉ — MILIS: *Liber Ordinis sancti Victoris Parisiensis*; MILIS — BECQUET: *Constitutiones canonicorum ... Ordinis Arroasiensis*; WEINFURTER: *Consuetudines canonicorum ... Springirsbacenses-Rodenses*.

¹⁶ DAVRIL — THIBODEAU: *Guillelmi Duranti Rationale divinatorum officiorum*; DOUTEIL: *Iohannis Belet Summa de ecclesiasticis officiis*; GÖTZ: *Liber Quare*; HAACKE: *Ruperti Tuitiensis Liber de divinis officiis*.

¹⁷ E.g. [BERNOLDUS CONSTANTINIENSIS]: *Micrologus de ecclesiasticis observationibus*; INNOCENTIUS III: *Mysteriorum evangelicae legis et sacramenti Eucharistiae libri sex*.

¹⁸ Normative texts: DYKMANS: *L'oeuvre de Patrizi Piccolomini*; GIUSTI: "L'Ordo officiorum della cattedrale di Lucca"; HANSENS: *Amalarii Episcopi Opera* II. *Liber officialis*; idem: *Amalarii Episcopi Opera* III.

The editing of and research into the available normative material, however, is rather uneven geographically. There are very few, or almost no such editions from South Italy, from the Iberian peninsula¹⁹ or from Central Europe.

An even greater problem is that, while there are few textual editions and a rather high level of analysis as regards the liturgical books proper, the opposite is true in the case of normative texts regulating the ceremonies: the analysis of the numerous available modern editions is somewhat scarce.²⁰ The last scholar to prepare thematically organised collections of the European liturgical heritage with an encyclopaedic view was Edmond Martène (1654–1739), the French Benedictine (*De antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus ...*, *De antiquis monachorum ritibus ...*).²¹ Until lately, however, these well-arranged volumes could only be found in the antiquarian collections of major libraries; their approach is outdated, and the source material included is only a fragment of what is available today (however they do report on several lost sources). The more recent works do not even aim at a complete analysis of the texts, although they often include very detailed studies of partial aspects. The amassed literature concerning normative text books, despite its availability, has not been properly researched internationally.

Studying the medieval Hungarian liturgical rite

Hungary, since its establishment as a Christian kingdom (the coronation of St Stephen took place in the year 1000), had independently redacted and highly developed liturgical usages which exerted an important religious and cultural influence until the liturgical reform of Archbishop Péter Pázmány²² (in Zagreb and musically in the Pauline Order it survived even longer).²³ Its material was one of the most important traditions of contemporary Europe and cannot be called peripheral. On account of its fea-

Liber de ordine antiphonarii ... Liturgical books proper ANDRIEU: *Le Pontifical Romain* I–IV; DYKMANS: *Le Pontifical Romain révisé au XV^e siècle*; VOGEL — ELZE: *Le pontifical romano-germanique* I–III.

¹⁹ A pioneering work in this regard is GROS: “La consuetudine antica de la Seu d’Urgell”. There is also the proposal to publish other similar volumes and studies in the near future.

²⁰ As a rare exception, the entirety of liturgical life is described through the very detailed analysis of a single book, for example, in PARÉS I SALTOR: *L’Ordinari d’Urgell de 1536*.

²¹ MARTÈNE: *De antiquis ecclesiae ritibus etc.* In addition, an important auxiliary source: MARTIMORT: *La documentation liturgique de Dom Edmond Martène*.

²² In 1630 and at the national synods of the following period. See KNAUZ: “A magyar egyház régi szokásai P”. Quite recently: FÜZES: “Rítusváltás vagy liturgikus reform? ...” After the Council of Trent “Esztergom, with its almost 500 year-old proper liturgical tradition, could preserve its own books and customs, and only in the following century did Esztergom renounce that proper ritual usage at the behest of Peter Cardinal Pázmány, a convert from Calvinism, so that he can demonstrate his adherence to Rome and the Supreme Pontiff by adopting the rite of the papal Curia.” FÖLDVÁRY: *Rubrica Strigoniensis*. 158–159.

²³ See the following chapter: The Use of Esztergom (Ritus Strigoniensis).

tures, historical influence, and aesthetic values it deserves scholarly enquiry. In spite of this, only Hungarian and Croatian liturgical historians and musicologists have shown sustained interest in it, primarily some Roman Catholic theologians. Those who should be mentioned here are József Dankó²⁴ (1829–1895), canon of the Pozsony cathedral, elected bishop, Nándor Knauz²⁵ (1831–1898), canon of the Esztergom cathedral, elected bishop, historian-archivist, member of the Academy of Sciences, and the choir chaplain of the Eger cathedral and archivist, Kabos Kandra²⁶ (1843–1905). Dragutin (Károly) Kniewald²⁷ (1889–1979), liturgical historian and professor of theology in Zagreb, two professors of the Central Seminary in Budapest, Polikárp Radó OSB (1899–1974)²⁸ and József Török (1946–).²⁹

From a musicological aspect the scholarly circle founded by Benjámín Rajeczky OCist (1901–1989),³⁰ including László Dobszay (1935–),³¹ Janka Szendrei (1938–),³² and their disciples have continued this tradition.

Mainly in the research of the leading codicologist László Mezey (1918–1984)³³ and his disciples do we find any treatment of the liturgy as a literary source; for this reason the medieval Hungarian liturgy, except for some inferior textual editions from the 19th century and some partial studies from the 20th century,³⁴ can mostly be studied

²⁴ DANKÓ: *Vetus Hymnarium*. As an appendix to the collection of Latin liturgical poetry from the Hungarian Middle Ages, Dankó published the *Ordinarius Scepusiensis sive Strigoniensis saeculi decimi quinti*. Unfortunately, the philological standards and scholarly apparatus in this publication are far below the level that could be expected at the time. A new edition of the Ordinary was prepared by Miklós István Földváry in appendix to his doctoral dissertation. Among Dankó's numerous publications regarding liturgical subjects, see DANKÓ: "Magyar egyházi bibliographiai érdekességek".

²⁵ His important work on the early printed liturgical books: *A magyar egyház régi mise- és zsolozsma-könyvei*. On the manuscripts of the Pozsony Cathedral Chapter: *A pozsonyi káptalannak kézíratai*.

²⁶ Based on a copy of the original, he published the Ordinal of medieval Eger in a diplomatic transcription: KANDRA: *Ordinarius ... ecclesie Agriensis*. See also footnote n. 63.

²⁷ In Hungarian publications he used the name: Kniewald Károly. Among his numerous publications of Hungarian liturgical interest, see: "Esztergomi Benedictionale ...", "Hartwick győri püspök Agenda Pontificalis-a", "Officium et missa de Conceptione et Nativitate B. M. V. ...", *A Pray-kódex*.

²⁸ RADÓ: *Libri liturgici manu scripti bibliothecarum Hungariae*. Extended version: *Libri liturgici manuscripti bibliothecarum Hungariae et limitropharum regionum*. His internationally known manual: *Enchiridion liturgicum*.

²⁹ Among many other studies: *A magyar pálosrend liturgiájának forrásai ...*

³⁰ RAJECZKY: *Melodiarium Hungariae Medii Aevi*. I. (The sources are identified by Polikárp Radó.)

³¹ From the extensive scientific bequest the following need to be highlighted: DOBSZAY — SZENDREI: *Antiphonen*; DOBSZAY: *Corpus antiphonarum*. A popular résumé: DOBSZAY: *Az esztergomi rítus*.

³² Her work is focused especially on Gregorian palaeography: SZENDREI: *A magyar középkor hangjegyes forrásai*; eadem: *Középkori hangjegyzések Magyarországon*; eadem: *A "mos patriae"*.

³³ MEZEY: *Deákiség és Európa*; idem: *Irodalom és művelődéstörténeti tanulmányok*.

³⁴ For example, textual fragments of various lengths in the studies of László Mezey, Adrienne Fodor, József Török, in: *Athleta patriae*.

in facsimile editions created to meet musicological and practical purposes.³⁵ Due to the disappearance and destruction on a large scale of Hungarian medieval manuscripts and incunabula,³⁶ the publication of the remaining sources is desirable and soon will become possible.

Up to this point, the publication of Hungarian liturgical sources has been centred at the Institute of Musicology of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (László Dobszay, Janka Szendrei, Ilona Ferenczi, and their disciples), and later the Church Music Department of the Ferenc Liszt Academy of Music. In the last three decades a significant collection of microfilms has been assembled here, the series *Musicalia Danubiana*³⁷ (partly facsimile editions) was prepared, and scholars are constantly adding to the electronic and printed repertory of the *Corpus Antiphonale Officii Europae Centralis* (CAO-ECE),³⁸ as well. The digitisation of the Hungarian sources of liturgical music has also begun.³⁹

With the death of László Mezey twenty-five years ago, the literary study of the Latin liturgical textual material came to an abrupt end, but some of his disciples formed a “workshop” called *Fragmenta codicum*,⁴⁰ first (between 1983 and 2003) under András Vízkelety⁴¹ (1931–), the Germanist and, recently, (2003–) under Edit Madas (1949–).⁴²

³⁵ FALVY — MEZEY: *Codex Albensis*; SZENDREI — RIBARIČ: *Missale Notatum Strigoniense ante 1341*; SZENDREI: *Breviarium Notatum Strigoniense saeculi XIII*; eadem: *The Istanbul Antiphonal about 1360*. — With modern notation *Graduale Strigoniense* (s. XV/XVI).

³⁶ Here we must refer to the 150 years of Turkish-Ottoman occupation of a substantial part of Hungary. The swift expansion of Protestantism also contributed to the grievous loss, although the followers of all three of the largest Protestant denominations (primarily Calvinism, but also Lutheranism and Transylvanian Unitarianism) more or less preserved the main elements of the traditional ceremonial order in Hungarian translation, and for an unusually long period of time (at least until the mid-17th century, and partly even later) they maintained the use of Gregorian melodies applied to vernacular texts. The editions of the so-called Protestant “Graduals” (liturgical books proper for public worship) were prepared cheaply by the foremost scholar of the subject, the musicologist Ilona Ferenczi (1949–), and by the historian of the old Protestant book culture, Gabriella Hubert (1956–).

³⁷ See footnote n. 35.

³⁸ DOBSZAY — PRŐSZÉKY: *Corpus Antiphonale Officii Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae* (CAO-ECE). Now also published: DOBSZAY — KOVÁCS: *CAO-ECE Esztergom/Strigonium (Temporale)* and (*Sancitorale*); KOVÁCS — DOBSZAY: *CAO-ECE Kalocsa-Zagreb (Temporale)*. Moreover, the indices of items from Bamberg, Salzburg, Prague, and Aquileia.

³⁹ Work of Gábor Kiss, musicologist (his PhD dissertation of 1997: *A középkori magyarországi ordinariium-dallamok ...*)

⁴⁰ MEZEY (ed.): *Fragmenta Latina codicum in Bibliotheca Universitatis Budapestinensis*; idem (ed.): *Fragmenta Latina codicum in Bibliotheca Seminarii cleri Hungariae Centralis*.

⁴¹ VÍZKELETY (ed.): *Mittelalterliche lateinische Handschriftenfragmente in Esztergom*; idem (ed.): *Mittelalterliche lateinische Handschriftenfragmente in Győr*; idem: *Az európai prédikációirodalom recepciója a Lenveni Kódexben*.

They have studied—along with other material—a large number of liturgical sources that were written or used in Hungary and in so doing clarified many questions of liturgical history. Within the wider circle of the followers of Mezey there are other scholars treating related subjects; here special mention must be made of the codicologists and other specialists⁴³ working mostly in libraries with collections of old Hungarian sources. Béla Holl SchP (1922–1997),⁴⁴ for example, specifically studied Hungarian liturgical poetry. The terminological vocabulary of some liturgical books and the liturgical texts of Hungarian origin were subjected to scrutiny in the volumes of the *Lexicon of the Medieval Latinity of Hungary*,⁴⁵ and they can be studied in the available card index material.

Monumenta Ritualia Hungarica

The *Monumenta Ritualia Hungarica* (MRH), as the sub-series of the *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Medii Recentisque Aevorum* (BSMRAe),⁴⁶ is a philologically accurate critical edition of the Hungarian liturgical sources and of the texts pertaining to the ritual of the wider Latin ecclesiastical tradition from the medieval period (before the Tridentine reforms). The MRH is in the care of the liturgical workshop established under the auspices of the Latin Department of the Faculty of Humanities of Loránd Eötvös University (Budapest), and organised around Balázs Déri (1954–), head of the department, classical and medieval Latin philologist and musicologist and Miklós István Földváry (1978–), medievalist and liturgical historian of the same department.

The proposal is to study and publish the sources, striving for a complete and critical analysis. A clear indication of the magnitude of the task is that the number of medieval manuscripts and incunabula pertaining to the Mass liturgy and the Divine Office is estimated at around a hundred (of each form), and there are numerous fragments. From this vast, yet not unmanageable, material only four of the more important manuscript sources are available in facsimile editions, with introductions dealing with codicological, liturgical, and musicological aspects.⁴⁷ Currently there is scholarly agreement that there is no need to publish every single source, especially where the 16th century printed material is concerned. The process of creating a data-

⁴² Edit Madas is palaeographer, codicologist, scholar into vernacular (Hungarian) medieval literature. See: *Középkori prédikációirodalmunk történetéből*. As editor: *Mittelalterliche lateinische Handschriftenfragmente in Sopron*.

⁴³ E.g. Kinga Körmeny, see Bibliography.

⁴⁴ HOLL: *Laus librorum*. He completed Dankó's *Vetus hymnarium* (see footnote n. 24) with 120 hitherto unknown pieces of liturgical poetry. His work, because of his sudden death, has come down in manuscript. (It can be consulted in the Archive of the Province of the Hungarian Piarist Order, Budapest.)

⁴⁵ *Lexicon Latinitatis Medii Aevi Hungariae*. The editor of this volume worked on it for years (1977–1993).

⁴⁶ Established by László Juhász, Szeged (1930), re-established by Antal Pirnát (1976).

⁴⁷ See footnote n. 35.

base eventually including the entire available textual material has already begun; the critical study of the texts of the most important individual sources or source groups will also be accomplished.

The most representative texts pertaining to the principal areas of the liturgy, namely, to the Divine Office, the Mass, the administration of sacraments and sacramentals, (and perhaps the para-liturgical elements), and the normative texts regulating the liturgical practice and life of the medieval Church will be published in their best versions. The larger sources (especially the Breviary) will be published in several volumes. Within the individual liturgical genres the most important sources for the three principal Hungarian usages, that of Esztergom, Kalocsa-Zagreb and Várad-Transylvania,⁴⁸ will be published separately. Besides the Esztergom Use, the Pauline usage,⁴⁹ deriving from Esztergom but surviving its mother source at least in its musical variants, will be treated in accordance with its significance. (Medieval Hungary included territories such as Croatia and Slavonia, which were in union with the Hungarian crown from 1091, Transylvania, a part of Romania since 1920, and Upper-Hungary, most of which is now Slovakia.) The textual variants of the codices pertaining to the “transitional” rites will most likely be included in the critical apparatus. The extant sources regarding the actual celebration of the rite (the “Ceremonials”) are very few in number and consequently must all be made available.

In approaching the texts from a literary point of view, volumes of collections will be prepared according to the individual genres, especially a new critical edition of Hungarian liturgical poetry.⁵⁰

The most important and most prevalent genres of the Hungarian Middle Ages will thus provide firsthand information about the most characteristic and until now very much neglected area of the life and activity of the country’s medieval clerks. The now rapidly developing international study of the liturgy will, it is to be hoped, extend also to the heritage of the Carpathian Basin, which has heretofore been considered peripheral, not because it was insignificant but because it has not received sufficient scholarly attention.

(Balázs Déri — Miklós István Földvály)

⁴⁸ More will be said about these later, see the following chapter.

⁴⁹ Regarding the only religious order founded in Hungary, see GYÉRESSY (coll.): *Pálosok*; KISBÁN: *A magyar pálosrend története*. As to their liturgy, see TÖRÖK (footnote n. 29).

⁵⁰ See footnote n. 24. The preparatory studies for these new editions were mainly undertaken by Béla Holl (see, HOLL: *Laus librorum*, and footnote n. 44).